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NEW EDITION

PREPARED BY A NUMBER OF
LEADING ORIENTALISTS

EDITED BY

**P. J. BEARMAN, TH. BIANQUIS, C. E. BOSWORTH,
E. VAN DONZEL AND W. P. HEINRICHS**

ASSISTED BY C. OTT

UNDER THE PATRONAGE OF
THE INTERNATIONAL UNION OF ACADEMIES

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ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA

VOLUME I

- P. 702^a, **ASHRAF 'ALĪ**, add to Bibl.: Barbara Daly Metcalf, *Perfecting women: Maulana Ashraf 'Alī Thanawī's* Bihishtī Zewar, a partial translation with commentary, Berkeley 1990.

VOLUME IV

- P. 1091^b, **KHĀSĪ**, l. 38, for Ustādh **Djawhar** [q.v.] read Ustādh **Djawdhar** [q.v.]

VOLUME VII

- P. 560, **MUNADJIDJIM**, BANŪ 'L-, note 7 to genealogical tree, for *Ta'rīkh Baghdād*, iv, 318, nr. 2122, read *Ta'rīkh Baghdād*, v, 215, nr. 2688

VOLUME IX

- P. 353^a, **SHARKĀWA**, add to Bibl.: D.F. Eickelman, *Moroccan Islam: tradition and society in a pilgrimage center*, Austin 1976.

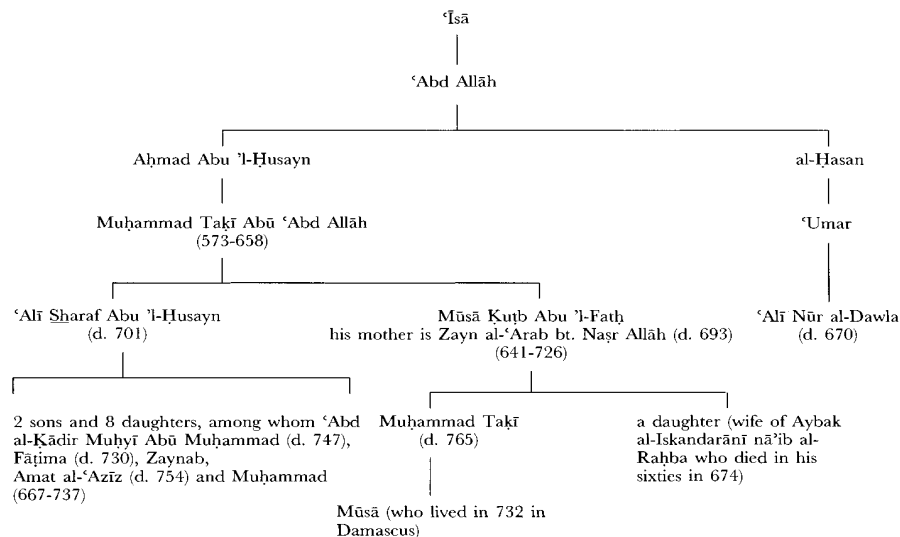
VOLUME X

- P. 89^b, **AL-TAFTĀZĀNĪ**, ll. 14-15 from bottom of article, for and a polemical refutation of Ibn al-'Arabī's *Fuṣūṣ al-Hikam*, read The refutation of the doctrine of Ibn al-'Arabī often ascribed to al-Taftāzānī was written by his pupil 'Alā' al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Bukhārī (d. 841/1430). See Bakrī 'Alā' al-Dīn, *'Abd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī: al-Wudjūd al-hakk*, Damascus 1995, 15-30.
- P. 664^b, **AL-TŪR**, add to Bibl. on the Arabic mss. of St. Catherine's: Y.E. Meimaris, *Katalogos ton neon arabikon kheirographon tes hieras mones Hagias Aikaterines tou Orous Sina*, Athens 1985.
- P. 868^a, **'UNAYZA**, add to Bibl.: Soraya Altorki and D.P. Cole, *Arabian oasis city: the transformation of 'Unayzah*, Austin 1989.

VOLUME XI

- P. 1^b, **VIDJAYANAGARA**, l. 5 from bottom of first paragraph, for Konkar [q.v. in Suppl.] read Konkan [q.v. in Suppl.]
- P. 126^b, **WĀLIBA** B. AL-ḤUBĀB, l. 3, for 2nd/9th century read 2nd/8th century.
- P. 169^b, **WĀSIT**, add after l. 37: During the struggle for 'Irāk under al-Ma'mūn, there were, however, small issues of silver from Wāsiṭ in the years 200 and 203, and occasional issues in copper in 147, 167, 177 and 187 or 9.
- P. 174^a, **WASM**, add to Bibl.: A second general study is E. Littmann, *Zur Entzifferung der thamudenischen Inschriften*, Berlin 1904, 78-104, which argues that most of the brands originate from the South Semitic alphabet in its North Arabian form.
- P. 177^b, **WATHANIYYA**, add to Bibl.: G.R. Hawting, *The idea of idolatry and the emergence of Islam. From polemic to history*, Cambridge 1999.
- P. 227^b, **AL-YADĀLĪ**, l. 14 from bottom, for (19 lines) read (19 folios)
- opp P. 264, **YĀKŪT AL-RŪMĪ**, map, for Oxus (Sayḥūn) read Oxus (Djayḥūn), and resituate Cairo on the right-side of the Nile
- P. 292^a, **YARMŪK**, add to Bibl.: W.E. Kaegi, *Heracius, Emperor of Byzantium*, Cambridge 2003, 237-44.
- P. 345-6, **AL-YŪNĪNĪ**, add the following table:

Genealogical tree of the family of Mūsā al-Yūnīnī, author of *Dhayl Mir'āt al-zamān*





- P. 361^b, **YŪSUF AND ZULAYKHĀ**, add to *Bibl.I.(c)*: ed. A'la-Khān Afsharzād and Husayn Ahmad Tarbiyat, in *Mathnawī-yi Haft awrang*, ii, Tehran 1378 *sh.*/1999, 19-209.
- P. 364^a, **ZĀ'**, ll. 23-25, read a voiceless /t/ for /d/ is attested in some Northern Yemeni dialects ..., and a voiceless /t/ for /d/ occurs in North African sedentary dialects
- P. 371^b, **ZABĪD**, add to *Bibl.*: Barbara E. Croken, *Ḥabid under the Rasulids of Yemen, 626-858 AH/1229-1454 AD*, unpubl. Ph.D. diss. Harvard University 1990; *Ḥabid. Patrimoine mondiale*, in *Saba, revue trimestrielle*, v-vi (1999); 'Abd al-Rahmān b. 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥaḍramī, *Ḥabid. Masāḍiduhā wa-maḍārisuhā al-'ilmīyya fi 'l-ta'rīkh*, Damascus 2000.
- P. 404^b, **ZĀ'IRDJA**, add before final paragraph: As for the history of numbers, in his description of the *zā'irdja* Ibn Khaldūn called attention to the use of Arabic characters (*abjad* [q.v.]) and *zimām*, or administrative, numerals, as well as *ghubār*, denoting the nine figures of Indian origin. With regard to the *zimām* numerals, this statement allows G.S. Colin to date the entry of the system of Greek numerals into Morocco and to declare that the *zimām* had spread in hermetic circles at the same time. But given their administrative, commercial or diplomatic use, recourse to them did not signify that they required the use of a code-breaker (*De l'origine grecque des 'chiffres de Fes' et de nos 'chiffres arabes'*, in *JA*, ccxii [1933], 193-215). R. Lemay points out, from two astrological manuscripts, B.N. ar. 2582 (attributed to Abū Ma'shar), a MS from the 18th century (?), fol. 2r, and B.N. ar. 2584, fol. 2r, the list of correspondences between *abjad* numerals and *zimām* (*Arabic numerals*, in *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, ed. J.R. Strayer, i, New York 1982, 386ff.).
- P. 548^a, **AL-ZUBAYDĪ**, l. 4, for great-great-great-grandfather read great-great-great-great-grandfather
- P. 548^b, l. 30, for He died there on 1 Djumādā II read He died there on 1 Djumādā II 379

SUPPLEMENT

- P. 20^a, **ABU 'L-BAYDĀ' AL-RIYĀHĪ**, add after the last sentence of the text: He was also the *rāwī* of Abū Nuwās, and the latter has devoted a *marthiya* to him (*Diwān*, ed. Ghazālī, Cairo 1953, 572-4; cf. E. Wagner, *Abū Nuwās*, Wiesbaden 1965, 356).
- P. 28^b, **ABŪ MĀDĪ**, add to *Bibl.*: G.D. Salīm, *Abū Mādī (1889-1957): dirāsāt 'anhu wa-ash'aruh al-maḍhūla*, Cairo 1980.
- P. 58^a, **AL-'AKKĀD**, l. 6, for Hāfiz Ibrāhīm read Shukrī
- P. 103^a, **A'YĀŞ**, add to *Bibl.*: M.J. Kister, "Call yourselves by graceful names...", in *Lectures in memory of Professor Martin B. Plessner*, Jerusalem 1976, 16, 25.
- P. 163^b, **ČAČ-NĀMA**, add to *Bibl.*: I. Habīb, *A study of Ḥajjāj b. Yūsuf's outlook and policies in the light of the Čačnāma*, in *Bull. of the Inst. of Islamic Studies*, Aligarh, vi-vii (1962-3), 34-48.
- P. 167^a, **ČAD**, add at the end of the article: These negotiations finally resulted in the formation of a Transitional Government of National Union (GUNT), which did not, however, bring the internal dissensions to an end. The civil war started up again in 1980, and M. Goukouni Oueddāi secured victory over his opponents, thanks to the help of Libyan forces; he has even announced a plan for a union between Chad and Libya, but the FAN (Armed Forces of the North) continue the struggle in the eastern part of the country, simultaneously against the Libyans and the government troops (March 1981).
- P. 241^b, **AL-DJĀMĪ'A AL-'ARABIYYA**, add at the end of the article: In consequence of the treaty between Egypt and Israel and the Camp David negotiations, the seat of the Arab League has been moved to Tunis, and Shādhilī Klēbī was elected Secretary General (27 June 1979).
- P. 408^a, **AL-IDRISĪ**, add at the end of the article: The oldest manuscripts (Princeton of 754/1353, Taymūriyya of 877/1473 and Manchester of 887/1482) and Ibn Abī Ḥajjāla (*Sukcardān* [together with al-'Āmilī's *al-Mikhlatā*], ²Beirut 1399/1979, 460) give the title *Anwār 'ulviyya al-adjram*. In the *Anwār* al-Idrisī mentions other books he wrote: *K. al-Adwār wa 'l-fatarāt*, *K. al-Djawhara al-yatima fi akhbār Miṣr al-ḥadīma* and *K. Maṭla' al-tālī' al-sa'id fi akhbār al-Sa'id*; the latter title possibly served al-Udfuwī as a model for his prosopography of Upper Egyptian men of renown. Add to *Bibl.*: al-Udfuwī, *al-Tālī' al-sa'id al-djāmī' asmā' nuḍḡabā' al-Sa'id*, ed. S.M. Hasan, Cairo 1966, 179-81, 534-6; Ibn Ḥajjār al-'Askalānī, *Lisān al-mizān*, Haydarābād 1331, v, 262, no. 902; al-Suyūṭī, *Husn al-muḥādara*, ed. M. Abu 'l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, Cairo 1387/1968, i, 554; Ziriklī, *al-'Ālām*, ²Beirut 1399/1979, vi, 208b-c; Kaḥḥāla, *Mu'djam al-mu'allifin*, Damascus 1379/1960, ix, 174a-b; A. Mingana, *Catalogue of the Arabic manuscripts in the John Rylands Library in Manchester*, Manchester 1934, 422-5, no. 262; U. Haarmann, *Regional sentiment in medieval Islamic Egypt*, in *BSOAS*, xliii (1980), 55-66; M. Cook, *Pharaonic history in medieval Egypt*, in *SI*, lvii (1983); a critical edition of *Anwār* has been prepared by U. Haarmann (Beirut 1991).
- P. 566^b, **MAḤKAMA**, add to *Bibl.*: See the writings by D. Pearl, in particular *Interpersonal conflict of laws in India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh*, London-Bombay 1981; idem and W. Menski, *Muslim family law*, London 1998 (rev. ed. of D. Pearl, *A textbook on Muslim personal law*, London ²1987).
- P. 570^a, **MAKĀSID AL-SHARĪ'A**, l. 3, for of a ruling read of a possible ruling
- 1st line of third paragraph, read *Istislāh* and *istiḥsān* [q.v.] were discussed extensively by Mālikīs.
- l. 2 from bottom, for Muḥammad Ṭāhir b. 'Āshūr, read Muḥammad al-Ṭāhir b. 'Āshūr; and change same in *Bibliography*.
- Add to *Bibl.*: Ṭūfī, *Sharḥ Mukhtaṣar al-Rawḍa*, Beirut 1987-89.



A

AL-‘ABBĀS B. AḤMAD B. ṬŪLŪN, eldest son of Aḥmad b. Ṭulūn [*q.v.*]. When the latter set off for the conquest of Syria, he entrusted the government of Egypt to al-‘Abbās, his designated heir, but al-‘Abbās was very soon persuaded to take advantage of his father’s absence to supplant him. Warned by the vizier al-Wāsiṭī, Ibn Ṭulūn got ready to return to Egypt, and his son, after having emptied the treasury and got together considerable sums of money, went off with his partisans to Alexandria, and then to Barḳa. As soon as he got back, on 4 Ramaḍān 265/30 April 879, Ibn Ṭulūn tried to bring him back to reason, and, promising him pardon, sent to him a letter, whose text has been preserved by al-Kalkashandī (*Ṣubḥ*, vii, 5-10; reproduced also by Ṣafwat, *Ḍjamharat rasā’il al-‘Arab*, iv, 366-73); but the rebel remained deaf to all these approaches and decided to invade Ifrīqiya at the head of a force of 800 cavalry and 10,000 black infantry, swollen along the way by some local contingents.

Al-‘Abbās then claimed that the caliph al-Mu‘tamid had named him as governor of Ifrīqiya and demanded of the Aghlabid Ibrāhīm II that he should yield place to him. The latter responded by sending against him a force of cavalry, which met up with him at Labda but did not venture an engagement. Al-‘Abbās now sacked Labda, even though the governor there had decided to yield to him, and then went on to lay siege to Tripoli. The Ibādī leader Ilyās b. Maṣṣūr al-Nafūsī organised resistance, and with the help of reinforcements sent by Ibrāhīm II, succeeded in putting the rebel army to flight (middle of 267/winter 880-1). Al-‘Abbās was compelled to return to Egypt, but was captured in the course of a battle outside the city of Alexandria with an army sent by Ibn Ṭulūn. He was brought to Fustāt, led round on a mule (Yāqūt, *Udabā’*, vii, 183), condemned to execute personally the poet Dja‘far b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Ḥudhār and others of his retinue considered to be responsible for his revolt, and finally flogged and thrown into prison. He probably did not remain there long, but his attitude nevertheless removed him from all possibility of succession to the throne of Egypt. On Ibn Ṭulūn’s death (Dhu ‘l-Ḳa‘da 270/May 884), it was his son Khumārawayh [*q.v.*] who followed him, and al-‘Abbās’s protests were extinguished in blood.

Bibliography: The events are recounted in great detail by Balawī, *Sirat Aḥmad b. Ṭulūn*, ed. M. Kurd ‘Alī, Damascus 1358, 252-5, and Kindī, *Wulāt Miṣr*, Beirut 1959, 246-50; these basic sources and the data of other historians have been utilised by M. Talbi, *Emirat aghlabide*, 347-52. (Ed.)

‘ABBĀS SARWĀNĪ, historian of the Mughal period in India.

Little is known about him personally, but he was a member of a Sarwānī Afghān family which had settled in Banūr town (in the *sarkār* of Sirhind). His ancestor got 2,000 *bighās* of land as a maintenance grant during the reign of Bahlūl Lōdī. It was resumed by Bābur in 932/1526, and Shaykh Bāyazīd Sarwānī, the grandfather of ‘Abbās, had to leave for Rōh for this reason. Shēr Shāh Sūr restored it to Shaykh Bāyazīd when the latter returned after the expulsion of the Mughals in 947/1540. Islām Shāh Sūr also renewed it to Shaykh ‘Alī, the father of ‘Abbās. In 987/1579, it was again resumed by the state. ‘Abbās then entered the service of Sayyid Ḥamid, a scholarly officer of Akbar. In 990/1582 he compiled at the instance of Akbar his famous *Tuḥfa-yi Akbar Shāhī*, generally known as the *Ta’rīkh-i Shēr Shāhī*. It is however, a biography of Shēr Shāh Sūr and not history in the true sense.

The *Tuḥfa-yi Akbar Shāhī* was compiled when the short-lived Sūr dynasty had already passed into the limbo of history; and there was no hope left for the revival of Afghān power. Now an Afghān writer could get satisfaction only in magnifying the Afghān rule, so that ‘Abbās was in his work inevitably nostalgic about the past of the Afghāns. In fact, he compiled his work with preconceived notions, practising the economy of truth when the facts were disparaging. Moreover, he is not a first-hand source. All, or almost all, his narratives relating to the life and career of Shēr Shāh are based on the information supplied by the Sarwānī nobles who had served under the Lōdīs and the Sūrs and with whom he was connected by his own marriages. As descendants of Khān-i A‘zam ‘Umar Khān Sarwānī, the premier noble of the Lōdī Sultans, they were not expected to enquire about Shēr Shāh’s background, who had himself, and his father before him, been their servants before his rise to sovereignty. For this reason, information gathered by ‘Abbās about Shēr Shāh’s early career from his Sarwānī relations contains important gaps, some of which are filled by Mushṭākī’s rambling account, available in the *Wāḳi‘āt-i Mushṭākī*. Despite its defects, the *Tuḥfa-yi Akbar Shāhī* is regarded as the major source for Shēr Shāh’s reign. It furnishes fairly detailed data about the early life of Shēr Shāh and provides clues to important facts about his statesmanship. Later works, such as the *Ta’rīkh-i Khān-i Dījahānī* of Ni‘mat Allāh Harawī, *Ta’rīkh-i Shāhī* of Aḥmad Yādgār and *Ta’rīkh-i Dāwūdī* of ‘Abd Allāh, all compiled during the reign of the Emperor Dījahāngir, contain very little additional information with regard to Shēr Shāh.



Bibliography: ‘Abbās Sarwānī, *Tuhfa-yi Akbar Shāhi*, ed. Imām al-Dīn, Dacca 1964; Sir H.M. Elliot and J. Dowson, *The history of India as told by its own historians*, iv, 301-433; Storey, i, 513-5; I.H. Siddiqui, *History of Shēr Shāh Sūr*, Aligarh 1971; S.A.A. Rizvi, *Religious and intellectual history of the Muslims in Akbar's reign*, New Delhi 1975, 234-8. (I.H. SIDDQUI)

ABBREVIATIONS, sigla and conventional signs are nowadays called in Arabic *mukhtaṣarāt* “abridgements” or *rumūz* “symbols”, but there does not seem to have been any specific term for them in the classical period, even though from the very beginnings of Islam copyists, scribes and specialists in all sorts of disciplines were led to use them. This is why it has been thought suitable to bring together here a list of the main abbreviations found in the mediaeval texts, together with some examples of those taken up by our contemporaries.

One should first of all recall that a certain number of the sūras of the Qur’ān begin by groups of letters (the *fawātiḥ* or *hurūf mukatta’a/āh*), which remain curiously inexplicable despite the many interpretations thought up by inventive minds; the reader will find a table of them in the article AL-QUR’ĀN, where the signs indicating pronunciation to be found in various editions of the Holy Book are also considered.

It should also be noted that if the verb *sammā*, means notably “to pronounce the formula *bi-smi llāh al-rahmān al-rahīm*”, the formula itself is called the *bas-mala* [q.v.], whose form is obvious; cf. also the *ḥamdala*, the formula *al-ḥamdu li-llāh* “praise be to God”, etc.

It is precisely these pious or optative formulae which, because of their frequency, led copyists and scribes to adopt various abbreviations, of which the most frequent are: *l’* = *lā’ālā* “may He be exalted”; *s* = *ṣallā llāh ‘alayh*, and *s’m* = *ṣallā llāh ‘alayhi wasallam* “may God confer His blessings [on the Prophet] and grant him peace”; *m* = *‘alayhi al-salām* “peace be upon him [sc. upon a prophet]”; *rh* = *rahimahu llāh* “may God have mercy on him”; and *rdh* = *radiya llāh ‘anhu* “may God be pleased with him” after the name of a deceased person.

For their part, copyists used conventional signs, amongst which one may mention: *s* = *sawābuhu* “the correct reading, to be read...”; *b* = *ba’da* “after” or *khi* = *mu’akhkhar* “placed after” and *k* = *kabla* “before” to show that two words should be transposed (or also *m* = *mu’akhkhar* and *m* = *mukaddam* for the same inversion); *sh* = *muṣahḥah* “corrected, verified, the correct reading”; *kh* = *khata’a* “error” or *nuskhā ukhrā* “another manuscript = variant”; *m* = *mudraḥḡ* “a word straddling two hemistiches of a verse”; *alkh* = *ilā akhīrihi* “etc.”; *h* or *ah* = *intahā* “end of quotation”.

In technical works on grammar, theology, law, etc., the following may occur: *ḡ* = *ḡiam’* “plural”; *ḡḡ* = *ḡiam’ al-ḡiam’* “double plural”; *m* = *mu’annath* “feminine”, but also *matn* “text of the ḥadīth, etc.”; *sh* = *sharḥ* “commentary” and *shāriḥ* “commentator”; *thnā* or *nā* = *haddathānā* “there related to us”; *anā* = *anba’anā* or *akhbarānā* “[he] related to us (especially of a historical or other tradition)”; *m* or *alm* = *(al)-ma’rūf* or *(al)-mashhūr* “(the) well-known, (the) famed”; *alz* = *al-zāhir* “the obvious, literal sense”; *wz* = *wa-zāhiruhu* “and its literal sense”; *h* = *ḡahwīl* “change in the *isnād*”; *s* = *muṣannaf* “ḥadīth work” or *muṣannif* “author (of the work)”; *alm* = *al-muṣannif* “the author”; *yk* = *yukāl* “it is said”; *as* = *asl* “by no means, absolutely”; *ayd* = *ayd* “also, equally”; *s* = *su’āl* “question”; *ḡ* = *ḡawāb* “reply”; *n* =

bayānuhu “its explanation”; *h* = *ḡaḡika* “reality”, “in truth”; *b* = *bātil* “false”; *(ah)mh* = *(al)-muḡāl* “what is absurd, improbable”; *mm* = *mamnū’* “impossible, absurd”; *(f)lā nm* = *(fa)-lā nusallim* “we do not admit, recognise”; *h, fh* = *(fa)-ḡina’idh* “and then, consequently”; *lā mhh* = *la maḡālata* “without any doubt”; *kk* = *kadhālika* “thus”; *almj* = *al-maḡlūb* “the desired aim” or *al-muḡlak* “the absolute”.

Also found are: *s* = *sā’a* “hour”, *d* = *dakika* “minute”, and the names of the months: *m* = *Muḡarram*, *s* = *Ṣafar*, *rā* = *Rabī’ I*, *r* = *Rabī’ II*, *ḡā* = *ḡumādā I*, *ḡ* = *ḡumādā II*, *b* = *Raḡiab*, *sh* = *Shā’bān*, *l* = *Shawwāl*, *n* = *Ramaḡān*, *dhā* = *Dhu ‘l-Kā’da* and *dh* = *Dhu ‘l-Ḥiḡḡā*.

It will be noted that these abbreviations are often formed by the first letter of the word; another letter may sometimes be chosen, without always there being a care to avoid confusion, so that it may well happen that the groups of letters have an ambivalence, which is not, however, very confusing.

At the present time, the proliferation of sigla, and the perennial desire to save time have multiplied the use of abbreviations, especially in the press and in commercial and financial documents, but also in scholarly works with an apparatus criticus, where one may find e.g. *ḡ* = *ḡuz’* “volume”, *s* = *ṣafḡa* “page”, *s* = *ṣatr* “line”, *w* = *waraka* “leaf, folio”, *a* and *b* or *w* and *z* = *waḡḡh* and *zahr* “recto and verso”, *m* = *masḡih/iyya* “A.D.”, *h* = *ḡidḡri/iyya* “A.H.”, *m* = *malzama* “signature”, *kh* = *makhḡūḡ* “manuscript”, *l* = *ṭab’a* “printed edition”, etc.

An international abbreviation has yielded, as elsewhere, a genuine noun: *al-Yūna/iskū* “UNESCO”. Expressions denoting Unions or Federations are replaced by initials: *ḡ.m* = *al-ḡumḡuriyya al-‘arabiyya al-muttaḡida* “the United Arab Republic”, *a.m* = *al-imārāt al-‘arabiyya al-muttaḡida* “the United Arabic Emirates”, etc. Money and currencies, weights and measures are not outside this general tendency: *l.l* = *lira lubnāniyya* “Lebanese pound”; *d* = *dinār* (and also *daktūr* “doctor”); *ḡ. m.* = *ḡunayḡ miṣrī* “Egyptian pound”; *m* = millieme or *mitr* “metre”; *km* = *kilūmitr* “km”; *s.m./s.m.* = *s/ṣantūmitr* “cm”; *f* = *faddān* “feddan”, etc. Addresses often have *s.b.* = *ṣundūḡ al-barīd* “postal box”, and commercial letter headings *sh.m.m* or *sh.a.l* = *sharika maḡdūdat al-mas’ūliyya* “Ltd. Co.”.

The list of abbreviations could be considerably prolonged, but our list will be limited to those given above; one should however add that magazines and periodicals often use these to such an extent that only the initiates can unravel them. G. Oman (see *Bibl.*) has mentioned, as characteristic: *m.m.* = “Marilyn Monroe”, and *b.b.* = “Brigitte Bardot”!

Bibliography: W. Wright, *Arabic grammar*, i, 25-6; M. Ben Cheneb, *Liste des abréviations employées par les auteurs arabes*, in *RAfr.* 302-3 (1920-1), 134-8; G. Oman, *Abbréviature e sigle nell’ arabo moderno*, in *OM* (1961), 800-2. (Ed.)

‘ABD ALLĀH B. ABĪ BAKR AL-MIYĀNADJĪ, called ‘AYN AL-QUDĀT AL-HAMADHĀNĪ, Shāfi’ī jurist and Sūfī martyr, born at Hamadhān in 492/1098. Born of a line of scholars, he studied Arabic grammar, theology, philosophy and law, and he is said to have, as an already precocious scholar, started his first book at the age of 14. Also, at the approach of puberty, he became a convert to Sūfism. In 517/1123, at the age of 25, he seems to have met Ahmad al-Ghazālī, brother of the great theologian Muḡammad al-Ghazālī, who is said to have initiated him into Sūfī meditation and dancing, thus completing his spiritual conversion. Other masters of his



were Muḥammad b. Ḥammūya and a certain Baraka.

His spiritual reputation soon gained him many disciples, and he spent all his time in oral and written teaching, sometimes going beyond the limits of his physical strength for this and having then to retire for two or three months for recuperation. His activities soon provoked the hostility of the orthodox theologians. Provoked by his teachings on the nature of sainthood and prophethood and on submission to the Šūfī *shaykh*, and objecting to his usage of Šūfī terminology which gave the impression that he himself laid claim to prophetic powers, they brought an accusation of heresy against him before the Saldjūk vizier in 'Irāk, who imprisoned him in Baghdād. It was there that he wrote his apologia, the *Shakwā 'l-gharīb*. Some months later he was set free and returned to Hamadhān, but shortly afterwards, at the time of the Saldjūk sultan Maḥmūd's arrival (reigned 511-25/1118-31), he was executed in a barbarous manner during the night of 6-7 Djumādā II 526/6-7 May 1131 at the age of 33. His premature death seems to have prevented al-Hamadhānī from founding a Šūfī monastery, setting up a Šūfī group and designating a successor; nevertheless, his numerous works, written in a fine style, have always found an audience.

His published works include his *Shakwā 'l-gharīb 'an al-awṭān ilā buldān al-'ulamā'*, an apologia in Arabic (ed. and Fr. tr. Mohammed ben Abd-el-Jalil, in *JA* (1930), 1-76, 193-297; ed. 'Alif 'Usayrān, *Musannafāt-i 'Ayn al-Qudāt-i Hamadhānī*, Tehran 1341/1962; Eng. tr. A.J. Arberry, *A Sufi martyr, the apologia of 'Ain al-Qudāt al-Hamadhānī*, London 1969); *Risāla-yi Lawā'ih*, on mystic love, in Persian, ed. Rahīm Farmanish, Tehran 1337/1958; *Zubdat al-hakā'ik*, in Arabic, ed. 'Usayrān, in *op. cit.*; *Tamhīdāt or Zubdat al-hakā'ik fi kashf al-dakā'ik*, in Persian, ed. 'Usayrān, in *op. cit.*, twice tr. into Turkish: *Nāmāh or Maktūbāt, Makātib*, letters, in Persian, ed. 'Alīnaḳī Munzawī and 'Usayrān, 2 vols., Beirut and Tehran 1390/1971; *Risāla-yi yazdānshinākh*, ed. Bahman Karīmī, Tehran 1327/1948; and *Ahwāl u āthār*, ed. Farmanish, Tehran 1338/1959.

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(J.K. TEUBNER)

'ABD ALLĀH SULTĀNPŪRĪ, called MAḤDŪM AL-MULK, son of Shaykh Shams al-Dīn of Sultānpūr (Pandjāb), a leading Indian theologian of the 10th/16th century. He studied under Mawlānā 'Abd al-Kādir of Sirhind, and acquired renown as a scholar and for his command over Muslim jurisprudence, theology and history. He was held in high esteem by Humāyūn [*q.v.*], and Shēr Shāh (947-52/1540-5) gave him the title of *Sadr al-Islām*; under Islām Shāh (952-61/1545-54) he was the principal adviser of the king in religious affairs. Upon his return in 962/1555, Humāyūn again conferred on him the title of *Shaykh al-Islām*, and under the next king Akbar [*q.v.*], he received the title of *Makhdūm al-Mulk*. In 987/1579 he went to the Hidjāz and was received with much respect by the *Muftī* of Mecca. Makhdūm al-Mulk, however, returned to India without performing the Pilgrimage, and is said to have issued a *fatwā* to the effect that the *Ḥaḍḡ* was not obligatory on the people of India because the journey by sea could not be undertaken without the European passports bearing the pictures of Mary and Jesus and because the land route lay through Shīr'ī Persia.

Makhdūm al-Mulk was one of the signatories of the

Maḥḍar of 987/1579 giving a high religious position to Akbar, but subsequently disowned it; he was in fact a very orthodox Sunnī and drew much criticism from Abu 'l-Faḍl. He died in 990/1582 in disgrace.

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'ABD AL-'AZĪZ B. 'ABD AL-RAḤMĀN B. FAYṢAL ĀL SU'ūd (ca. 1291-1373/ca. 1880-1953), founder king (regn. 1319-73/1902-53) of the Kingdom of Su'ūdi Arabia. His mother was Sāra b. Ahmad al-Sudayri. At four, 'Abd al-'Azīz was entrusted to a tutor and became a *ḥafīz* at eleven. Simultaneously (1309/1891), at al-Mulayda the Āl Rashīd of Ḥā'il [*q.v.*] defeated and expelled the Su'ūds from Naḍjd, so that 'Abd al-'Azīz grew up subsequently in al-Kuwayt, his father's exiled home.

In 1319/1902, the young hot blood retook al-Riyāḍ, expelled the Rashīdī governor, and proclaimed the restored Su'ūdi rule. Central Naḍjd soon re-pledged loyalty to the Su'ūds, and al-Kašīm [*q.v.*] was gradually brought in. By 1330/1912, 'Abd al-'Azīz had restored Su'ūdi rule throughout Naḍjd.

In 1912, 'Abd al-'Azīz inaugurated his most imaginative policy, that of settling Bedouin in Wahhābism-centred agricultural colonies whose members were known as al-Ikhwān ("the brothers") [*q.v.*]. This movement simultaneously furthered Wahhābism, provided a new military force, reduced tribalism, and increased agricultural production; it brought with it profound social change, and the movement at its height counted some 150 colonies, one with 10,000 people. Ikhwānīs played a leading role in subsequent conquests, but ultimately revolted, charging the king with religious laxity, so that the founder of the Ikhwān himself suppressed them (1348/1930).

On the eve of World War I, 'Abd al-'Azīz expelled the Ottomans from eastern Arabia thus acquiring access to the sea. For 'Abd al-'Azīz, this war constituted a period of watchful waiting, but with the war's end, he resumed expansion. Djabal Shammar [*q.v.*] was occupied in 1340/1921 and its dependencies the next year. In 1337/1919 'Abd al-'Azīz won an important border fight with the Hāshimīs, and in 1338/1920 annexed upland 'Asīr [*q.v.*]. The end of his festering quarrel with the Hāshimīs began when the Hāshimī king, al-Ḥusayn, somewhat vaingloriously assumed the caliphate (1342/1924). The Ikhwān, affronted, entered al-Tā'if, and Mecca opened its gates, despite the Hāshimīs' descent from the Prophet and long tenure in al-Hidjāz. By 1344/1926, 'Abd al-'Azīz was proclaimed king of al-Hidjāz. His realm, now quite independent, stretched solidly across the peninsula in the first such broad unification in Arabia for many centuries. In addition, responsibility for the holy places, well discharged, converted 'Abd al-'Azīz from the leader of a minor sectarian polity into a central figure in Muslim and international eyes. His one remaining external dispute, with al-Yaman, was settled by a military victory followed by a treaty (1352/1934). In the same year, he unified his government as the Kingdom of Su'ūdi Arabia. 'Abd al-'Azīz treated defeated enemies magnanimously and, especially in al-Yaman, wisely restrained



himself. Much of this period was also spent negotiating with Britain; demarcated borders gradually emerged. During World War II, he maintained formal neutrality, but tilted toward the Allies, subsequently joining the United Nations and the Arab League.

Internally, this commanding monarch ruled traditionally but with his own extra wisdom and strength. He oversaw the successful implantation of the high-technology, American-run petroleum industry into an ultra-traditional society, from a first commercial find in 1356/1937 to the point when, at his death, production approached 1 million barrels/day and gave an annual revenue of \$200 million. Oil revenues financed dramatic developments: water supplies, airports, telephones and radios, roads, electricity, deep water ports, a railroad, hospitals, and schools. 'Abd al-'Azīz had a "marked tendency to uxoriolousness". A study of 1952 indicates that he had 35 living sons. The number of his wives, many married ephemerally, was a legendary 300; in addition, he had concubines and slave women. Yet to some wives, he was faithful and always within the letter of Qur'anic law.

All in all, 'Abd al-'Azīz laid the bases for the modernisation of his country and was one of the greatest leaders to arise in the Arabian peninsula.

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(R. BAYLY WINDER)

'ABD AL-'AZĪZ B. YŪSUF (Abu 'l-Kāsim al-Hakkār?), the private secretary and trusted adviser of the Būyid amīr 'Aḍud al-Dawla [q.v.] from the very beginning to the end of his reign, and then three times alternatively the vizier and in disgrace in regard to his sons Ṣamsām al-Dawla and Bahā' al-Dawla [q.v. below]. He is the author of a collection of official correspondence (*inshā'*), largely preserved in ms. Petermann 406 (Ahlwardt 8625), which is however limited to the period of 'Aḍud al-Dawla's reign (some fragments lacking here are cited in al-Tha'ālībī, *Yatīma*, ii, 89-90) and which, without securing him a place equal to his contemporaries Abū Ishāḳ al-Ṣābi' and Ibn 'Abbād, merits the historian's consideration, above all for the narrative of events of the reign.

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(CL. CAHEN)

'ABD AL-BĀRĪ, KĪYĀM AL-DĪN MUḤAMMAD, early 14th/20th century 'ālim and pīr of the Farangī Maḥallī family [q.v. below]. Born in Lucknow in 1295/1878, he was descended on his father's side from a distinguished line of pīrs and on his mother's side from Malik al-'Ulamā' Mullā Ḥaydar (d. 1256/1840-1), who had established the Hyderabad (Deccan) branch of the Farangī Maḥall family. 'Abd al-Bārī was brought up in Lucknow, where he studied under many teachers, notably his uncle 'Abd al-Bākī and 'Ayn al-Kuḍāt, the prominent pupil of 'Abd al-Ḥayy [q.v.]. He travelled to the Ḥidjāz three times, in 1309/1891-2, 1321/1903-4 and 1330/1911-2, and also visited other parts of the Ottoman Empire. In Medina, where he came to know Sharīf Ḥusayn of Mecca, he both studied *ḥadīth* under Sayyid 'Alī Witrī and taught.

With Abu 'l-Kalām Āzād, 'Abd al-Bārī was the first Indo-Muslim scholar to play a major role in modern Indian politics. He came to the fore as Muslims of the subcontinent became agitated over events in the Ottoman Empire just before World War One. In 1913, after returning from Mecca, with Mushīr Ḥusayn Kīdwāī, he founded the Andjuman-i Khuddām-i Ka'ba [q.v. below]. After the War he played a leading part in launching the Indian Khilāfat movement: leading in 1918 the first 'ulamā' to attend the All-India Muslim League sessions, developing an alliance with Mahatma Gandhi, helping to organise the Central Khilāfat Committee in 1919, and throughout driving the agitation more extreme till in 1920 the Khilāfat movement adopted a policy of non-cooperation with the British government and, under its influence, so did the Indian National Congress. In these years 'Abd al-Bārī's influence was at its zenith, a fact marked, at least among Indian 'ulamā', by his election as the first president in 1919 of the *Ḍjam'īyat-i 'ulamā'-i Hind*, which he had played a major part in establishing. But gradually in 1921 and 1922 he began to draw apart from the politicians as they refused to accept his view that force should be used to defend the Khilāfat. By 1923 the resurgence of communalism had driven him to defend Islam in India at the cost of Hindu-Muslim unity. Moreover, he continued to fight for the Khilāfat, although the issue had ceased to interest politicians. From 1925 he led the tremendous protest in India against Ibn Sa'ūd, and died on 4 Raddjāb 1344/19 January 1926 while in the midst of his campaign.

'Abd al-Bārī knew that Muslims had to face the problems posed by the modernisation of their society. He was willing to support Muslims who sought western learning, sending boys to Aligarh College and making a donation to the Muslim University movement. In an endeavour designed to equip the children of 'ulamā' and pīrs for modern life along traditional lines, he established the Madrasa-yi 'Āliya Nizāmiyya at Farangī Maḥall in 1905. This offered an improved form of the Dars-i Nizāmiyya, making "modern" subjects such as algebra and geography compulsory and offering practical subjects such as English to higher classes. 'Abd al-Bārī was no less concerned about the future of mysticism. He felt that the ignorance of those who were mystics, as well as that of those who were not, was damaging the reputation of *tasawwuf*. He was particularly concerned that mystics should adhere strictly to the *Sharī'a*. It was on this account that around 1914 he revived a plan, first mooted by his father and others in 1896, to establish a madrasa to teach Islamic mysticism systematically. The plan was adopted as the aim of the *Bazm-i Sūfiyya-yi Hind*, an organisation which, with the support of many leading Indian mystics, was founded

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during the ‘*Urs* of Mu‘īn al-Dīn Ġishtī at Adjmīr in 1916.

‘Abd al-Bārī was one of the great teachers of his time, having at least 300 pupils. He wrote 111 books and pamphlets displaying wide learning in Persian as well as Arabic; as was customary in the Farangī Maḥall family, Hanafī jurisprudence was his most important field. Initiated into the Kādīrī-Razzākī and Ġishtī-Nizāmī *silsilas*, he was an influential *pīr*, numbering several leading politicians, including Muḥammad and Shawkat ‘Alī [q.v.], amongst his *murīds*. An independent-minded but emotional man, ‘Abd al-Bārī was guided by the need to defend and strengthen Islam. He achieved fame and success, in part because of what he did but also in part because of who he was: the dominant member in his generation of the widespread and talented Farangī Maḥall family. In recent years he has been this family’s most distinguished product.

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‘ABD AL-LATĪF ĆELEBĪ [see LATĪF].

‘ABD AL-NĀSIR, DJAMĀL, Egyptian commander and statesman. His father, ‘Abd al-Nāsir Ḥusayn, came from the village of Banī Murr near Asyūt in Upper Egypt. He was a clerk in the post office and in 1915 moved to Alexandria. In 1917 he married the daughter of an Alexandrian coal merchant and on January 15th 1918, his first son, Djamāl, was born. The father was transferred several times during his son’s early childhood and it was in Asyūt that Djamāl began his primary education. At the age of seven he was sent to Cairo to live with his uncle and to study there instead of moving around with his father. He also spent some time in the family village of Banī Murr when he was able to observe the life of the Egyptian peasant—its poverty and its daily toil, its dignity and solidarity. The village was a microcosm of Egyptian rural society. ‘Abd al-Nāsir’s family belonged to the middle layer of small proprietors and tenants, a class largely dominated by others yet from which there was some outward movement into the towns and cities through education and government employment. This class gave ‘Abd al-Nāsir his roots in the Egyptian countryside and also his escape into another world.

In Cairo he went to al-Nahḥāṣīn school in Khān al-Khalīlī where he was able to experience at first hand the life of the bustling crowded quarters of Cairo, that other aspect of the poverty of Egypt. During this period he was greatly affected by the death of his mother and by his father’s early re-marriage. This experience turned him against his father and strengthened his independence and perhaps also his introspection. He was noted from then on for his seriousness and thoughtfulness.

After an interval with his family in Alexandria ‘Abd al-Nāsir moved to Cairo where he spent five de-

cisive years, 1933-8. He went to al-Nahḥā school and began to mix study with militant activity, protesting both against the British presence and the policies of the Egyptian politicians. He was exposed to the political currents of the time, of the *Wafd*, the National Party (*al-Ḥizb al-Waṭanī*) and especially *Miṣr al-Fatāt*, the Fascist-type movement found by Aḥmad Ḥusayn. He felt deeply and personally the problems of Egypt and began to assume them inwardly himself, unconsciously following the example of those future leaders who take upon themselves the burdens of their people, and also searching for a future pattern for his own life. He admired the *Wafd* centred around its leader, Muṣṭafā Naḥḥās; he occasionally marched with *Miṣr al-Fatāt*. He wrote at the time: “[The Egyptian] only needs a leader who will lead him to battle”.

In November 1935, when the British opposed the re-establishment of the Egyptian constitution, ‘Abd al-Nāsir marched with students on to the streets of Cairo and was wounded by a bullet fired by British troops. He was identified as an agitator and asked to leave his school. After a few months in 1936 as a law student in Cairo University, his sense of disillusion with the politicians who had “surrendered” to the British by signing the 1936 Treaty and with what he saw as the indifference of his fellow-students, led him to seek to join the army, in his opinion the best means available for effecting change. He had passed through his early personal crisis and took to the army as a positive means of action.

In 1936 the Egyptian army had lifted its restrictions on the middle and lower classes entering the officer corps. ‘Abd al-Nāsir was a member of the second entry of such men, an officer cadet in 1937 at the age of nineteen in the ‘Abḥāsiyya Military Academy. He was attracted to military life with its discipline and study, and was quickly promoted. Of his future companions in the revolution, he met ‘Abd al-Ḥakīm ‘Amīr in the academy and Zakariyyā Muḥyī al-Dīn and Anwar al-Sādāt in his first posting to upper Egypt. It is difficult to maintain that their plotting began at once but, being of similar age and background, they were united in their disrespect and even contempt for their senior officers, and this attitude was confirmed when he again met ‘Amīr during their assignment to the Sudan.

The German successes in Libya and Egypt in 1940-1 led some Egyptian officers to see in the Axis their deliverers from British occupation. ‘Abd al-Nāsir stayed aloof from making approaches to the Germans, but his anger was aroused in February 1942 when Sir Miles Lampson, the British High Commissioner, with the support of British tanks imposed on King Fārūk a *Wafd* cabinet under Naḥḥās. ‘Abd al-Nāsir was ashamed that the army had taken no counter-action, but he at least felt that some officers had been shaken out of their apathy. In 1943 he was appointed an instructor at the Military Academy, and during his time there was able to make contact with a number of younger Egyptians who were also like him fired by the aim of liberating their country.

The period 1945-52 bears, with hindsight, the signs of the end of an era. Several factors combined to ensure that change eventually became inevitable. King Fārūk’s political erraticness and scandalous private life debarred him as a serious political leader. The *Wafd* had lost most of its credibility, and the more extreme movements were left to clamour for a central role. The Arab disaster in Palestine had a profound effect on the minds of young Egyptian army officers, and the British reluctance to evacuate troops



first from the towns and then from the Suez Canal Zone confirmed their suspicions about the survival of British imperialist aims. The period was one of ferment and tension, so that even a personality less politically sensitive than 'Abd al-Nāṣir could not have remained unaffected, and he was in a sense torn during this period between his position as staff officer and his interests in "revolutionary" movements. He was introduced to Marxism by Khālīd Muḥyī al-Dīn, a fellow officer and cousin of Zakariyyā, to the *Ikhwān al-Muṣlīmīn* by al-Sādāt, and to the left wing of the *Wafd* by Ahmad Abu 'l-Faṭḥ and others. At this time a group of officers began to meet regularly, comprising the above together with 'Amir, Tharwat 'Ukāsha and one or two others. These so-called *Dubbāt al-Ahrār* ("Free Officers") did not yet coalesce as a movement, having no common ideology but a determination to transform Egypt; but the figure of Djamāl 'Abd al-Nāṣir emerged here as a leader.

It was events outside Egypt which decisively placed the Free Officers on course towards revolution. In May 1948 the Egyptian army advanced into Palestine in an attempt to destroy the new state of Israel. 'Abd al-Nāṣir was commanding officer of a unit, and was immediately dismayed by the inefficiency and lack of preparedness of the Egyptians who were fighting against greatly inferior numbers; in the fighting he was himself wounded in the chest. After the second United Nations armistice (during which the Haganah improved its positions), the battle for the Negev began in October. 'Abd al-Nāṣir and his unit were trapped at Fallūja, but together with several other Free Officers they held out against the Israeli forces and were eventually able to counter-attack. In retrospect, 'Abd al-Nāṣir saw this episode as a symbol of their determination to pursue the real fight against all those forces which opposed Egypt. He had fought the Israelis and had even admired them in their successful bid to oust the British from Palestine (during one armistice he had had an opportunity to talk to an Israeli officer), and had himself become more widely known. One general also made his name for heroism in the Palestine war, Muḥammad Nadjīb (Neguib).

The army returned home bitter in defeat and determined to begin the "real" struggle. The Free Officers began to issue propaganda denouncing the King, the régime and the army, to infiltrate the government, and to co-operate with other organisations. In October 1951 the Egyptian government abrogated the 1936 Treaty, and this action signalled the beginning of guerilla activity against the British troops remaining in the Canal Zone. The Free Officers played a certain part, issuing arms and training commandos, but it was largely students and members of the *Ikhwān* who bore the brunt of the fighting; 'Abd al-Nāṣir himself was biding his time conserving his energies.

Tension was also rising in Cairo. A particularly severe British retaliatory attack on the Ismā'īliyya barracks in January 1952 led to Black Saturday, January 26th, when much foreign and Egyptian property in Cairo was burned and several lives lost. Students, *Ikhwān* and the mob rampaged in a fury of revenge, and the army and police intervened only late in the day. It is still not clear who instigated the riots and how large a part, if any, the Free Officers played; but the events had at least demonstrated the desperate fury of the country and the lack of any solution offered by the régime.

Fārūk and his entourage continued their improvi-

dent course, seemingly careless of the country's plight. The Free Officers decided that a coup could no longer be postponed and began to make their final plans in July. The government had moved for the summer to Alexandria, and two army units favourable to the Free Officers were about to move to Cairo. On 20th July it became known that Fārūk was to appoint a new government, one of whose first actions would be to arrest some of the Officers. The latter advanced their plans; by the morning of 23rd July the key army and communications posts had been taken, with hardly a shot fired and only two lives lost. Although 'Abd al-Nāṣir had been the leader, General Muḥammad Nadjīb, the older and better-known man, became the new Commander-in-Chief, while arguments raged over the future form of government—should there be co-operation with civilian politicians, and what was to be the fate of Fārūk?

'Alī Māhir, an ex-premier, headed the new government. 'Abd al-Nāṣir stood out for the exile, rather than the execution, of Fārūk, and the ex-king sailed from Alexandria on 26th July. Nadjīb supervised the abdication while 'Abd al-Nāṣir remained in Cairo.

Muḥammad Ḥasanayn Haykal has divided the political life of 'Abd al-Nāṣir (known in Egypt as "The Lion") into three parts: 1952-6, the Lion free; 1956-67 the Lion chained; 1967-70 the Lion wounded. By this division, Haykal saw him free until the Suez invasion to concentrate on Egyptian affairs; after 1956 he became chained to Arab and world affairs and a prisoner of his own success and personality; after the Arab-Israeli war of 1967 he was gradually weighed down by the burdens of office. These divisions may be qualified and modified, however. During the whole of his political life he was attempting both to legitimise his rule and to give Egypt a lasting political and social system. Until 1956 he was largely concerned with Egyptian internal affairs, but Suez thrust him on to the world stage, and while chaining him, in Haykal's phrase, he was at the peak of his popularity and success, at least until the dissolution of the Syrian-Egyptian union in 1961. The period 1961-7 saw him more closely chained and less successful, until the disaster of 1967, by which he was mortally wounded.

The Free Officers had no definite political programme before or at the beginning of their régime. No one ideology motivated the seizure of power; they had rather vague ideas about national independence, modernisation, democratisation, social justice and equality. The first years of power entailed a more precise defining of these ideas and forced 'Abd al-Nāṣir to determine his role in the new system. He was the centre of the new ruling body, the Revolution Command Council (R.C.C.) (*Maḥlis Kiyādat al-Thawra*), although Nadjīb was its president, replacing 'Alī Māhir in September 1952, and 'Abd al-Nāṣir not yet publicly acknowledged.

The régime's first declared objective had been the expulsion of the British, and negotiations began immediately over the evacuation of the Canal Zone. Secondly, the direction of domestic policy was established by the agrarian reform law of September 1952 by which no one was allowed to hold more than 200 feddans of land. Thirdly, the régime set about eliminating opposition, i.e. the *Wafd* and especially the *Ikhwān*, who reacted by trying to foment opposition in the army, police and universities. In the early months of 1954 the *Ikhwān* waged what 'Abd al-Nāṣir termed a *ḡihād* against the régime, in an attempt to seize power themselves.

Within the Revolution Command Council, dis-



sensions arose between General Nadjīb, now President of the Egyptian Republic, and the younger officers. The older man had gained considerable popularity, but was opposed by his colleagues, who accused him of re-establishing relations with the old politicians and wanting to send the army back to its barracks. There were demonstrations in his favour, and the chaos of pre-revolutionary days seemed about to return. This was unthinkable to ‘Abd al-Nāṣir with his deeply authoritarian character, and he and like-minded colleagues isolated Nadjīb by the end of March 1954; he remained as titular president of the republic, while ‘Abd al-Nāṣir became president of the R.C.C. with *de facto* power.

In July 1954, ‘Abd al-Nāṣir signed a treaty with the British under which the Canal base would be evacuated within twenty months with the provision that it could be “re-activated” by the British in the event of an attack by an outside power on an Arab country or on Turkey. To many Egyptians, this was a capitulation to the West and was strongly opposed by the *Ikhwān*. On 24 October 1954 ‘Abd al-Nāṣir was addressing a crowd in Alexandria justifying the treaty when a member of the *Ikhwān* attempted to assassinate him. Haykal described this as a turning point in ‘Abd al-Nāṣir’s career. Having already gained control of the army and state, his survival might also be seen as confirmation of that control, for charismatic leaders can only gain in prestige from “miraculously” surviving assassination attempts. ‘Abd al-Nāṣir now dominated the Revolution Command Council, the cabinet, the Free Officers and through them the Liberation Rally, his first attempt to organise political support. The *mukhābarāt* (secret police) were his means of supervising the two latter bodies, and the basis of the régime was the army, whose members penetrated most aspects of civil life.

1955 was the year in which ‘Abd al-Nāṣir won his personal battle, and found the role he had written about in his *Falsafat al-thawra* “Philosophy of the revolution”: “In this region in which we live there is a role wandering aimlessly about seeking an actor to play it”. In his writing he had criticised the masses for not enthusiastically following him after the coup. Now he was presented with a cause in which to lead them. The British had established the Baghdad Pact with Nūrī al-Sa’īd of ‘Irāk as the lynch-pin. ‘Abd al-Nāṣir, aware that he was compromised over the Suez base agreement, saw the Pact as an attempt by Britain, and especially by Eden, to maintain domination in the Middle East, and even to shift the centre of power away from Egypt to ‘Irāk, hence he determined to oppose it. In February 1955 he was visited by the proponents of non-alignment, Tito and Nehru, and was greatly influenced by them, especially by the Yugoslav. At the same time an Israeli attack on Gaza convinced him that the Americans were attempting to exploit his vulnerability. He now began to seek arms, first unsuccessfully from the West, and then from the Communist bloc.

His participation in April in the Bandung Conference of Non-aligned Nations made a deep impression on him, for he was hailed as a leader in the anti-colonialist fight and welcomed by an enthusiastic crowd on his return to Cairo. Seven months later he announced an arms contract with Czechoslovakia, though he was loath to sever contacts with the West, and in November he opened negotiations with Britain and America for a loan to finance the construction of the Aswān High Dam. In January 1956 a loan by the West was announced with conditions, notably that Egypt’s budget had to be supervised by the lenders.

‘Abd al-Nāṣir hesitated for a time, having alienated France by his support of the Front de Libération Nationale in Algeria and Britain by his approval of King Ḥusayn’s dismissal of General Glubb in Jordan; and finally in July the offer of the loan was withdrawn because, according to the U.S. Department of State, of doubts about Egypt’s “ability to devote adequate resources to assure the project’s success”.

Such a rebuff was a severe blow to a man of ‘Abd al-Nāṣir’s temperament and he reacted angrily. Under a new constitution he had been elected President, with both the powers of head of state and of government, in June with 99.9 per cent of the votes. He announced the nationalisation of the Suez Canal, against which the British Prime Minister, Anthony Eden, reacted by denouncing the takeover as illegal; he also saw ‘Abd al-Nāṣir as a dictator threatening British security who had to be removed. To the Egyptians, however, the Canal was the symbol of imperialism and ‘Abd al-Nāṣir was the man who had defied the Old World and who had asserted the rights of the newly-independent. His popularity in Egypt was enormous and he was convinced that he could withstand Western attempts to make him retract.

Britain, France and Israel combined to attack Egypt, each for their own reasons, but united in fear and hatred of ‘Abd al-Nāṣir, after attempts to organise forms of international supervision of the Canal had failed. On October 29th Israeli troops crossed into Sinai and the following day were reported to be within 20 miles of the Canal. The British and French ultimatum ordering both Egypt and Israel to withdraw to ten miles on either side of the Canal, was rejected by ‘Abd al-Nāṣir, and two days later British planes raided Cairo. On November 5th British and French troops landed in Port Said. ‘Abd al-Nāṣir convinced his followers of Egypt’s ability to resist, but he was in fact facing defeat, and was only saved by American and Soviet pressure on his attackers. All foreign troops were compelled to leave Egyptian territory, and he emerged as victor in defeat, more popular and powerful than before, and a world figure.

His very success bore within itself the seeds of danger. He had confronted Israel and the West, not only on behalf of Egypt but also of other parts of the Arab world. He was being drawn into the politics of Arabism, with its twin goals of unity and the destruction of Israel, reaction and colonialism. Egypt, the strongest Arab state with its powerful leader, was the natural centre of the Arab world. ‘Abd al-Nāṣir had already shown his support for the Algerian national movement and thereby alienated France. The Voice of the Arabs radio broadcast continual anti-Western propaganda from Cairo. ‘Abd al-Nāṣir had rejected President Eisenhower’s offer of American military support. At the same time Syria, the other centre of Arabism seemed to be slipping into a chaotic situation. Several factions, Ba’thists, Communists and rival nationalist groups, were competing for power. In January 1958 Syrian spokesmen informed ‘Abd al-Nāṣir that only union with Egypt could save their country. He was not immediately convinced, despite his professed belief in Arab unity, and made strong conditions for the Syrians which they nevertheless readily accepted. At the end of January the United Arab Republic came into existence with ‘Abd al-Nāṣir as president, welcomed with relief by the Syrians but not, it seemed, with any great enthusiasm by the Egyptian leader himself, nor by the Egyptian people, some of whom regretted the disappearance of the name of Egypt.

However, he received a great popular welcome in



Syria and appeared determined to make the union a success, if only by imposing his own will on the Syrians. Such an attitude was bound to cause resentment, and socialist measures, the dismissal of army officers, purges of politicians and the arrogant behaviour of ‘Abd al-Nāṣir’s man in Syria, ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd Sarrādj, all contributed to increase feelings of bitterness. By early 1961 the union was falling apart and in September a group of Syrian officers unilaterally took Syria out of the U.A.R.

‘Abd al-Nāṣir was stunned, but, after a momentary determination to oppose the split by force, reluctantly withdrew Egyptian troops from Syria. To salvage his self-esteem and perhaps to keep the door open for further unions, he retained the title of U.A.R. for Egypt. His political life was complicated by another factor. The ‘Irākīs had overthrown the monarchy in July 1958, had proclaimed their revolution and were disputing with him the leadership of the Arab world. Rivalry was intense, especially as ‘Irāk claimed Soviet support and had refused to join the U.A.R. He had been dragged deep into inter-Arab disputes and saw his energies diverted into unprofitable avenues.

After the break-up of the U.A.R., ‘Abd al-Nāṣir felt isolated and to some extent withdrew into Egyptian affairs. In a speech of October 1961 he made some surprising admissions; “We fell victim to a dangerous illusion, to which we were led by an increasing confidence in ourselves and in others”. He had neglected the economic development and the political organisation of Egypt. He would summon a congress of popular forces which would chart a more socialist and democratic course. In Egypt he had become in all senses the *raʾīs*, enjoying absolute power and now being corrupted by that power. He was the father-figure, protected by the *mukhābarāt*, imprisoning and torturing Communists, with an all-powerful police, and with judicial corruption. His entourage both protected and isolated him. He owed his popularity to the masses, yet he distrusted them, and none of his plans to involve the people more directly in government had very great success. He moved cautiously and pragmatically, approaching a socialist solution slowly. Despite his reliance on Russia, he had persecuted Egyptian Marxists and had no intention of imposing a totally communist programme on the country.

During the fifties there had been some nationalisation, but it was not until July 1961 that ‘Abd al-Nāṣir announced more radical measures. He introduced “Arab socialism” into Egypt—land ownership was reduced to a maximum of 100 feddans; banks and many other companies were nationalised; property was sequestered; and the economy was to be totally planned. Smaller businesses were left in private hands. ‘Abd al-Nāṣir was clearly reluctant, however, to follow too closely the Soviet pattern. His socialism was to be built on “national friendship” rather than class warfare and there was to be no enforced collectivisation of the peasantry. The Congress of Popular Forces was convened in May 1962 to discuss and approve a National Charter which embodied the ideology of the régime. A new single party, the Arab Socialist Union, was founded to succeed the National Union which had already taken the place of the earlier Liberation Rally.

The A.S.U. was ‘Abd al-Nāṣir’s attempt to involve the people, in a strictly supervised way, in the government of Egypt. That it largely failed was partly due to the scarcity of enthusiastic and well-trained cadres. Traditional centres of power still held sway in many

of the Egyptian villages and no great enthusiasm was shown for the A.S.U. In an attempt to strengthen the Union, ‘Abd al-Nāṣir even released imprisoned Marxists, some of whom in 1964 agreed to work within the organisation.

‘Abd al-Nāṣir’s economic policies were obviously influenced by his relationship with the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia. He rejected Communism and was categorised by Soviet ideologists as a bourgeois nationalist, yet he was dependent on Russia for aid and Krushchev considered him an ally in the Middle East. Apart from arms, Russia had in 1960 agreed to finance the construction of Aswān Dam, which became both the symbol of Russo-Egyptian co-operation and of Egypt’s rebirth. The dam was built to transform Egypt’s economy and agriculture. It has not succeeded in all the ways intended, and in more ways than one it is ‘Abd al-Nāṣir’s monument.

Despite his intention to concentrate on internal affairs, ‘Abd al-Nāṣir’s reputation and Egypt’s position in the Arab world obliged him to continue to play a leading role. The most serious intervention was in the Yemen where in the autumn of 1962 an uprising had driven out the Imām. A republic was proclaimed which was immediately threatened by Saudi-backed royalist forces. ‘Abd al-Nāṣir sent an Egyptian army to support the revolution, an action he later regretted, for it was trapped for five years with a continuing drain of men and equipment, diverted away from a confrontation with Israel, the insoluble problem of his lifetime.

The Israelis had withdrawn from the Suez Canal after 1956, and United Nations troops had moved in between Israel and Egypt. The Arabs had made various plans for and propaganda about the destruction of Israel, but ‘Abd al-Nāṣir seemed determined not to let Egypt be engaged in war before the army was ready, or until Arab unity was achieved. However, he joined a pact with Syria in 1966 which trapped him into confrontation. Both Syria and Jordan clashed with Israel and he found himself shouldering their burdens and being ineluctably drawn into a conflict. He was now heard to talk of destroying Israel and of the impossibility of co-existence. ‘Abd al-Ḥakīm ‘Amir and others convinced him that the army was strong and prepared, though after the war, ‘Abd al-Nāṣir claimed that he had not wanted to fight.

According to his version of the events leading to the war, in May he asked U Thant to withdraw the U.N. Emergency Force from the Israeli-Egyptian frontier, thus allowing the Egyptian army to face Israeli troops directly. The Russians had informed him that the Israelis were preparing to attack Syria, and by his moves in Sinai he intended to deter them; this information seems to have been either incorrect or at least exaggerated. ‘Abd al-Nāṣir claimed that the U.N. responded by insisting on withdrawing their troops both from the frontier and from Sharm al-Shaykh. The U.N. version is that Egyptian troops appeared at Sharm al-Shaykh and forced the U.N. to withdraw. Whichever version is correct, Egyptian troops were soon at the entrance to the Gulf of ‘Akaba and blockading the Straits of Tīrān to Israeli shipping, and it was clear that Israel could not leave such a challenge unanswered. According to eyewitnesses in Cairo ‘Abd al-Nāṣir appeared at the time to be borne down by the inexorable, and he spoke of a moment of decision: either Israel must accept new discussions on the Palestine problem or war was inevitable.

‘Amir and Shams Badrān, the Egyptian War Minister, urged him in vain to strike first. Israel settled



the matter by a pre-emptive attack on June 5th which destroyed the Egyptian air force on the ground. By June 9th Egypt accepted a cease-fire, with Israeli troops once again on the Suez Canal. ‘Abd al-Nāṣir had led his country to a catastrophic defeat. He had no excuses. On television on June 9th he admitted his failures and announced his resignation. The reaction was immediate. All Egypt, it seemed, begged him to stay. Egypt and ‘Abd al-Nāṣir had together been defeated, and Egypt without him was unthinkable; the identification between leader and people appeared total. His resignation was rejected and the following day he resumed office.

His prestige was, however, diminished, a fifth of his country occupied, the Canal closed; he was confronted by a powerful enemy, and his armed forces were shattered. In the short period left of his life there was little he could do to restore the situation, yet as leader he was forced to try. Even the army was not prepared totally to support him. ‘Amir was blamed for the defeat, arrested and allowed (or forced) to commit suicide, Badrān was imprisoned for life. Members of the secret police were arrested. In February 1968 the Air Force commanders were sentenced to imprisonment. Even so, the Egyptian people were not satisfied with ‘Abd al-Nāṣir’s actions, and there was criticism of him, of the system and of the leniency of the sentences on the Air Force officers.

He responded by increasing the sentences and by urging the Arab Socialist Union to play a more creative and active role. This did not satisfy the people, and in late 1968 there were demonstrations in favour of more political freedom and even demands for his resignation. He had been called back by the people yet was unable to fulfil their expectations.

On the international scene, he was able to offer little that was constructive. At the Khartoum Arab summit in September 1967 he endorsed the Arab refusal to recognise or to negotiate with Israel, although he also seemed to accept the U.N. resolution 242 which entailed recognition of the sovereignty of all states in the Middle East. Soviet support in rebuilding his army at least gave him a position from which he could face Israel on a more equal footing. It led him to launch the war of attrition in 1969-70 during which the Israeli air force on several occasions attacked Egyptian territory. ‘Abd al-Nāṣir personally and on behalf of the Arabs could not bring himself to the point of negotiating a peace treaty with Israel, despite Soviet and American pressure. He made several moves which seemed to be leading towards negotiation, but he remained fettered by his position in the Arab world.

On 24 September 1970 King Husayn of Jordan and Yāsir ‘Arafat of the Palestine Liberation Organisation met in Cairo under ‘Abd al-Nāṣir’s aegis to try to achieve reconciliation after Husayn’s suppression of the attempted Palestinian take-over in Jordan, and this was his last achievement. On September 28th he died of a heart attack, having suffered from diabetes for ten years and later from arteriosclerosis of his right leg. Despite a previous heart attack in September 1969 he had continued to work until the very end. His funeral in Cairo was marked with astonishing scenes of grief, devotion and disbelief amongst the thousands who surrounded his coffin. It was as though in a very real sense part of the soul of Egypt had died with him.

It is also possible that the mass hysteria of that day contained within itself a grain of relief. ‘Abd al-Nāṣir had dominated Egyptian life for some fifteen years and perhaps by 1970 Nasserism had run its

course. He had guided Egypt through a period of intense change and political adjustment. He had seen the end of French and British imperialism and had felt his way towards a new relationship both with the United States and the Soviet Union. He had led Egypt into a relationship with an Arab world newly-conscious of its power and independence. He had had to face the problem of confronting Israel on behalf of that Arab world. As Haykal wrote, these historical conditions formed his destiny and laid on him a burden too great for any one man to bear, or in the words of another commentator, “being unable to solve Egypt’s problems, [he] chose to incarnate them”.

‘Abd al-Nāṣir was thoroughly Egyptian, a Sa‘īdī who gave back to Egypt a sense of dignity. He remained a man of simple tastes and hard work who continued to live modestly in Cairo. His close friends were almost all political allies and he created with them an atmosphere of intrigue and conspiracy in government. He ruled Egypt through this élite, together with a network of interlocking security systems. He was cunning, mistrustful and a conspirator. He even distrusted the army, which he supervised with the *mukhābarāt*. He was a naturally passionate man, not averse to the use of violence and torture to subdue his opponents. He did not know how to create lasting institutions nor how to gather around him a strong governmental team.

He clearly inspired devotion both among his colleagues and among the masses in Egypt and elsewhere. His figure dominated Arab politics and gave rise to the formation of Nasserist parties in other countries. He was the symbol for many of Arab resistance to foreign influence and to internal reaction. He was the leader who, in Weber’s terms, was able to lead the break-through in Egypt’s history.

Bibliography: Much has been written about ‘Abd al-Nāṣir and Egypt under his régime. A survey of English and French studies written before 1967 can be found in D. Hopwood, *Some Western views of the Egyptian revolution*, in P.J. Vatikiotis, ed., *Egypt since the revolution*, London 1968; The most important works specifically on Ḍjamāl ‘Abd al-Nāṣir appearing since that date are: J. Lacouture, *Nasser*, Paris 1971 (and Engl. tr., London 1973); R. Stephens, *Nasser*, London 1971; R.H. Dekmejian, *Egypt under Nasser: a study in political dynamics*, Albany, N.Y. 1972; A. Nutting, *Nasser*, London 1972; *Egypt and Nasser*, 3 vols. (Facts on File) New York 1973; M.H. Heikal, *The Cairo documents*, London 1973; Many works in Arabic have been published, especially since his death, both laudatory and critical, and these are too numerous to list here. One of the most revealing is by Haykal, *‘Abd al-Nāṣir wa l-‘ālam*, Beirut 1972. Essential is ‘Abd al-Nāṣir’s own *Falsafat al-ṭhawra*, Cairo 1956 (English tr., Washington D.C. 1956). Also of use are memoirs by his colleagues, Anwar al-Sādāt, *Revolt on the Nile*, New York 1957, and Mohammed Neguib, *Egypt’s destiny*, London 1955. Many of his speeches were also published.

(D. HOPWOOD)
‘ABD AL-RAḤMĀN B. ḤASSĀN B. ṬĤĀBIT AL-ANṢĀRĪ, poet of Medina and Damascus in the early Islamic period and son of the more famous eulogist of the Prophet, Ḥassān b. ṬĤābit [q.v.]. He seems to have been born in ca. 6/627-8 or 7/628, and apart from visits to the Umayyad capital, to have spent most of his life in Medina. He died there, according to Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tahdhīb*, vi, 162-3, in ca. 104/722-3 at the age of 98 lunar years, long-lived like his father.



His father had latterly become a strong advocate of vengeance for 'Uthmān and a supporter of Mu'āwīya's cause, and 'Abd al-Raḥmān likewise became embroiled in the controversies of the day, including with the poet and supporter of the 'Alids, Kaṣṣ b. 'Amr al-Naǧāshī [q.v.]. 'Abd al-Raḥmān himself apparently was of a distinctly provocative and irascible nature, much given to satirising his contemporaries, and he also clashed with the Umayyad poet-prince 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥakam, brother of the future caliph Marwān (see *Aghānī*, xiii, 150-4, xiv, 123 f. = ed. Beirut, xiii, 279-86, xiv, 284 ff.), and then with the heir to the throne Yazīd b. Mu'āwīya over an alleged slight to the latter's sister in the *naṣīb* of one of 'Abd al-Raḥmān's poems (see Lammens, *Études sur le règne du calife omayyade Mo'awia I^{er}*, in *MFOB*, ii (1907), 149-51); the moderation of Mu'āwīya protected him from retaliation, although the incident may possibly have sharpened the satires of Yazīd's protégé al-Akḥḥāl [q.v.] against the Anṣār in general. 'Abd al-Raḥmān was also a companion of his younger Anṣārī contemporary, the poet 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Aḥwaṣ [q.v.]. Only fragments of his verses have survived; these are significant, however, as showing a transitional stage to the poetry of the Hīǧāzī school of al-Aḥwaṣ and then of 'Umar b. Abī Rabī'a [q.v.], though he was clearly inferior in poetic talent to his father.

'Abd al-Raḥmān's son Sa'īd was also a poet of this Hīǧāzī lyrical tradition, to judge by the few citations of his work in the *Aghānī* and other sources. He spent some of his career in the Hīǧāz and some in Syria at the court of Yazīd b. 'Abd al-Malik and then in the latter's son al-Walīd's circle during Hishām's caliphate; the date of his death is unknown. See R. Blachère, *Hist. de la litt. arabe*, iii, 625, and Sezgin, *GAŚ*, ii, 423.

Bibliography: There is no specific biography of 'Abd al-Raḥmān in the *Aghānī*, but see the *Tables alphabétiques* for references there to him. The scattered references of the *ṭabaḳāt* literature, etc., are given in Blachère, *op. cit.*, ii, 316-17, and Sezgin, ii, 422-3, see also Brockelmann, *S I*, 68, and Zirikī, *A'lām*, iv, 74. Of secondary literature, see in addition to the above, F. Schultess, *Über dem Dichter al-Naǧāṣī und einige Zeitgenossen*, in *ZDMG*, liv (1900), 421-74 (material from al-Zubayr b. Bakkar's *Muwaffakiyyāt*); Lammens, *loc. cit.*; and W. 'Arafat, *Diwān of Ḥassān ibn Thābit*, London 1971, i, Introd., 6-7. The surviving verses and fragments of 'Abd al-Raḥmān's poetic work have recently been gathered together by S. Makki al-Ānī, *Shīr 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥassān al-Anṣārī*, Baghdad 1971.

(C.E. BOSWORTH)

'ABD AL-RAZZĀK AL-LĀHIDJĪ [see LĀHIDJĪ].

'ABD AL-SALĀM B. MUḤAMMAD B. AḤMAD AL-ḤASANĪ AL-'ĀLAMĪ AL-FĀSĪ, Moroccan astronomer and physician of the 19th century who lived in Fās, dying there in 1313/1895. Like some others of his fellow-countrymen, he tried to improve the instruments used for calculating the hours of the prayers (*ṭawḳūt* [q.v.]), and he describes one of these invented by himself in his *Irshād al-khill li-ṭaḥkik al-sā'a bi-nub' al-shu'a' wa 'l-zill*. Besides some commentaries (in particular, on al-Wazzānī, called *Abda' al-yawākūt 'alā ṭahrīr al-mawākūt*, Fās 1326/1908), he wrote a *Dustūr abda' al-yawākūt 'alā ṭahrīr al-mawākūt* (ms. Rabat K 980), which aimed at being a general manual based in part on translations of western scientific works, which he had got to know about in Cairo, where he had gone to study medicine; on his return, he also wrote a commentary on the *Tadhkira*

of al-Anṭākī [q.v.], called *Diya' al-nibrās fī ḥall mufradāt al-antākī bi-lughat ahl Fās* (ed. Fās 1318/1900, 2nd edn., N.D.; with his treatise on haemorrhoids in the margins) and composed a reclassification of the material in this same work in *al-Tabṣira fī suḥūlat al-intifā' bi-muǧtarabāt al-Tadhkira*. He further wrote an *urǧūza* on surgery, but left unfinished a dictionary of technical terms found in medical works translated into Arabic. This author accordingly marks the transition between traditional medicine and the modern medicine, of which he had been able to acquire some idea during his stay in Cairo.

Bibliography: Ibn 'Abd Allāh, *al-Tibb wa 'l-aṭibbā' bi 'l-Maghrib*, Rabat 1380/1960, 86-9; M. Lakhdar, *La vie littéraire au Maroc*, Rabat 1971, 361-4 and bibl. given there. (Ed.)

'ABD AL-WAHHĀB BUKHĀRĪ, SHAYKH, Sūfī saint of Muslim India.

He was the son of Muḥammad al-Husaynī al-Bukhārī, the descendant of Sayyid Djalāl al-Dīn Bukhārī, who had come to Multān from Central Asia and then settled down in Učch at the instance of his *pīr*, Shaykh Bahā' al-Dīn Zakariyyā' Suhrawardī of Multān. His descendants became distinguished Suhrawardī saints during the latter half of the 8th/14th century owing to the eminence of Makhdūm Dījāhāniyān. 'Abd al-Wahhāb received his early religious instruction in Uchha and then went to Multān for higher education. He is reported to have studied the religious sciences under Shaykh Aḥmad Khattū in Aḥmadābād (in Guǧarāt). At an early age, he went to Arabia on pilgrimage and whilst there benefited from local scholars. On his return to India he settled down in Dihlī, as most of the Suhrawardī saints of Učch and Multān had moved there. He there became the *murīd* of Shaykh 'Abd Allāh Suhrawardī, the son of Shaykh Yūsuf Multānī and son-in-law of Sultan Bahlūl Lōdī. He also became an associate of Sultan Sikandar Lōdī. After some time, he left on the pilgrimage to Arabia for a second time. This time he went from Guǧarāt by ship, having on his previous trip travelled by land.

On his return to Āgra, in the beginning of the 10th/16th century. The Sultan accorded him a grand reception. In the year, 915/1509, he was sent to the Central Indian fort of Narwar (in modern Madhya Pradesh) which had been just been conquered and renamed by the Sultan *Ḥiṣār-i Muḥammad*, so that he could serve the religious cause there. Acting as *Shaykh al-Islām*, he supervised the construction of mosques and *madrasas*, and some mosque inscriptions contain his praise. In the same year, 'Abd al-Wahhāb Bukhārī completed his commentary on the *Kur'ān*, in which the meaning of every verse was explained from a Sūfī point of view. The work is not extant, and only a few extracts, quoted by Shaykh 'Abd al-Ḥaḳḳ in his *Akḥbār-al-akhyār*, are known.

'Abd al-Wahhāb Bukhārī's association with the Sultan enhanced his influence and prestige in the ruling class, and as a result, a number of scholars and Sūfis got stipends and land-grants from the state for their maintenance on his recommendation. But his relations with Sultan Sikandar Lōdī became strained towards the close of the latter's reign. It is said that on his arrival in Āgra from Narwar, the Shaykh advised the Sultan to grow a beard as it was not proper for a Muslim monarch to shave his beard. The sultan tried to avoid discussion over the matter by giving evasive replies. Against the royal wishes, the Shaykh insisted on eliciting a promise from the sultan. However, the sultan got annoyed and became quiet. On the departure of the Shaykh, he expressed his resent-



ment, remarking that he had become presumptuous over royal favour to him and that he did not know that it was because of this that people kissed his feet. When the Shaykh came to know of the sultan's remark through a courtier, he left Āgra in disgust and then spent the rest of his life in seclusion in Dihlī. He died in 931/1525 and was buried in Dihlī near the tomb of his *pīr*, Shaykh 'Abd Allāh.

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'ABD AL-WAHHĀB, ḤASAN HUSNĪ B. ŠĀLIḤ B. 'ABD AL-WAHHĀB B. YUSUF AL-SUMĀDIHĪ AL-TUḤḤIBĪ, born in Tunis 21 July 1884 and died at Salammbô in the suburbs of Tunis November 1968, was a polygraph and scholar born into a family of dignitaries and high officials of the Tunisian state. His eponymous grandfather, 'Abd al-Wahhāb b. Yūsuf, served in positions of administration and protocol in the entourage of the Beys while his father, Yūsuf b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb, a senior official and interpreter with various Tunisian delegations in Europe, occupied a number of administrative posts under the French Protectorate, including that of *ʿamil*, governor, of Gabès and of Mahdia; passionately interested in history, he wrote a history of Morocco that has never been published.

In 1904, on the death of his father, Ḥasan Husnī 'Abd al-Wahhāb was obliged to interrupt his short-lived higher studies in Paris where he was following a course in Political Science, for an administrative career in Tunis which was to last from 1905 to 1920.

Governor or *ʿamil* successively of Djabanyāna in 1925, Mahdia in 1928 and Nabeul in 1935, he exerted himself particularly in the extension of education and the diffusion of culture in these regions through the establishment of primary schools in the Caïdate of Djabanyāna, through weekly lectures on the history of Tunis which he himself gave in Mahdia, and through the provision of books for the libraries of this town and of Nabeul.

Returning to the central administration in Tunis, in 1939 he was given responsibility, having been pensioned off, for the supervision of the *Habous* (properties held in mortmain). From May 1943 to July 1947, he was minister of the Pen (Chancellery and Internal Affairs) of the last Bey of Tunis Lamine or al-Amīn I.

Following the independence of Tunisia, he directed, from 1957 to 1962, the Institute of Archaeology and Arts where he introduced young Tunisians to archaeological pursuits, founded five museums in different parts of the country, of which four were museums of Arab-Islamic art to which he donated the whole of his private collection, and at the same time stimulated artistic and archaeological activity by the publication of articles and the writing of prefaces to books which he encouraged and assisted scholars to write.

His vocation as historian of Tunisia, put into effect from 1905 onward by the courses in the history of Tunisia which he gave at the *Khaldūniyya* [q.v.] and in the history of Islam which he conducted at the École Supérieure de Langue et Littérature Arabes from 1913 to 1924, was assisted by his transfer in 1920 to the General Archives of Tunisia, where he

inaugurated a card-index system, then to the Supervision of *Habous*, and also by his work as governor in various parts of Tunisia, which enable him to gain a better acquaintance with the country, its recent history, its hitherto ignored cultural patrimony, its peoples, their ethnology and dialects. In 1933, he gave a series of lectures at the Institut des Études Islamiques at the University of Paris.

A member from its foundation in 1932 of the Arabic Language Academy of Cairo, in which he in effect represented the three countries of the Maghrib, he took an active part in the work of the various commissions, distinguishing himself by "an open-minded approach striving to conciliate modern needs with the norms of Muslim civilisation". He was also a member of the Academy of Damascus from its creation, of the Academy of Baghdad, a corresponding member of the French Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres from 1939, of the Egyptian Institute, and of the Madrid Academy of History, and of the executive committee of the *EI*.

As official delegate of the Tunisian government, he participated, from 1905, in the work of the majority of the International Congresses of Orientalists as well as in a number of seminars, which enabled him to forge fruitful and lasting relationships with numerous orientalists and oriental scholars.

While the title of Doctor *honoris causa* of the Academy of Cairo in 1950, and of the Academy of Algiers—then French—in 1960, confirmed the scholar's prestige, the Prize of the President of the Tunisian Republic crowned, on the very eve of the death of H.H. 'Abd al-Wahhāb (7 November 1968), the achievements of a long and hard-working life.

His works comprise:

(a). In Arabic: *al-Muntakhab al-madrasī min al-adab al-tūnī*, Tunis 1908, re-published in Cairo in 1944 and again in Tunis in 1968 in a new version under the title *al-Mudjmal: Bisāt al-ʿaḳk fī ḥadārat al-Kayrawān wa shāʿiriḥā Ibn Rashīk*, Tunis 1912; *Khulāṣat tārīkh Tūnis*, a summary of the history of Tunisia, published three times between 1918 and 1953 and brought up to date with each edition; *al-Irshād ilā kawāʿid al-iktisād*, Tunis 1919; *Shahīrāt al-tūnisīyāt*, Tunis 1934, 2nd ed. 1966; *al-Tārī*, in *al-Maḍjalla al-ʿaytūniyya*, Tunis, May 1940; *Nisām Ibn Yaʿkūb*, in *al-Nadwa*, Tunis, January 1953; *al-ʿInāya bi ʿl-kutub wa-ḍamʿihā fī Ifrīkiyā* *al-tūnisīyya*, in *RIMA*, i, (1955), 72-90; *al-Imām al-Māzārī*, Tunis 1955; *Warakāt ʿan al-ḥadāra al-ʿarabiyya bi-Ifrīkiya al-tūnisīyya*, Tunis 1965-72 (3 vols.); *al-ʿArab wa ʿl-ʿumrān bi-Ifrīkiya*, in *al-Fikr* (Dec. 1968), 28-31.

(b). In French: *La domination musulmane en Sicile*, Tunis 1905; *Coup d'oeil général sur les apports ethniques étrangers en Tunisie*, Tunis 1917; *Le développement de la musique arabe en Orient, au Maghreb et en Espagne*, Tunis 1918; *Un témoin de la conquête arabe de l'Espagne*, Tunis 1932; *Deux dinars normands frappés à Mahdia*, in *RT* (1930), 215-18; *Un tournant de l'histoire aghlabide, l'insurrection de Manṣūr Tunbudhī, seigneur de la Muḥammadiyya*, in *ibid.* (1937), 343-52; *Du nom arabe de la Byzacène*, in *ibid.* (1939), 199-201; *Villes arabes disparues*, in *Mélanges W. Marçais*, Paris 1950, 1-15; *Le régime foncier en Sicile au Moyen-Age (IX^e et X^e s.)*, ed. and tr. of the *K. al-Amwāl* of al-Dāwūdī (in collaboration with F. Dachraoui), in *Études d'Orientalisme dédiées à la mémoire d'E. Lévi-Provençal*, Paris 1962, ii, 401-44.

(c). Editions of texts: *Aʿmāl al-aʿlām of Ibn al-Khaṭīb* (section relative to Ifrīkiya and to Sicily), in *Centenario della nascita di M. Amari*, Palermo 1910,



ii, 423-94; *Rasā’il al-intikād* of Ibn Sharaf, Damascus 1912; *Malḳā al-sabīl* of al-Ma‘arrī, Damascus 1912; *Wasf Ifrikiya wa-l-Andalus* of Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-‘Umarī, Tunis 1920; *Kitāb Yaf‘ūl* of al-Sāghānī, Tunis 1924; *al-Tabaṣṣur bi-l-tiḍjāra* of al-Djāhiz, Damascus 1933, Cairo 1935 and Beirut 1966; *Adab al-mu‘allimīn* of Muḥammad b. Saḥnūn, Tunis 1934; *al-Djūmāna fī izālat al-raṭāna*, anon., Cairo 1953; *Rihla* of al-Tiḍjānī, Tunis 1958.

His works also include a number of articles in Arabic and in French, some of them still unpublished, the others appearing in the *Encyclopaedia of Islām* and in periodicals of Tunisia, Europe and the Orient (see *al-Fikr* [Dec. 1968], 96, with a list of his articles published by this journal, some of which, as well as some of the titles mentioned above, have been reproduced in *Warakāt*, either because they are in a suitable context there or because their original edition has been exhausted).

Manuals or monographs, these works are for the most part dedicated to Arab history and civilisation in Tunisia in a perspective which embraces literature and also linguistic and religious studies, without however neglecting the “exact sciences” and the arts. They prefigure the author’s greatest work, the fruit of sixty years of patient research, his *Kitāb al-‘Umr*, the “work of his life”, a posthumous work in several still unpublished volumes, a collection of biographical notes on some thousand scholars and men of letters who lived and worked in Tunisia since the Arab conquest, which he seems already to have foreshadowed in 1953 under the title *Ta’rīkh Tunis al-kabīr* “Great history of Tunisia” (Preface to the 3rd ed. of *Khulāṣat ta’rīkh Tunis*), and publication of which he had entrusted to a Tunisian scholar M. el Aroussi el Metou (see especially *al-Fikr* [Dec. 1968], 86).

His only known experiment in the fictional genre, a short story, *Dernière veille à Grenade*, written in French (in *La Renaissance nord-africaine*, Tunis no. 3, March 1905) and translated into Arabic (by Hamadi Sahli in *Kisās*, Tunis, no. 17, Oct. 1970), prefigures the concern motivating him, in all his studies, for the revival of Arab-Muslim civilisation; in addition, he reveals gifts as a writer whose style and poetic imagination have already been noted (see Ch. Bouyahia, review of *Warakāt*, ii, in *Hawliyyāt al-Djāmi‘a al-Tūnisīyya*, iv [1967], 166-70).

Through the abundant wealth of his scientific contribution, which goes beyond the Tunisian domain into the broader spheres of Arab-Muslim culture, through the clarity of expression, the tautness and elegance of style, the work of H. H. ‘Abd al-Wahhāb, so varied in its unity, has already inspired and guided generations of scholars. Moreover, the influence of the scholar and the master, whose *maḍlīs*, the last of its kind perhaps in Tunisia, was a veritable school, continues to be felt today, thanks to his collection of manuscripts, some thousand volumes strong, which he presented to the National Library of Tunis, where they constitute the bequest that bears his name (see catalogue published in *Hawliyyāt al-Djāmi‘a al-Tūnisīyya*, vii [1970], 133-272 and the announcement of the gift in his speech accepting the Prize of the President of the Republic of Tunisia, in *al-Fikr* [Dec. 1968], 85-7).

Bibliography: (in addition to references given in the article): For H. H. ‘Abd al-Wahhāb’s life: the sole source is his *Autobiography*, which appeared mainly in the Tunis daily *al-‘Amal* for 8 Nov. 1968; *al-Fikr*, Dec. 1968, 87-95; *Hawliyyāt al-Djāmi‘a al-Tūnisīyya*, vi (1969), 35-55; *War-*

kāt, iii, 1972, 11-29; largely used by Muḥammad Mahdī ‘Allām, *al-Maḍjma‘iyyūn*, Cairo 1966, 66-8, and by Hilāl Nādjī, *Hasan Husnī ‘Abd al-Wahhāb*, in *al-Adīb*, Beirut, April 1967; and resumed in *al-Fikr* (Nov. 1968), 6-7; For his works: Ch. Bouyahia, reviews of the 3 vols. of *Warakāt*, in *Hawliyyāt* . . . , iii (1966), 215-27; iv (1967), 161-70; xi (1974), 275-94; idem, *Hasan Husnī ‘Abd al-Wahhāb* in *Hawliyyāt* . . . , vi (1969), 7-9; M. Chemli, review of *Shahīrāt al-tūnisīyyāt*, in *Hawliyyāt* . . . , iii (1966), 287-92; R. Hamzaoui, *Masālik al-lughā min khilāl hayāt H. H. ‘Abd al-Wahhāb wa a’mālīh bi-Maḍjma‘ al-lughā al-‘arabiyya*, in *Hawliyyāt* . . . , iv (1969), 11-33; idem, *L’Académie de langue arabe du Caire, histoire et œuvre*, Tunis 1975, 97-9, and index; see also Sarkīs, *Muḍjam al-maḥbū‘āt*, Cairo 1928, 758-9; Muḥammad Maṣmūlī, H. H. ‘Abd al-Wahhāb *hal māt?* in *al-Fikr*, (Dec. 1968), 38-42; Ch. Klibi, in *ibid.*, 76-82; A. Demeerseman, *In memoriam*, in *IBLA*, 1968, No. 2, pp. i-iv.

(Ch. BOUYAHIA)

ABDELKADER [see ‘ABD AL-KĀDIR].

ABDICATION [see TANĀZUL].

ABJURATION [see MURTADD].

ABKARIUS [see ISKANDAR AGHA].

ABROGATION [see NĀSIKH WA-MANSŪKH].

ABSOLUTION [see KAFFĀRA].

ABSTINENCE [see TABATTUL].

ABU ‘L-‘ABBĀS AḤMAD B. ‘ABD ALLĀH [see ABŪ MAḤALLĪ].

ABU ‘L-‘ABBĀS AL-A‘MĀ [see AL-A‘MĀ AL-TUTĪLĪ].

ABŪ ‘ABD ALLĀH AL-BAṢRĪ, AL-ḤUSAYN B. ‘ALĪ B. IBRĀHĪM AL-KĀGHĀDĪ, called (AL-)DJU‘AL, “Dung-beetle”, influential Mu‘tazilī theologian and Hanafī jurist, died 2 Dhu ‘l-Hiḍjja 369/19 June 980 in Baghdād. He was born in Baṣra, at an uncertain date (293/905-6 according to *Ta’rīkh Baghdād*, viii, 73, ll. 20 ff., following ‘Alī b. al-Muḥassin al-Tanūkhī and Hilāl al-Sābi; 308/920-1 according to the *Fihrist*, ed. Flügel, 174, pu.; 289/902 according to Safadī, cf. Kaḥḥāla, *Muḍjam al-mu‘allifīn*, iv, 27, n. 1). The nickname Dju‘al is not used in Mu‘tazilī or Hanafī sources.

He left Baṣra at an early age, possibly forced by the constant danger presented by the Ḳarmathians [see ḲARMAṬĪ] since 311/923. He entertained contacts with the representatives of the Baṣran school of the Mu‘tazila who lived now in ‘Askar Mukram in Khūzistān, with Abū Hāshim (died 321/933) and especially with Abū Hāshim’s disciple Ibn Khallād [q.v.]. But he lived mainly in Baghdād, where he studied Hanafī law with Abū ‘l-Ḥasan al-Karkhī (died 340/952; cf. *GAŚ*, I, 444). With respect to his theological views, he was isolated there; during the late years of al-Khayyāt (died ca. 300/913 [q.v.]) the Mu‘tazila had lost much of its prestige, perhaps due to the scandal caused by the books of Ibn al-Rāwandī [q.v.], and the wing of the school which still maintained some influence in the capital, namely Ibn al-Ikshīd (270-326/883-938 [q.v.]) with his disciples, strongly opposed Abū Hāshim’s ideas. Abū ‘Abd Allāh therefore suffered serious deprivation during his studies (cf. the stories in Kaḍī ‘Abd al-Djabbār, *Faḍl al-‘itizāl*, ed. Fu‘ād Sayyid, 325, pu. ff.; also in Ibn al-Murtaḍā, *Tabakāt al-Mu‘tazila*, 105, ll. 15 ff.). His teacher Abū ‘l-Ḥasan al-Karkhī entertained relations with the Hamdānīd Sayf al-Dawla (333-56/944-67) who rivalled with the Būyids in the game for political power in ‘Irāk (cf. *Faḍl al-‘itizāl*, 326, ll. 17 f.); when he suffered from a stroke in 340/952, his disciples, among them Abū ‘Abd Allāh, ap-

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proached the prince for financial support (cf. *Ta'rikh Baghdad*, x, 355, ll. 4 ff.). This may have initiated or at least strengthened those moderate Shī'ī leanings for which Abū 'Abd Allāh became well-known afterwards. He used them, however, in order to win the favour of Būyid and Zaydī circles which had become decisive after Mu'izz al-Dawla had succeeded in taking over Baghdad in 334/945. He found support with Mu'izz al-Dawla's *wazīr* al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Muhallabī (339-52/950-63; cf. Hamdānī, *Takmilat Ta'rikh al-Tabarī*, ed. Kan'ān, 186, ll. 13 ff., and Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawhīdī, *al-Imtā' wa 'l-mu'ānasa*, iii, 213, l. 10), who liked to surround himself with jurists (cf. Tha'ālībī, *Tatimat al-dahr*, ed. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, ii, 336, ult. ff.). Mu'izz al-Dawla himself did penitence in his presence during his last disease, in 356/967 (cf. Hamdānī, 192, apu. ff.). He gave private lessons in *kalām* to the Zaydī pretender Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan (304-59/916-70) whom he managed to persuade, at the instigation of Mu'izz al-Dawla, to become *nakīb al-aḥrāf* in 349/960 (cf. al-Ḥakīm al-Djushamī, *Sharḥ al-'uyūn*, ed. Fu'ād Sayyid, Tunis 1974, 372, ll. 16 ff.; Hamdānī, 188, l. 16; Ibn 'Inaba, *Umdat al-tālib*, Naḍjaf 1380/1961, 84, ult. ff.). When his disciple proclaimed himself *imām* in Gilān under the title al-Mahdī li-dīn Allāh in 353/964, Abū 'Abd Allāh saw himself exposed to persecution by the mob of al-Karkh who had been instigated against him by a member of the 'Alid aristocracy, but his great prestige even among those who did not share his political leanings, saved him from the banishment planned by the government (cf. al-Nāṭik bi 'l-ḥaḳḳ, *al-Ifāda fī ta'rikh al-a'mma al-sāda*, ms. Leiden Or. 8404, fol. 63b, ll. 5 ff.; shorter version also in al-Ḥakīm al-Djushamī, 372, apu. ff.). Later on he counted among his pupils Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Mu'ayyad billāh (333-411/944-1020) and his brother Abū Ṭālib al-Nāṭik bi 'l-ḥaḳḳ (340-424/951-1033) who, although originating from an Imāmī family, took up the Zaydī claims in the Caspian region (cf. Madelung, *Der Imam al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm*, Berlin 1965, 177 ff.).

Of greatest importance for his school and for the victory of Abū Ḥāshim's ideas was his friendship with the Ṣāhib Ibn 'Abbād, whom he may have met when he came to Baghdad in 347/958 with Mu'ayyid al-Dawla, and whom he hailed as the "support of religion" (*imād al-dīn*) or even as the expected Mahdī, although in the latter case only in a metaphorical sense. This must be dated to the year 366/976 or somewhat later, when the Ṣāhib had been nominated *wazīr* by Mu'ayyid al-Dawla in Rayy. He ordered Abū 'Abd Allāh's epistle to be reproduced in golden letters and sent it among other gifts to Kābūs b. Wushmgīr [q.v.] who took over power in Tabaristān and Gurgān in the same year (cf. Tawhīdī, *Aḥlāk al-wazīrayn*, ed. Faṅḡjī, 202, ll. 3 ff. and 208, ll. 6 ff.). He addressed Abū 'Abd Allāh with the title *al-shaykh al-murshid* and agreed, in 367/978, on his recommendation to take over into his service his most promising disciple, 'Abd al-Djabbār b. Aḥmad [q.v.], the later *kādī al-ḥudūd* of Rayy. Abū 'Abd Allāh, at the peak of his influence, seems to have been in ill health; Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawhīdī remembered having seen him in 360/971, on the occasion of a reception for scholars given by 'Izz al-Dawla, when the guests were conducted to him and when he was too weak to answer an attack launched at him by his colleague 'Alī b. 'Isā al-Rummānī, who represented the school of Ibn al-Ikshīd (cf. *Aḥlāk al-wazīrayn*, 202, ll. 11 ff.). He was buried in the *turba* of his teacher al-Karkhī; the mourning prayer had been said by the Mu'tazilī grammarian Abū 'Alī

al-Fārisī (286-377/900-87) who was in his eighties himself (cf. *Ta'rikh Baghdad*, viii, 73, l. 19 and 74, l. 2).

Abū Ḥayyān did not like him, just as he disliked everybody connected with the Ṣāhib Ibn 'Abbād. In his *Imtā'* (i, 140, ll. 3 ff.) he gives a sharp-sighted characterisation of Abū 'Abd Allāh's personality: imaginative, but bad in rhetorics and awkward in discussion; avid of wealth and prestige, but strongly committed to his "people"; skilfully using his political influence—a typical social climber. Several times he stresses the fact that Abū 'l-Kāsim 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. 'Allāh al-Wāsiṭī, who seems to have been Abū 'Abd Allāh's closest assistant for some time (cf. *Faḍl al-'iṣṣāl*, 329, l. 9), left him out of personal disgust (cf. *Imtā'*, i, 140, ll. 10 ff., and ii, 175, ll. 10 ff.; *Aḥlāk*, 213, ll. 5 ff.). He also mentions a number of other disciples (*Aḥlāk*, 202, ll. 7 ff.), most of them young people from Ḳhurāsān (*ibid.*, 210, ll. 12 f.), whom he calls a "bunch of unbelievers" and whose names were, as a matter of fact, usually not taken over into the Mu'tazilī *ṭabakāt*-literature. This bad reputation is perhaps to be explained by a certain trend towards scepticism (*takāfu' al-adilla*) for which at least one of them, Abū Ishāḳ Ibrāhīm b. 'Alī al-Naṣībī, was well known (cf., e.g., Tawhīdī, *Mukābasāt*, ed. Muḥ. Tawfīk Ḥusayn, Baghdad 1970, 159 f.), and which Abū Ḥayyān tries to impute to Abū 'Abd Allāh, too (cf. *Aḥlāk*, 212, ll. 5 ff., with reference to a conversation between Abū 'Abd Allāh and Abū Sulaymān al-Mantīḳī).

Abū 'Abd Allāh's ideas have to be reconstructed mainly from the numerous quotations found in the works of Kādī 'Abd al-Djabbār. The Kādī recognises his indebtedness himself (cf. *Mughnī*, xx², 257, ll. 4 ff.), although frequently he did not share his teacher's opinions. He dictated some of his books in the presence of Abū 'Abd Allāh, obviously when he lived in his house in Baghdad (cf. al-Ḥakīm al-Djushamī, *Sharḥ al-'uyūn*, 366, ll. 5 f.); when he began his *Mughnī*, Abū 'Abd Allāh was still alive (cf. xx², 258, ll. 8 ff.). A full evaluation of Abū 'Abd Allāh's originality is, however, not yet possible. We get quite a lot of information about his pro-Shī'ī (Zaydī) arguments which he proffered in his *K. al-Tafḍīl* (for the title, cf. Ibn al-Murtaḍā, *Ṭabakāt al-Mu'tazila*, 107, l. 5). He based himself mainly on Shī'ī traditions, the trustworthiness of which he tried to prove with rational speculations about their historicity. Moreover, he practiced what was called *muwāzanat al-a'māl*, i.e. he weighed the virtues of 'Alī and Abū Bakr against each other. In this he seems to have taken up the arguments of al-Iskāfī (died 240/854 [q.v.]), and he had to criticise Abū 'Alī al-Djubbārī; he obviously avoided, however, open disagreement with Abū Ḥāshim (cf. *Mughnī*, xx¹, 216, ll. 7 ff.; 223, ll. 6 f.; 241, ll. 17 ff.; xx², 120, ll. 13 ff.; 122, ll. 3 ff.; 124, ll. 7 ff.; 125, ll. 4 ff.; 131, ll. 3 ff.; 132, ll. 19 ff.; 140, ll. 3 ff.). He never made any concessions to *rufd*; he drew Mu'izz al-Dawla's attention to the fact that 'Umar had accepted Islam very early and that 'Alī had given his daughter Umm Kulthūm in marriage to him (cf. Hamdānī, *Takmila*, 192, ult. ff.).

He showed great interest in epistemology, probably because of the fact that Abū 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Ka'b al-Anṣārī, a member of the rival school of Ibn al-Ikshīd, still defended the ideas of al-Djāhīz in his circle, among them certainly al-Djāhīz's famous apriorism (cf. Tawhīdī, *Aḥlāk*, 203; for al-Djāhīz, van Ess, in *Isl.*, xlii (1966), 169 ff. and Vajda in *SI*, xxiv (1966) 19 ff.). He transmitted Djubbārī's *K. Naḳḍ al-ma'rifa*, a critique of Djāhīz's *K. al-Ma'rifa*,



and added remarks to it, obviously in his own *K. al-Ma'rifa* (cf. *Fihrist*, ed. Flügel, 175, ll. 4 f.), which were taken over by the Kādī 'Abd al-Djabbār in his *Ta'lik Nakd al-ma'rifa* (cf. Hākim al-Djushamī, 367, ll. 10 f.). The book is quoted in *Mughnī*, xii, 131, ll. 19 ff.; the other numerous references (cf. *Mughnī*, xii, 9, ll. 7 ff.; 11, ll. 16 ff.; 12, ll. 11 ff.; 28, ll. 9 ff.; 33, ll. 5 ff.; 46, ll. 5 ff.; 75, ll. 13 ff.; 81, ll. 5 ff.; 102, ll. 8 ff.; 118, ll. 6 ff.; 133, ll. 13 ff.; 187, ll. 18 ff.; 372, ll. 15 ff.; 442, ll. 12 ff.; 446, ll. 10 ff.; 513, ll. 15 ff.; 521, ll. 6 ff.; 532, ll. 5 ff.) may equally well go back to his *K. al-'Ulūm* which is explicitly mentioned in *Mughnī*, xii, 235, l. 16.

In juridical hermeneutics, he departed from Abu 'l-Hasan al-Karkhī's ideas. But he seems to have surpassed his teacher in many respects. Some of his views are quoted with the additional remark that he had them 'an Abi 'l-Hasan; frequently, however, his name is mentioned alone. He impressed later generations with the precision of some of his definitions, but also with subtle speculations on 'amm and khāss, on idmā', on the ratio legis ('illa) in kiyās, on akhbār, on naskh (which, in contrast to many of his contemporaries, he also allowed concerning hadith), etc. Numerous, although scattered, material is found in *Mughnī*, xvii, in Abu 'l-Ḥusayn al-Basrī's [q.v.] *Mu'tamad fī usūl al-fikh* (cf. the index), and in an as yet unidentified work on *usūl al-fikh* preserved in the Vatican library (Ms. Vat. arab. 1100; cf. Levi Della Vida, *Elenco dei manoscritti*, 145 f., and Madelung, *Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm*, 179 f.). Abū 'Abd Allāh's own works in this domain, among them a *K. al-Uṣūl* and a *K. Nakd al-futū'a* (cf. *Fadl al-ʿitizāl*, 326, l. 20), seem to be lost. In the "ethical" chapters of *usūl al-fikh*, he circumscribed, like Kādī 'Abd al-Djabbār, the good only in a privative way (cf. 'Abd al-Djabbār, *al-Muḥīṭ*, ed. 'Azmi, 239, ll. 13 ff.); the affirmative definition was apparently reserved for evil, which received the greater share of attention. Evil is never chosen by man for the sake of itself, but only when he sees a need for it (cf. G. Hourani, *Islamic rationalism*, Oxford 1972, 95). Whereas Djubbārī and Abū Hāshim believed that the state of mind of an agent determines the quality of evil (evil becoming neutral when performed during sleep or in the state of unconsciousness), Abū 'Abd Allāh upheld a more differentiated position (cf. *ibid.*, 41 f.). His ideas on *furū'* were formulated in his commentary on Karkhī's *Mukhtasar*, but also in some monographs where he treated the lawfulness of drinking *nabīdh* or of performing one's prayer in Persian (two typical Ḥanafī tenets) and the *mu'ta* marriage (which he deemed unlawful, in accordance with Zaydī *fikh* and in disagreement with Imāmī opinion; cf. *Fihrist*, 208, pu. f.).

In theology proper, he followed the line of the Basran school. Only a few personal traits can be recognised with sufficient certainty. In at least three treatises he attacked the doctrine of the eternity of the world, two of them focussing their polemics on special persons, Ibn al-Rāwandī and al-Rāzī (cf. *Fihrist*, 175, ll. 3 f.; 174, ult. f.; 175, l. 2). When he explained creation as an act of thinking (*fikr*) in order to avoid all material connotations, he seems to have taken philosophical critique into consideration (cf. Kādī 'Abd al-Djabbār, *Sharḥ al-usūl al-khamsa* 548, ll. 11 ff.; *Muḥīṭ*, 332, ll. 15 f.). He attacked al-Rāzī also for his book against Abū 'l-Kāsim al-Balkhī, probably about divine knowledge (cf. *Fihrist*, 175, ll. 1 f., and *Abi Bakr Rhagensis opera philosophica*, ed. P. Kraus, 167 f.). He did not accept the idea of *lutf*; we never know whether an event

which we interpret as a special "grace" (*lutf*) for somebody is not the ruin of somebody else (cf. *Mughnī*, xiii, 67, ll. 15 ff.; also 155, ll. 4 ff.; obviously both quotations from his *K. al-Aṣṭaḥ*, together with xiv, 62, ll. 12 f.). He refuted Ash'arī's *K. al-Mūdīz* (cf. al-Nāṭik bi 'l-hakk, *Ifāda*, fol. 63a, ll. 5 ff. and Kādī 'Abd al-Djabbār, *al-Muḥīṭ*, 344, l. 4; also al-Hākim al-Djushamī, 372, ll. 1 f., where *nakd* is to be read instead of *ba'd*; R. McCarthy, *The theology of al-Ash'arī*, Beirut 1953, 167, 211 f., 229). Altogether, more than 20 titles of books can be traced.

Bibliography: 1. Primary sources. Kādī 'Abd al-Djabbār, *Fadl al-ʿitizāl*, 325 ff.; idem, *Taḥbīt dalā'il al-nubuwwa*, ed. 'Abd al-Karīm 'Uthmān, 627, ll. 10 ff.; Abū Rashīd in A. Biram, *Die atomistische Substanzenlehre aus dem Buch der Streitfragen zwischen Basrensem und Bagdadensem*, Berlin 1902, 27 and 73, n. 2; Ibn al-Murtaḍā, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Mu'tazila* 105 f.; *Ta'rikh Baghdad*, viii, 73 f. no. 4153 (on which depend Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntazam*, viii, 101, no. 131 and Ibn Hajar, *Lisān al-mīzān*, ll. 303, ll. 6 ff.); Hamdānī, *Takmilat Ta'rikh al-Jabarī*, Index s.v. al-Basrī; Shīrāzī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-fukahā'*, ed. 'Abbās, Beirut 1970, 143, pu. f. (on which depends Ibn al-Imād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, iii, 68, ll. 4 f.); Ibn Abi 'l-Wafā', *al-Dhawāhir al-mudī'a*, ii, 260, no. 140 (erroneously under Abu 'l-'Alā'); Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, ed. Flügel, 174, ll. 21 f. (among the theologians), and 208, ll. 26 ff. (among the jurists); Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawhīdī, *Akhḫāl al-waṣṭayn*, ed. Tangjī, Damascus 1965, 200 ff.; idem, *al-Imtā' wa 'l-mu'ānasa*, i, 140, ii, 175, iii, 213; Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nuḍūm al-zāhira*, Cairo 1348 ff., iv, 135, ll. 13 ff.; Dhahabī, *Siyar a'lām al-nubalā'* (ms.); Šafadī, *al-Wāfi bi 'l-wafayāt* (ms.); Ziriklī, *al-A'lām*, ii, 266; Kaḥḥāla, *Muḍjam al-mu'allifīn*, iv, 27 (and iv, 19; with wrong name and date of death); 2. Studies. M. Horten, *Die philosophischen Systeme der spekulativen Theologen im Islam*, Bonn 1918, 443 f.; W. Madelung, *Der Imām al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm*, Berlin 1965, index s.v.; Ihsān 'Abbās, in *al-Abḥāth*, xix (1966), 189 ff.; H. Busse, *Chalif und Grosskönig*, Beirut 1969, 439 ff.; G. Hourani, *Islamic rationalism*, Oxford 1972, index s.v.; J. Peters, *God's created speech*, Leiden 1976, index s.v.

(J. VAN ESS)

ABU 'L-'ALĀ' AL-RABA'Ī [see ŠĀ'ID AL-BAGHDĀDĪ].

ABŪ 'ALĪ AL-FADL B. MUḤAMMAD AL-MURSHID AL-FĀRMADĪ, one of the greatest Šūfī masters of the 5th/11th century, born in 402/1011-12 at Fārmad, a small town in the vicinity of Tūs in Khurāsān, and the contemporary of the caliph al-Kādir and the Saljuq princes Toghril, Alp Arslan and Malik Shāh. He was highly respected by various political and religious dignitaries, including by the celebrated minister of the Saljuqs, Nizām al-Mulk, who sought his advice and his spiritual favour. He was also respected as an eloquent preacher, and appreciated for his breadth of knowledge and the beauty of his oratorical language. He approached Sūfism after profound studies in the religious sciences, and can therefore be classified as one of the scholarly mystics. When he came to Nishāpūr, he became one of Abū 'l-Kāsim Kūshayrī's circle of students, and it seems to have been the latter who turned him towards preaching and who stimulated him to study profoundly the religious sciences. In his Šūfī training, he was directed spiritually by two great masters, Abū 'l-Kāsim Djurdjānī and Abū 'l-Hasan Kharakānī [q.v.]. The author of the *Asrār al-tawḥīd* relates in an

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anecdotal form the circumstances of al-Fārmadī's adhesion to Sūfism under Kuṣhayrī's direction first of all, and then under that of Ḍjurdjānī, who encouraged him to preach from the pulpit and later gave him the hand of his daughter in marriage. None of al-Fārmadī's works remain, apart from a few brief poems in Arabic and a few sentences displaying his philosophy and thought. However, his influence on cultural life and mysticism can be gauged from the fact that the *Imām al-Ḡhazālī* [q.v.] was one of his pupils and cites traditions on his authority. He was accordingly considered as the greatest Sūfī luminary of his age, who lustre is seen in the fame of his great disciple. Al-Fārmadī died in his native town in 477/1080.

Bibliography: Muḥammad b. al-Munawwar, *Asrār al-lawḥid*, ed. Ḍhabīb Allāh Safā', Tehran 1332/1953, 128-31, 196-7, 199-200, tr. M. Achena, *Les étapes mystiques du shaykh Abu Sa'īd*, Paris 1974, 136-8, 186, 189; Ḍjāmī, *Nafahāt al-uns*, 368; Ma'sūm 'Alī Shāh, *Tarā'ik al-hakā'ik*, 1339/1921, ii, 308, 322, 350, 352-5; *Nāma-yi dānishvarān*, Tehran 1959, vii, 306. (M. ACHENA)

ABŪ 'ALĪ AL-FĀRISĪ [see AL-FĀRISĪ].

ABŪ 'ALĪ AL-YŪSĪ [see AL-YŪSĪ].

ABŪ 'L-'AMAYṬHAL, 'ABD ALLĀH B. KHULAYD B. SA'D (d. 240/854), a minor poet who claimed to be a *mawlā* of the Banū Hāshim and who was originally from Rayy. He was in Khurāsān in the service of Ṭāhir b. al-Husayn [q.v.] as a secretary and as tutor to Ṭāhir's son 'Abd Allāh, whose children he further tutored and whose secretary and also librarian he was. In particular, he had the duty of judging the value of the poems addressed to his master, and it was in this capacity that he came to reject a poem by Abū Tammām, who protested violently. He was, indeed, very much attached to the classical ways, and it was doubtless for this reason that al-Ma'mūn so appreciated his poetic work, finding it superior to that of Ḍjarir. Bedouin in tradition and classical in mould, this poetry was largely made up of eulogies of the two Ṭāhirids, though nothing has survived of his poems addressed to Ṭāhir. His *diwān* amounted to 100 leaves, according to the *Fihrist*, 234, and also contained eulogies of the sons of Sahl, al-Ḥasan and al-Faḍl.

Abu 'l-'Amayṭhal ranks equally as a philologist, to whom various works of a technical character are attributed, sc. the *K. al-Tashābuh* (al-Tashābih?), *K. al-Abyāt al-sā'ira* and *K. Ma'ānī 'l-ghūr*; F. Krenkow published in 1925 his *K. al-Ma'thūr fī-mā'ttafaka lafẓuhu wa-khtalafa ma'nāhu*.

Bibliography: Ḍjāhiz, *Bayān*, i, 280; idem, *Hayāwan*, i, 155, vi, 316 where, unless the text is corrupt, he is curiously described as a *rādijiz*; Ibn Ṭayfūr, *K. Baghdad*, Cairo 1368/1949, 164; Ibn Kutayba, *Uyūn*, i, 85; Ibn al-Mu'tazz, *Tabakāt*, 135-6; *Fihrist*, 72-3, 234; Kālī, *Amālī*, i, 98; Bakrī, *Simt al-lu'ālī*, 308 and index; Āmidī, *Muwāzana*, Cairo 1961-5, i, 20-1; Marzubānī, *Muwashshah*, 14; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, No. 344, tr. de Slane, ii, 55-7; al-Rāghib al-Isfahānī, *Muhādārāt*, i, 102; Ibn 'Abd Rabbihī, *Ikḍ*, i, 59; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, iii, 832, iv, 796; Iḥshānī, *Mustaṭraf*, i, 84; Yāfī', *Mir'āt al-djānān*, ii, 130-1; Nuwayrī, *Nihāya*, vi, 85; Ibn Abī Ṭāhir Ṭayfūr, *K. Baghdad*, Cairo 1368/1949, 164; Brockelmann, S I, 195; C.E. Bosworth, *The Ṭāhirids and Arabic culture*, in *JSS*, xiv (1969), 58; J.E. Bencheikh, *Les voies d'une création*, Sorbonne thesis 1971, unpubl., 108 and index. (Ed.)

ABŪ 'AMMĀR 'ABD AL-KĀFĪ B. ABĪ YA'KŪB B. ISMĀ'ĪL AL-T(A)NĀW(A)TĪ, Ibādī theologian who

lived in the middle of the 6th/13th century. He studied in the oasis of Wargla/Wardjlan (in modern Algeria) with Abū Zakariyyā' Yahyā b. Abī Bakr, the famous Ibādī historian (cf. *ET*², I, 167), and also in Tunis, with what must have been Sunnī authorities there. He was a tribesman, and as such he does not entirely fit the model of the bourgeois scholar; he is reported to have come with his herds to the Mzāb and to have proselytised among the tribes of that region, one which was to become a stronghold of Ibādī faith later on.

His main work is the *K. al-Mūḍjiz (Mūḍjaz?) fī taḥṣīl al-su'āl wa-taḥḥīṣ al-dalāl* (or *wa-taḥḥīṣ al-makāl*), a rather voluminous manual of Ibādī theology and polemics against contrary opinions (for its contents cf. *ZDMG*, cxxvi (1976), 56 f.; for manuscripts, cf. *ibid.*, 56; Kubiak, in *RIMA*, (1959), 21, no. 26; Schacht, in *Revue Africaine*, c (1956), 391, no. 80; also in the libraries of Maḥfūz 'Alī al-Bārūnī, Djerba, and Ayyūb Muḥammad, Ḍjannāwan, Ḍjādju; 'Ammār Ṭālibī, Univ. of Algiers, is preparing an edition). In addition, he wrote a commentary to the anonymous *K. al-Ḍjāhālāt*, a brief collection of questions and answers used by Ibādī missionaries for theological discussion (cf. *ZDMG*, cxxvi (1976), 43 ff.). His *K. al-Istīlā'a* seems to be lost. In *fikh* he dealt with the law of inheritance; his *K. al-Farā'id* exists in a printed edition (cf. Schacht in *Rev. Afr.*, c (1956), 387, no. 52). Among his historical works are a *K. al-Siyar* (for mss., cf. Schacht, *op. cit.*, 141, and Lewicki, in *RO*, xi (1935), 165 n. 7; preserved?) and a *Mukhtaṣar ṭabakāt al-mashāyikh* (cf. Ennami, in *JSS*, xv (1971), 86, no. 17-1, and note by van Ess in *ZDMG*, cxxvi (1976), 57). An epistle concerning the problem of *al-wa'd wa 'l-wa'id* addressed to him by a certain 'Abd al-Wahhāb b. Muḥammad b. Ḍḥālib b. Numayr al-Anṣārī was incorporated by his contemporary Abū Ya'kūb Yūsuf b. Ibrāhīm al-Wardjlanī (died 570/1174; cf. *GAL*, S I, 692) into his *K. ad-Dalīl li-ahl al-ukūl* (cf. lith. Cairo 1306, 54-72).

Bibliography: (apart from the references mentioned in the article): Shammākhī, *Siyar* (lith. Cairo 1301/1883), 441 ff.; A. de C. Motylinski, in *Bull. Corr. Afr.*, iii (1885), 27, no. 68; T. Lewicki, in *REI*, viii (1934), 278, in *Fol. Or.*, iii (1961), 33 ff., and in *Cahiers d'histoire mondiale*, xiii (1971), 86; A. Kh. Ennami, *Studies in Ibādism* (Diss. Cambridge 1971, unpublished), 292 ff. (J. VAN ESS)

ABŪ 'AMR AL-SHAYBĀNĪ, ISHĀK B. MIRĀR, one of the most important philologists of the Kūfan school in the 2nd/8th century, and the contemporary of the two great figures of the rival Baṣran school, Abū 'Ubayda and al-Aṣma'ī [q.v.]. He was born in ca. 100/719 at Ramādat al-Kūfa, and derived his *nisba* from the Banū Shaybān because he was their neighbour and client and because he also acted as tutor to the sons of certain members of the tribe. After having studied under the masters of the Kūfan school, such as al-Mufaḍḍal al-Ḍabbī, he went out into the desert, where he lived for a considerable time amongst the Bedouins, collecting tribal poetry. Then he settled in Baghdad, where he taught until his death at an advanced age, since he died in ca. 210/825, by then more than a centenarian, leaving behind him sons and grandsons who transmitted his works. Amongst his pupils were the main Kūfan grammarians, sc. Ṭha'lab, Ibn al-Sikkīt and Ibn Sallām [q.v.].

Al-Shaybānī was famed above all as a transmitter (*rāwīya*) of old poetry. Ṭha'lab records that he left for the desert armed with two inkholders and did not return until the ink had been exhausted. According



to his son 'Amr, he collected the poetry of over 80 tribes, which he wrote out and arranged with his own hands in separate collections and then placed in the mosque of Kūfa. The collections have not come down to us, but they were abundantly used by later anthologists.

However, al-Shaybānī was equally known as a lexicographer especially interested in rare words (*nawādir*) and in dialect words and phrases (*luḡāt*). Only one of the many works in this sphere attributed to him by the biographers has survived, the *K. al-Djīm*, so-called because it was unfinished and did not go beyond the fourth letter of the alphabet, although the sources term it equally the *K. al-Nawādir*, *K. al-Hurūf* and *K. al-Luḡāt*. According to F. Krenkow, who proposed to edit it after the unique manuscript preserved in the Escorial, this work is a dictionary of words peculiar to the speech of the many tribes from whom al-Shaybānī collected poetry. It is of great lexical richness, and is all the more important for the knowledge of the old dialects, since Krenkow found from a detailed perusal of the *Lisān al-'Arab* that later lexicographers did not use al-Shaybānī's work.

Finally, he is also said to have been a traditionist worthy of being relied upon, transmitting a large number of authentic *ḥadīths*; his most celebrated pupil here was the *imām* Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, whose son 'Abd Allāh transmitted al-Shaybānī's work called the *K. Ḡarīb al-ḥadīth*.

The post-Ibn al-Nadīm biographers attribute to Abū 'Amr al-Shaybānī several works which, according to the *Fihrist*, belong really to his son 'Amr.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, I, 116, S I, 179; *Et*, art. *al-Shaybānī* (Krenkow); Kahhālā, *Mu'allifin*, ii, 238.

ABU 'L-'ANBAS AL-ŞAYMARĪ, MUHAMMAD B. IŞHĀK B. IBRĀHĪM B. ABĪ 'L-MUGHĪRA B. MĀHĀN (213-75/828-88), a famous humorist of the 'Abbāsīd court, who was also a *fakīh*, astrologer, oneiromancer, poet and man of letters, and who wrote some forty works, both serious and jesting, even burlesque and obscene. Of Kūfan origin, he was first of all *kādī* in the district from which he derived his *nisba*, Şaymara, near Baṣra, at the mouth of the Nahr Ma'kīl, but his vivid penchant for coarse humour very early earned him a reputation as a buffoon sufficient for him to be admitted to the court circle of al-Mutawakkil (232-47/847-61), whose courtier he now became. It is likely that he remained at court under his successors, and he is known to have enjoyed the favour of al-Mu'tamid (256-79/870-92). He died in the capital, but was buried at Kūfa.

Abu 'l-'Anbas was quite an original character, and one is tempted to speak of his personality as being a split one, even though we are lacking in knowledge about the chronology and actual content of his works. It is well known that, from earliest Islamic times, the profession of buffoon paradoxically developed in Arabia (see F. Rosenthal, *Humour in early Islam*, Leiden 1956), but the fame of the humorists of the period was built essentially on their skill in making up amusing stories or in indulging in clowning to distract their masters, without really taking part in literary activity (it is insulting to number amongst them, as certain critics have gone so far as to do, a *Djāhīz*, whose humour was of a quite different quality). Now, if our interpretation of the titles of Abu 'l-'Anbas's works, listed in the *Fihrist* (151, 278; ed. Cairo, 216, 388) and Yāqūt's *Mu'djam al-udabā'* (xviii, 8-14 = *Irshād al-arīb*, vi, 401-6) is correct, he may be considered on one hand, if not the creator, at least a prominent representative of a type of

literature which was to culminate in the *maḳāma* and then in a burlesque or obscene type of *adab*, and on the other hand, as an astrologer, a *mutakallim* and perhaps even a serious depicter of society.

At the court, he acted as royal jester, and on occasion, he would be charged with expressing, in a facetious, impertinent and personal manner, the caliph's own feelings or opinions (see especially the oft-quoted episode concerning his reply to al-Buḥturī, when the latter had been rather offensive: al-Ṣūlī, *Ash'ār awlād al-khulafā'*, ed. J. Heyworth-Dunne, London 1936, 325; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, vii, 202-4 = § 2885-8; *Aghānī*¹, xviii, 173 = ed. Beirut, xxi, 537; al-Ḥuṣrī, *Djam' al-djāwāhir*, 15-16; Yāqūt, *Udabā'*, xviii, 12-14; etc.). Like his predecessors, he could also make up amusing stories, since we read that these were gathered together, with his poetry, in an independent volume, passages from which may be found in authors like Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi (*ʿId*, Cairo 1962, iv, 148) and even Ibn al-Djawzī (*Akhbār al-ḥamā wa 'l-mughaffalīn*, Damascus 1345, 85, 111, 141, 143), and which attests the influence exercised by the inimitable *Djāhīzian adab* on the most serious of authors. In this respect, Abu 'l-'Anbas probably differed very little from other "humorous figures" who, as we know from the *Fihrist*, left behind collections of stories; but he is distinguished from them by a series of works whose titles lead one to think that they were burlesque or scabrous. The *K. Faḍl al-sullam 'alā 'l-daraj* "Superiority of the ladder over the staircase", for example, must have been purely humorous, but the *K. Nawādir al-kawwād(a)* "Remarkable stories about pimps", to mention only this one work, must certainly have descended to pornography. After all, there emerges from a conversation between Abu 'l-'Anbas and his crony Abu 'l-'Ibar (al-Ṣūlī, *loc. cit.*; *Aghānī*, ed. Beirut, xxiii, 77-8) that if he had abandoned scholarship (*ʿilm*) for *sukhf* and *raḳ'a* i.e. obscenity and burlesque, it was because these last were much more profitable and lucrative. In the course of this dialogue, which took place in al-Mutawakkil's caliphate, Abu 'l-'Anbas declares that he has written over 30 works on *sukhf* and *raḳ'a*; does this mean that the lists which we possess are very incomplete, that the works which appear to be serious in content are not serious at all, or that after al-Mutawakkil's death, this writer came back again to topics less frivolous than certain titles would suggest?

Some of these titles recall works of al-Djāhīz, to the extent that C.E. Bosworth (see *Bibl.*) has wondered whether Abu 'l-'Anbas might have plagiarised the former writer's work; the possibility of an influence here must be seriously considered, since one finds in the list a *K. al-Ikhwān wa 'l-ʿasṭikā'* and a *K. Masāwī 'l-awāmm wa-akhbār al-sifla wa 'l-aḡtām* and even a *K. al-Thukalā'* "Book of Bores"; in order to know the truth here, it would be necessary to know what lay behind these titles.

The poetry of al-Şaymarī has been referred to above; to judge by those poems available for reading, they were not all licentious and scatological, since they include the well-known line "How many sick persons have survived the physician and visitors, when all hope of cure had been given up".

The lists bring out the existence of at least one work which seems to be of a theological nature, the *K. Ta'khīr al-ma'rifā*, which is alone cited—and doubtless deliberately—by Yāqūt in his *Mu'djam al-buldān* (s.v. Şaymara), whilst the same author enumerates some 40 titles in his *Irshād al-arīb*. In fact, Abu 'l-'Anbas, called by Abu 'l-'Ibar a *mutakallim*, must apparently have been a Mu'tazilī, and because



of this he was dignified by being cited by Ibn Batta (H. Laoust, *La profession de foi d'Ibn Batta*, Damascus 1958, 170) amongst "the people of infidelity and error", who for him mean the Mu'tazila. On another level, one finds other titles which give the impression that Abu 'l-'Anbas was equally interested in "scientific" topics. If his *K. al-Radd 'alā 'l-mutaṭabbibīn*, directed against charlatans and homeopathic physicians, strictly speaking belongs to the depicting of society, his *K. al-Radd 'alā Abī Mikhā'il al-Saydalānī (?) fī 'l-kimiyā'* may not be a general refutation of alchemy, and his *K. al-Djāwāriṣ wa 'l-daryākāt* might lead one to take him for a pharmacologist. The *K. Taṣṭir al-nu'yā* is quite explicable, since oneirocriticism can be connected with astrology, which gave Abu 'l-'Anbas a lasting fame. In fact, if the above-mentioned works suffered from the reaction of pietistic circles against *sukhf* and *hazl* in general, leading the *wanākūn* to cease at an early date copying them, Şaymarī's name still appears in manuscript catalogues, even though the titles given there hardly correspond at all to the following ones, figuring in the early lists: *K. al-Mawā'id*, *K. Ahkām al-nuḍjūm*, *K. al-Mudkhal ilā šinā'at al-nuḍjūm* and *K. al-Radd 'alā 'l-munadḍijīmīn*. In fact, a *K. Aṣl al-uṣūl* attributed to him is preserved in both the B.N. of Paris (6608) and the B.M. of London (Suppl. Rieu, 775; cf. Brockelmann, S I, 396), but Ibn al-Nadīm asserts that he appropriated the *K. al-Uṣūl* of Abū Ma'shar, and al-Kiṭfī (*T. al-Hukamā'*, ed. Lippert, Leipzig 1903, 410) accuses him of plundering other people's writings and putting them forward as his own compositions. There are several extant manuscripts of another work, the *K. fī 'l-Hisāb al-nuḍjūmī*, but the *K. Ahkām al-nuḍjūm* mentioned in the early lists and by Brockelmann is merely the opening of the *Hisāb nuḍjūmī*, whose copy preserved in the Vatican is interesting, since it is dated 30 Rabī' I 1221/17 June 1806 and testifies to the continuing successfulness of this manual of astrology, and at the same time to the respect accorded to the author, al-Şaymarī, depicted as a most learned philosopher who left a masterpiece for posterity. G. Levi della Vida (*Elenco di manoscritti arabo islamici della Biblioteca Vaticana*, Vatican City 1935, Nos. 955/8 and 957) is not far wrong in thinking that we have here another redaction of the *K. Aṣl al-uṣūl*, hence in the end, of a recasting of Abū Ma'shar's work. Consequently, it seems that there is nothing left of Abu 'l-'Anbas's genuine work, which therefore enjoys in the "scientific" sphere a spurious reputation. Even so, he must have enjoyed a certain importance, since Ibn Batta felt the need to criticise him. Also, as well as the *adab* writers who quote anecdotes of his, one famous author, Badī' al-Zamān, thought to make him a kind of romantic personality by reserving for him the *makāma* of Şaymara, in which Abu 'l-'Anbas is both narrator and hero. In this, he tells how, after having been rich and hospitable, he had been abandoned by his friends, had been transformed into a vagabond in the style of the age and hence able to acquire a knowledge of the frivolous poetry of the elegant circles and of the *sukhf* of the professional entertainers sufficient for him to recover his old position in Baghdad and then take his revenge on his faithless former friends.

Bibliography: In addition to the sources cited in the article, see Khaṭīb Baghdādī, *Ta'rikh*, i, 238; Akhbār al-Buḥārī, index; Kiṭfī, *al-Muḥammadīn min al-ṣu'arā'*, Beirut 1390/1970, No. 101; Ibn al-Djarrāh, *Waraka*, 5; Marzubānī, *Mu'djam*, 393; idem, *Muwashshah*, 285; Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntazam*, vi, 99; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Nuḍjūm*, iii, 74; Suter,

Mathematiker, Leipzig 1900, 30; Kahhāla, ix, 38; Ziriklī, vi, 202; F. Bustānī, *DM*, iv, 486-7; M.F. Ghazi, in *Arabica*, iv (1957), 168; Ch. Pellat, *Un curieux amuseur bagdadien: Abu 'l-'Anbas as-Şaymarī*, in *Studia or. in mem. C. Brockelmann*, Halle 1968, 133-7; C.E. Bosworth, *The mediaeval Islamic underworld*, Leiden 1976, i, 30-2; Muḥammad Bākīr 'Alwān, *Abu 'l-'Anbas Muḥammad b. Ishāq al-Şaymarī*, in *al-Abhāt*, xxvi (1973-7), Arabic section, 35-50.

(CH. PELLAT)

ABU 'L-ASAD AL-ḤIMMĀNĪ, NUBĀTA B. 'ABD ALLĀH, minor poet of the 'Abbāsid period, originally from Dīnawar. His talent was only moderate, and it was 'Allawayh/'Allūya who rescued him from oblivion, since this singer, the poet's friend, introduced him to the great men of the age and, above all, set some of his verses to music, so that they enjoyed a great success. His career seems to have been quite a lengthy one. He is found, first of all, satirising as early as 153/770 two of al-Manṣūr's *mawālī*, Šā'id and Maṭar (al-Djahshiyārī, *Wuzarā'*, 124), and then frequenting Abū Dulaf al-'Idjī [see AL-KĀSİM B. 'ISĀ], at whose court he was however eclipsed, it is said, by 'Alī b. Djabala [see AL-AKAWWAK]. After having previously sung the praises of the ruler of al-Karadī [q.v.], he launched at him a somewhat coarse diatribe and then turned to the former secretary of al-Mahdī, al-Fayḍ b. Abī Šālih (on whom see Sourdel, *Vizīyat*, index), whose praises he now sang (al-Djahshiyārī, 164; Ibn al-Tiktākā, *Fakhrī*, ed. Derenbourg, 256, calls the poet Abu 'l-Aswad). But the chronology of these events is uncertain, and it is even probable that, contrary to what the *Aghānī* asserts, his relations with al-Fayḍ (who died in 173/789-90) were anterior to his stay with Abū Dulaf. Amongst those whose patronage he sought, one even finds Ahmad b. Abī Du'ād [q.v.], who gave him a modest gift and begged him to cease importuning him. It is, on the other hand, dubious that he was able to make a claim upon 'Alī b. Yahyā al-Munadḍijīm (d. 275/888-9) and to address to him a lengthy anti-Šu'ūbī satire; but the intermediary whom he thanks for having secured for him satisfaction could well have been Ḥamdūn b. Ismā'il [see IBN ḤAMDŪN].

To judge by the few extant fragments of his verse, Abu 'l-Asad had no compunction about composing scabrous epigrams in order to get his revenge on people for the neglect which he sometimes received where he had expected a reward. But he was also able to express very delicate feelings, as in his elegy on Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī (d. 188/804 [q.v.]), whose outspokenness was nevertheless criticised.

Bibliography: In addition to references given in the article, see *Aghānī*, xiv, 124-35; Bustānī, *DM*, iv, 171.

(ED.)

ABŪ 'ĀŞIM AL-NABĪL, AL-DAḤḤĀK B. MAḤLAD B. MUḤLIM B. AL-DAḤḤĀK AL-ŞHAYBĀNĪ AL-BAŞRĪ, traditionist, born at Mecca in 122/740 but established subsequently at Baṣra, where he transmitted from a host of scholars (notably al-Aṣma'ī) a large quantity of *ḥadīṯ*s gathered by himself, and especially from several *tābi'īs* or Successors. He was considered as trustworthy, and some of his *ḥadīṯ*s were included in the great collections; his biographers assert that he never fabricated a single one, although he is said to have declared that pious men never lie so much as in regard to traditions from the Prophet (Goldziher, *Muh. Stud.*, ii, 47, Eng. tr. 55). It is said that he was never seen with a book in his hand and that he was knowledgeable about *fikh*. Despite such details as these, little is known of his life. Physically, he was remarkable for the size of his nose, and this



particularity is one of the explanations given for his name of al-Nabīl. It is also recorded that he owed this name to his habit of wearing fine clothes, or because he freed his own slave in order to release *Shu'ba* [q.v.] from his oath not to transmit *ḥadīths* for a month. A final explanation seems the most plausible; some elephants passed through Baṣra, and all the population rushed out to see the spectacle, whilst he however stayed with his master Ibn *Ḍuraydj* [q.v. in Suppl.], who gave him the title of "noble". He probably died on 14 *Dhu 'l-Hijja* 212/5 March 828 at Baṣra.

Bibliography: *Djāhīz*, *Bayān*, ii, 38; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, vii, 295; *Fihrist*, ed. Cairo, 163; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Tahdhīb*, iv, 450-3; Ibn al-Imād, *Shadharāt*, ii, 28; Bustānī, *DM*, iv, 416. (CH. PELLAT)

ABU 'L-'AZĀ'IM, MUḤAMMAD MĀDĪ, an Egyptian and a political activist, was born in the town of Rashīd on 27 Raddjab 1286/2 November 1869 and grew up in the village of Maḥallat Abū 'Alī near Dasūḳ in the present-day Qharbiyya province. He studied at al-Azhar [q.v.] and at Dār al-'Ulūm [q.v.]. He graduated in 1308/1890-1 and spent the subsequent twenty-five years as a teacher at various provincial government schools in Egypt and the Sudan as well as at Gordon College in Khartoum. At the latter establishment he taught Islamic Law from 1905 until August 1915, when he was forcibly repatriated to Egypt—following his refusal to declare himself in support of British administrative reforms in the Sudan, and his public opposition to these—where his freedom of movement was restricted to al-Minyā province. About a year later, in 1916, he was allowed to take up residence in Cairo, where he devoted himself to the propagation of his own conception of the *Shādhiliyya* [q.v.] order, into which he had been initiated by Ḥasanayn al-Ḥiṣāfī [q.v.]. He had been actively proselytising on behalf of his *ṭarīqa* [q.v.], which became known as al-'Azamiyya al-Shādhiliyya, already since the beginning of his teaching career, and had obtained a substantial following for himself in Egypt as well as in the Sudan. Al-'Azamiyya distinguished itself by the stress it placed upon inner-worldly asceticism in conjunction with active social commitment in conformance with the precepts of the Law, as opposed to the reitratist other-worldly asceticism and its underlying relatively negative appreciation of life in this world, as found implicitly or explicitly in the teachings of many *ṭarīqas*. After 1916, however, when settled in Cairo, Muḥammad Mādī ceased to look upon himself as merely head of a *ṭarīqa*, but assumed the more comprehensive role of religious reformer (*mudjaddid*) instead, and consequently presented his *ṭarīqa* as his conception of a revitalised Islam, which he elaborated over the following years in a variety of books and articles, notably in the periodicals *al-Sa'āda al-Abadiyya* (a bi-monthly published by one of Muḥammad Mādī's disciples, 'Alī 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Husaynī, from 1914 until 1923) and *al-Madīna al-Munawwara* (a weekly published from 1925 until 1927, and after 1927 until 1929, when it was merged with *al-Fatīh*, a periodical of the Ahrār al-Dustūriyyīn, edited by Muḥammad Maḥmūd, as *al-Fatīh wa 'l-Madīna al-Munawwara*). The majority of these books as well as the periodicals were printed by the Maṭba'a al-Madīna al-Munawwara, a press established by Muḥammad Mādī in early 1919. In his aversion to the British presence in Egypt, he committed himself to the case of the nationalists during the revolution of 1919, when he was twice arrested. On 20 March 1924, less than three weeks after the abolition

of the caliphate in Turkey [see *KHALIFA*], he organised a meeting in Cairo, which was attended by scholars and religious dignitaries from all over the Islamic world, in order to discuss the implications of this event. This meeting ended in the foundation of the so-called *Djamā'at al-Khilāfa al-Islāmiyya bi-Wādī al-Nīl* under his presidency. Because of its historical consequences, the foundation of this organisation must be considered as Abu 'l-'Azā'im's most notable achievement. It allowed him to mobilise an effective world-wide opposition against King Aḥmad Fu'ād's candidacy for the caliphate—to which he objected for religious and political reasons (cf. Aḥmad Shafīq, *Ḥaṣṣiyāt Miṣr al-siyāsiyya*, Cairo 1929, iii, 105 ff.)—and thus determined the outcome of the Caliphate Conference held in Cairo in May 1926 and brought activity in support of Aḥmad Fu'ād's candidacy to an end. Muḥammad Mādī died on 28 Raddjab 1356/4 October 1937 and was buried in his *zāwiya* [q.v.] in Cairo near the mosque of al-Sultān al-Ḥanafī. Here, his shrine as well as the shrine of his son Aḥmad (d. 1970), who succeeded him as head of the *ṭarīqa*, may be visited in a newly-built mosque (opened in January 1962), which houses the headquarters of the 'Azamiyya *ṭarīqa*.

Bibliography: The most extensive biography is 'Abd al-Mun'im Muḥammad Shakraf, *al-Imām Muḥammad Mādī Abū 'l-'Azā'im, ḥayātuhu, dīnāduhu, āthāruhu*, Cairo 1972. It contains the text of various relevant documents, evaluates his poetry, clarifies his position with respect to the idea of *al-insān al-kāmil* [q.v.], sets forth his conception of *taḥḥid* (based upon an unpublished treatise), and lists and summarises his works. To these must be added *Min ḥawāmī' al-kalīm*, Cairo 1962; *al-Waḥdāniyyāt* (ed. 'Abd Allāh Mādī Abū 'l-'Azā'im), Cairo n.d.; *Dīwān* (ed. Muḥammad al-Bashīr Mādī Abū 'l-'Azā'im), Cairo n.d. (mimeo); *al-Ṭarīqa al-'Azamiyya* (ed. Maḥmūd Mādī Abū 'l-'Azā'im), Cairo 1328/1910, (important for his affiliations with various *ṭarīqas*; and *al-Shifā' min marad al-tafrīka*, Cairo n.d., which caused the temporary imprisonment of Muḥammad Mādī when it was interpreted as a concealed attack upon King Aḥmad Fu'ād (cf. *al-Waḥdāniyyāt*, 8). The treatise *Wasā'il iẓhār al-haqq*, Cairo n.d., should be excluded from Shakraf's enumeration. It was written by Muḥammad's brother, the journalist Aḥmad Mādī (d. 1893), who had founded the newspaper *al-Mu'ayyad* together with 'Alī Yūsuf [q.v.]. The treatise was published for the first time in Cairo in 1914, by Aḥmad's brother Maḥmūd. The authorship was falsely assigned to Muḥammad Abū 'l-'Azā'im by his son and successor Aḥmad in the subsequent editions published under his auspices. For additional biographical materials, see Muḥammad 'Abd al-Mun'im Khafājī, *al-Tawāṭi' al-rūḥi li 'l-taṣawwuf al-islāmī fī Miṣr*, Cairo n.d., 170. For details about the history of the al-'Azamiyya *ṭarīqa* and further references, see also F. de Jong, *Two anonymous manuscripts relative to the Sūfī orders in Egypt*, in *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, xxxii (1975), 186-90. For the 'Azamiyya in the Sudan, see J.S. Trimmingham, *Islam in the Sudan*, London 1949, 239 f. On his *mawlid*, see J.W. McPherson, *The moulids of Egypt*, Cairo 1940, 140 ff. A small collection of letters written by Muḥammad Mādī and transcripts thereof, which are in the possession of the 'Azamī family, is preserved on microfilm at Leiden University Library. (F. DE JONG)

ABŪ BAKR IBN 'ABD AL-ŠAMAD [see 'ABD AL-ŠAMAD].



ABŪ BAKR IBN AL-‘ARABĪ [see **IBN AL-‘ARABĪ**].
ABŪ BAKR AL-AṢAMM [see **AL-AṢAMM** in Suppl.].

ABŪ BAKR AL-KHARĀ’ITĪ [see **AL-KHARĀ’ITĪ**].
ABŪ BAKR AL-ZUBAYDĪ [see **AL-ZUBAYDĪ**].

ABŪ ‘L-BARAKĀT AL-‘ALAWĪ AL-ZAYDĪ, ‘UMAR B. IBRĀHĪM B. MUḤAMMAD, Kūfan grammarian, jurist, pundit, Kur’ān scholar and traditionist. He was born in Kūfa in 442/1050-1, heard *ḥadīth* in his home town and Baghdād, and stayed for some time, together with his father, in Damascus, Aleppo and Tarābulus. In Aleppo he read in 455/1063 the *K. al-Idāh* of Abū ‘Alī al-Fārīsī which he later transmitted in Kūfa. There he finished on 5 Ramaḍān 464/26 May 1072 the reading of the *K. al-Djāmi’ al-kāfi*, an extensive collection of Kūfan Zaydī *fiqh* doctrine by the Sayyid Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-‘Alawī. He read it with the Sayyid ‘Abd al-Djabbār b. al-Ḥusayn b. Mu‘ayya, who had heard it from the author, though he also transmitted directly from Abū ‘Abd Allāh al-‘Alawī with an *idghā’a*. He taught and led the prayer in the mosque of Abū Ishāk al-Sabī’ī. Of his works on grammar, a commentary on the *K. al-Luma’* of Ibn Djinī is extant in manuscript (see Brockelmann, S I, 192). A descendant of Zaydī Shī’ī beliefs, though he generally concealed them from his Sunnī students and gave legal *fatwās* according to Ḥanafī doctrine. Only to Shī’īs did he transmit partisan Shī’ī *ḥadīths* and rendered *fatwās* according to Zaydī law. In agreement with the Zaydī creed in his time, he upheld the doctrine of human free will and the createdness of the Kur’ān. He died on 7 Sha‘bān 539/2 February 1145 in Kūfa.

Bibliography: Sam‘ānī, f. 283b; Ibn al-Anbārī, *Nuḥat al-alibbā’*, ed. Muḥ. Abū ‘l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, Cairo 1967, 399 f.; Ibn al-Djawzī, *al-Muntaẓam*, Haydarābād 1357-59/1938-41, x, 114; Yāqūt, *Udabā’*, xi, 12-14; Ibn al-Kifī, *Inbāh al-ruwāt*, ed. Muḥ. Abū ‘l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, Cairo 1950-73, ii, 324-7; al-Dhahabī, *Miẓān al-i’tidāl*, ed. A.M. al-Bidjāwī, Cairo 1382/1963, iii, 181; Ibn ‘Inaba, *Umdat al-tālib*, ed. Muḥ. Ḥasan ‘Al al-Tāliḳānī, Najaf 1380/1961, 263; Ibn Ḥajar, *Lisān al-miẓān*, Haydarābād 1331/1913, iv, 280-2; Šārim al-Dīn Ibrāhīm b. al-Ḳāsim, *Ṭabakāt al-Zaydiyya*, ms. photocopy no. 290 Cairo, Dār al-Kutub, 314.

(W. MADELUNG)

ABŪ BARĀKISH (A.) a name, no longer in use, given, according to localities, to two birds whose brilliant plumage is characterised by iridescent colours or shows a colour-scheme varying in the course of the seasons. The quadriliteral root *B-R-K-Šh*, probably derived from the triliteral *R-B-K*, has, like *R-K-Šh*, the sense of “to be variegated, mottled” and the substantive *birākish* indicates the result, synonymous with *talawwun*. The plural *barākish* has a superlative quality in expressions such as *bilād barākish* “a land decked with flowers” and it is used as a forename; it was the name of the wife of Luḳmān [q.v.], and of a bitch that became proverbial for her ability to foresee and to foretell with her barking the return to camp of the horsemen of her tribe. As for the plural of the composite noun *abū barākish*, it would theoretically be *ābā’ barākish*, but this form is not found in literature. (1) According to the uniform definition provided by Arab lexicographers, the true *abū barākish* corresponds to this description: “a small bird of the bushes with a greyish head, a scarlet breast and dark lower parts. Just like the porcupine, when excited it ruffles

up all its plumage, showing a whole range of glittering colours”. (al-Damīrī, *Hayāt al-hayawān*, i, 162, and root *B-R-K-Šh* in the Arabic dictionaries.) Though restrained and concise, this ornithological information is sufficient to identify the *abū barākish* as a ploceid, the male in the nuptial plumage of the weaver-bird (*tanawwuf nassādī*) the flame-coloured Franciscan or Grenadier, the English Durra-bird (*Euplectes oryx franciscana*), a resident both of the Sudan and of the southern coasts of the Red Sea. In fact, this industrious and gregarious bird, smaller in size than the house sparrow and with plumage that is generally brownish and rather dull, abruptly changes its livery in the mating season and its feathers become soft, velvety, long and finely shaped; the colours are striking: the breast, the back, the upper and lower caudal feathers covering the short tail (whence the expression found in some authors *ṭakīl al-‘adjīz*) are of the purest pink, while the crown of the head and the stomach have a sheen of glistening black. Nubia is the favourite territory of this bird, which was one of the first to be exported and which very soon came to be known to the Arabs. In the period of mating, the male courts three or four females, making a show of bringing them grains of millet, and throughout the period of nestbuilding he constantly asserts his proprietary rights by fluttering and hovering beneath each nest and ruffling all his feathers which sparkle in the light, accompanying his performance with a loud rustling of wings (*haṭṭ*). After the hatching of the young, the actor abandons his deceptive guise and returns to the gregarious life in large flocks whose greed causes sometimes considerable havoc in the cereal crops. The spectacular variations in colour of the plumage of the Grenadier weaver-bird provided for a poet of the Banū Asad an image whereby to stigmatise the inconstant nature of his enemies, and his proverbial lines (written in *kāmil metre*) *ka-abī barākisha kulla law/nin lawnu-hu yatakhayyalu* “like *abū barākish*, whose colour resembles all colours”, have determined the way in which the bird is remembered (see Ibn Ḳutayba, *Adab al-kātib*, Cairo 1355/1936, 204; al-Damīrī, *loc. cit.*; LA).

(2) For al-Kazwīnī (*‘Adjā’ib al-makhḷūkāt*, in the margins of al-Damīrī, ii, 252) and for him alone, the *abū barākish* is a wader with a pleasant-sounding cry, with red beak and feet, of a size close to that of the stork and with plumage fluctuating in colour, in reds, greens, yellows and blues. The livery of this attractive wading-bird apparently provided Byzantine weavers with the inspiration for the creation of the precious dove-coloured shot silk called *abū kalamūn* [q.v.], a name which conversely was applied to the bird. Now, the only wader of the Mediterranean and oriental regions perfectly fitting this description is the Porphyrio or Blue Taleva/Purple Gallinule (*Porphyrio porphyrio*), better known however under the grandiose name of “Sultan-fowl”. This marshland bird, half-a-metre in height, has feet and beak of a fine coral red and on its forehead a knob of the same colour; its rich blue plumage varies from indigo to turquoise with flashing tints of green, purple and bronze. When alarmed, the Sultan-fowl emits a brief, trumpet-like sound. Its Spanish name is “calamon”, a vestige of the Arabic *kalāmūn*, while Egypt has retained its ancient Greek name πορφυρέων arabised as *fufūr/fufur*, pl. *farāfir*; Syria and ‘Irāq call it *burhān* and *subnūn*. All these countries and Persia are also familiar with the “green-backed” subspecies (*Porphyrio aegypticus* or *madagascarensis*), very closely related to the main species and bearing the



names *dik sultānī* "sultan-cock", *dik al-mā* "water-cock" and *farkha sultāniyya* "sultan-pullet". The Sultan-fowl, easily domesticated, was highly thought of among the Persians, the Greeks and the Romans; it was bred in temples and placed under the protection of the gods. In Egypt, it is not unusual to see it in rural areas co-existing peacefully with domestic poultry. Because of the splendour of its plumage, the Persians awarded it the title *shāhmurgh* "king-bird", arabised in the forms *shāhmurk*, *shāhmurki*, *shāmūr*, *shāmūr*, *shāhmurđ*, *shāhmurđi*. In legends and stories of Persian origin, while the lion is the king of the animals, it is the Sultan-fowl that sits on the throne of the feathered race, and the peacock is only the vizier (see *Rasā'il Ikhwān al-Safā*, Beirut 1957, ii, 248 ff.). Al-Djāhiz several times cites the Sultan-fowl (*Hayawān*, passim) as feeding on flies and small reptiles, which is accurate, the diet of this wader being both vegetable and carnivorous; having killed its prey with a violent blow of the beak, it holds it with one foot and tears it with the other, carrying off the morsels of flesh in its beak.

Thus the *abū barākish* of the poet of Asad was a weaver-bird, while al-Kazwīnī saw it as the Sultan-fowl, worshipped in antiquity, and one is inclined to believe that it was on his own authority that this naturalist, perhaps not knowing the Grenadier weaver-bird, identified the *abū barākish* with the *abū kalamūn/shāhmurk*; but his decision was regarded as law by his successors, and it should be recognised as such.

(3) In the Hidjāz, through a confusion on the part of the children of the nomads, attested by the philologist al-Azhari, *abū barākish* was used in place of *birkiš* to denote the chaffinch (*Fringilla coelebs*), a finch well-known in all the Arabic-speaking countries and also called *shurshur* (in the Maghrib, *shershīr*, *berkes*, *zāneh*); this was simply an error ascribable to childish ignorance.

Finally, we may ignore the totally unfounded identification of the *abū barākish* with the bullfinch (*Pyrrhula pyrrhula*) suggested by the encyclopedia *al-Mawsū'a fi 'ulūm al-tabi'a* (Beirut 1965, i, no. 154), this western bird being practically unknown in the Near East, in Arabia, in Egypt and the Maghrib.

Bibliography: In addition to references given in the text, there are mentions of the *abū barākish* in al-Kāshānī, *Subh*, ii, 76; Kūshādjim, *Maṣāyid*, Baghdad 1954, wholly imprecise; Ornithology: A. Ma'lūf, *Mu'djam al-hayawān*, Cairo 1932, 111, 197; B. Al-Lūs (Allouse), *al-Tuyūr al-'irāqīyya*, ii, Baghdad 1961, 29-30; A.E. Brehm, (*L'homme et les animaux*) *Les oiseaux*, Fr. edn. revised by Z. Gerbe, Paris 1878 ii, 701-3; F.O. Cave and J.D. Macdonald, *Birds of the Sudan*, London 1955, 374; R.D. Etchécopar and F. Hue, *Les oiseaux du nord de l'Afrique*, Paris 1964, 191-5 and 600 (index of Arabic names by F. Viré); idem, *Les oiseaux du Moyen-Orient*, Paris 1970; R.N. Meinertzhagen, *Birds of Egypt*, London 1930; L. Delapchier, *Les oiseaux du monde* (Atlas), Paris 1959, i, 125, ii, 130.

(F. VIRÉ)

ABU 'L-BAYDĀ' AL-RIYĀHĪ, AS'AD B. 'IṢMA, one of the most famous informants of the Baṣran philologists in the 2nd/8th century, notably, of al-Aṣma'ī [q.v.]. This Bedouin teacher, settled in southern 'Irāk, may have received his curious *kunya* (*baydā* = "desert") from the admirers forming a circle around him. He also wrote poetry, transmitted by another teacher, a certain Abū 'Adnān, who is allegedly the author of several works (in particular, of a *K. al-Naḥwīyyīn* and a *K. Ghārīb al-ḥadīth*,

Fihrist, 68), and whom al-Djāhiz praised greatly for his erudition and his fine language (*Bayān*, i, 212). Abu 'l-Baydā' also had as his *rāwīya* his son-in-law 'Amr b. Kirkira [q.v.], but his poetic work is almost wholly lost.

Bibliography: Djāhiz, *Bayān*, i, 66, 252; *Fihrist*, 66; Ibn Kutayba, *Uyūn*, i, 71; Marzubānī, *Muwashshah*, 118, 183; Suyūṭī, *Muzhir*, ii, 249; Yāqūt, *Udabā*, vi, 89-90; Bustānī, *DM*, iv, 224.

(CH. PELLAT)

ABŪ DABĪ [see ABŪ ZABĪ].**ABŪ DĀWŪDIDS** [see BĀNĪDĪRIDS].

ABU 'L-DHAHAB, *kunya* of MUHAMMAD BEY, a grandee of Ottoman Egypt. Acquired as a *mamlūk* by Bulūt *kapān* 'Alī Bey [q.v.] (the date, 1175, given in Djābartī, *Adjā'ib*, i, 417, is obviously incorrect), he became the chief officer in his master's household as *kāzindār* in 1174/1760. When in 1178/1764-5 he was raised to the beylicate, he obtained his *kunya* by distributing a largesse of gold. In 1184/1770 he commanded the expeditionary force sent by 'Alī Bey to install a Hāshimite protégé in Mecca. As commander of the force sent by 'Alī Bey in 1185/1771 to co-operate with Zāhir al-'Umar against 'Uthmān Pasha al-Šādīk, governor of Damascus, he captured the city, but, when the citadel was on the point of surrender, withdrew with all his troops to Egypt. This curious development has been ascribed (e.g. by Volney) to the secret negotiations of 'Uthmān Pasha; the *iltizām* of Gaza and al-Ramla, which Abu 'l-Dhahab received in this same year (Cohen, *Palestine*, 49) may have been his reward. As master of an exceptionally large household of *mamlūks* and black slaves (*'abid*), and as the head of a faction, he succeeded in 1186/1772 in ousting 'Alī Bey, who sought refuge with Zāhir al-'Umar. Lured into returning to Egypt with a small force, 'Alī Bey was defeated at al-Šālihiyya, and died a few days later (Safar 1187/May 1773). Abu 'l-Dhahab was now the effective ruler of Egypt, where he established peace and security, so that internal trade revived. Unlike 'Alī Bey, he followed a policy of ostentatious loyalty to the sultan, and was gratified by investiture as *amīr Miṣr*, i.e. *shaykh al-balad* (Rab' I 1187/June 1773). He was nevertheless as determined as his former master to control Syria, where he represented himself as the defender of the sultanate against the rebel, Zāhir al-'Umar. The *sandjak* of Gaza and al-Ramla was conferred on him in 1187/1773 (Cohen, *Palestine*, 148). The fact that he obtained the appointment as viceroy of Egypt of a fugitive Palestinian notable, Muṣṭafā Pasha Tūḳān al-Nābulusī (not a member of the 'Azm family, as stated in Djābartī, *Adjā'ib*, i, 418; cf. Cohen, *Palestine*, 56, n. 97), may also be linked with his Syrian aims. Early in 1189/March 1175, he led his army into Palestine to overthrow Zāhir. Jaffa was captured, and a massacre ensued. Zāhir fled from Acre, his capital, which was about to fall, when Abu 'l-Dhahab died suddenly of fever. His troops returned forthwith to Cairo.

Bibliography: 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Ḥasan al-Djābartī, *Adjā'ib al-āthār* (Bulāk edn.), i, annals for the years indicated and obituary of Abu 'l-Dhahab on pp. 417-20; Volney, *Voyage en Égypte et en Syrie* (ed. Jean Gaulmier), Paris and The Hague 1959, especially pp. 78-94 (dates on pp. 91-4 inaccurate); Amnon Cohen, *Palestine in the 18th century*, Jerusalem 1973. (P.M. HOLT)

ABŪ DJA'FAR AL-ANDALUSĪ [see AL-RU'AYNĪ].**ABŪ DJA'FAR AL-RU'ĀSĪ** [see AL-RU'ĀSĪ].**ABŪ DJA'FAR AL-TŪSĪ** [see AL-TŪSĪ].**ABU 'L-DJĀRŪD** [see AL-DJĀRŪDIYYA].



ABŪ DULAF AL-ʿIDJLĪ [see AL-KĀSIM B. ʿISĀ].

ABU ʿL-FARADJ [see HAMDĀNIDS].

ABU ʿL-FARADJ B. MASʿUD RŪNĪ, Persian poet of the Ghaznawid period, was born and raised at Lahore, according to ʿAwfī, the earliest and most trustworthy authority for his life. The *nisba* Rūnī has been related by Indian writers of the 16th and 17th centuries to a place by the name of Rūn in the vicinity of Lahore (cf. e.g. Badāʿunī, *Muntakhab al-tawārīkh*, I, Calcutta 1864, 37; *Farhang-i Dīhāngīrī* and *Burhān-i kāfī*, s.v.). But already Badāʿunī had to admit that this place could not be found anywhere in that area. Others (e.g. Luṭf-ʿAlī Beg Aḏhar, *Ālshkādā*, lith. Bombay 1299/1882, 122) have suggested an origin from Rūna, a village in the Dasht-i Khāwarān near Nishāpūr. This would mean that Abu ʿl-Faradj was descended from Khūrāsānī settlers in the Panjāb who must have come there after the conquest of the region by the Ghaznawids in the early 5th/11th century. The mentioning of a Sīstān origin that can be met with in some other sources probably goes back to a confusion with another Ghaznawid poet, Abu ʿl-Faradj Sidjzī.

The date of his birth is not known. Chronological indications that can be derived from his work make it likely that he started his career as a poet of the court of Lahore some time before Sayf al-Dīn Maḥmūd was installed there by his father Sulṭān Ibrāhīm as a viceroy (*vāḥī*, or *malik*) of Ghaznawid Hindūstān in 469/1076-7. Abu ʿl-Faradj appears to have retained his position at the court of Lahore also under the successor of Sayf al-Dīn the later Sulṭān Masʿūd III, who was in residence there from 480-92/1087-99 (cf. on events in India under these two viceroys, C.E. Bosworth, *The later Ghaznavids, splendour and decay: the dynasty in Afghanistan and northern India 1040-1186*, Edinburgh 1977, 65-8). As he addresses the latter in most of the poems he wrote for him by the title of *malik*, it may be concluded that they belong to this period. The last poem by Abu ʿl-Faradj that can be dated with certainty is an ode he wrote at the occasion of the accession to the throne at Lahore of Masʿūd's son Shērzād after his father had become Sulṭān of Ghazna.

The relationship between the poet and the central Ghaznawid court is not quite clear. He wrote several poems for Sulṭān Ibrāhīm and, according to ʿAwfī, placed a *kašīda* addressed to the sultan at the beginning of his *Dīwān*. There are also poems preserved which bear dedications to prominent officials of the central government, like the ʿarīd-i laṣḥkar Maṣṣūr b. Saʿīd Maymandī who patronised other poets of this period as well. But apart from that, there are no indications of a stay of Abu ʿl-Faradj at Ghazna for any long period of time. As Lahore was a base for incursions into Hindu territory, in which the Sultan and his retinue also participated from time to time, most of these poems may very well have been written while the patrons from Ghazna were staying at that city temporarily on their way to a campaign.

It seems, therefore, likely that the scene of Abu ʿl-Faradj's career was mainly, if not entirely, the court of Lahore, where the young princes showed a greater interest in poetry than the Sultan himself, who has been depicted by historians as a stern and pious man. The only contemporary poet who as far as we know now was in personal contact with Abu ʿl-Faradj was Masʿūd-i Saʿd-i Salmān [q.v.], another Iranian born in the Panjāb. But the former is to be distinguished from the Abu ʿl-Faradj whom Masʿūd held responsible for his banishment from the court.

(cf. *Dīwān-i Masʿūd-i Salmān*, ed. Rashīd Yāsīmī, Tehran 1319/1940, Introduction).

The modern Iranian scholar Djalāl al-Dīn Humāʾī has connected one of the poet's *kašīdas* with the conquest of Kānnawdj by Sulṭān Masʿūd III which he dates between 500 and 508 A.H. This would provide an approximate dating for the death of Abu ʿl-Faradj (cf. *Dīwān-i ʿUṭmān-i Mukhtārī*, ed. Humāʾī, Tehran 1341/1962, 654 ff. and *passim*, and Bosworth, *op. cit.*, 85).

The work of Abu ʿl-Faradj, as we know it now, consists mostly of *kašīdas*, and further of some quatrains and *mukāṭṭaʿāt*, as well as a few *ghazals* of a pre-classical type. The *kašīdas* are comparatively short poems in which the emphasis is laid on the panegyric. In many cases, the conventional *nasīb* has been left out altogether. The poet developed the style of the panegyric address of the Sāmānīd and early Ghaznawid poets into various new directions. The texture of his verse became more knitted through the use of uncommon compounds, original metaphors and hyperboles, and through a greater density in the handling of rhetorical artifices. He also introduced references to elements of religious lore or of the sciences into his poetry with an unprecedented frequency. Through all these features, the work of Abu ʿl-Faradj heralds the great change in poetical style which took place in the course of the 6th/12th century and is commonly designated as the development from the Khūrāsānī into the ʿIrākī style (for brief analyses of the main characteristics of Abu ʿl-Faradj's poetry, see the works by Ṣafā, Maḥdījūb and Dāmghānī mentioned in the bibliography).

The stylistic originality of Abu ʿl-Faradj was already recognised by his contemporaries and the immediately-following generations of poets. A remarkable instance of his influence is on Anwārī, one of the great masters of the Persian *kašīda*, who did not conceal his indebtedness to this predecessor. The traces of this influence can be noticed in many ways, varying from direct quotations to a more general similarity of ideas, motifs and forms of expressions (cf. *Dīwān-i Anwārī*, ed. by M.T. Mudarris-i Raḡawī, I, Tehran 1347/1968, 104-8).

The wide range of Abu ʿl-Faradj's influence is further attested by the many quotations from his poems in the *Kalīla wa-Dimna* adaptation by Naṣr Allāh Munshī, written about 540/1145-6, and by the frequent use of his verses as *shawāhid* by Shams-i Kayās in his textbook on the theory of poetry. In more recent times, a renewed interest in his work emerged after the "return" (*bāzgaṣṣh*) to the earlier styles of Persian poetry which occurred in Iran during the late 12th/18th century (cf. Ridā-Kulī Khān Hīdāyat, *Madjmaʿ al-fuṣahāʾ, mukāddama*). The perpetual war waged with the non-Muslim neighbours of Ghaznawid Hindūstān is often reflected in his poems. But the identification of events and placenames is still hampered by the philological unsufficiencies of the text of the *Dīwān* as it is accessible at this moment.

It cannot be doubted that the collections of Abu ʿl-Faradj's poems differed already at an early date as far as their contents and arrangement are concerned. Even Anwārī could only find a selection (*intikhab*) from which to make his own copy. The poem opening the *Dīwān*, according to ʿAwfī (= ed. Dāmghānī no. 53), is not the same as that which opens the collections contained in the oldest manuscripts known so far. The first printed text was an addition in the margin to a lithograph of the *Dīwān* of ʿUnṣurī (ed. by Ākā Muḥammad Ardakānī, Bombay 1320). A critical edition was published by K.I. Čaykin as an



annex (*damīma*) to *Armaghān*, vi (Tehran 1304/1925) with a biography and annotations to the text by Muḥammad 'Alī Nāṣih. The recent edition by Maḥmūd Maḥdawī Dāmghānī reproduces the text of its predecessor, adding variant readings from two ancient manuscripts, viz. a copy in the Chester Beatty Library (cf. *A catalogue of the Persian manuscripts and miniatures*, Dublin 1959, 4, no. 103) and a copy in the British Museum (cf. Ch. Rieu, *Supplement to the catalogue of the Persian manuscripts*, London 1895, 141, no. 211). Many manuscripts of the *Dīwān*, or of smaller collections of poems, still await to be examined (see e.g. A. Munzawī, *Fihrist-i nuskhahā-yi khaṭṭi-yi fārsī*, iii, Tehran 1350/1971, 2214-6, nos. 21375-417; Aḥmed Ateş, *İstanbul kütüphanelerinde Farsça manzum eserler*, i, İstanbul 1968, 212).

Bibliography: In addition to the works mentioned in the article, Nizāmī 'Arūdī, *Čahār maḳāla*, Tehran 1955-7, *matn* 44, cf. *ta'likāt* 115 ff., 194, 226; Abu 'l-Ma'ālī Naṣr Allāh Munshī, *Tarjama-yi Kaṭila wa-Dimna*, Tehran 1343/1954; 'Awfī, *Lubāb*, ed. Browne, ii, 241-5; ed. Nafīsī, Tehran 1335/1956, 419-23, cf. *ta'likāt* 714 ff.; Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Kayṣ al-Rāzī, *al-Muḍjam fi ma'āyir aṣṭūr al-'adjam*, Tehran 1338/1959; Amīn Aḥmad Rāzī, *Haft iktim*, Tehran 1340/1961, i, 339-44; Luṭf-'Alī Beg Ādhar, *Atashkada*, lith. Bombay 1299 A.H., 136-9; Riḍā-Kulī Khān Hidāyat, *Madḥam al-fuṣṣahā*, lith. ed. Tehran 1295 A.H., i, 70-8; Ch. Rieu, *Catalogue of the Persian manuscripts in the British Museum*, ii, 547-8; Dihkhudā, *Lughat-nāma*, s.v.; Dh. Šafā, *Tārīkh-i adabiyāt dar Irān*, ii, Tehran 1339/1960, 470-6 and *passim*; Husayn Nāyil, *Abu 'l-Faradj Rūnī*, in *Āryānā* (Kabul) xxii/1-2 (1342/1963), 19-24; M. Dī. Maḥdžub, *Sabk-i Khurāsānī dar shūr-i fārsī*, Tehran 1345/1966, 575-81 and *passim*; Maḥmūd Maḥdawī Dāmghānī, *muḳaddama and ta'likāt to Dīwān-i Abu 'l-Faradj Rūnī*, Mashhad 1348/1969. (J.T.P. DE BRUIJN)

ABU 'L-FARADJ IBN AL-ṬAYYIB [see IBN AL-ṬAYYIB].

ABU 'L-FATH AL-BALATĪ [see AL-BALATĪ in Suppl.].

ABU 'L-FATH AL-BUSTĪ [see AL-BUSTĪ].

ABU 'L-FATH AL-DAYLAMĪ AL-ḤUSAYN B. NĀSIR B. AL-ḤUSAYN, AL-NĀSIR LI-DĪN ALLĀH, Zaydī Imām. There are some variants in the sources in regard to his own, his father's and his grandfather's personal names. He belonged to a Ḥasanid family which had been prominent in Abhar for some generations. Nothing is known about his life before he came to the Yaman after 429/1038 claiming the Zaydī imāmate. He gained some tribal support in northern Yaman and established himself in the Zāhir Hamdān region where he built the fortress and town of Zaḥār [q.v.] near Dhū Bīn. In 437/1045-6 he entered and pillaged Sa'da, the stronghold of the descendants of al-Ḥādī ila 'l-Ḥaḳḳ [q.v.], and committed a slaughter among the Banū Khawlan living in the area. Still in Shawwāl 437/April-May 1046 he occupied Ṣan'ā'. In the following year he gained briefly the allegiance of Dja'far b. al-Kāsim al-'Iyānī, leader of a Zaydī faction which expected the return of his brother, the Imām al-Ḥusayn al-Mahdī [q.v.], as the Mahdī. Dja'far soon revolted against him, together with the Sultān Yahyā b. Abī Ḥāshid b. al-Daḥḥāk, chief of the Hamdān, and expelled his representatives from Ṣan'ā'. Thereafter the Imām and Dja'far fought each other with changing fortunes for the possession of the fortresses of Athāfīt and 'Adjīb. The situation of Abu 'l-Fath deteriorated further after 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Ṣulayhī occupied the Djabal Masār in 439/1047 and

quickly expanded his power over large areas of the Yaman. The Imām was soon deserted by most of his followers and was forced to move from town to town. In Rabī' I 444/July 1052 al-Ṣulayhī defeated and killed Abū Ḥāshid b. Yahyā b. Abī Ḥāshid and took possession of Ṣan'ā'. Abu 'l-Fath now corresponded with Naḍjāh, the lord of the Tihāma, inciting him against al-Ṣulayhī. When he invaded the Balad 'Ans later in the year 444/1052-3, he was defeated and killed by al-Ṣulayhī, together with some seventy supporters, at Naḍj al-Djāh and was buried in Radmān. His descendants were later known in the Yaman as the Banu 'l-Daylamī.

His Kur'ān commentary *al-Burhān* is extant in manuscript (*Fihrist kutub al-khiṣāna al-Mutawakkiliyya*, Ṣan'ā' n.d., 12; *Dār al-kutub: Kā'imāt al-makhṭūṭāt al-'arabiyya al-muṣawwara bi 'l-mikrūfīm min al-Djunhūriyya al-'Arabiyya al-Yamaniyya*, Cairo 1967, 6). A refutation of the Muṭarrifiyya [q.v.] sect is also ascribed to him.

Bibliography: Humayd al-Muḥallī, *al-Hadā'ik al-wardiyya*, ii, ms. Vienna, Glaser 116, ff. 110a-113b; Yahyā b. al-Husayn, *Chāyat al-amānī fi akhbār al-kuṭr al-Yamānī*, ed. S. 'Abd al-Fattāh 'Ashūr and M. Muṣṭafā Ziyāda, Cairo 1388/1968, i, 246 f., 250; al-'Arshī, *Bulāgh al-marām*, ed. Anastās Mārī al-Karmālī, Cairo 1939, 36 f.; H.C. Kay, *Yaman*, London 1892, 229 f.; H.F. al-Hamdānī, *al-Ṣulayhiyyūn*, Cairo [1955], 82; W. Madelung, *Der Imam al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm*, Berlin 1965, 205.

(W. MADELUNG)

ABU 'L-FATH AL-ISKANDARĪ [see AL-HAMADHĀNĪ].

ABU ḤAFṢ AL-SHITRANDJĪ [see AL-SHITRANDJĪ].

ABU 'L-ḤASAN AL-AḤMAR, the usual name of a philologist of Baṣra called 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan/al-Mubārak, who was taught by al-Kisā'ī [q.v.], whose eager pupil he was; after his master, he became tutor to the future caliphs al-Amin and al-Ma'mūn. The biographical sources record that al-Aḥmar was originally a member of al-Raṣhīd's guard, so that, being very attracted to the study of philology, he was unable to attend al-Kisā'ī's teaching sessions except when he was not on duty in the palace. When the master came to give lessons to the young princes, al-Aḥmar rushed towards him, both when he went in and when he came out took his stirrup and escorted him, whilst firing questions on grammar at him. When al-Kisā'ī was afflicted by leprosy and unable to teach the princes any longer, he was afraid lest one of the great grammarians of the period, Sībawayh or al-Akhḫaṣh [q.v.] might take his place; so he recommended as his own successor al-Aḥmar, who was in the end confirmed in the post. The biographical sources mention in this connection the custom whereby, after the first lesson, the new tutor received all the furnishings of the room in which he had been teaching; al-Aḥmar, whose house was too small to take this, saw himself offered now both a house and two slaves, one of each sex. Each day, he went along to learn that morning's lesson from al-Kisā'ī, who every month came to question his pupils in al-Raṣhīd's presence. In this way, al-Aḥmar acquired a vast amount of knowledge. He is said to have known 40,000 *shawāhid* verses and complete *kaṣidas*, but he had no pupils and did not transmit al-Kisā'ī's knowledge orally. This latter rôle devolved on his rival al-Farrā' [q.v.], but he was the author of two works, the *K. al-Tasrīf* and the *K. Tafannun al-bulaghā*. He died on the Pilgrimage road in 194/810.

Bibliography: *Fihrist*, 98; Khāṭib Baghdādī,

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T. Baghdād, xii, 104-5; Abu 'l-Tayyib al-Lughawī, *Marātib al-naḥwīyyīn*, Cairo 1955, 89-90; Zubaydī, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 147, Kīfī, *Inbāh*, Cairo 1369-74/1950-5, ii, 313-17; Anbārī, *Nuzha*, 59; Ma'sūdī, *Murūdj*, vi, 321-2 = § 2523; Yāqūt, *Udabā'*, xii, 5-12; Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 334; M. al-Makhlūmī, *Madrasat al-Kūfa*, Baghdād 1374/1955, 102; Bustānī, *DM*, iv, 250-1; Ziriklī, *A'lām*, v, 79. (Ch. PELLAT)

ABU 'L-HASAN AL-ANṢĀRĪ, 'ALĪ B. MŪSĀ B. 'ALĪ B. ARFA' (Rāfi') RĀSUH AL-ANDALUSĪ AL-DJAYYĀNĪ (515-93/1121-97), a preacher of Fez, and member of a family of whom one person (Ibn Arfa' Rāsuḥ) is mentioned in the 5th/11th century at Toledo as a composer of *muwaṣṣṣahāt* (Ibn al-Khaṭīb has preserved ten examples in his *Djāysh al-tawṣīh*, Nos. 49-58; cf. S.M. Stern, *Les chansons mozarabes*, Palermo 1953, 43-4; E. García Gómez, *Métrica de la moaxaja y métrica española*, in *al-And.*, xxxix (1974), 25). 'Alī b. Mūsā's fame rests on a poem in 1,414 verses (rhyme -tā, metre *ṭawīl*) on the subject of alchemy and variously called *Diwān shudhūr al-dhahab* fi 'l-sinā'a al-sharīfa/fi fann al-salāmat, and *Diwān al-shudhūr wa-tahkīk al-umūr*. This poem's great vogue, whose author gained the name "Poet of the alchemists and alchemist of the poets", is shown by the great number of mss. and commentaries extant, and it was said that if he could not teach the making of gold, he could at least teach *adab*. Furthermore, this poet-chemist left other writings, of a religious nature, *al-Tibb al-rūḥānī bi 'l-Ḳur'ān al-raḥmānī* (ms. BN. 2643) and *Djīkhāt fī 'ilm al-tawḍīḥāt* (ms. B.N. 3253).

Bibliography: Makkarī, ii, 410; Kutubī, *Fawāt*, No. 319, ed. Iḥṣān 'Abbās, ii, 181-4; Bustānī, *DM*, iv, 252; Brockelmann, I, 496, S I, 908, 2nd edn. I, 654. (Ed.)

ABU 'L-HASAN AL-BATTĪ, AḤMAD B. 'ALĪ, poet and littérateur, originally from al-Batt in 'Irāk (Yāqūt, i, 488), who was a member of the staff of al-Ḳādir's chancery (reigned 381-422/992-1031). When the future caliph had in 381/991 to flee from al-Tā'ī, al-Battī had already been in his service, since it was with him that al-Ḳādir sought refuge. Hence as soon as he succeeded to the caliphate, he appointed al-Battī to his *diwān*, where he was in charge of the postal service and of intelligence. A Mu'tazilī in theology and a Hanafī in *fiqh*, he had previously specialised in study of the *Ḳur'ān* and *ḥadīth*, but with his new duties, he soon became for his colleagues the archetypal *adīb* with a vast knowledge of literature, a fine hand for calligraphy, and a certain talent for letter-writing and versifying which made him well-renowned. Since he was extremely witty, had a fierce humour and quick repartee, possessed a great store of anecdotes which he could retail in a sparkling fashion and had a good knowledge of music and singing, he shone with special brightness in the circles of the Būyids. He was intimately linked with al-Sharīf al-Raḍī [q.v.] who, on his death, in Sha'bān 405/Jan.-Febr. 1015, dedicated to him his last composition; al-Sharīf al-Murtadā [q.v.] likewise wrote an elegy on him. His own poetry was comparatively mediocre, and it was really as a *rawī* that he excelled. However, three works are credited to him, a *K. al-Ḳādirī*, a *K. al-Amīdī* and a *K. al-Fakhrī*, whose contents are unknown but which must have been biographical in nature.

Bibliography: Tawḥīdī, *Intā'*, iii, 100; Tanūkhī, *Nishwār*, Cairo 1392/1972, iv, 256, v, 224, 225, vii, 24; Khaṭīb Baghdādī, *T. Baghdād*, iv, 320, xiv, 328; Sibṭ Ibn al-Djauzī, *Muntazam*, vii, 263; Ṣafadī, *Wāḍi*, vii, 231-4; Ibn al-Aṭhīr, ix, 175;

Yāqūt, *Udabā'*, iii, 254-70 (details here also on the dress of the *kuttāb*); Bustānī, *DM*, iv, 253; Ziriklī, *A'lām*, i, 165; Kaḥḥāla, *Mu'allifīn*, i, 319. (Ed.)

ABU 'L-HASAN DJILWA, MĪRZĀ, Persian philosopher, poet and recluse. He was born in 1238/1823 in Ahmādābād, Guḍjarāt, where his father, MīrZā Sayyid Muḥammad, member of a *sayyid* family from Ardīstān, was engaged in trade. After a brief period in Bombay, Djilwa was brought to Iṣfahān by his father at the age of seven and began his education. When his father died seven years later, he decided to devote himself to learning, conscious of the scholarly and literary traditions of his family: MīrZā Rāfi' al-Dīn Nā'imī (d. 1082/1671), a celebrated theologian and jurist, was among his ancestors; the poet Mīdjmār (d. 1225/1810) had been his paternal uncle; and even his father had composed poetry under the pen-name of Mazhar. Djilwa took up residence at the Kāsagarān *madrasa* and soon developed a predilection for the rational sciences, in particular, for metaphysics. It was also at this time that he began the composition of poetry under the pen-name of Djilwa, which became the appellation by which he was generally known. In his autobiographical sketch, Djilwa does not mention the name of any of his teachers in Iṣfahān, remarking only that he soon tired of attending their lectures and therefore began to study independently and himself to offer instruction (le Comte Arthur de Gobineau, in his *Les religions et les philosophes dans l'Asie Centrale*, new ed., Paris 1928, 85, mentions a certain Mullā Abu 'l-Ḥasan Ardīstānī whose teachers were Muḥammad Ḥasan Gilānī and MīrZā Muḥammad Ḥasan Nūrī; it is possible that this Abu 'l-Ḥasan is identical with Djilwa). In 1274/1857 he came to Tehran and took up residence in the Dār al-Shīfā' *madrasa*; the two narrow rooms allotted him there were to be his home for the remaining forty years of his life. He lived the life of a recluse, and although he had a number of aristocratic admirers and friends, such as MīrZā Maḥmūd Khān Māzandarānī Muṣṣir al-Wizāra, who pressed invitations upon him, he scarcely ever left the *madrasa*. Surprisingly, however, despite his deep roots in traditional philosophy, Djilwa is recorded to have been a member of MīrZā Malkum Khān's pseudo-masonic organisation, the *farāmūshkhāna*, and to have attended its meetings in the house of Djalāl al-Dīn MīrZā (H. Algar, *Mirza Malkum Khan: a study in the history of Iranian modernism*, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1973, 49-50). The only journey outside Tehran that he undertook was a brief one to Gilān and Adharbāyḍjān. He received at the *madrasa*, with some disdain, visits by Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh and the British orientalist, E.G. Browne (*A year amongst the Persians*, Cambridge 1927, 162). Among his principal pupils were the Ni'matullāhī Sūfī, Ma'sūm 'Alī Shāh (d. 1324/1926) (see his *Tarā'ik al-hakā'ik*, ed. Muḥammad Dja'far Maḥdījūb, Tehran 1339/1960, iii, 507), Sayyid Hāshim Ushkūrī (d. 1332/1914) (see Muḥammad Hīrz al-Dīn, *Ma'arīf al-riḡāl fī tarāḡīm al-'ulamā' wa 'l-udabā'*, Nadjaf 1384/1964, iii, 271), and Sayyid Ḥusayn Bādkubā'i (see preface by S.H. Naṣr to his translation of Muḥammad Ḥusayn Ṭabāṭabā'i's *Shī'ite Islam*, Albany, N.Y. 1955, 22). Djilwa died in 1314/1897 and was buried in Rayy near the tomb of Ibn Bābūya. Later, an impressive structure was built over his grave by MīrZā Aḥmad Khān Naṣir al-Dawla and Sultān Ḥasan MīrZā Nayyir al-Dawla. Djilwa was described by Ma'sūm 'Alī Shāh as the "renewer of peripatetic philosophy in the fourteenth (Hidjri) century", as opposed to his friend and contemporary,



Ākā 'Alī Ḥakīm-Ilāhī, who followed the school of illuminationism (*ishrāk*) (*Tarā'ik al-ḥakā'ik*, loc. cit.). But despite his great fame, he never composed original works, regarding independent writing on philosophy as "difficult or even impossible" after the achievements of his predecessors (autobiographical sketch quoted by Muḥsin al-Amīn in *A'yān al-Shī'a*, Beirut 1380/1960, vi, 216), and he preferred instead to write commentaries and glosses on the work of Avicenna and Mullā Ṣadrā. Two of these have been printed in the margin of Ṣadrā's *Sharḥ al-Hidāyat al-Atharīyya*, Tehran 1313/1895. His *Dīwān* is also said to have been published.

Bibliography: in addition to the works mentioned in the text, see 'Abbās b. Muḥammad Ridā Kummī, *Hadīyat al-ahbāb*, Najaf 1349/1930, 11; Mīrzā Muḥammad 'Alī Mudarris, *Rayḥanat al-adab*, Tabriz n.d., i, 419-20; Muḥsin al-Amīn, *A'yān al-Shī'a*, Beirut 1380/1960, vi, 214-16 (including, in Arabic translation, the autobiographical account of Djilwa first printed in *Nāma-yi dānīshwarān-i nāsirī*; Mahdī Bāmdād, *Sharḥ-i ḥāl-i raḡāl-i Irān dar kamhā-yi 12 va 13 va 14-i Hidrī*, Tehran 1347/1968).

(H. ALGAR)

ABU 'L-ḤASAN AL-MAGHRIBĪ, MUHAMMAD B. AḤMAD B. MUHAMMAD, poet and littérateur of the 4th/10th century whose origin is unknown. He seems to have undergone many vicissitudes, since he appears in the service of Sayf al-Dawla, of al-Ṣāhib Ibn 'Abbād and of the ruler of Khurāsān, where he met Abu 'l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī, and he also resided in Egypt, in the Ḍjabal, and in Transoxania, at *Shāsh*. The surviving verses of this great traveller are occasional pieces without any great originality, but he seems also to have been the author of several epistles and books, in particular, of a *Tuḥfat al-kuttāb fi 'l-rasā'il* and a *Tadhkirat/Mudhakkarat al-nadīm*, in which there were no doubt pieces of advice on style and valuable data on the literary circles of the age. He is also famed from the fact that he was probably the transmitter of al-Mutanabbī's work in the lands of the east, since Yāqūt says of him that he was the *rāwīya* of the celebrated poet, encountered at Baghdād. However, if he made an apology for the poet in his *K. al-Intiṣār al-munabbī 'an jadā'il al-Mutanabbī*, followed by a *Bakīyyat al-Intiṣār al-mukhtār li 'l-ikhtisār*, he was equally the author—for reasons unknown to us—of a *K. al-Nabih/Tanbih al-munabbī 'an raḡā'il al-Mutanabbī*, which must be the oldest criticism of the poet's work.

Bibliography: Tha'alibī, *Yatīma*, iv, 81; Yāqūt, *Udabā'*, xvii, 127-32; R. Blachère, *Abou t-Tayyib al-Mutanabbī*, Paris 1935, 227, 273-4; Bustānī, *DM*, iv, 264. (Ed.)

ABU 'L-ḤASAN AL-RABA'Ī [see AL-RABA'Ī].**ABU 'L-ḤASAN AL-RUMMĀNĪ** [see AL-RUMMĀNĪ].

ABŪ HAYYĀ AL-NUMAYRĪ, the usual name for AL-HAYTHAM B. AL-RABĪ' B. ZURĀRA, a minor poet of Baṣra of the 2nd/8th century. The date of his death is given variously in the biographical sources, with dates ranging from 143/760 to 210/825, and the only point of reference which we have is the fact that he was considered as the *rāwīya* of al-Farazdaq (d. 110/728). Of Bedouin origin, Abū Hayyā must have lived for quite a long time in the desert, to judge by the verses which al-Djāhīz cites in his *K. al-Hayawān*, and which other, subsequent authors cite, apparently considering him as an authority. This is not, however, the image that one gains of this personage by reading the notices of him in the biographical sources, since he became legendary for his

cowardice (stories of his sword, pompously called *Lu'ab al-manīyya*, of a dog which frightened him to death, etc.), his tendency to romance and to boast about outstanding deeds of valour (in particular, he claimed to be able to converse with the *djinn*), and his weakness of mind (*lūḥa*), which led to his being sometimes grouped amongst those possessed (especially as he was allegedly epileptic); more indulgently, al-Djāhīz merely classes him amongst the foolish persons, *naḥkā*, and forebears to reproduce anecdotes in which he is the hero and which could very well be invented tales.

The biographers state and repeat that Abū Hayyā wrote eulogies to the last Umayyads and the first 'Abbāsids, but it very much seems, unless one is mistaken, that none of his panegyrics have been preserved. They further state that he wrote *uqūṣas* as well as *kaṣīdas*, but the great majority of his surviving verses are not in *raḡīaz* at all. According to the *Fihrist*, 231, his *dīwān* took up 50 leaves, and one must accept that this work was not lacking in quality, since isolated verses and fragments were appreciated by the critics. Although accusing him of some defects, notably a characteristic ingenuousness (al-'Askarī, *Sinā'atayn*, 165; al-Marzubānī, *Muwashshah*, 227-8), they remark that his style was free from affectation and padding, though sometimes difficult; Abū 'Amr Ibn al-'Alā' even judged Abū Hayyā to be superior to his fellow-tribesman al-Rā'ī [q.v.]. As a rule, the pieces of poetry which have been preserved have a descriptive, bacchic, satirical or elegiac character; according to Ibn al-Mu'tazz, the verses inspired by his wife, who died when still young, were often quoted.

Bibliography (in addition to references in the article): *Djāhīz*, *Bayān*, i, 385, ii, 225, 229-30; idem, *Hayawān*, index; Ibn Kutayba, *Shī'r*, 749-50; idem, *Uyūn*, index, idem, *Ma'ārif*, 87; Abū Tammām, *Hamāsa*, ii, 105, 133; Buḥturī, *Hamāsa*, 287; Ibn al-Mu'tazz, *Ṭabaqāt*, 61-3; Kālī, *Amālī*, i, 69, ii, 185; Bakrī, *Simt al-la'ālī*, i, 97, 244; Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, index; *Aghānī*, ed. Beirut, xvi, 235-9; *al-Mukhtār min-shī'r Baḥshār*, ed. 1353, 38, 39, 238; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, *Ikḍ*, index; Marzubānī, *Muḍjam*, 193; Ḥuṣrī, *Zahr al-ādāb*, 14-5, 198, 218-19; idem, *Ḍjam' al-djāwāhir*, 217-9, 292, 22-3, 227, 477-8; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, iv, No. 327; Āmidī, *Mu'talif*, 103; Ibn al-Djāwzī, *Akhhbār al-hamkā wa-l-mughaffalīn*, Baghdād 1966, 226; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, iii, 35; Baghdādī, *Khizāna*, ed. Būlāk, iii, 154, iv, 283-5; Iṣṣhīhī, *Mustatraf*, i, 305; 'Askarī, *Sinā'atayn*, 165, 208; idem, *Dīwān al-mā'ānī*, ed. 1933, ii, 127; Suyūṭī, *Muzhīr*, index; R. Basset, *Mille et un contes*, i, 536; Pellat, *Milieu*, 160; Bustānī, *DM*, iv, 281-2; Ziriklī, *A'lām*, ix, 114; Wahhābī, i, 168-70. (CH. PELLAT)

ABŪ HIFFĀN, 'ABD ALLĀH B. AḤMAD B. ḤARB AL-MIHZAMĪ, collector of poetical *akhhbār*, *rāwī* and poet in Arabic, (died between 255/869 and 257/871). Virtually nothing is known of his life, except that he came from a Baṣran family stemming from the B. Miḥzam of 'Abd al-Qays, and that he gloried in his Arab origin. He led a fairly poor and constricted life, to the point that he had to sell his clothing to procure food, and he complains of this frequently in his verses.

His reputation arises primarily from his role as a transmitter of poetical *akhhbār*, and he has a place in the *isnāds* or chains of supporting transmitters of several important works, such as the *K. al-Aghānī*, the *Muwashshah* of al-Marzubānī and the works of al-Ṣūlī and Ibn al-Djarrāh. He knew the circles of



the poets very well, and previous to his own activity, various of his paternal and maternal uncles had specialised in the collection and transmission of literary anecdotes. He was in contact with Abū Nuwās, whose protégé and *rāwī* he was, and through this connection he developed, and came in his own right to follow the activities of the great contemporary poets, and especially, of the libertine poets. As well as his own master Abū Nuwās, he frequented the company of al-Ḥusayn b. al-Ḍaḥḥāk, al-Buḥturī, al-Ḳhuraymī, and also al-Ḍajāḥiz, Tha'lab, al-Mubarrad, etc.

He himself put together a work called the *Akhbār Abī Nuwās*, which has come down to us, and a *K. Sinā'at al-shu'arā'* and a *K. Akhbār al-shu'arā'*, of which no trace has survived but were certainly used in the 3rd and 4th centuries by several writers of *adab* works.

Abū Hiffān was also a poet, but only a few dozen of his verses have been preserved, sc. fragments of eulogies addressed to 'Alī b. Yahyā al-Munadjjidīm and 'Ubayd Allāh b. Yahyā b. Ḳhākān; of satires addressed to Ahmad b. Abī Du'ād and al-Buḥturī; epigrammatic exchanges, not always in the best of taste, with Abū 'Alī al-Baṣrī, Sa'id b. Humayd, Abū 'l-'Aynā' and Ya'kūb al-Tammār, all these being his companions in nocturnal sessions; and a few love verses. It is surprising that nothing has come down to us from his wine poetry, which Ibn al-Mu'tazz says enjoyed a wide currency. Altogether, Abū Hiffān was a minor poet who has contributed, through his anecdotes, to our knowledge of the history and sociology of poetry in the 2nd/8th and 3rd/9th centuries.

Bibliography: 'A. Ahmad Farrādī has edited the *Akhbār Abī Nuwās*, Cairo 1373/1953 (an edition with numerous verses in the text censored) with a bibliographical note, to be completed by Bencheikh, *Les voies d'une création*, typescript thesis, the Sorbonne 1971, i, 116-7, and idem, *Les secrétaires poètes et animateurs de cénacles aux II^e et III^e siècles de l'hégire*, in *JA* (1975), 265-315.

(J.E. BENCHEIKH)

ABU 'L-ḤUSAYN AL-BAṢRĪ, MUḤAMMAD B. 'ALĪ B. AL-ṬAYYIB B. AL-ḤUSAYN, Mu'tazilī theologian. Little is known about his education and early career. He originated from Baṣra where he heard *ḥadīth*. As he studied *kalām* and *uṣūl al-fikh* with Ḳāḍī 'Abd al-Ḍabbār [q.v.], he must have visited Rayy for some time. With the Christian Abū 'Alī b. al-Samḥ, a student of Yahyā b. 'Adī, he studied philosophy and sciences, presumably in Baghdad. This is attested by a manuscript containing his redaction of the notes of Ibn al-Samḥ on the *Physics* of Aristotle. He may have also studied and practised medicine for some time if he is, as has been suggested, identical with the Abū 'l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī mentioned by Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a as a physician contemporary with Abū 'l-Faraj b. al-Ṭayyib. Al-Ḍahabī refers to him as *al-kāḍī*, but there is no other evidence that he ever held an official position. During the later part of his life he taught and wrote in Baghdad. As his two *uṣūl al-fikh* works, the *Sharḥ al-Umad* and the *K. al-Mu'tamad*, were composed still before the death of his teacher 'Abd al-Ḍabbār in 415/1024-5, he must have begun his teaching career in Baghdad before that date. He died in Baghdad on 5 Rabī' II 436/30 October 1044. The fact that the Ḥanafī *kāḍī* Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Saymarī led the funeral prayer for him indicates that he belonged to the Ḥanafī *madhhab*, not to the Shāfi'ī as suggested by some sources.

Of his works on the *uṣūl al-fikh*, his commentary

(*sharḥ*) on 'Abd al-Ḍabbār's *K. al-Umad* appears to be lost. His *K. al-Mu'tamad*, written later, has been edited together with his *Ṣiyādāt al-mu'tamad* and *K. al-Kiyās al-shar'i* (ed. M. Hamidullah, Damascus 1965). This work became popular also among non-Mu'tazilī scholars and, according to Ibn Ḳhallikān, formed the basis of Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī's *K. al-Maḥṣūl*. None of his *kalām* works appears to be extant. The largest one, *K. Taṣaffuh al-adilla*, remained unfinished, as he had only reached the chapter on the *visio beatifica* before he died. On the *K. Ḳhwar al-adilla*, Ibn Abī 'l-Ḥadid [q.v.] wrote a commentary. A short fragment on the question of the imāmate extant in manuscript (Vienna, Glaser 114) is probably an extract from his *K. Sharḥ al-Uṣūl al-khamsa*. His theological doctrine can, however, be recovered from later references and especially from the extant parts of the *K. al-Mu'tamad fī uṣūl al-dīn* (ms. Ṣan'a') of his student Maḥmūd al-Malāḥimī, who quotes the *K. Taṣaffuh al-adilla* extensively. Also lost are his refutations of two works of the Imāmī Sharīf al-Murtaḍā, his contemporary in Baghdad: the *K. al-Shāfi* on the imāmate and the *K. al-Muknī* on the doctrine of the concealment (*ghayba*) of the Twelfth Imām.

In his doctrine, Abū 'l-Ḥusayn al-Baṣrī was deeply influenced by the concepts of the philosophers and diverged from the Bahāshima, the school of Abū Ḥāshim al-Ḍubbārī represented by his teacher 'Abd al-Ḍabbār. He was therefore shunned by the Bahāshima, who accused him of refuting his Mu'tazilī *shaykhs* in an unfair and injurious manner. This charge is repeated by al-Shahrastānī, who maintains that he was really a philosopher in his views (*jal-safī al-madhhab*) but the Mu'tazilī *mutakallimūn* were not aware of this fact. Ibn al-Ḳifī, too, suggests that he concealed his philosophical views under the forms of expression of the *kalām* theologians in order to guard himself from his contemporaries. Notable points on which he differed from the Bahāshima were his rejection of their theory of modes (*ahwāl*) [q.v.] and their thesis that the non-existent (*ma'dūm*) is a thing, his indecision about their theory of atomism, his admission of the miracles of saints (*karāmāt*), and his reduction of the divine attributes of will, hearing and seeing to that of knowledge. Evidently also under the influence of the doctrine of the philosophers, he affirmed that the acts of man occur necessarily in accordance with their motive (*dā'i*) thus, as Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī pointed out, in effect undermining the Mu'tazilī doctrine of human free will.

Abū 'l-Ḥusayn's school was continued by his students, the Ḳh'ārazmian Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad al-Malāḥimī and Abū 'Alī Muḥammad b. Ahmad b. al-Walīd al-Karkhī (d. 478/1086) who, like his teacher, also studied logic and philosophy and taught in Baghdad. According to Ibn al-Murtaḍā, Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī adopted many of his views on the "subtleties" (*latīf*) of *kalām*, i.e. matters not touching fundamental dogma. His theological doctrine progressively exerted a strong influence among the Imāmiyya and, to a lesser extent, among the Zaydiyya.

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Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, ed. Ihsān 'Abbās, Beirut 1968-72, iv, 271 f.; al-Dhahabī, *Mizān al-ʿitdāl*, ed. 'Alī Muḥ. al-Biḍjāwī, Cairo 1963, iii, 654 f.; idem, al-'Ibar, iii, ed. Fu'ād Sayyid, Kuwait 1961, 187; al-Idjī, *al-Mawāḳif*, ed. Th. Soerensen, Leipzig 1848, 106-12; al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfi*, iv, ed. S. Dederling, Damascus 1959, 125; Ibn Abi 'l-Wafā', *al-Djauāhir al-muḍī'a*, Ḥaydarābād 1332, ii, 93 f.; Ibn al-Murtaḍā, *Ṭabaḳāt al-mu'tazila*, ed. S. Diwald-Wilzer, Wiesbaden 1961, 118 f.; A.S. Tritton, *Muslim theology*, London 1947, 193-5; S.M. Stern, *Ibn al-Samh*, in *JRAS* (1956), 33-41; M. Hamidullah, introd. to edition of *K. al-Mu'tamad*; *GAS*, I, 627; The section on consensus in the *K. al-Mu'tamad* has been translated and analysed by M. Bernard, *L'accord unanime de la communauté... d'après Abū 'l-Husayn al-Baṣrī*, Paris 1970.

(W. MADELUNG)

ABŪ ḤUZĀBA, AL-WALĪD B. ḤUNAYFA (b. Naḥik in Tabarī, ii, 393) AL-TAMĪMĪ, a minor poet of the 1st/7th century. He was a Bedouin who settled at Baṣra and was a panegyrist, at the time of Ziyād b. Abīhi (45-53/665-72) or shortly after, of 'Abd Allāh b. Khālīd b. Asīd, governor of Fārs. His family urged him strongly to join the circle of Yazīd b. Mu'āwiya, before the latter's assumption of the caliphate (60/680); he finally decided to try his luck, but was not received by the prince, and he returned to Baṣra and joined up with the army. He was sent to Sīstān (Sīdijstān), and from 60/680-1, under the orders of Salm b. Ziyād, he sang the praises of the governor Ṭalḥa al-Ṭalaḥāt [q.v.]; he recited a funeral elegy on the latter which contained critical aspersions on Ṭalḥa's successor, 'Abd Allāh b. 'Alī al-'Abshāmī, who had shown himself less generous to the poet. He also had occasion in Sīdijstān to mourn the death of a certain Nāshira al-Yarbu'ī killed at the time of Ibn al-Zubayr, in an elegy set to music by Ibn Djamī [q.v.]. Finally, he returned to Baṣra and then, after various adventures, rallied to the cause of Ibn al-Ash'ath [q.v.] and was possibly killed at the same time as him (85/704).

Abu Ḥuzāba had the reputation of turning nasty when his hopes of reward were disappointed. He has left behind a certain number of *raḍīaz* poems, as well as *kaṣidas* which have kept his name from falling into oblivion.

Bibliography: *Djāhīz*, *Ḥayawān*, i, 255, iii, 381-2; idem, *Bayān*, iii, 329; Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, *Tab.* 72 and ii, 586; Muṣ'ab al-Zubayrī, *Nasab Kuraysh*, 188; Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, ivb, 153; *Aghānī*, ed. Beirut, xxii, 271-82; Āmidī, *Mu'talif*, 64; *Dhahabī*, *Mushābih*, 160; Bustānī, *DM*, iv, 247.

(CH. PELLAT)

ABŪ 'L-'IBAR, ABŪ 'L-'ABBĀS MUḤAMMAD B. AḤMAD B. 'ABD ALLĀH AL-ḤASHĪMĪ, burlesque poet and member of the ruling family, who was born in ca. 175/791-2 in the reign of al-Raṣhīd and who died in 252/866, probably assassinated by an 'Alid partisan. He is known by the name of Abu 'l-Ibar, a sobriquet which he made up himself, adding a letter each year, and in the end making it unpronounceable. He was carefully educated, had an acute literary sense and was a fine connoisseur of poetry. The severe al-Ma'mūn did not appreciate him, and even imprisoned him, but he welcomed the accession of al-Mutawakkil, giving himself up to all sorts of amusing deeds.

Since he felt his way blocked by the great poets of his time, and in particular, by Abū Tammām and al-Buḥturī, he found it more profitable to devote himself to *humk* and *sukhf*, thereby illustrating a tradition which was to continue with e.g. Ibn al-

Ḥaḍjdjādī and Ibn al-Habbāriyya [q.v.]. Abu 'l-Ibar did not allow his membership of the caliphal family to constrict him, and cultivated a real burlesque art in his own life and writings, in which he displayed acrobatics. In reality, under the form of burlesque, satire is often hidden, and under the form of buffoonery, an element of suffering. Whether he invents new words, writes phrases devoid of sense, wittily parodies a scholar, or fishes with a line in the pond of the caliphal palace, he goes quite contrary to the accepted cultural norms, defies the usual patterns, confronts an atmosphere of seriousness with drollery, and in short, gives himself up to grotesque pieces of clowning which might have opened up a way for an original and new strain in Arabic literature. But for this, Arabo-Islamic culture would have had to accept new values alien to its own ones. The terms of *humk* and *sukhf* show clearly the lack of esteem for these tentative efforts, which never had any really fruitful consequences [cf. ABŪ 'L-'ANBAS above].

Bibliography: *Aghānī*, xxiii, 76-86; Süli, *Akhbār al-Buḥturī*, 170-1; idem, *Awraḳ*, ii, 323-33; Kutubī, *Fawāt al-wafayāt*, ii, 354-6, No. 386; *Fihrist*, 223-4; Yākūt, *Udabā'*, xvii, 122-7; Muḥammad b. Dāwūd al-Djarrāh, *Waraka*, 120-1; cf. J.E. Bencheikh, *Le cénacle d'al-Mutawakkil, contribution à l'étude des instances de légitimation littéraire*, in *Mélanges Henri Laoust = BEO*, xxix (1977).

(J.E. BENCHEIKH)

ABŪ 'IMRĀN AL-FĀSĪ, MŪSĀ B. 'ISĀ B. ABĪ ḤADJĠ/HADJĠĀD (?), Mālikī *fakīh*, probably born between 365/975 and 368/978 at Fās into a Berber family whose *nisba* is impossible to reconstruct. No doubt to complete his studies, but perhaps also because of other reasons hard to discern, he went to settle in al-Qayrawān, where his master was in particular al-Kābisī (d. 403/1012 [q.v.]). He is known to have stayed in Cordova with Ibn 'Abd al-Barr [q.v.] and to have profited by the chance to follow the lectures of various scholars there, which his biographers list, without however giving the date of this journey. Soon after the end of the century, he went to the East, possibly spending some years in Mecca, since he made the Pilgrimage several times, and deriving further instruction from the *fukahā'* of the Holy City. In 399/1008-9 he was in Baghdād, benefiting from the teaching of al-Bakillānī (d. 403/1013 [q.v.]), a Mālikī like himself but an Ash'arī in *kalām*, and it was in the 'Irākī capital that he had the revelation of a theological doctrine in whose subsequent diffusion in the West he was to take part (see H.R. Idris, *Essai sur la diffusion de l'as'arisme en Ifrīqiya*, in *Cahiers de Tunisie*, ii (1953), 134-5). He returned to Mecca from Baghdād, and then in ca. 402/1011 returned via Egypt to al-Qayrawān, which he never seems then to have left apart from a last journey to the East in ca. 425/1033-4 or 426/1034-5. He died on 13 Ramaḍān 430/8 June 1039 in his adopted home; al-Mu'izz b. Bādīs [q.v.] was present at his funeral, together with a great crowd, and his tomb has henceforth been venerated as equal to that of a saint. His descendants still live in al-Qayrawān.

His biographers stress the breadth and diversity of his education, and mention in detail the numerous teachers whose courses he followed, both at al-Qayrawān and during his travels; and they make him in some way the heir of Mālikī teaching at the opening of the 4th/10th century. Nor do they omit to list all the pupils who thronged his courses, and they give the impression that he exercised a deep influence on intellectual activity in the juridical-religious domain. He was at the outset a specialist on the seven readings



of the Qur'an, and then after his return from the East, turned to *ḥadīth* and *fikh* and, to some extent, *kalām*. He attracted a host of disciples not only from Ifrīqiya, but even from Spain, Sicily and Morocco, and several of these later made a name for themselves. Furthermore, he kept up a correspondence with scholars in distant places, who consulted him on points of doctrine, and he even gave *idjāzas* at a distance. It would be tedious to enumerate here all the pupils of his mentioned by biographers but one should mention that they included Ibn Sharaf [q.v.], and a person homonymous with the name of the author of the *Umda*, 'Abd Allāh Ibn Rashīk (d. 419/1028), who was also a poet, and dedicated to him the greater part of his verse (see Ch. Bouyabia, *La vie littéraire en Ifrīqiya sous les Zirides*, Tunis 1972, 67, 116).

Two other pupils of Abū 'Imrān's ought to be mentioned also because they were associated with important historical events. At a date which, with Ibn Abī Zar' (*Kirfās*, 122-3) can be fixed at 427/1035-6 (whilst Ibn Khaldūn, *Berbères*, ii, 67, places the events in 440/1048-9, Ibn 'Idhārī, *Bayān*, iii, 242, in 444/1052-3 and Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 258-9, in 447/1056, which is unlikely), the Lamtūna chief Yahyā b. Ibrāhīm passed through al-Kayrawān whilst returning from the Pilgrimage, attended Abū 'Imrān's courses and, realising the depth of his compatriots' ignorance, asked the great scholar to designate one of his followers to go and teach them. Abū 'Imrān then recommended to him one of his former pupils called Ugg'ag (Wadjdjād in Arabic transcription), who had returned to his own land, and this latter scholar in turn designated 'Abd Allāh b. Yāsīn (see al-Bakrī, *Description de l'Afrique septentrionale*, new edn. Paris 1965, 165-6/311-12; *al-Hulal al-mawshīyya*¹, 9; A. Bel, *La religion musulmane en Berbérie*, Paris 1938, 215; G. Marçais, *La Berbérie musulmane et l'Orient au moyen âge*, Paris 1946, 238; H. Terrasse, *Histoire du Maroc*, Casablanca 1949, i, 214; J. Bosch Vilá, *Los Almorávides*, Tetuan 1956, 49; and see AL-MURĀBITŪN). Now the anonymous author of the *Mafākhir al-Barbar* (ed. E. Lévi-Provençal, *Fragments historiques sur les Berbères au moyen âge*, Rabat 1934, 69) states that these two men impelled the Almoravids to expand out of the Sahara on the order (*bi-amr*) of Abū 'Imrān.

One would like to have exact details about this, but if the assertion is true, it shows the influence of the Kayrawānī *fakīh*, which was, at all events, a profound one. His pupils transmitted his oral teachings and doubtless also his works (cf. Ibn Khayr, *Fahrāsa*, i, 440), which do not however seem to have been very numerous. Some of his *fatwās* have been preserved, in particular by al-Wansharīsī in his *Mīyār* (but one should be careful, since the name "Abū 'Imrān al-Fāsī" was fairly widespread; see e.g. Brockelmann, S II, 961; a *K. al-Dalā'il wa 'l-addād* is mentioned in the *Mīyār*, x, 105, and a manuscript of *al-Ihkām li-masā'il al-ahkām al-mustakhradja min Kitāb al-Dalā'il wa 'l-addād li-Abi 'Imrān al-Fāsī* has also been catalogued (1342-D. 1444) at Rabat). His *K. al-Ta'ālīk 'alā 'l-Mudawwana* is one of the Qāḍī 'Iyād's sources (*Madārik*, i, 56), who cites him frequently. He is moreover said to have made a selection of *ḥadīths* which was especially important and covered a hundred leaves, and a *Fahrāsa* is attributed to him; finally, a manuscript of his *Naṣā'ir* is mentioned as existing at Algiers (Brockelmann, S I, 660-1). Some verses are also attributed to him.

Bibliography: In addition to sources already cited, see: Western biographical sources:

'Iyād, *Tartīb al-Madārik*, ed. A. Bakrī, Beirut n.d., iv, 702-6 and index; Ibn Nādjī, *Ma'ālim al-imān*, Tunis 1320, iii, 199-205; Ibn Farhūn, *Dibāḡī*, Cairo 1329, 344-5; Tādli, *al-Tashawwuf ilā riḍāl al-tashawwuf*, ed. A. Faure, Rabat 1958, 64-6; al-Wazīr al-Sarrādjī, *al-Hulal al-sundusiyya*, ed. al-Hīla, Tunis, ix, 272-3; Humaydī, *Ḥadhiya*, Cairo 1952, No. 791; Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Šila*, No. 1223; Dabbī, *Bughya*, Madrid 1884, No. 1332; Ibn al-Abbār, *Takmila*, No. 679—Oriental biographical sources: Ibn al-Djazarī, *Kurra'*, No. 3691; Dhahabī, *Huffāz*, iii, 284-6; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, iii, 807; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Nuḍūm*, v, 30 (on p. 77, he makes Abū 'Imrān die in 458); Ibn al-Imād, *Shadharāt*, iii, 247-8; F. Bustānī, *DM*, iv, 483; Ziriklī, *A'lām*, viii, 278.—Studies: H.R. Idris, *Zirides*, index; idem, *Deux maîtres de l'école juridique kairouanaise...*, in *AIEO Alger*, xiii (1955), 42-60 (detailed study, with rich bibliography).

(CH. PELLAT)

ABŪ ISHĀK AL-FĀRISĪ, IBRĀHĪM B. 'ALĪ (d. after 377/987), celebrated grammarian and also lexicographer of the golden age of grammatical studies in Baghdād during the 4th/10th century, and equally a poet. As a pupil of Abū 'Alī al-Fārīsī (d. 377/987 [q.v.]) and of al-Rummānī (d. 384/994 [q.v.]), he belonged to the second generation of grammarians of this century, and more especially, to the first group "moulded by the pupils of al-Mubarrad", and he assured "the triumph of the method of Baṣra in Baghdād" (G. Troupeau). He wrote several works, in particular, on prosody, and like his master Abū 'Alī al-Fārīsī somewhat earlier, criticised the work of the poet al-Mutanabbī.

Bibliography: Yāqūt, *Udbā'*, i, 204-5; Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 184; G. Troupeau, *La grammaire à Bagdad*, in *Arabica*, ix (1962), 399; R. Blachère, *Aboulayyib al-Mutanabbī*, Paris 1935, 242. (M. BERGE)

ABU 'L-KĀSIM AL-FAZARĪ [see AL-FAZARĪ].

ABU 'L-KĀSIM AL-MADJIRĪTĪ [see AL-MADJIRĪTĪ].

ABU 'L-KĀSIM AL-WĀSĀNĪ [see AL-WĀSĀNĪ].

ABŪ KHALĪFA AL-DJUMAHĪ [see AL-FAḌL B. AL-HUBĀB in Suppl.].

ABŪ MĀDĪ, ILIYYĀ (1889-1957), poet and journalist of Lebanese origin, who spent his childhood in the village of al-Muḥaydiṭha near Bikfayā, his birthplace, but left his native land at the age of 11 to help his maternal uncle with his business in Alexandria. During his stay of some dozen years in Egypt, he was able to find time to acquire an advanced literary education, to learn a lot of classical and modern poetry and to frequent the circles of intellectuals who were in varying degrees engaged in political activities which roused the authorities' suspicions. Like so many of his compatriots, he began early to write poetry, which gave him an initial fame, and he was even able in 1911 to publish at Alexandria a first collection called *Tadhkār al-mādī*, *Diwān Ilyyā Dāhir Abū Mādī*, which the critics were unanimous in considering of no great literary value. In this same year of 1911, he decided to leave for the United States and rejoin his brother, who was a merchant like his uncle. He then spent several years in Cincinnati, where he continued to write verse, and then abandoned trade for poetry and journalism, and went in 1916 to New York. There he published on arrival, under the title of *Diwān Ilyyā Abū Mādī*, a second edition of his first collection, but now augmented by some poems on social questions and inspired by Arabism and nationalism, which he had avoided inserting in the *Tadhkār al-mādī*. Both these editions are very rare today, but they add nothing

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to the poet's fame and have only an historical interest.

In New York, Abū Mādī threw himself into journalism and took charge of editing *al-Maḍjalla al-'arabiyya* and then *al-Fatāt*. It is at this point that he became connected with the great names of *mahdjar* literature who were to found *al-Rābiṭa al-kalamīyya*; it was also there that he married the daughter of Naḍīb Diyāb, director of the *Mu'at al-Gharb*, of which he became chief editor 1918-29, i.e. until the time when he founded the monthly *al-Samir*, which he transformed into a daily in 1936 and directed till his death on 23 November 1957.

Abū Mādī's talent began to take shape in New York, with his poetic work partly spread by the periodicals to which he contributed and brought together in a new *diwān*, *al-Ḥadāwīl* (New York 1927; reprinted at Naḍjaf three times between 1937 and 1949); with his fame thus assured, his poetic talent became more widely known in his last collection published during his lifetime, *al-Khamā'il* (New York 1940; 2nd edn. Beirut 1948, with additions). Some further poems were collected together in 1960, after his death, as *Tibr wa-turāb*.

Within the limits of this brief article, it is not possible to go into the details of Abū Mādī's poetic achievement, but the most striking feature for the reader is what might be called the philosophical tone of many of the poems, a succinct philosophy conveyed as a scepticism which is stressed many times. In this respect, the famous quatrains which appear in the *Ḥadāwīl* and which have been thought worthy of separate publication under the title of *al-Talāsim*, are characteristic; musing on the origins of man, the poet replies to the questions put in each strophe by a *lastu adri* "I do not know" (which has inspired the *shaykh* Muḥammad Ḍjawād al-Ḍjazā'irī to compose a reply: in his *Hall al-Talāsim* [Beirut 1946], each strophe ends, somewhat presumptuously, with an *anā adri* "I myself know"). His social, political and nationalist themes, already animating his first *diwān*, became more refined and precise, and the poet was moved to act as a moralist in a well-known piece, *al-Tin*, which condemns human pride, commends humility and advocates equality (see a commentary in Ḍj. Rikābī *et alii*, *al-Wāfi fi 'l-adab al-'arabi al-ḥadīth*, Damascus 1963, 180-4; Fr. tr. in *Anthol. de la littérature arabe contemporaine*, iii, *La poésie*, by L. Norin and E. Tarabay, Paris 1967, 83-4). But the poet, in spite of his disquiet and his philosophical doubt, nevertheless had an optimistic and lively character which made him love life just as it is and made him proclaim his faith in the lasting value of art and literature. In his *Khamā'il*, he chanted the praises of Lebanon, which at bottom he knew very poorly, and expressed his nostalgia for his native country, which he did not see again till 1948.

In regard to poetic technique, one might have expected Abū Mādī to utilise free verse (*al-shi'r al-hurr*), but in fact he remained faithful to classical metres, which he only abandoned in order to adopt a strophic pattern or, in his narrative poem of 79 verses *al-Shā'ir wa 'l-sultān al-djā'ir* (1933), to be able to employ several metres and sometimes alter the rhyme.

Abū Mādī's successful poetical work, with its immediate accessibility to the reader, has tended to obscure his work as a journalist and the quality of his prose. It would undoubtedly be an exaggeration to maintain that all his contributions to the numerous *mahdjar* periodicals, on which he collaborated, are poems in prose. However, the poet's personality comes through constantly in his editorials and in his

articles, admittedly those on literary topics, but also in those on political, economic and social questions, which he treats in an eminently poetic fashion, displaying his reflective attitude and allowing the same preoccupations as those of his verses to appear through.

Bibliography: Abū Mādī has already been made the subject of some studies, amongst which are Faṭḥī Ṣafwat Naḍjda, *Ilyā Abū Mādī wa 'l-ḥaraka al-adabiyya fi 'l-mahdjar*, Baghdad 1945; Zuhayr Mīrẓā, *I. Abū Mādī, shā'ir al-mahdjar al-akbar*, Damascus 1954; 'Abd al-Laṭīf Sharāra *I. Abū Mādī*, Beirut 1961; Works on the literature of the *mahdjar* naturally include material on Abū Mādī's work; on his prose, see in particular, 'Abd al-Karīm al-Aṣṭar, *al-Naṭh al-mahdjarī*, Beirut 1964, index; idem, *Funūn al-naṭh al-mahdjarī*, Beirut 1965, index; Amongst the numerous articles devoted to him, see Ilyās Abū Shabaka, *I. Abū Mādī*, in *al-Mukataf*, October 1932; Ḍj. 'Abd al-Nūr, *I. Abū Mādī*, in *al-Adab*, 1953; idem, in *Da'irat al-ma'arīf*, v, 101-4 (with bibliography); G.D. Selim, *The poetic vocabulary of Ilyās Ab Mādī (1889?-1957): a computational study of 47,766 content words*, Ph.D. thesis, Georgetown Univ. 1969 (unpublished); R.C. Ostle, *I. Abū Mādī and Arabic poetry in the inter-war period*, in idem (ed.), *Studies in modern Arabic literature*, Warminster 1975, 34-45; Salma Khadra Yāyūsī, *Trends and movements in modern Arabic poetry*, Leiden 1977, i, 123-35. (Ed.)

ABŪ MAḤALLĪ (al-Maḥallī on coins) AL-FILĀLĪ AL-SIDJILMĀSSĪ, the name by which ABU 'L-'ABBĀS AḤMAD B. 'ABD ALLĀH is known, one of the chief pretenders who took part in the ruin of Morocco during the agony of the Sa'did [*q.v.*] dynasty and whose brief spell of success has a useful illustrative value.

We know by his autobiography, which forms the beginning of his still-unpublished book, the *Kutāb Isṭi al-khīrūt fi 'l-kaṭ bi-'ulūm al-'ifrit*, but which al-Ifrānī gives in his *Nuḣa*, that he was born at Sidjilmāssa in 967/1559-60 into a family of jurists, which were said to be descended from the Prophet's uncle. His father was a *kādī*, and in the first instance took charge of his son's education, and then sent him to complete his studies at Fās, where the young man spent several years. After the accession of Aḥmad al-Manṣūr and the end of the troubles which had racked northern Morocco, he went to visit the tomb of the Berber saint Abū Ya'azza [*q.v.*]; then, despite the great distrust he had felt for mystics, he became a convert to Ṣūfism and attached himself to the *shaykh* Muḥammad b. Mubārīk al-Za'irī and lived for eight years close to him. His master then sent him to Sidjilmāssa "in order to bring blessing on its inhabitants". In 1002/1594 Abū Maḥallī made the Pilgrimage to Mecca. On his return, he visited the eastern provinces of Morocco and finally settled with his family in the Sāwra valley, and in some place unknown to us now, devoted himself to God.

It was at this point that this first-rate jurist, now deeply affected by mysticism, proclaimed that he had received divine inspiration and gave himself out to be the *mahdī*. Al-Yūsī says that he was no longer content to put together, in an elegant style, legal works or mediocre poetry, but began to deal with subjects which showed that he had reached the point of possessing divine grace (*ḥaqq*) up to a certain degree. He probably also had within in him something of the thaumaturge, like so many other claimants to such powers. When in 1019/1610 he learnt



that the sultan Muḥammad al-Shaykh II had handed over the town of Larache (al-ʿArāʾiṣh [q.v.]) to the Spaniards, he shared in the popular indignation, fanned the general wave of xenophobia and skilfully utilised the occasion to launch an appeal for the holy war and to proclaim the downfall of the Saʿdids. With a few hundred followers inflamed by his words and promises, he managed to seize Sijilmāssa from its legal governor and set up there the reign of justice. His prestige grew so great that he was recognised as far away as Timbuctu and received delegations from distant tribes and even from the town of Tlemcen. He further began negotiations with the *zāwiya* of Dīlāʾ [q.v. below].

Mawlāy Zaydān, Muḥammad al-Shaykh II's brother, who was ruling over Marrakesh and its region, took fright and organised a powerful army in the valley of the Wādī Draʿ. Abū Maḥallī marched on them immediately, and his opponents, convinced that he was supernaturally aided, laid down their arms and were crushed.

The pretender, benefitting from the sound advice of a renegade commander, did not hesitate to march on Marrakesh at the head of his rough and savage Saharan followers, whose numbers increased daily. Mawlāy Zaydān offered no resistance and retreated to Safi. On 20 May 1612 Abū Maḥallī occupied the royal *qaṣaba* and adopted all the insignia of royalty; and since supplies of gold continued to arrive in Marrakesh, he had minted in his own name fine-quality gold coins. Nevertheless, although he disapproved of foreign occupation of Moroccan territory, he had the sense to allow Christian merchants to continue their commercial activities. It is thanks to these last that we have first-hand information about the claimant and the immense prestige which he enjoyed amongst the troops and the peoples whom he had brought under his control.

Mawlāy Zaydān had prudently to leave Safi for the Sūs, where he got into contact with another religious leader, Yahyā b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Saʿīd al-Ḥāḥī, who enjoyed great fame and who promised to expel Abū Maḥallī from Marrakesh. He gathered together numerous bodies of troops and soon appeared with them near the southern capital. Abū Maḥallī came out to do battle at the head of his faithful Saharan troops, but at the beginning of the engagement was killed by a shot. His army believed that the divine favour had abandoned it and was unable to resist the attack. On 30 November 1613 Yahyā occupied the city and had his rival's head hung above the gateway of the *qaṣaba*.

The tragic spiritual and mental process which led a pious scholar to seek after temporal power and then to give himself out as a Messiah, finally ending up like a sorcerer's apprentice, remained in the Moroccan mind as such a baleful example that the chroniclers only mention it whilst at the same time praying for the divine pardon to Abū Maḥallī.

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traits inédits sur le Maghreb, v, 442-4; J.D. Brèthes, *Contribution à l'histoire du Maroc par les recherches numismatiques*, Casablanca [1939], 211 and pl. xxviii; A. al-Nāṣirī, *Kitāb al-Istikṣā*, vi, *al-Dawla al-Saʿdiyya*, new annotated edn., Casablanca 1955; R. Le Tourneau, *Abū Maḥallī, rebelle à la dynastie saʿadienne (1611-1613)*, in *Studi orientalistici in onore di G. Levi Della Vida*, ii, Rome 1956; J. Berque, *Al-Yūsī, problèmes de la culture marocaine au XVI^e siècle*, Paris 1958, 62-4; R. Le Tourneau, *La décadence saʿadienne et l'anarchie marocaine au XVII^e siècle*, in *Annales de la Faculté des Lettres d'Aix*, xxxii (1960), 187-225. (G. DEVERDUN)

ABŪ MANŠŪR B. YŪSUF, in full ʿABD AL-MALIK B. MUḤAMMAD B. YŪSUF, wealthy Ḥanbalī merchant, the most important patron of the Ḥanbalī movement and a staunch supporter of the ʿAbbāsīd caliphate in the 5th/11th century. Abū Manšūr b. Yūsuf was for Baghdād and the caliph what Nizām al-Mulk was for Khurāsān and the sultan. Both distinguished themselves from among their contemporaries by their political and administrative genius, as well as by their wealth and power, Abū Manšūr accumulating his wealth through commerce, and Nizām al-Mulk through power which he exercised in the name of the sultan.

In 453/1061, Abū Manšūr saw to the destitution of the caliphal vizier Abū Turāb al-Aḥḥirī whom he had replaced by Ibn Dārūst. In 447/1055 it was Abū Manšūr who had influenced the caliph to appoint Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Dāmaghānī, a Ḥanafī, as *kāḍī ʿl-kudāt* in order to placate the Ḥanafī Saldjūk conquerors. Three years later, Abū Manšūr, who had been on friendly terms with the Saldjūks, was thrown into prison by Basāsīrī on the latter's return to Baghdād during the absence of his archenemy the Saldjūk Toghrīl Beg. It was only after paying great sums of money that Abū Manšūr regained his freedom, but he did not feel entirely safe until Toghrīl Beg had returned to Baghdād, wresting it from the hands of Basāsīrī, stripping the latter of all the wealth he had accumulated, and killing him. In the affair of the marriage of Toghrīl Beg with the caliph's daughter, a marriage which scandalised the caliph, Abū Manšūr, along with Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Dāmaghānī, played the role of mediator between caliph and sultan.

Abū Manšūr b. Yūsuf was known for his good works and for the favours which he bestowed upon his contemporaries. Among his works was the reconstruction of the ʿAḍudī Hospital, al-[Bī]Māristān al-ʿAḍudī, which he also endowed with *aukāf* properties in order to provide for its needs in perpetuity. Among those who benefited from his largesse were the Ḥanbalī ʿulamāʾ and ascetics who enjoyed a great following among the masses, the preachers, the leading Ḥāshimīs and their followers, the Saldjūks' functionaries, including *shihnas* and the *amīds*, as well as the Bedouin and Turkish *amīrs*.

This wide influence enjoyed by Abū Manšūr did not please Nizām al-Mulk, and the rivalry between these two influential men can be seen in some of the events of the period. The founding of the Nizāmiyya *madrasa* in Baghdād (inaugurated in 459/1067) is an instance in point. Abū Ishāq al-Shīrāzī, for whom the *madrasa* was founded, having refused to assume the chair of law for religious reasons (the *maghṣūb*, or misappropriated character of the materials), was replaced by another Shāfiʿī, Ibn al-Sabbāgh, chosen by Abū Manšūr, with the concurrence of the caliph. The founding of the *madrasa* by Nizām al-Mulk appears to have been considered by Abū Yūsuf as interference in the latter's sphere of interest.



The rivalry between these two powerful and influential men also expressed itself quite clearly in the ideological sphere. While Abū Manšūr was the great support and consolation of the traditionalist *‘ulamā’* in Baghdad, men belonging essentially to the Ḥanbalī movement, Nizām al-Mulk supported the rival Aṣḥārī movement. And whereas Nizām al-Mulk lent his support and bestowed his patronage upon men of the rationalist Mu‘tazilī movement, Abū Manšūr had reduced the Mu‘tazilis to silence in Baghdad. It was because of him that the great Mu‘tazilī professor of the period in Baghdad, Abū ‘Alī b. al-Walīd, could not publicly profess his teachings in that city. The riot which occurred in Baghdad in 460, led by the traditionalists against Ibn al-Walīd, was caused by the latter’s reappearance in public to teach Mu‘tazilism; Abū Manšūr had disappeared from the scene at the beginning of that year. There is some evidence indicating that Abū Manšūr’s death was not a natural one, and that he had paid with his life for interfering with Nizām al-Mulk’s plans. For instance, the contemporary Ibn al-Bannā’, writing in his *Diary* about five months after the death of Abū Manšūr, mentions a dream in which he saw Abū Manšūr walking barefoot and, upon asking him the cause, replied saying that “was the way to walk for those who complain of wrongdoing” (*hādha . . . mashy al-mutazallimīn*). Elsewhere in the *Diary* (ii, 26, 47), the following invocation is made: “May God have mercy on the blood of [Abū Manšūr] Ibn Yūsuf”. The word *blood*, in this context, implies *bloodshed*, blood calling for revenge, or for justice. It is perhaps significant that the title *al-Shaykh al-Adīl* “the most eminent *Shaykh*”, applied only to Abū Manšūr during his lifetime, is found later applied not only to his two sons-in-law, Ibn Djarada and Ibn Ridwān, but also to Nizām al-Mulk (E. Combe *et al.*, *Répertoire*, vii, Nos. 2734, 2736, 2737).

The two sons-in-law of Abū Manšūr, though they inherited from their father-in-law his title, presented no threat to Nizām al-Mulk. Ibn Ridwān succeeded to Abū Manšūr’s position of influence with the caliph; but far from following in the footsteps of his father-in-law in opposing Nizām al-Mulk, he became reconciled with him by effecting a marriage between his daughter and Nizām al-Mulk’s son. On the other hand, Ibn Djarada seems to have inherited the place of honour enjoyed by his father-in-law with the traditionalists, for whom he founded mosque-colleges (*masājid*) in Baghdad.

Bibliography: G. Makdisi, *Ibn ‘Aqīl et la résurgence de l’Islam traditionaliste au XI^e siècle (V^e siècle de l’hégire)*, Damascus 1963, 274 and n. 3 (bibliography cited); idem, *Muslim institutions of learning in eleventh-century Baghdad*, in *BSOAS*, xxiv (1961), 30, 35-7; idem, *Nouveaux détails sur l’affaire d’Ibn ‘Aqīl*, in *Mélanges Louis Massignou*, Damascus 1967, iii, 91-126, *et passim*; idem, *Autograph diary of an eleventh-century historian of Baghdad*, in *BSOAS*, xviii-xix (1956-7), xix, 285, 296-7 *et passim*.

(G. MAKDISI)

ABŪ MISMĀR, AL-ŠARĪF ḤAMMŪD B. MUḤAMMAD B. AḤMAD AL-ḤASANĪ, an important *sharīf* of Abū ‘Arīsh who in the early years of the 19th century defended his independent state, based on the coastal plain of ‘Asīr [q.v.] (Tihāmat ‘Asīr) and embracing most of the Tihāma region of Yemen, against the encroachments of the Wahhābī Āl Sa‘ūd of Najd, the Zaydī *imāms* of Ṣan‘ā’ and the Ottomans under Muḥammad ‘Alī. Born in or before 1170/1756-7, he was descended from the Āl Khayrāt *sharīfs* who emigrated from Mecca to the al-Mikhlaḥ al-Sulaymānī district

of lowland ‘Asīr early in the 11th/17th century. His death occurred in 1233, probably during Ramaḍān/July 1818 but possibly several months earlier.

While serving as the Zaydī *imām*’s governor of Abū ‘Arīsh in the mid-18th century, Sharīf Aḥmad, Hammūd’s grandfather, declared his family’s independence, although the *imām*’s suzerainty was recognised. Hammūd assumed power in about 1215/1800-1, and shortly afterwards had to expel a troublesome Wahhābī agent of ‘Abd al-‘Azīz (d. 1218/1803), the chief of the Āl Sa‘ūd. But when in 1217/1802-3 Abū ‘Arīsh was captured by Abū Nuḳta (d. 1224/1809), the Wahhābī *amīr* of upland ‘Asīr, Hammūd declared allegiance to ‘Abd al-‘Azīz. He undertook to pay certain taxes to the Wahhābī chief and send a son to al-Dir‘iyya as hostage, in return for which he was appointed ‘Abd al-‘Azīz’s governor of lowland ‘Asīr. Aided by Wahhābī reinforcements, Hammūd subsequently captured from the old Zaydī *imām*, al-Manšūr bi’llāh ‘Alī (1189-1224/1775-1809), and added to his own lands, the bulk of the Tihāma region of Yemen, including such centres as al-Luhayya, al-Hudayda, Bayt al-Faḳīh, Zabīd and al-Hays, but not Mocha.

Hammūd’s allegiance to the Wahhābīs was only nominal; and early in 1224/1809 he conspired with Aḥmad, the heir apparent to Imām al-Manšūr ‘Alī, to replace Wahhābī suzerainty with that of the Zaydī *imām*, on condition that he himself was allowed to retain the Tihāma lands already under his control. Although his forces were twice defeated by those of Abū Nuḳta later that year, and despite occasional Wahhābī forays into the northern Tihāma thereafter, Sharīf Hammūd was able, with the aid of his competent vizier, Sharīf al-Ḥasan b. Khālīd al-Ḥazīmī, to hold control of both his ancestral lands and the extensive Tihāma territories acquired with Wahhābī help. He flirted alternately with the *imām* in Ṣan‘ā’ and the Wahhābī chief in al-Dir‘iyya just enough to forestall a serious military intervention by either.

Initially disposed to cooperating with Muḥammad ‘Alī against the Wahhābīs (1229/1814), Hammūd cooled towards him, owing to a series of Wahhābī victories over the Ottomans and his fear of the Egyptian viceroy’s designs upon his lands. In 1233/1818, just a few days before his death, Hammūd’s forces nearly annihilated an Egyptian army. His son Aḥmad ruler after him for about a year before submitting to Muḥammad ‘Alī’s commander in the south and being sent to Egypt where shortly he died. Although Hammūd’s lands were restored by the Ottoman sultan to the *imām*, the governorship of lowland ‘Asīr was awarded to a nephew of Hammūd.

Bibliography: The basic source for the life of Sharīf Hammūd Abū Mismār is his unpublished biography, *Nafḥ al-‘ūd*, by ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Bahkalī (a ms. of which is in the al-‘Aḳīlī private collection at Džāzān). This treats of the *sharīf*’s life to 1225/1810-11, the remaining years being covered by al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad ‘Ākīsh in a *dhayl* entitled *Nuzhat al-zarīf*. Other mss. in which Sharīf Hammūd figures, sometimes prominently, are Luṭf Allāh Džihāf, *Durar nuḥūr al-ḥūr*; ‘Ākīsh, *al-Dībādī al-khusrawānī*; al-Ḥasan b. ‘Abd al-Raḥmān al-Kawkabānī, *al-Mawāhib al-saniyya*; and Badr al-Dīn Muḥammad al-Kibṣī, *al-Laṭā’if al-saniyya*. Of these works, *Nafḥ al-‘ūd*, its *dhayl* and *al-Dībādī* were consulted by Muḥammad b. Aḥmad ‘Isā al-‘Aḳīlī in Part I of his *Min ta’rīkh al-Mikhlaḥ al-Sulaymānī*, Riyadh 1958.

Other works providing useful information about Sharīf Hammūd’s life are al-Shawkānī, *al-Badr al-*



lālī, Cairo 1348/1929-30, i, 240 f.; *Shānīzāde*, *Tārīkh*, Istanbul 1290-1/1873-4, iii, 30 ff.; Ibn Bishr, *Unwān al-maḥdī*, Riyadh 1967, 132-210, *passim*; Zabāra, *Nayl al-waṭar*, Cairo 1348/1929-30, i, *passim*; C. Niebuhr, *Description de l'Arabie*, Paris 1779, ii, 107; Henry Salt, *A voyage to Abyssinia*, London 1814, 123 ff.; J.L. Burckhardt, *Notes on the Bedouins*, London 1831, ii, *passim*; R.L. Playfair, *A history of Arabia Felix*, Bombay 1859, 119-34.

(J.R. BLACKBURN)

ABŪ 'L-MUṬAHHAR AL-AZDĪ, an Arab writer who lived in the 5th/11th century, but since no known biographical source mentions him, his dates and the milieu within which he lived can only be inferred from his sole surviving work, the *Hikāyat Abi 'l-Kāsim* (one should however add the information of al-Bākhārī (d. 467/1075), who says that he knew in Iṣfahān a writer called Abū Muṭahhar, very likely our author). He must have lived between Baghdad and Iṣfahān, as emerges from a *munāzara* between the two cities given in the *Hikāya*, before the Saldjūk assumption of power in 'Irāk, which he never mentions. Concerning the rest of his work, he himself mentions an *Hikāya badawīyya*, now lost, and al-Bākhārī a *Tirāz al-dhahab 'alā wishāh al-adab* (assuming that the same person is involved).

The *Hikāyat Abi 'l-Kāsim al-Baghdādī* (ms. Brit. Mus. Add. 19,313; ed. A. Mez, Heidelberg 1902) has remained till now a unique work in classical Arabic literature, a conscious variation of the highly-appreciated *makāma* genre [q.v.] which al-Hamaḡhānī had just launched and which al-Harīrī (who lived just one or two generations after our author) was to bring to perfection. The novelty of the *Hikāya* of Abū 'l-Muṭahhar in relationship to the *makāma* of the above two authors is the displacement of the centre of interest from the purely linguistic and formal aspect to the representation of a character and an environment in a genuine *mimesis* of reality (in this case, the bourgeois environment of Baghdad, with its *bons vivants* and drinkers, amongst whom Abū 'l-Kāsim displays his bravura style and his vagabond's effrontery). This bravura style is also a linguistic one, and Abū 'l-Muṭahhar attaches himself by this means to the *makāmāt* writers; but whilst the latter remain merely that, and their heroes al-Iskandarī and al-Sarūdī offer us nothing more than a somewhat monotonous and stereotyped cliché figure of a rogue, al-Azdī's Abū 'l-Kāsim is wholly alive, and to be compared more with the characters in Petronius's *Satyricon* and the "picaros" of Spanish narrative literature. The text of the *Hikāya* raises a lot of philological problems for the language and sometimes the jargon used in it, but its literary importance is far from being limited to pure philology; the work of this 5th/11th century 'Irākī writer, himself almost unknown, remained an isolated effort of its time, but heralding fields of interest and artistic currents of the future.

Bibliography: Mez, in the introd. to his edition; the arts. *Hikāya* in *ET*¹ and *ET*² by Macdonald and Pellat respectively; F. Gabrieli, in *RSO*, xx (1942), 33-45. (F. GABRIELI)

ABŪ NUKHAYLA AL-HIMMĀNĪ AL-RĀDĪJĪZ, a poet of Baṣra who owed his name to the fact that his mother gave birth to him by a palm tree (*nakhla*). He was given the *kunya*s of Abū 'l-Djunayd and Abū 'l-'Imās and the name of Ya'mar (or Ḥazn, or Ḥabīb b. Ḥazn) b. Zā'ida b. Laḡī, but it is possible that he forged a fictitious genealogy to attach himself to the Sa'd b. Zayd Manāt of Tamīm; in fact, al-Farazdaq, angry at being released from jail at his intervention,

calls him a *da'ī*, and Ibn al-Kalbī does not cite him in his *Djamhara*. It is said that he was ejected by his father, on account of his ingratitude, and spent some time in the desert, where he improved his knowledge of the Arabic of the Bedouins and gained a certain fame. He then went to Syria and succeeded in attaching himself to Maslama b. 'Abd al-Malik [q.v.], despite a personal inhibition which led him at first to attribute to himself an *urḡūza* of Ru'ba [q.v.], and then afterwards addressed eulogies to Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik and his successors, who showed their favour to him and gave him the largesse of which he was avidly hungry. He nevertheless had no scruples in going and presenting himself to Abū 'l-'Abbās al-Saffāh and in reciting to him an *urḡūza* in *dāl* which he had previously dedicated to Hishām. His panegyrics of the first 'Abbāsids, filled with attacks on his former patrons, gained him the title of "poet of the Banū Hāshim", but his greed led in the end to his downfall. He wrote, and caused to be widely spread, a poem in which he urged al-Manṣūr to proclaim his own son Muḥammad (al-Mahdī) as heir-presumptive instead of 'Isā b. Mūsā, whom al-Saffāh had designated heir. The caliph generously rewarded him and followed his advice, but he instructed him to flee to Khurāsān. However, one of 'Isā's agents pursued him, slaughtered him, stripped the skin from his face and threw his corpse to the vultures. This took place at some time shortly after 136/754.

Abū Nukhayla wrote some *kaṣīdas*, but above all favoured *radīaz*; he was involved in poetic contests with another famous *radīz*, al-'Adjīdādī [q.v.] and left behind a body of work considered good enough to be formed into a *diwān*. This poetry is not always easy to understand, because of the Bedouinisms which abound in it, but it has a verve which is sometimes fairly coarse and a humour which disarmed his opponents and made his audience laugh, these last being more or less inclined accordingly to open their purse-strings. This was, indeed, the poet's sole object, and he seems to have been an inveterate demander of money. Cutting epigrams are to be found side-by-side with poems on hunting themes, elaborate panegyrics and unexpected elegies, since, despite an innate sense of ingratitude, the poet knew occasionally how to display his thanks, and especially after the death of al-Muhādīr b. 'Abd Allāh al-Kilābī, who had been a kindred spirit. The critics, and especially Ibn al-Mu'tazz, considered him to have been a born poet, and much appreciated his work, which was widely-distributed in the 3rd/9th century.

Bibliography: Dīhāzīz, *Hayawān*, ii, 100 and index; idem, *Bayān*, iii, 225, 336; Ibn Kutayba, *Shi'r*, 583-4; Ibn al-Mu'tazz, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 21-3; Ibn Durayd, *Iṣṭikāḥ*, 154; idem, *Djamhara*, iii, 504; Tabarī, iii, 346-50; Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, vi, 118-20 = § 2332; *Aghānī*, ed. Beirut, xx, 360-92; Sūlī, *Awlād al-khulafā'*, 310-14; Ḥuṣrī, *Zahr al-ādāb*, 925; Baghdādī, *Khiṣāna*, ed. Būlāk, i, 78-80 = ed. Cairo, i, 153-7; Ibn 'Asākir, *Tārīkh Dimashq*, ii, 318-22; Ghars al-Ni'ma, *Haḡawāt*, index; Marzubānī, *Muwashshah*, 219-20; Ibn al-Shadīrī, *Hamāsa*, 117; Amīdī, *Mu'talif*, 193-4; Ibn al-'Imād, *Shadharāt*, i, 195; Nallino, *Litterature*, 159-60; Pellat, *Milieu*, 159-60; O. Rescher, *Abriss*, i, 223; A.H. Harley, *Abū Nukhaylah, a postclassical Arab poet*, in *JRAS Bengal*, 3rd series, iii (1937), 55-70; Busānī, *DM*, v, 145-7; Ziriklī, *Alām*, viii, 331. (CH. PELLAT)

ABŪ RAKWA [see AL-WALĪD B. HISHĀM].

ABŪ RASHĪD AL-NĪSĀBŪRĪ, Sa'īd b. Muḥammad, a theologian of the Mu'tazilī tradition of Baṣra and disciple of 'Abd al-Djabbār al-Hama-

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dhānī [q.v.]. Originally a follower of the Mu'tazilī school of Baghdad, Abū Rashīd frequented the lectures of 'Abd al-Djabbār, whose doctrine he came to follow in its entirety, surrendering his former adherence to the teaching of al-Ka'bī and the Baghdadīs. Subsequently, having given up his circle (*ḥalqa*) at Nisābūr, he took up permanent residence at Rayy where, after the death of 'Abd al-Djabbār in 415/1025, he became the acknowledged leader of the Baṣran Mu'tazila. The date of his death is unknown. Abū Rashīd's teaching insofar as it is revealed in the presently available sources, is essentially undistinguishable from that of 'Abd al-Djabbār. His works include (1) *K. al-masā'il fi 'l-khilāf bayn al-Baṣriyyīn wa 'l-Baghdadiyyīn* (Berlin 5125 = Glaser 12), the first part of which was published with a translation by A. Biram, *Die atomistische Substanzlehre aus dem Buch der Streitfragen*, Berlin 1902; a paraphrase of much of the work is found in M. Horten, *Die Philosophie des Abu Raschid*, Bonn 1910. This work (entitled in several of the section headings *al-Masā'il fi 'l-khilāf bayn shaykhinā Abī Hāshim wa 'l-Baghdadiyyīn*) contains rather fulsome expositions of a number of the Baṣrans' philosophical theses, set forth against unelaborated theses of al-Ka'bī, and grouped under fourteen major topics; and (2) *Ẓiyādāt al-Sharḥ* (cited in *K. al-Masā'il*, fol. 112vⁿ), of which a lengthy portion of the first part is published by M. Abū Rida under the title *Fi 'l-tawḥīd*, Cairo 1969 and a large part of a later section, though in a different rescension, is found in British Museum ms. Or. 8613. The *Sharḥ* in question is a work of Ibn Khallād, a disciple of Abū Hāshim [q.v.], that appears to have been completed by 'Abd al-Djabbār. Other works, not currently known to have survived, are (3) *Diwān al-uṣūl*, a lengthy work written for *ta'lik* at the direction of 'Abd al-Djabbār, divided into two sections, the first philosophical and the second theological, viz. (a) *al-Djauāhir wa 'l-a'rād* and (b) *al-Tawḥīd wa 'l-aql*; (4) *al-Tadhkira*; (5) *K. al-Djuz'*; (6) *K. al-Shahwa*; (7) *Masā'il al-khilāf baynanā wa-bayn al-Muḥabbīha wa 'l-Muḍḍibira wa 'l-Khawāridj wa 'l-Murḍī'a*; and (8) *Nakd 'alā aṣḥāb al-ṭabā'i'*.

Bibliography: Besides the works cited in the text, see Ibn al-Murtadā, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Mu'tazila*, ed. S. Diwald-Wilzer, Wiesbaden 1969, 116; R. Martin, *A Mu'tazilite treatise on prophethood*, diss. New York University 1976 unpublished; R. Frank, *Beings and their attributes*, Albany 1977, index; and also Brockelmann, S I, 244 and Sezgin, *GA*, ii, 626 f. (R.M. FRANK)

ABŪ RIYĀSH AL-KAYSĪ, AHMAD B. IBRĀHĪM AL-SHAYBĀNĪ, *rāwī*, philologist and poet, originally from Yamāma, who settled at Baṣra and was famous at the beginning of the 4th/10th century for his exceptional knowledge of the Arabic language, genealogies and ancient poetry. He was a former soldier who had become a civil servant, and had the job of levying dues on the ships coming to 'Abbādān. He was totally lacking in education and in tidiness, but his knowledge led to his faults being excused and overlooked. He had a powerful voice, and he spoke in the Bedouin fashion, expressing the *ʿirāb*, at a time when this was normally neglected in the spoken language. He was said to pose as a Zaydī. He died in 339/950 (but in 349/960, according to al-Suyūṭī, who moreover calls him Ibrāhīm b. Ahmad).

His clashes with Ibn Lankak (d. 360/970 [q.v.]), who found in his lack of cleanliness a vein of attack easy to exploit, would have been enough to save him from oblivion, but Yāqūt, *Udabā'*, xix, 6, goes as far as to assert that Ibn Lankak was eclipsed by al-

Mutanabbī (d. 345/965) and by Abū Riyāsh, who both at this time were outstanding. If such an assertion is valid for the first-named poet, it hardly seems justified in regard to the second, since if Abū Riyāsh had been poet of remarkable quality, it is likely that posterity would have preserved his work more carefully; whereas only a limited number of his verses are extant, notably, apart from his replies to Ibn Lankak, a piece in praise of al-Muhallabī [q.v.], which nevertheless drew down on himself the poet's criticising Abū Riyāsh; he himself owed part at least of his fame to al-Tanūkhī (d. 384/994 [q.v.]), who had been his pupil, and to Abū 'l-'Alā' al-Ma'arrī (d. 449/1058 [q.v.]). Abū Riyāsh is said not to have appreciated Abū Tammām's work, but nevertheless wrote a commentary on the latter's *Ḥamāsa*, which was criticised by al-Kifī but used especially by al-Baghdādī (who does not, however, cite it in the list of sources of his *Khizāna*, ed. Cairo, i, 33), and he thought it opportune to put together in his turn an anthology called *al-Ḥamāsa al-Riyāshiyya* (in the art. ḤAMĀSA, the reading *Abū Dimās* taken from the *Fihrist*, ed. Cairo, 120, should be corrected to Abū Riyāsh). This anthology must have enjoyed a certain fame, since al-Ma'arrī did not esteem his reputation damaged by completing a commentary on it, whose title only is known, *al-Riyāsh al-muṣṭanī'ī* (Yāqūt, *Udabā'*, iii, 157, in the biography of Abū 'l-'Alā'; cf. M. Saleh, in *BEO*, xxiii (1970), 278).

Bibliography: Tha'alibī, *Yatima*, ii, 120-1; Kifī, *Inbāh*, ed. Cairo 1950, 25-6; Tanūkhī, *Nishwār*, ed. Cairo 1392/1972, ii, 158; Yāqūt, *Udabā'*, ii, 123-31; Safadī, *Wāfi*, vi, 205, No. 2669; Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 178; Fück, *Arabīya*, Fr. tr., 178; Bustānī, *DM*, iv, 314. (CH. PELLAT)

ABŪ SA'D AL-MAKHZŪMĪ, the name currently given to 'Īsā B. KHALĪD B. AL-WALĪD, minor poet of Baghdad whose fame stems from his clashes with Di'bīl [q.v.]. The long dispute between the two poets was clearly a manifestation of the latent conflict between the partisans of Yemen and those of Nizār, and it was probably provoked by the famous *qaṣida* of Di'bīl in praise of the South Arabs ('Abd al-Karīm al-Aṣḥar, *Shi'r Di'bīl*, Damascus 1964, No. 212), to which Abū Sa'd replied by a poem in *-ra'* which achieved some fame in its time. After this incident, the Banū Makhzūm might well have closed their door to Di'bīl, but the fear which he inspired in them led them at that point to deny to their defender any connection with their clan, and on the advice of al-Ma'mūn, they issued a formal declaration to this effect (*Aghānī*, ed. Beirut, xx, 127, 130). Abū Sa'd, who claimed to be descended from al-Hārith b. Hishām, then had inscribed on his ring *al-'Abd b. al-'Abd*; and al-Djāhiz himself calls him *da'i Banī Makhzūm* (*Bayān*, iii, 250-1; *Ḥayawān*, i, 265). The *Aghānī*, which has no special notice on Abū Sa'd, gives in its section on Di'bīl (xx, 121 ff.) some details on the two poets' attitudes and on the measures used by the latter expressly to humiliate his opponent. Having, in an epigram, dubbed Abū Sa'd as *Kawṣara* (a metonymy denoting a woman, but Ibn Kawṣara means pariah), Di'bīl hired children to chant it around the streets (*Shi'r Di'bīl*, No. 119; *Aghānī*, xx, 123, 131; Ibn al-Mu'tazz, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 140), which enraged Abū Sa'd. For his own part, he took care to incite al-Ma'mūn (*Aghānī*, ii, 130) against the poet of the South Arabs who had abused him in one of his poems, and even asked him for authorisation to bring Di'bīl's head to the caliph (*Aghānī*, xx, 93, 130, 132); but the caliph refused this request, and advised him to limit himself to replying to the attacks. Di'bīl



allegedly even tried to murder his enemy (*Aghānī*, xx, 127); and if the report in *Aghānī*, xx, 125-7, of an apparent reconciliation is authentic, it must indicate Abū Sa'd's duplicity. Various pieces aimed against him have been gathered in *Shi'r Dībil*, Nos. 68, 81, 96, 119, 223, 235; see also p. 293).

Abū Sa'd was also exposed to attacks from Dībil's cousin, the son of Abū 'l-Shiṣ (*Aghānī*, xx, 130-1; *Shi'r Dībil*, 349), but he on his part made al-Ash'ath b. Dja'far al-Khuzā'i his target, and the latter had Abū Sa'd flogged with a hundred lashes (Ibn al-Mu'tazz, *Tabakāt*, 139-40). In the end he left Baghdad to seek shelter at Rayy, where he died in the caliphate of al-Wāthiq ca. 230/845 (*ibid.*).

It is interesting to note that not only did Abū Sa'd take the trouble to introduce one of his own verses into a poem by Dībil (*Aghānī*, xx, 124), but also that a certain number of pieces are attributed to one or the other poet at the same time (*Shi'r Dībil*, 289, 313, 322, 338). As well as the epigrams aimed at his enemies, Abū Sa'd addressed praises to al-Ma'mūn and wrote several pieces glorifying Nizār; the *Aghānī*, xx, 128, even speaks of a *daftar al-Nizāriyyāt*. Dībil's fame, since his works were spread far and wide, threw Abū Sa'd's work into the shade, although this last is by no means of inferior quality. To believe al-Marzubānī, *Muwashshah*, 329, Abū Tammām would have given half of his own work for a hemistich by Abū Sa'd which he particularly appreciated. Abū Sa'd, who constituted himself as defender of the North Arabs and by that fact also the defender of Sunnism against the Shi'i Dībil, at a time of ethnic and religious conflicts, deserves to be no longer ignored by historians of Arabic literature; it happens fortunately that Razzūk Farajī Razzūk has just endeavoured to put together his *Diwān* (Baghdād, 1971).

Bibliography: 'Abd al-Karīm al-Ashtar, *Shi'r Dībil*, index; idem, *Dībil b. 'Alī al-Khuzā'i*, 2nd edn. Damascus 1967, 145 ff. and index; Ibn Kutayba, *Uyūn al-akhbār*, i, 190; Dījāhīz, *Bayān*, iii, 250; idem, *Hayawān*, i, 262, 265; Marzubānī, *Muwashshah*, 329, 347; idem, *Mu'djam*, 98, 260; Nuwayrī, *Nihāya*, ii, 91; Huṣrī, *Zahr al-ādāb*, 320; Ibn al-Mu'tazz, *Tabakāt*, 126, 139-41; Bustānī, *DM*, iv, 339-40; Ziriklī, *A'lām*, v, 286; introd. to his *Diwān*. (Ed.)

ABŪ SA'D AL-KHATTĀBĪ [see AL-KHATTĀBĪ].

ABŪ SA'D AL-SĪRĀFĪ [see AL-SĪRĀFĪ].

ABŪ SAYYĀRA, 'UMAYLA B. AL-A'ZAL B. KHĀLĪD AL-'ADAWANĪ, a personage of the end of the Dīhiliyya, said have been the first to fix the *diya* or pecuniary composition for murder at 100 camels and the last to lead the pilgrims, either at the departure for 'Arafāt (*ifāda*) or from al-Muzdalifa to Minā (*idjāza*), since the sources disagree on this point, and the more careful authors merely use the expression *daf'a bi 'l-nās*. This man, who probably owed his *kunya* to this function of his, a privilege of the Kayṣī tribe of 'Adwān (see Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, *Tab.* 92 and ii, 142), became proverbial because he is said to have exercised this office, always mounted on the same black ass (which was, however, according to al-Aṣma'ī and others, a she-ass, sometimes further described as one-eyed), for 40 years. As al-Dījāhīz amusingly points out (*Hayawān*, i, 139), no-one can doubt the longevity of this animal which, amongst all asses, lived the longest time; it gave rise to a proverb *aṣahh min 'ayr Abī Sayyāra* "more sturdy than Abū Sayyāra's ass" (al-Maydānī, *Amthāl*, i, 422-3; Abū 'Ubayd al-Bakrī, *Faṣl al-makāl fī sharḥi K. al-Amthāl*, Beirut 1391/1971, 500-1); al-Dījāhīz provides

a variant (*Hayawān*, ii, 257), *aṣḥar min...* "having greater endurance than...".

Abū Sayyāra is compared, because of his humility, with 'Uzayr [*q.v.*] and with Christ, and his ass is cited by prominent people who preferred this humble form of mount.

Bibliography: In addition to the references in the article, see Dījāhīz, *Hayawān*, vii, 215; idem, *Bayān*, i, 307-8; idem, *Bukhālā'*, 187; Ibn Hishām, *Sira*, i, 122; Tabarī, i, 1134; Azraqī, *Makka*, 120-1; Ibn Durayd, *Ishṭikāk*, 164; Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, iii, 116 = § 964; Tha'ālībī, *Thimār al-kulūb*, 295; *Nakā'id*, ed. Bevan, 450; *DM*, iv, 373. (CH. PELLAT)

ABŪ SHABAKA, ILYĀS (usual orthography, Elias Abou Chabakeh), Maronite poet, journalist and translator (1903-47). He was born in Providence, R.L., whilst his parents were travelling in the United States, but he spent all his life in Lebanon, dividing his time between his home in the village of Zūḥ Mikhā'il (in Kisrawān), from which his family came, and the cafés and editorial offices of Beirut, to which he went each day.

His father held some estates in the region of Khartoum, but in 1914, when he went there, was murdered by bandits. Hence the young orphan had soon to interrupt his studies, especially as the French school at 'Aynūra, where he had been enrolled, was closed by the authorities during the First World War. He then resumed his studies, but never finished them, preferring to complete his education by plunging into reading the Bible and the French Romantics, which early inspired his first literary efforts. He was compelled to earn a living, hence taught for a while, but also contributed to several Lebanese newspapers, did translations, at the request of publishers, of a series of novels and dramas by French authors as varied as Lamartine, Henry Bordeaux, Voltaire, Edmond Rostand, Molière, the Abbé Prevost, Bernardin Saint-Pierre or Choukri Ghanem, and was even employed as a translator in the press and radio services of the French High Commission during the Second World War. He died of leukaemia on 27 January 1947.

The greater part of Abū Shabaka's original work is made up of seven collections of poems. The first, *al-Kithāra* (1926) contains juvenilia which attest at the same time his great inexperience and a distinct poetic talent. This latter is clearly affirmed in *Aḥḥ 'l-Firdaws* (1938), in which the poet has gathered together thirteen pieces written between 1928 and 1938. The basic source of his inspiration is love, its transports, its joys and its sufferings, and there can be clearly seen the influence of the French Romantics in this collection, which the native critics regard as one of the master-pieces of Lebanese poetry. Romantic feelings of nature inspire the next *diwān*, *al-Alhān*, a real hymn to nature as well as being at the same time a poetic description of the life of the Lebanese peasants. The poet reverts to the theme of love with *Nidā' al-kalb* (1944) and *Ilā 'l-abad* (1945). In this very same year, 1945, there appeared *Ghawwā'*, whose title is an anagram of the name Olga, the woman whom he had at last married after ten years of betrothal and who had naturally been his principal muse. Finally, in 1958 Abū Shabaka's friends put together in *Min Sa'id al-āliha* a number of pieces of occasional verse already published in periodicals.

Abū Shabaka had a deeply religious mind, a tormented soul, and was an enthusiastic reader of the Romantics. He was undoubtedly one of the main representatives of a school which has, in Lebanon,



followed, with a certain amount of side-stepping, a tendency long dormant in the West. This romantic movement is now outmoded in the East itself, but Abū Shabaka's work continues to attract young readers who appreciate pure poetry and have little taste for the politico-social preoccupations of engaged poets, who tend moreover to break loose from classical metres. Abū Shabaka generally respects these last, although he may at times adopt a strophic form or vary the rhymes and metres, as in *Ghālwa'*.

As well as his translations and a great number of articles which he left behind, Abū Shabaka wrote, as one might have expected, a *Lāmarīn* (1935) and a study of comparative literature, *Rawābiṭ al-fikr wa 'l-rūh bayn al-'Arab wa 'l-Ifranj* (1943). Lastly, a series of portraits of literary and political personalities, which appeared in *al-Maṣrīd*, have been gathered together in one volume, *al-Rusūm* (1931).

Bibliography: The main studies are a collection of articles about the poet and dedicated to his memory by the most prominent names in contemporary Lebanese literature, *Ilyās Abū Shabaka*, Beirut 1948; Razzūk Faraj Razzūk, *Ilyās Abū Shabaka wa-shīruhu*, Beirut 1956; and Ilyā al-Hawī, *Ilyās Abū Shabaka, shīr al-djāhīm wa 'l-na'im*, Beirut n.d. See also *Anthologie de la littérature arabe contemporaine*, iii, *La Poésie*, by L. Norin and E. Tarabay, Paris 1967, 96-8; A. Miquel, *Réflexions sur la structure poétique à propos d'Elīās Abū Shabaka*, in *BEO*, xxv (1972), 265-74; Salma Khadra Jayyusi, *Trends and movements in modern Arabic poetry*, Leiden 1977, ii, 424-52; Bustānī, *DM*, iv, 367-8 (art. by F. Bustānī, with bibl.). A thesis is now in the course of preparation at the Sorbonne on poetic image in the work of Abū Shabaka. (Ed.)

ABŪ SHĀDĪ, AHMAD ZAKĪ (1892-1955), Egyptian physician, journalist, writer and poet, a man of an astonishing variety of diverse activities.

Born in Cairo on 9 February 1892, he had his primary and secondary education in his natal city, and then in 1912 went to study medicine in London, where he specialised in microbiology; at the same time, he became especially interested in apiculture and acquired quite an extensive knowledge of Anglo-Saxon culture and life which was to exert a deep influence on his literary production. On returning to Egypt in 1922, he was appointed to do research in microbiology, but also became at the same time busy with many other fields, and soon became secretary of several associations of beekeepers, agricultural industrialists, poultry rearers, etc. Furthermore, he quickly took over at the same time the secretaryship of the *Apollo* group inspired by Aḥmad Shawkī and Khalīl Muṭrān. It was he who created and directed the journal *Apollo* from 1932 to 1934, at a time when he had just founded three other journals of a totally different nature: *Mamlakat al-nahl* (1930), *al-Dajjāj* (1932) and *al-Sinā'at al-zirā'iyya* (1932). All these responsibilities in no way kept Abū Shādī from giving talks and lectures, from writing articles on all the subjects which interested him, and above all, from throwing himself into a literary activity which gives the impression of a remarkable breadth. A man like himself, rather too restless, inevitably provoked jealousies and enmities in those circles which were not ready to accept his ideas, especially those on modern poetry. It was perhaps the reactions to his innovations which made him in 1946 decide to emigrate to the United States. He worked on the transmissions of The Voice of America from New York and then Washington, where he died on 12 April 1955.

It is extremely difficult, in this brief notice, to evaluate his role in the evolution of contemporary Arabic poetry and to enumerate and classify his expositions of his ideas and the totality of his literary work. The latter is largely composed of poetry and theatrical works, and is characterised at base by an inspiration which is primarily Egyptian, both Pharaonic and Arab. He embarked on almost every poetic genre, at times giving himself up to romanticism and at times to symbolism, and even went so far as to found in 1936 an ephemeral journal called *Adabī* "My literary work". With regard to form, Abū Shādī used the framework of the *muwashshah* [q.v.] and other strophic structures, but he was above all the proponent of blank verse (*al-shī'r al-mursal*) and of free verse (*al-shī'r al-hurr*), under the simultaneous influence of Anglo-Saxon poetry and of that of the *mahdjar*, and he tried to launch a literary movement in this sense.

In various commentaries which accompanied his collections, as also in his articles explaining his ideas and his work of criticism *Masrah al-adab* (Cairo 1926-8), he insisted on the primordial importance in poetry of metre; he freed himself from the fetters of rhyme, but respected up to a certain point classical metrics at the same time mixing different metres in one and the same poem (on this question and on Abū Shādī's influence, see S. Moreh, *Free verse (al-shī'r al-hurr) in modern Arabic literature: Abū Shādī and his school, 1926-46*, in *BSOAS*, xxx/1 (1968), 28-51).

If he had enemies, he also made friends and admirers who busied themselves in collecting together his poetry into more or less coherent collections. Hence there appeared in this way *Misriyyāt* (1924); *al-Shafak al-bākī* (1926); *Amīn wa-ranīn aw shu'ar min shī'r al-shabāb* (1925), on the initiative of H. S. al-Djaddāwī; *Shī'r al-wajdān* (1925), on the initiative of Muḥ. Subḥī; and *al-Muntakhab min shī'r Abī Shādī* (1926) by 'Abd al-Hamid Fu'ād.

As for the *diwāns* published by Abū Shādī himself, the main ones of these are *Waṭan al-Farā'ina* (1926); *Ashī'a wa-zilāl* (1931); *al-Shu'la* (1933); *Atyāf al-rabī'* (1933, with an introduction by Khalīl Muṭrān and others); *Aghānī Abū Shādī* (1933); *Andā' al-faḍīr* (1934: poems of his youth); *al-Yanbū'* (1934); *Fawak al-'ubāb* (1935); *al-Kā'in al-ṭhānī* (1935); *'Awdat al-rā'ī* (Alexandria 1942); and *Min al-samā'* (New York 1949). There must also be still further unpublished collections of poems written in America.

As well as his *diwāns*, Abū Shādī left behind some fifteen novels and theatrical pieces whose Pharaonic and Arab inspiration is comparable with that of his poetry and in which the use of blank verse is not uncommon: *Zaynab, nafahāt min shī'r al-ghinā'* (1924); *Mafkharat Rashīd* (1925); *'Abduh Bek* (1926); *al-Āliha* (1927, a symbolist opera); *Ihsān* (1927, an Egyptian drama); *Ardashīr* (1927, an opera); *Akhnaton* (1927, an opera); *Néfertiti*; *Ma'shūkāt Ibn Tūlūn*; and *al-Zibbā' malikat Tadmur* (1927); *Bint al-Sahrā'* (1927, an opera); *Ihtidār Imrī' al-Kays*; *Ibn Zaydūn fī siḍḍinihi*; *Bayrūn wa-Tiriz*; and *Mahā* (a love story).

It is not possible here to speak at length about Abū Shādī's scientific works, but one should mention that he was at the same time the theoretician of free verse and the promoter of apiculture in Egypt, notably with his *Tarbiyat al-nahl* (1930). Not forgetting that he was a physician, he also wrote *al-Tabīb wa 'l-ma'mal* (1928); and not forgetting either that he was a Muslim, he explained why he was a believer in his *Limā anā mu'min* (1937) and published in the year he died *al-Islām al-hayy*, all of which had not prevented him from praising freemasonry in



his *Rūh al-māsūniyya* (1926). Finally, one should mention his verse translation of the quatrains of 'Umar Khayyām and Ḥāfiẓ (1931), as well as the one of Shakespeare's *The Tempest*.

This brief survey can only give a partial idea of an exceptional personality, one who was discussed and criticised, but also admired, and who merits particular interest.

Bibliography: In addition to S. Moreh's article, the main monographs on him are Muḥammad 'Abd al-Ghafūr, *Abū Shādī fī 'l-mizān*, Cairo 1933; I.A. Edhem, *Abushady, the poet. A critical study with specimens of his poetry*, Leipzig 1936; and Muḥammad 'Abd al-Fattāh Ibrāhīm, *Aḥmad Zakī Abū Shādī, al-insān al-muntadī*, Cairo 1955; See also Bustānī, *DM*, iv, 373-4 (with bibliography); and N.K. Kotsarev, *Pisateli Egypta*, Moscow 1975, 31-4 (with bibl.), and index; Salma Khadra Jayyusi, *Trends and movements in modern Arabic poetry*, Leiden 1977, ii, 370-84. (Ed.)

ABŪ SHAKŪR BALKHĪ, born possibly in 300/912-13, one of the most important Persian poets of the Sāmānid period. 'Awfī's *Lubāb al-albāb* attributes to him a *mathnawī* in the *mutakārib* metre called the *Āfarīn-nāma*, completed in 336/947-8 and probably dedicated to the *amīr* Nūh b. Naṣr (331-43/943-54). Nothing is known about his life, but allusions in his verses suggest that he was a professional poet and had known setbacks in life. The only surviving parts of his work are short fragments and isolated verses quoted in dictionaries, anthologies and a few other works. These comprise some 60 lyrical distichs and some fragments of *mathnawīs* in various metres, but above all, about 140 *mutakārib* distichs which must belong to the *Āfarīn-nāma*, to which one should perhaps add almost 175 distichs cited anonymously in the *Tuḥfat al-mulūk* of 'Alī b. Abī Ḥaṣṣ Iṣfahānī (7th/13th century), which seem to be extracts from the same work. This last was apparently a collection of anecdotes illustrating moral sentiments; maxims and moral sayings are prominent in the extant verses of Abū Shākūr, who was certainly the chief heir amongst the Persian poets of the 4th/10th century of the wisdom literature of pre-Islamic Iran. He must have enjoyed a great renown in his time; Manūčehrī mentions him as one of the ancient masters, along with Rūdakī and Shāhid Balkhī.

Bibliography: There is an edition of the fragments with a French translation, together with a notice on the poet and a bibliography, in G. Lazard, *Les premiers poètes persans*, Tehran-Paris 1964, i, 94-126, ii, 78-127; see also J. Rypka, *History of Iranian literature*, Dordrecht 1968, index. (G. LAZARD)

ABŪ SHURĀ'A, AḤMAD B. MUḤAMMAD B. SHURĀ'A AL-KAYṢĪ AL-BAKRĪ, minor poet of Baṣra who, during the course of the 3rd/9th century, took part in the social and intellectual life of his native town, and hardly left it, it seems, except to make the Pilgrimage or to visit places very close at hand. For the rest, his life is poorly documented. It seems unlikely that he was able, as Ibn al-Mu'tazz asserts (*Tabakāt*, 177-8), to praise al-Mahdī (158-69/775-85) during the latter's lifetime, to have reached an advanced age in al-Ma'mūn's time and to die in the caliphate of al-Mutawakkil (232-47/847-61). In the first place, the *Aghānī* speaks of his relations with Ibrāhīm b. al-Mudabbir (d. 279/892-3 [see IBN AL-MUDABBIR]) at Baṣra, where the latter, according to his own words, acted as governor (it is not impossible that he was governor there before 252/866, but he is only mentioned as tax-collector in Ahwāz in ca. 250/

864). One item of information concerning Abū Shurā'a's meeting with Dī'bīl (d. 246/860 [q.v.]) in Ahwāz is of no help. Moreover, al-Djāhīz, so far as is known, cites him only once (*Rasā'il*, ed. Hārūn, ii, 314), repeating an epigrammatic verse aimed at al-Sidrī (cf. *Aghānī*, xxii, 435), whilst Abū Shurā'a's name would certainly figure more often if he had been older. Moreover, several other authors cite five fairly mediocre verses of his (see Pellat, *Milieu*, 166) which he is said to have composed on al-Djāhīz's death (255/868). Finally, his son Abu 'l-Fayyād Sawwār, who was also a poet, went to Baghdād after 300/913, and it was he who indirectly furnished Abu 'l-Faraj with most of the information about his father. All these pieces of information lead one to think that Abū Shurā'a died after 255 at a considerable age.

Although he was reputed to have written epistles and to have delivered eloquent discourses, he was mainly known as a versifier, and Abū Bakr al-Sūlī even deigned to gather his works into a *diwān* (*Fihrist*, 216). According to the *Aghānī*, his poetry was in the Bedouin tradition and fairly obscure, but the part of it now extant does not allow of a categorical judgement. As well as verses inspired by his ruinous generosity, he wrote mainly some fairly coarse epigrams, an attractive poem on Ibn al-Mudabbir's departure and some occasional verses which reflect the idle way of life led in Baṣra at this time by the poets, always lying in wait for some reward or ready to heap ridicule on some patron who had disappointed them.

Bibliography: In addition to the references given above, see *Aghānī*, ed. Beirut, xxii, 178-9, 429-50; Marzubānī, *Muwashshah*, 219; idem, *Mu'djam*, 431 ff.; Khaṭīb Baghdādī, *Ta'rikh*, xii, 219-20; Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, 306; Sandūbī, *Adab al-Djāhīz*, 195; Bustānī, *DM*, iv, 383-4. (CH. PELLAT)

ABŪ SINBIL, an ancient village on the western side of the Nile between the first and second cataracts, in lat. 22° 22' north and long 31° 40' east. It lies ca. 175 miles south of Aswān. The French discoverers of the two huge rock-hewn temples built by Ramses II (1304-1237 B.C.) referred to it as Ipsamboul at the beginning of the 19th century. The name Abū Sinbil is a popular arabicisation ("father of an ear of corn") of the local Nubian designation, which is also known by many other variants in the spelling, e.g. Abū Simbil/Sinbūl/Sunbul/Sunbūl.

Abū Sinbil later became known as Farīk in the Official Government Register, being one of the villages within the financial jurisdiction of the Ibrīm (Piromi, ca. 35 miles north of Abū Sinbil) district until 1272/1855 when it became a separate administrative unit. In 1917 the name Farīk was dropped, and the village was given its former name, Abū Sinbil. Its irrigated land extends over several hundreds of acres.

Abū Sinbil became famous as the site of two rock temples which gave it its special artistic and religious significance. The temples, which represent some of the most spectacular examples of ancient Egyptian architecture, were unknown to the outside world until the discovery of the Smaller Temple by J.L. Burckhardt in 1813, and its opening by the Italian engineer Giovanni Belzoni in 1817.

The Great Temple of Abū Sinbil is carved in the rock and stands 33 m. high and 38 m. wide. The façade shows four colossal seated figures of Ramses II, two on either side of the entrance to the temple, each measuring 20 m. high. Ramses II dedicated this temple to the sun gods Amon Rē of Thebes and Rē-Horakhti of Heliopolis.



Less than 50 yards away was constructed the Smaller (northern) Temple, which was dedicated to Queen Nefertari, wife of Ramses II, in homage to the goddess Hathor. Its façade is decorated with six 35-foot statues of the Pharaoh and his wife.

The Abū Sinbil cliff had been buried by large sand drifts, which covered the Great Temple until its rediscovery by Burckhardt. But the Smaller Temple, which had not been buried, served the inhabitants of the nearby village Bilyānī (ca. 5 miles from Abū Sinbil) as a refuge from marauding Bedouin tribes from Nubia. Only modern Arab authors give particulars about the Abū Sinbil temples, based on French sources, and reports of the French archeological expedition which undertook the excavations at Abū Sinbil in the 19th century.

The original site was submerged by the Nile in 1966 as a result of the building of the Aswān High Dam. The two temples were salvaged from the rising waters of the Nile by sawing them into sections and re-erecting them on top of the rock face from which they were originally hewn.

Bibliography: 'Alī Pasha Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ al-tawfiqiyya al-djādida*, Būlāk 1305, viii, 14-15; G. Rawlinson, *A history of Ancient Egypt*, London 1881, ii, 318-20; E.A. Wallis Budge, *Cook's Handbook for Egypt and the Sudan*, London 1911, 259-66; A.E.P. Weigall, *A guide to the Antiquities of Upper Egypt*, London 1913, 565-76; P. Bovier-Lapierre *et alii*, *Précis de l'histoire d'Égypte*, Paris 1932, i, 160-1; S. Mayes, *The Great Belzoni*, London 1959, 132 ff.; Muḥammad Ramzi, *al-Kāmus al-djughrafi li 'l-bilād al-Miṣriyya*, Cairo 1963, ii/4, 230-1; W. MacQuitty, *Abu Simbel*, London 1965, *passim*; G. Gerster, *Saving the ancient temples at Abu Simbel*, in *National Geographic Magazine*, cxxix/5 (1966), 694-742.

(R.Y. EBIED)

ABŪ TAGHLIB FAḌL ALLĀH AL-ĠHADANFAR AL-ḤAMDĀNĪ, 'UDDAT AL-DAWLA, Ḥamdānīd *amīr* of Mosul [see ḤAMDĀNIDS] and son of the *amīr* al-Ḥasan Nāṣir al-Dawla and a Kurdish mother, Fāṭima, born 328/940. He seems to have had a certain authority over his younger brothers, and when their father grew old, Abū Taghlib seems to have obtained tacitly from them, except for Abū 'l-Muzaffar Ḥamdān, who was born of another mother, authority to depose their father and imprison him in the stronghold of Ardumushṭ in the Djabal Djudī to the north-east of Mosul. This operation was carried out with the complicity of Fāṭima in Djumādā I 356/beginning of May 967, and Nāṣir al-Dawla died there on 12 Rabī' I 358/3 February 969. As this act of deposition had been carried out without Ḥamdān's agreement, and Ḥamdān controlled the towns of Nišībīn, Māridīn and Raḥba, with the addition of Rakka, seized on the death of the Ḥamdānīd of Aleppo Sayf al-Dawla, Abū Taghlib secured support from the Būyid *amīr al-umārā* in Baghdād and master of the caliphate Bakhtiyār, and attacked Ḥamdān, forcing him to surrender Rakka and evacuate Raḥba.

Abū Taghlib continued the war against Ḥamdān, but the latter now obtained Bakhtiyār's support and re-entered Raḥba, whilst certain of Abū Taghlib's other brothers now turned on him and took Ḥamdān's side. But a new offensive by him forced Ḥamdān to flee for refuge with the Būyid in Baghdād. He now was able to consolidate his power in Mosul, seizing his brother's possessions and endeavouring to unite under his authority the territories of the Ḥamdānīd *amīr*ate of Aleppo held by his cousin, Sayf al-Dawla's son, and obtaining from the caliph al-Muṭṭī lillāh an investiture patent for the united *amīr*ates of Mosul

and Aleppo. He extended his authority over Diyār Bakr and Mayyāfāriḳīn, where he left Sayf al-Dawla's mother and his sister Djamīla with a certain amount of authority, then seized Harrān and Diyār Muḍar (359-60/969-70). Recalling that his father Nāṣir al-Dawla had been *amīr al-umārā* in Baghdād, whence he had been dislodged in 334/945 by the Būyid Mu'izz al-Dawla, Bakhtiyār's predecessor, Abū Taghlib now dreamed of recovering this rôle in Baghdād and becoming the real master of the caliphate. For his part, Bakhtiyār, with whom Ḥamdān was now living, was urged by the latter into warfare with Abū Taghlib.

However, Bakhtiyār preferred to make an entente with Abū Taghlib and to conclude an agreement with him confirming this last in his possessions, including Diyār Muḍar and Diyār Bakr, and this was sealed by Abū Taghlib's marriage with one of Bakhtiyār's daughters. It is probable that one of the reasons behind this agreement was the threat to both parties from Fāṭimid ambitions. Hence both of them gave help to the Fāṭimids' enemy, the Karmaṭī chief Ḥasan al-A'ṣam, who received subsidies from them and was accordingly with their help briefly able to seize Damascus. Nevertheless, in the end Bakhtiyār yielded to Ḥamdān's solicitations. In 363/973 he marched against Mosul and took up a position at Dayr al-A'lā to the north of the town. Abū Taghlib evacuated the town and made a diversion southwards as far as the gates of Baghdād, provoking much excitement there. He then retired towards Mosul, and Bakhtiyār, though numerically stronger, entered into negotiations with Abū Taghlib, who obtained an advantageous agreement. On returning to Baghdād, and considering Abū Taghlib's position as over-advantageous, he launched another expedition against Mosul. Again, negotiations were begun; Abū Taghlib agreed to pay tribute to the Būyid, and received from the caliph the *lakab* of 'Uddat al-Dawla "Support of the dynasty" in 974. His relations with Bakhtiyār remained friendly, and he gave support to the latter when the Būyid had to face a rebellion of his Turkish mercenary troops in Baghdād itself.

The rebellion of the Turkish troops had led Bakhtiyār to appeal also to the head of the family, Rukn al-Dawla, who authorised 'Aḍud al-Dawla, ruler of Fārs, to march on Baghdād, thus favouring the ambitions of the latter, who dreamed of securing 'Irāk. Abū Taghlib, pressed by the Turks who had overthrown Bakhtiyār, had left Baghdād. 'Aḍud al-Dawla expelled the Turks, but now received the total submission of Bakhtiyār, whom he forced to abdicate, and also made an agreement with Abū Taghlib, upon whom depended the supply of provisions for the city; the treaty previously made between Abū Taghlib and Bakhtiyār was renewed and the Ḥamdānīd excused from the payment of tribute. However, Rukn al-Dawla showed his opposition to 'Aḍud al-Dawla's treatment of Bakhtiyār and recalled 'Aḍud al-Dawla; Bakhtiyār accordingly resumed power in Baghdād. But when Rukn al-Dawla died in 366/977, 'Aḍud al-Dawla, who had never renounced his ambitions in 'Irāk, returned to Baghdād in November 977.

Abū Taghlib's position now appeared firm. But Ḥamdān, who had always remained in Bakhtiyār's entourage, persuaded the latter to attack Mosul, and Bakhtiyār advanced as far as Takrīt. Abū Taghlib acted skillfully. He promised to aid Bakhtiyār in recovering Baghdād and getting free of 'Aḍud al-Dawla, provided he would surrender to him Ḥamdān, and he marched on Baghdād in concert with Bakhtiyār. But 'Aḍud al-Dawla defeated them near Sāmarrā and captured Bakhtiyār, whilst Abū Taghlib fled. 'Aḍud



al-Dawla entered Mosul itself in June 978 and refused to negotiate in any way with Abū Taghlib. The latter fled to Nišibīn and thence to Mayyāfāriḳīn, pursued by the Būyid troops. Deciding not to go to Bitlis, where his sister Dīamīla had taken refuge, he entered the Kurdish mountain region of the Tigris affluent of the Khābūr al-Hasaniyya, perhaps with the hope of shutting himself up in the Hamdānid stronghold of Ardumush. But in the end he decided to make for the region of the Tigris sources and the great loop of the Euphrates, where was the Byzantine rebel Sklēros, with whom he had been in contact and to whom he had promised help against the imperial troops. He was pursued by 'Aḍud al-Dawla's forces, and had an engagement with them at the beginning of 368/August 978 in the mountain region near Ḥiṣn Ziyād (Kharput), territory held by Sklēros. He was victorious in this, and stayed for some time at Ḥiṣn Ziyād. He hoped for a victory by Sklēros over the imperial army and help from the latter to reconquer Mosul, but Sklēros was subsequently beaten. Abū Taghlib arrived at Āmid in Diyār Bakr, having learnt that Mayyāfāriḳīn, held by his supporters, had been captured by the Būyids; he now fled with Dīamīla to Rakka, abandoning Diyār Bakr and Diyār Rab'ā to 'Aḍud al-Dawla.

The Būyid amīr rejected attempts by Abū Taghlib to negotiate with him, and he was unable to count on any help from his cousin Abu 'l-Ma'ālī Sa'd al-Dawla in Aleppo, who had just recognised the suzerainty of 'Aḍud al-Dawla. He now further abandoned Diyār Muḍar, which had till then remained under his control, and decided to make for Fātimid territory and go to Damascus, not daring however, to go to Egypt itself. Abandoned by various of his brothers, exposed to the hostility of both the Fātimid troops and those of the rebel master of Damascus, Kassām, he attempted, with the support of one of the Arab tribes of Syria, the 'Uḳayl, to capture Ramla in Palestine from the Tayyī Mufarridj b. Daghfal b. al-Djarrāh. But he clashed with Fātimid troops, and in Ṣafar 369/end of August 979 he and his allies were defeated and he was handed over to Mufarridj, who, instead of delivering him to the Fātimid commander, killed him with his own hand. It seems that Abū Taghlib was killed at the instigation of 'Aḍud al-Dawla, whom Mufarridj had recognised as suzerain in 371 (see Madelung, in *JNES*, lxxvi (1967), 22, n. 29).

Such was the end, at the age of 40, of the last Hamdānid of Mosul, of Nāṣir al-Dawla's son, and of the Hamdānid amirate of Mosul, where new powers were now installed but where memories of the Hamdānids long remained in the minds of the local population.

Bibliography: See for this, M. Canard, *Histoire de la dynastie des Hamdānides de Djazira et de Syrie*, i, Algiers 1950, where the vicissitudes of Abū Taghlib's career are set forth in ch. vi, 541-72.

(M. CANARD)

ABU 'L-TAMAHĀN AL-ḲAYNĪ, ḤANZALA B. AL-ṢHARKĪ, *Mukhadram* Arab poet, considered to be one of those endowed with an unduly long life (al-Sidjistānī, *K. al-Mu'ammariin*, ed. Goldziher, in *Abh. zur arab. Philologie*, ii, 62, asserts that he lived 200 years). During the *Djahiliyya* he led the life of a brigand or *ṣulūk* [q.v.] and of a libertine (especially, at Mecca, in the company of al-Zubayr b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib), and he does not seem to have altered his ways in any measure after his conversion to Islam. He is said to have been killed at Adjnādayn [q.v.] in 13/634, but F. Bustānī (*DM*, iv, 408-9) believes that

he died ca. 30/651, whilst the *Aghānī* asserts that he spent his last years among the Banū Shamkh of Fazāra, with whom he had sought refuge from the efforts of the authorities to arrest him for a crime committed by him. This source (ed. Beirut, xiii, 3-13) also recounts adventures of his whose authenticity raises serious doubts. It tells how Abu 'l-Tamahān managed to set free Ḳaysaba b. Kulthūm (on whom see Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, Tab. 240 and ii, 464), who had been captured during the course of the pilgrimage; and it dilates on his own capture during a battle between two groups of the Tayyī (Badjila and al-Ghawth) and his ransoming by Budjayr b. Aws al-Tā'ī, who set him free and received eulogies in verse.

It is difficult to get an idea of Abu 'l-Tamahān's poetic work, since although this was collected together into a *Dīwān* by al-Sukkarī (*Fihrist*, 224), only fragments of this have been preserved, and this only thanks to their fame, which led to several of them being set to music. The authenticity of the most-oft cited verse (metre *ṭawīl*, rhyme *ṭhakībūh*) should nevertheless be regarded with caution; it appears in *Djāhīz* (*Hayawān*, iii, 93) in a fragment attributed to Laḳīṭ b. Zurāra and given immediately after that of Abu 'l-Tamahān, of which it forms part in the other sources; Ibn Ḳutayba (*Uyūn*, iv, 24; *Shi'r*, 692) expressly attributes it to Laḳīṭ.

Finally, the existence of at least three poets bearing this same *kunya* (see al-Āmidī, *Mu'talif*, 149-50) should demonstrate the need for the greatest prudence.

Bibliography: In addition to references given in the text, see *Djāhīz*, *Bayān*, i, 187, iii, 235, 237; idem, *Hayawān*, iv, 473; Ibn Ḳutayba, *Shi'r*, 348-9; Buḥturī, *Hamāsa*, 294; Abū Tammām, *Hamāsa*, ii, 77-8, 258; Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, ii, 298; Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, 46-7, 100, 436; Ibn Durayd, *Iṣṭikāḳ*, 317; *Nakā'id*, ed. Bevan, 670; Kuṣṣādīm, *Mayāyid*, Baghdad 1954, 207, 209; 'Askarī, *Sinā'atayn*, 360; Marzubānī, *Muwashshah*, 75, 78, 244; idem, *Mu'djam*, 149-50; Baghdadī, *Khizāna*, ed. Būlāk, iii, 426; Ibn Ḥaḍjar, *Iṣāba*, No. 2011; Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, ii, 154; Murtaḍā, *Amālī*, ed. 1907, i, 185; Wahhābī, *Marādī*, i, 193-4; Ziriklī, ii, 322-3; Blachère, *HLA*, 318. (Ed.)

ABU 'L-TAYYIB AL-LUGHAWĪ, 'ABD AL-WĀḤID B. 'ALĪ AL-ḤALABĪ, grammarian of the 4th/10th century, interested above all in lexicography (*ʿilm al-lughā*), whence his surname. He came originally from 'Askar Mukram in Khūzistān, but left his natal town for Baghdad, where he studied under Abū 'Amr al-Zāhid and Abū Bakr al-Ṣūlī. Then he moved to Aleppo, whose ruler, Sayf al-Dawla, was attracting scholars from all disciplines. It was thus in Aleppo that Abu 'l-Tayyib found himself competing with the grammarian Ibn Khālawayh [q.v.], who had followed the same masters at Baghdad as himself and who had become tutor to Sayf al-Dawla's son. Abu 'l-Tayyib was killed in the massacre by the Byzantines when Aleppo was captured in 351/962. His most famous pupil was Ibn al-Ḳarīb, to whom Abu 'l-'Alā' al-Ma'arrī presented his *Risālat al-Ghuyūn*, giving there information on Abu 'l-Tayyib's works, many of which, he stated, perished in the sack of Aleppo. His extant works include the following: *K. Marātib al-nahwiyyīn*, ed. M. Abu 'l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, Cairo 1955; *K. Shadjar al-durr*, ed. M. 'Abd al-Djāwād, Cairo 1957; *K. al-Ibdāl* and *K. al-Muthannā*, ed. Tanūkhī, Damascus 1960; *K. al-Iṭbā'*, ed. Tanūkhī, Damascus 1961; and *K. al-Aḍḍād*, still unpublished. In regard to the *K. al-Furūḳ*, cited by al-Suyūṭī in his *Muzhīr*, i, 447, this seems to have been lost.



Bibliography: Brockelmann, S I, 190; Kāhālā, *Muḍjam*, vi, 210; 'Izz al-Dīn al-Tanūkhī, in *MMIA*, xxix, 175-83. (G. TROUPEAU)

ABŪ USĀMA AL-HARAWĪ, *ḌJUNĀDA* B. MUHAMMAD, grammarian and lexicographer of the 4th/10th century, a native of Harāt in *Khurāsān*. He was the pupil of Abū Maṣṣūr al-Azharī and Abū Ahmad al-'Askarī, whose works he transmitted. After residing at *Shīrāz*, where he frequented the circle of the vizier the Ṣāhib Ibn 'Abbād [*q.v.*], he went off to Cairo. There he taught in the Nilometer mosque (*Ḍjāmi' al-Miḳyās*) and, in company with the traditionist 'Abd al-Ḡhanī b. Sa'īd al-Miṣrī and the grammarian 'Alī b. Sulaymān al-Anṭākī, he held lectures at the House of Knowledge (*Dār al-'Ilm*). He was subsequently accused of preventing the rising of the Nile by casting spells on it, condemned to death by the caliph al-Ḥākim and executed in 399/1009. His biographers only provide the name of one of his pupils, that of Abū Sahl al-Harawī, and they attribute no works to him; however, a commentary by him, on the *Mu'allaka* of Imru' al-Ḳays, has come down to us.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, S I, 36; Sezgin, *GAS*, ii, 52; Yāqūt, *Iṣṭihād*, ii, 426; Ibn *Khallikān*, *Wafayāt*, i, 372, tr. de Slane, i, 337; Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 213. (G. TROUPEAU)

ABU 'L-WALĪD AL-BĀDĪ [see AL-BĀDĪ].

ABU 'L-YUMN AL-'ULAYMĪ [see MUḌJIR AL-DĪN].

ABŪ ZA'BAL, an ancient village in Lower Egypt ca. 15 miles north of Cairo. Its original name was al-Ḳuṣayr, under which designation it is mentioned by Ibn Mammātī (d. 606/1209) in his *Kitāb Kawānīn al-dawāwīn*. It became known as Abū Za'bal from the end of the Mamlūk period, the first record of this name being found in a deed of *wakf* granted by *Khāyir* Bey al-Djarkasī, Ottoman governor of Egypt 923-8/1517-21, dated 10th Raddjab 926. It had a population of approximately 2,000 people towards the end of the 19th century.

In 1827 Muḥammad 'Alī founded a School of Medicine in Abū Za'bal, which was chosen because of its convenient location near the barracks of his army. The School was attached to the largest military hospital in Egypt, which had been built in Abū Za'bal in 1825. Muḥammad 'Alī appointed the Frenchman Clot Bey (then Physician and Surgeon-in-Chief of the Egyptian army) as its first director. In order to overcome the difficulty posed by the language barrier between the students and the French and Italian professors, Clot Bey appointed a team of interpreters who were also entrusted with the translation into Arabic of the necessary medical textbooks. The first of these translations, *al-Ḳawāl al-ṣarīḥ fī 'ilm al-tashrīḥ*, was printed at the press of the Medical School of Abū Za'bal (also founded by Muḥammad 'Alī) in 1248/1832 (the first book to be printed in Abū Za'bal).

To the Abū Za'bal School of Medicine were later added the School of Pharmacy (1830), the School of Veterinary Medicine (1831) and the School of Obstetrics (1832). The Medical School was transferred in 1837 to its present site at *Ḳaṣr al-'Aynī* (Cairo), a palace built in 870/1466 by Ahmad b. al-'Aynī, grandson of the Sultan *Khushkadam*.

The area around Abū Za'bal was the scene of considerable military activity during the Napoleonic occupation, Abū Za'bal itself being twice attacked by the French troops. When Napoleon's troops demanded an impost for the upkeep of the military from the people of Abū Za'bal on the 23 Ṣafar 1213/

7 August 1798, they refused to give it, and as a result the French sacked the village and set it on fire. Five months later the French attacked Abū Za'bal again and seized all the cattle and the beasts of burden (on 30 Raddjab 1213/11 January 1799). Al-Djabartī also records that Abū Za'bal was looted on 6 *Ḍjumdā* I 1207/23 December 1792 by Murād Bey and his Mamlūk soldiers, who killed about 25 of the villagers, and arrested and imprisoned the *shaykhs* of Abū Za'bal.

Today Abū Za'bal is well-known for the large prison situated there.

Bibliography: 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Djabartī, *Adjā'ib al-āthār fī 'l-tarāḍīm wa 'l-akhbār*, Būlāk 1297/1880, ii, 239-40, iii, 13, 14, 38; Muḥammad Amīn al-*Khāndjī*, *Mundjam al-'umrān fī 'l-mustadrak 'alā muḍjam al-buldān* [of Yāqūt al-Rūmī], Cairo 1325/1907, i, 109; Ahmad 'Izzat 'Abd al-Ḳarīm, *Ta'rīkh al-Ta'lim fī 'asr Muḥammad 'Alī*, Cairo 1938, 251-316; Naguib Mahfouz Pasha, *The history of medical education in Egypt*, London 1947, 14-16; *Ḍjamāl al-Dīn al-Shayyāl*, *Ta'rīkh al-Tarḍjama wa 'l-haraka al-thaqāfiyya fī 'asr Muḥammad 'Alī*, Cairo 1951, *passim*; Abu 'l-Futūḥ Ridwān, *Ta'rīkh Maṭba'at Būlāk*, Cairo 1953, 354-8; Muḥammad Ramzī, *al-Ḳāmus al-djughrāfi li'l-bilād al-Miṣriyya*, ii/1, Cairo 1954-5, 31. (R.Y. EBIED)

ABŪ ZAKARIYYĀ' AL-FARRĀ' [see AL-FARRĀ'].

ABŪ ZAYD AL-ḲURASHĪ, MUHAMMAD B. ABĪ 'L-KHATTĀB, *adīb* of the end of the 3rd/9th or of the beginning of the 4th/10th century, and known only as the author of the *Ḍjamharat ash'ār al-'Arab* (ed. Būlāk 1308/1890). No personal details about the author can be derived from this collection, and the only relevant data are two *isnāds*, one (p. 13) going back to al-Haytham b. 'Adī (d. ca. 206/821 [*q.v.*]) through two intermediaries, and the other (p. 14) going back to Ibn al-A'rābī (d. 231/846 [*q.v.*]) through one intermediary; these *isnāds* would thus allow us to date the *Ḍjamhara* approximately to the end of the 3rd century. The mention (p. 165) of the *Ṣahāḥ* of al-Djawharī (d. ca. 398/1107-8 [*q.v.*]) is probably a reader's note incorporated in the text by a copyist. Another problem is raised by the references to a certain Mufaddal, falsely identified (p. 1) with al-Mufaddal al-Dabbī (d. ca. 170/786 [*q.v.*]), for this cannot be a case here of the author of the *Mufaddaliyyāt*; Brockelmann surmised that Abū Zayd al-Ḳurashī and al-Mufaddal might be two pseudonyms referring to Abū Zayd al-Anṣārī (d. 215/831 [*q.v.*]) and to the Kūfan anthologist, but this hypothesis hardly seems tenable. A.J. Arberry, for his part (*The seven odes*, London 1957, 23) prudently suggests, but without insisting upon this, an identification of Abū Zayd with 'Umar b. Shabba (d. 262/875-6 [*q.v.*]).

After an introduction containing observations on the value of poetry for the philological point of view and on Muḥammad's interest in it, a comparison between the language of the *Ḳur'ān* and that of the poets, a judgment on the merits of these last and some fragments attributed to Adam, Satan, the angels, the djinn, etc., the *Ḍjamhara* comprises 49 *kaṣīdas* written by 49 poets of the *Ḍjāhiliyya* and the beginnings of Islam. These poems are divided into 7 groups, each of which should comprise 7 poets, but 'Antara, mentioned in the introduction as one of the 7 of the second group, figures in the end (in the printed edn., though not in all the mss.) amongst the authors of the *mu'allakāt*, so that this particular group comprises 8 poems and the following one 6 only. Abū Zayd chose the following terminology: *mu'allakāt*, *muḍjamharāt*, *muntakayāt*, *muḍjahhabāt*/



mudhbaḥāt, marāthī, mashaḥāt and *mulhamāt*. He certainly is lacking in any critical spirit, but his *Djāmhara*, which possesses no outstanding originality, offers some interesting variants and also the advantage of grouping together for the first time the *mu'allakāt* [q.v.] and of reflecting the public's taste at a time when the *ruwāt* had gathered together a considerable number of poetic productions and it had become convenient to select and to classify those which would ultimately constitute the Arabic humanities and, on the whole, the classical ideal.

Bibliography: Ibn Rashīk, *Umda*, index; Baghdādī, *Khizāna*, ed. Cairo i, 33; F. Hommel, in *Actes du VI^e Congrès Intern. des Orientalistes*, 387-408; Nöldeke, in *ZDMG*, xlix, 290-3; M. Nallino, in *RSO*, xiii/4 (1932), 334-41; Brockelmann, S I, 38-9; Blachère, *HLA*, index; A. Trabulsi, *La critique poétique des Arabes*, Damascus 1955, 28-30; *DM*, iv, 331. (CH. PELLAT)

ABŪ ZAYD AL-ŠIRĀFĪ [see **AḤBĀR AL-ŠĪN WA-Ḳ-HIND** in Suppl.].

ABŪ ZUR'Ā, the *kunya* by which the *Shāfi'ī* scholar and jurist 'AḤMAD B. 'ABD AL-RAḤĪM, called **IBN AL-IRĀKĪ**, was best known. Abu Zur'a, the son of a prominent *Shāfi'ī* jurist of Kurdish origin, was born in Cairo on 3 Dhu 'l-Hijja 762/14 October 1361. His mother was the daughter of a Mamlūk officer. For a time his father was the *kādī* of Medina. Abū Zur'a studied in Cairo, Damascus, Mecca and Medina, and completed his education at an early age. He began his career as a *mudarris*, teaching *ḥadīth* and jurisprudence in various *madrasas* in Cairo. Appointed deputy *Shāfi'ī kādī* of Cairo, probably in 792/1390, he held this and other judicial positions outside the capital for twenty years, before he returned to resume his original function as *mudarris*. In 822/1419, he was summoned by Sultan Ṭaṭar to assume the position of *Shāfi'ī* grand *kādī* of Cairo—the foremost judicial office in the Mamlūk empire. The strict and honest manner in which he discharged his functions as chief magistrate won him the enmity of powerful Mamlūk *amīrs*, who pressured Ṭaṭar's successor, Barsbāy, into dismissing him from the office in 825/1421, after a tenure of barely fourteen months. Abū Zur'a died on 27 Sha'bān 826/5 August 1423, a few months after his dismissal.

At a time when corruption in the judiciary was rampant, and when prominent jurists were spending large fortunes to secure high judicial appointments, Abū Zur'a stands out as a jurist and *kādī* of unusual integrity. A scholar of great prominence, he was also renowned for his personal modesty; upon his appointment as grand *kādī*, he proceeded to exercise his functions in his ordinary clothes, and considerable efforts had to be exerted before he was persuaded to don the customary ornamental robes for the dignity of the office. His contemporaries were unanimous in the praise of his character, learning and command of the Arabic language. He left a number of works on *ḥadīth* and jurisprudence, which were mostly commentaries on earlier works; he also wrote on other subjects and left a compilation of obituaries for the years 762-93 A.H. (now lost), an anthology of anecdotes about hypocrites (*Aḥbār al-mudallīsīn*), a commentary on an *urḍūza* (versified tract) on algebra, and some scattered verse.

Bibliography: *Sakhāwī*, *al-Daw' al-lāmī*, i, 336-44; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Nudjūm*, vi, 514, 516, 563, 578; Suyūṭī, *Ḥusn al-muḥādara fī akhbār Miṣr wa 'l-Ḳāhira*, Cairo 1321, ii, 116; Brockelmann, II, 66-7; 'Umar Riḍā Ḳaḥḥāla, *Mu'djam al-mu'allifīn*, i, 270-1.

(K.S. SALIBI)

ABYAD, GEORGES (b. Beirut, 5 May 1880; d. Cairo, 21 May 1959), a Syrian Christian who became a prominent protagonist of the modern Egyptian theatre. After acting in school-plays, Abyad attempted a career as a clerk; unhappy with this work, he moved in 1898-9 to Egypt, then the centre of the young theatre in Arabic. In Alexandria and Cairo, he attended theatrical performances, both local and foreign, then, with a group of Egyptian amateurs, repeatedly tried his own hand, with some success. The turning point in his career came when the Khedive 'Abbās II Ḥilmī awarded him a stipend to study acting in France, where Abyad stayed from 1904 to 1910. Sylvain, Director of the *Conservatoire* in Paris, became his teacher, mentor and model; but he was also impressed and inspired by such leading actresses as Sarah Bernhard. Upon his return to Egypt, Abyad commissioned the translation of several plays into literary Arabic, without colloquialisms or slang, and assembled a troupe in Cairo to perform these and other works. In 1912, with packed halls, his troupe was virtually the first to perform plays in Arabic without music—for Abyad introduced music, vocal or instrumental, only when it was organic to the play. The troupe was organised and re-organised, and it played in Cairo as well as on repeated tours in Egypt and other Arab lands. Although Abyad sometimes had to act in vernacular comedies and dramas (to please and attract the public), his forte remained the tragedy in literary Arabic. From 1927, he acted occasionally in broadcast plays, and, in 1930, started to teach acting and diction at the newly-established Institute of Dramatic Arts and at various universities and schools. In 1931-2 he acted in the first Arabic talking film, a musical entitled *The Song of the heart*. Abyad retired from the State National Theatre in 1942, but he continued to lecture, direct plays, and occasionally act in Egyptian films. He was the first President of the Actors' Union, which was established in 1943. Until his death, he was active in the intellectual circles of Cairo and Alexandria. Abyad's main merits were that, almost single-handed, he created a classical non-musical Egyptian theatre in literary Arabic, modelled on the modern French theatre; he encouraged the production of translated and original plays; and he increased the respectability of acting as a profession, socially and financially (paying his actors a regular and adequate salary).

Bibliography: *al-Hilāl*, xx (1 Apr. 1912), 436-8; xxi (1 Nov. 1912), 125-6; xxxiii (1 June 1925), 906-9; Muḥammad Taymūr, *Mu'allafāt*, ii, Cairo 1922, 131-49, 161-2, 213 ff., 232-3, 236 ff., 241-58, 276-7, 285-6, 290 ff., 303-4; N. Barbour, *The Arabic theatre in Egypt*, in *BSOAS*, viii (1935-6), 178-81; Fāṭima al-Yūsuf, *Dhikrayāt*, Cairo 1953, 27-31, 36-7; Muḥammad Yūsuf Nadīm, *al-Masraḥiyya fī 'l-adab al-'Arabī al-ḥadīth*, Beirut 1956, 152-67, 245, 256, 415, 446, 449-50; J.M. Landau, *Studies in the Arabic theater and cinema*, Philadelphia 1958, 75-87, 93, 100, 113, 166, 189 (Arabic tr. by Aḥmad al-Maghāzī, Cairo 1972); Muḥammad Mandūr, *al-Masrah*, Cairo 1963, 40-2; Tawfīk al-Hakīm, *Sidq al-'umr*, Cairo n.d. [1964], 140-3 (Italian tr. by G. Belfiore, *La prigionie della vita*, Rome 1976, 87-9); Muḥammad Kamāl al-Dīn, *Ruwwād al-masrah al-miṣrī*, Cairo 1970, 81-2, 85, 89-91, 106; Su'ād Abyad, *Djurdj Abyad: al-masrah al-miṣrī fī mi'at 'ām*, Cairo 1970; Fāṭima Ruḡdī, *Kifāhī fī 'l-masrah wa 'l-sinimā*, Cairo 1971, 28-30; Maḥmūd Taymūr, *Talā'ī 'l-masrah al-'Arabī*, Cairo n.d., 43-7, 52-3; Aḥmad Shams al-Dīn al-Ḥadīdjadī, *al-'Arab wa jann al-masrah*, Cairo 1975, 85-7; T.A. Putint-



iyeva, *Tisyača i odin god Arabskogo teyatra*, Moscow 1977, 164-8, 171, 177, 200, 209, 228, 262.

(J.M. LANDAU)

AL-ABYĀRĪ, **SHAYKH** ‘ABD AL-HĀDĪ NADJĀ B. RIDWĀN B. NADJĀ B. MUHAMMAD, a leading Egyptian author and grammarian who was born in 1236/1821 in Abyār in the Gharbiyya province of Lower Egypt. He was brought up in Abyār where he received his early education from his father and in one of the *kuttābs* of the town. He studied at al-Azhar and later became a teacher there. Ismā‘il Pasha entrusted him with the instruction of his children, and Tawfiq Pasha appointed him *imām* and *muftī* of his entourage, a post which he held until his death on 18 Dhu ‘l-Ḳa‘da 1305/28 July 1888. He belonged to the *Shāfi‘ī madhhab*.

Al-Abyārī is credited with the authorship of more than 40 books on various subjects, including grammar, Islamic mysticism, *fikh* and *hadīth*. He corresponded with a number of leading scholars, including Ibrāhīm al-Aḥḍab and Nāṣif al-Yazīdī. The collection of his correspondence with Ibrāhīm al-Aḥḍab in Beirut and with others on literary and linguistic topics, *al-Wasā’il al-adabiyya fi ‘l-rasā’il al-aḥḍabiyya*, was published in Cairo in 1301/1883. A dispute on certain linguistic matters between Aḥmad Fāris al-Shidyāq and Sulaymān al-Harīrī al-Tūnīsī led to an adjudication of the questions at issue by al-Abyārī, which judgement appeared in print in Cairo in 1279/1862 under the title *al-Nadīm al-thāqib*. A number of his works remain unpublished.

Bibliography: ‘Alī Pasha Mubārak, *al-Khiṭat al-tawfiqiyya al-djādida*, viii, Būlāq 1305/1888, 29; E. Zakhkhūrā, *Mir’at al-‘asr fi ta’rīkh wa-rusūm akābir al-riddāl bi-Miṣr*, i, Cairo 1897, 239-40; Hasan al-Sandūbī, *Āyāt al-bayān*, Cairo 1914, 222-31; Dīrūdī Zaydān, *Tarāḍīm mashāhīr al-shark fi ‘l-kam al-tāsī‘ ‘ashar*, ii, Cairo 1903, 144-5; Sarkīs, *Mudjam al-maṭbū‘āt al-‘arabiyya wa ‘l-mu‘arraba*, Cairo 1928, 358-61; al-Ziriklī, *al-A‘lām*, iv, 322-3; Zakī Muḥammad Mudjahid, *al-A‘lām al-sharqiyya fi ‘l-mi‘a al-rābi‘a ‘ashra al-hidriyya*, ii, Cairo 1950, 138-9; Kahlāla, *Mudjam al-mu‘allifin*, vi, 203-4.

(R.Y. EBIED)

ACCESSION TO THE THRONE [see BAY‘A, **KHULĀFA**].

ACCIDENT [see ‘ARAD].

ACQUISITION [see KASB].

ACRIDOIDS [see DJARĀD].

ACROBAT [see DJĀNBĀZ].

ACT, ACTION [see ‘AMAL, Fī‘L].

ADAGE [see MATHAL].

ĀDARRĀK, the name of a family of Berber “physicians”, whose ancestor, Abū ‘Abd Allāh Muḥammad (d. 1070/1658-60) left the Sūs and settled at Fās; he must have used completely empirical methods, but nevertheless obtained significant results. Ibn Shahrūn [q.v. in Suppl.] was the pupil of a certain Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Ādarrāk, who was probably the son of the above-mentioned person, but the best-known member of the family was this Aḥmad’s son, ABU MUHAMMAD ‘ABD AL-WAHHĀB B. AḤMAD (b. ca. 1077/1666, d. 28 Šafar 1159/22 March 1746), who was attached to Mawlāy Ismā‘il (1082-1139/1672-1727). ‘Abd al-Wahhāb had also received a traditional education and had a certain talent as a versifier. In actuality, apart from a few poems of an ethico-philosophic nature, a *qaṣīda* in praise of the saints buried at Meknès (*Manzūma fi madh ṣālihi Miknāsāt al-zaytūn*), his biographers mainly mention some pieces having a certain connection with medicine: these comprise first of all a commentary on

the *Nuzha* of al-Anṭākī and two *urđūzas*, one complementing that of Ibn Sīnā, the other on the subject of smallpox (these works apparently lost); then a *qaṣīda* of 31 verses on the fine qualities of mint (*na‘na*), which exists in ms. (Rabat D 158 and D 1131; partial tr. in Renaud, *Médecine*, 104-5; Lakhdar, 189); and finally, an *urđūza* of 179 verses on syphilis (*ḥabb al-Ifraṇḍī*), based largely on al-Anṭākī’s *Nuzha* and on the *risāla* of Ibn Shahrūn on sarsaparilla (*fi ‘l-‘ushba al-hindiyya*), text published and tr. by Renaud and Colin, *Mal franc*, Arabic text 25-32, tr. 81-94.

Another Ādarrāk called Aḥmad is also cited as physician to Sīdī Muḥammad b. ‘Abd Allāh (1171-1204/1757-90).

Bibliography: Ibn Zaydān, *Ithāf a‘lām al-nās*, Rabat 1347-52/1929-33, v, 400-7; Kādirī, *Nashr al-mathānī*, lith. Fās 1310, i, 226, ii, 251; Kattānī, *Salwat al-anfās*, lith. Fās 1316/1898, ii, 34; Akansūs, *al-Djays al-‘aramam*, lith. Fās 1336/1918, 94 ff.; Lévi-Provençal, *Chorfa*, 310-11; H.P.J. Renaud, *Médecine et médecins marocains*, in *AIEO Alger*, iii (1937), 99-106; idem and G.S. Colin, *Documents marocains pour servir à l’histoire du “mal franc”*, Paris 1935, 31-5; M. Lakhdar, *La vie littéraire au Maroc*, Rabat 1971, 187-90 and bibl. cited there.

(Ed.)

AL-‘ADAWĪ, MUHAMMAD ḤASANAYN MAKHLŪF, Azharī scholar and administrator, one-time *shaykh* of the Aḥmadī mosque in Tanṭā, born on 5 Ramaḍān 1277/18 March 1861 in the village of Banī ‘Adī, near Manfalūṭ in the Upper Egyptian province of Asyūt.

After the completion of his studies at al-Azhar [q.v.] in 1305/1887-8, when he was granted the degree of ‘ālim [see ‘ULAMĀ], and a short period of teaching at that institution, he was appointed Director of al-Azhar Library which was established and organised at his initiative. His commitment to the cause of reform in al-Azhar gave his further career its content and significance when, in the various high administrative offices he held within this institution—the most notable of which were the offices of *mudīr al-Azhar* and of the Religious Institutes attached to it, *mufattiṣh al-awwal* and *wakīl al-Azhar*—as well as in the period in which he held the office of *shaykh* of the Aḥmadī mosque in Tanṭā, he was able to give inspiration and direction to the reformist efforts (cf. Aḥmad Shafīk, *Mudhakkirātī fi niṣf kam*, Cairo 1936, ii/2, 137 f., 140, 182, 233). He continued to do so after his resignation from all his administrative functions following a dispute with the Egyptian Sultan Ḥusayn Kāmil in 1915 (see ‘Abd al-Muta‘āl al-Sa‘īdī, *Ta’rīkh al-islāh fi ‘l-Azhar wa-ṣafahāt min al-djihad fi ‘l-islāh*, Cairo n.d., 142 ff.).

From the latter year onwards, he committed himself mainly to private teaching and to the writing of a variety of books and tracts, of which some forty were published, largely pertaining to legal issues and to *taṣawwuf* [q.v.]. He was an active member of the *Sharkāwiyya* branch of the *Khalwatiyya* [q.v.] and among the principal disciples of its founder Aḥmad b. Sharkāwī al-Khalīfī (1834-98). He died in Muḥarram 1355/April 1936.

Bibliography: In addition to the references in the article, see the biographies by Ilyās Zakhkhūrā, *Mir’at al-‘asr fi ta’rīkh wa-rusūm akābir riddāl Miṣr*, Cairo 1897, ii, 455; Khayr al-Dīn al-Ziriklī, *al-A‘lām*, Cairo 1954-9, vi, 326; Muḥammad ‘Abduh al-Hidjādī, *Min a‘lām al-Ša‘īd fi ‘l-kam al-rābi‘ ‘ashr al-hidri*, Cairo 1969, 93-112, and Zakī Muḥammad Mudjahid, *al-A‘lām al-sharqiyya fi ‘l-*



mī'a al-rābi'a 'ashra al-hidjriyya, Cairo 1950, ii, 160, where additional references may be found as well as an enumeration of al-ʿAdawī's writings. A similar list may be found appended to several of al-ʿAdawī's publications. To these must be added *al-Takrīr al-awwal li-mashyakhāt al-Djāmiʿ al-Ahmadī ʿan sana 1316 dirāsiyya*, Cairo 1327/1909, which was drawn up by him at the time when he was *shaykh* of the Ahmadī mosque in Tanṭā. For a summary of the reforms and improvements implemented by him at the Ahmadī mosque, when he was in charge of that institution, see *Dhikrā tashrīf Samū al-Dhanāb al-ʿAlāʾ al-Khu-daywī al-Muʿazzam ʿAbbās Hilmi al-Thānī li-ʿl-Djāmiʿ wa ʿl-Maʿhad al-Ahmadī, sana 1332*, Cairo 1332/1913-4, 29 f.

(F. DE JONG)

ʿADĪ B. ARTĀT AL-FAZARĪ, ABŪ WĀṬILA, official in the service of the Umayyads who governed Irāk from Baṣra between 99/718 and 101/720. He was appointed to this office by ʿUmar b. ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz in place of Yazīd b. al-Muhallab, and received the order to arrest all the sons of al-Muhallab. He managed to get hold of al-Mufaḍḍal, Ḥabīb, Marwān and Yazīd, but the latter escaped and returned to the attack. ʿAdī then raised the troops of Baṣra and had a trench dug round the town to prevent the rebels from breaking in, but these measures had no effect. In the event, Yazīd managed to get possession of Baṣra without much difficulty, and ordered the arrest of ʿAdī, who was killed at Wāsiṭ in 102/820-1 by Muʿāwiya b. Yazīd. There is, first of all, attributed to this governor's name a canal excavated at Baṣra in order to bring a satisfactory supply of drinking water, the *Nahr ʿAdī*, and secondly, an epidemic which broke out in 100/719, the *ṭāʿūn ʿAdī*.

Bibliography: Djarīr, *Diwān*, 241; *Nakāʾid*, index; Djāhiz, *Bayān*, index; Ibn Kutayba, *Maʿārif*, index; *Tabarī*, index; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 77, 349, 359, 369-70; Ibn al-Kalbi-Caskel, *Tab.* 130 and ii, 138; Yaʿqūbī, *Hist.*, ii, 362, 370, 373; idem, *Buldān*, tr. Wiet, 94, 124; Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, index; Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, v, 453-4, 457 = § 2206, 2209; idem, *Tanbīh*, index; Khaṭīb Baghdādī, *Taʾrīkh*, xii, 306; Ibn al-Athīr, v, 31, 42, 53, 64; Yāqūt, i, 643, iv, 841; Ibn Abī ʿl-Hadīd, *Sharḥ*, i, 303; Caetani, *Chronographia*, 1205, 1239, 1244, 1248, 1260; S. al-ʿAlī, in *Sumer*, vii (1952), 78; Pellat, *Milieu*, index; Zirikli, vj, 8. (Ed.)

ADĪB PISHĀWARĪ, SAYYID AHMAD, Persian poet, was born ca. 1844 in the district of Pishāwar (Peshawar) in north-west India to a clan of nomadic *sayyids* who traced their spiritual lineage back to Shihāb al-Dīn Suhrawardī. While he was still a boy, his father and most of his male relatives were killed in fighting against the British government. He himself escaped to Kābul, and after spending several years in Ghaznin, Harāt and Turbat-i Shaykh Djām, settled in Mashhad, where he studied under a number of distinguished divines. For two years he was in Sabzawār at the feet of the famous Mullā Hādī Sabzawārī. During his stay in Mashhad he became known as *Adīb-i Hindī*, "the Indian scholar". In 1884 he moved to Tehran, where he spent the rest of his life, and was honoured by Nāsir al-Dīn Shāh. He died in 1930. His writings include a *diwān* of 4,200 Persian and 370 Arabic verses, a *mathnawī* poem in the *mutakārib* metre, the *Kāyyar-nāma*, dedicated to the German Kaiser and describing the events of the 1914-18 war, two philosophica essays, a commentary on the *Taʾrīkh-i Bayhākī*, and an incomplete Persian translation of Avicenna's *Kitāb al-Ishārāt*.

Although his mother-tongue was Pashto, Adīb Pishāwarī was regarded as a master of the Persian language, his wide reading and powerful memory enabling him to clothe his ideas in a high literary style. Nevertheless, although he took no active part in public affairs and lived an unwordly life, his poems show that he was well-acquainted with world events; he commented freely on such matters as the Russo-Japanese War, India's fight for freedom, pan-Islam, and the Great War. His early tragic experience had given him a lasting hatred of British imperialism, from which no doubt his support for the Kaiser in part stemmed. At heart he was a fervent nationalist and patriot. At the same time he placed no reliance on patrons, and was never known to have composed a panegyric. He may be regarded as the first of the new generation of poets who abandoned the classical themes and wrote about subjects closer to the lives of ordinary people.

Bibliography: Adīb's *Diwān* was edited by ʿAlī ʿAbd al-Rasūlī, Tehran 1933. His edition of the *Taʾrīkh-i Bayhākī* was published in Tehran in 1889, and the commentary was incorporated with corrections in Saʿīd Nafīsī's edition, 3 vols., Tehran 1940-53. The *Kāyyar-nāma* has never been published. Biographical information in: M. Ishaque, *Sukhanwarān-i Irān dar ʿasr-i hādīr*, i, Calcutta 1933, 1-8; Rashīd Yāsīmī, *Adabiyāt-i muʿāṣir*, Tehran 1937, 10-3; M. Ishaque, *Modern Persian poetry*, Calcutta 1843, *passim*; Sayyid Muḥammad Bākīr Burkāʾī, *Sukhanwarān-i nāmī-yi muʿāṣir*, i, Tehran 1950, 1-2; J. Rypka, *Iranische Literaturgeschichte*, Leipzig 1959, 356-7; *ibid.*, *History of Iranian literature*, Dordrecht 1968, 374-5; Bozorg Alavi, *Geschichte und Entwicklung der modernen persischen Literatur*, Berlin 1964, 34-5.

(L.P. ELWELL-SUTTON)

ADĪVAR, ʿABD AL-HAKK ʿADNĀN, modern Turkish ABDŪLHAK ADNAN ADIVAR, Turkish author, scholar and politician (1882-1955). He was born in Gelibolu (Gallipoli), while his father Ahmed Bahāʾī, who came from a prominent ʿulamāʾ family of Istanbul, was *kādī* there. He studied medicine at the University of Istanbul and while a student, contributed to various newspapers and was in trouble with the Ḥamidian police. Upon graduation he fled to Europe, spent a year in Paris and Zürich and settled in Berlin where he became an assistant in the Faculty of Medicine. After the restoration of the Constitution in July 1908, he returned to Turkey, taught at the University of Istanbul and was Dean of the Faculty of Medicine (1909-11). As a prominent member of the powerful Committee of Union and Progress (CUP), he contributed substantially to re-organising the Red Crescent and the Department of Health. In 1917 he married, by proxy, the prominent writer Khālīde Edīb [q.v.]. Elected a deputy in the post-Armistice Ottoman Parliament, Dr. ʿAdnān (as he was known until 1940 when he took the family name Adivar) left Istanbul secretly with his wife in order to avoid certain arrest and deportation by the British, and joined the Nationalist government in Ankara (April 1920), where he served as Minister of Health and of the Interior and as Deputy Speaker of Parliament. Later he joined dissident generals and former members of the CUP, with whom he founded the Progressive Republican Party (*Terakkiperver Cumhuriyet Fırkası* [q.v.]), which represented the main opposition to Muṣṭafā Kemāl Paṣḥa (1924). In the summer of 1926, a Unionist conspiracy to assassinate Muṣṭafā Kemāl was discovered and several people were arrested. Dr. ʿAdnān was tried in his

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absence as he had been in Europe for some months. Although he was acquitted, he and his wife did not return to Turkey until 1939. They lived in England and later in France where he worked as lecturer at the École de Langues Orientales Vivantes in Paris, together with Jean Deny (1929-39).

When Hasan 'Alī Yücel (Yücel), the reforming Minister of Education (1938-46) decided that a Turkish edition of the *Encyclopaedia of Islām* should be published, he appointed Adnan Adıvar its chief editor (1940); the latter organised the secretariat of the *Islām Ansiklopedisi* and successfully launched and directed it as an independent deputy (1950-4). He died in Istanbul on 1 July 1955.

Adnan Adıvar's main work is his book on the history of science in Turkey, prepared during his exile in France: *La science chez les Turcs ottomans* (Paris 1939), which he revised and enlarged in the second edition in Turkish, *Osmanlı Türklerinde ilim* (Istanbul 1943), where for the first time all the extensive data on the subject are put systematically together. Apart from an essay on Faust (*Faust, tahlil tecrübesi*, Istanbul 1939) and a study of the conflict of religion and science in history, *Tarih boyunca ilim ve din* (2 vols., Istanbul 1944), his remaining work consists of essays and articles on problems of general culture, history, science and politics which he published in daily papers; some of these have been put together in *Bilgi Cumhuriyeti haberleri* (1945), *Dur, düşün* (1950) and *Hakikat pesindeki emeklemeler* (1954).

Bibliography: *Yeni ufuklar*, special number, August 1955; Halide Edib Adıvar, *Doktor Abdülhak Adnan Adıvar*, Istanbul 1956; Tahir Alangu, *100 ünlü Türk büyüğü*, ii, Istanbul 1974, 1259-65. (FAHİR İZ)

'ADJMAN, the smallest of the seven shaykhdoms of Trucial 'Umān, which now comprise the United Arab Emirates (*al-Imārāt al-'Arabīyya al-Muttaḥida* [q.v. below]). The shaykhdom proper measures about 100 square miles in extent, and there are two small enclaves, Masfūt and Manāma, in the interior. The total population is around 5,000. The leading tribal elements are the Qarātisa, Hamīrat and Āl Bū Ḥanayn sections of the Āl Bū Ḥuraybān branch of the Na'īm (or Nu'aym), which is also to be found in the Buraymī Oasis and its vicinity. The ruling shaykh, from the Qarātisa section, is Rashīd b. Ḥumayd, who succeeded in 1347/1928-9.

Throughout the 13th/19th century 'Adjman was little more than a client state of the neighbouring Kāsimī shaykhdom of Shārdja (al-Shārika [q.v.]). It subscribed independently, however, to the various engagements concluded between the Trucial Shaykhs and the British government during the century, from the General Treaty of Peace in 1235/1820 to the "Exclusive" Agreements of 1309/1892. Early in the century, as a consequence of Sa'ūdī penetration of the area, the Āl Bū Ḥuraybān of 'Adjman, like most of their fellow Na'īm, were converted to the Wahhābī practice of Islam.

'Adjman's economy until recent years depended wholly upon fishing and subsistence agriculture. It is now sustained primarily by grants from the wealthier members of the UAE, notably Abū Ḥabīb (Zabī), and by concessionary payments from the Occidental Oil Company for exploratory rights in 'Adjman territory and waters. (J.B. KELLY)

ADMIRAL [see KAPUDAN].

ADVENTURER [see KAZAK].

AFĀWĪH (pl. of *afwāh*, sing. *fūh*) are spices, aromatic substances, which are added to food and beverages in order to increase pleasant flavour

and promote digestion. In general they are vegetable products which are active through their contents of volatile oils or pungent substances. The classification according to the individual constituents of plants (fruits and seeds, blossoms and buds, peel, roots, etc.), in use at present, does not seem to have been in practice realised anywhere. It is possible that Abū Hanīfa al-Dīnawarī (end 3rd/9th century) has this in mind when he says that *al-afwāh* fall under various classes and types (*asnāf wa-anwā'*), and then quotes a verse each of Dhū 'l-Rumma and of Djamīl [al-'Udhri], according to which there is a distinction between *afwāh al-naur* and *afwāh al-bukūl* (*Kitāb al-Nabāt. The book of plants*, part of the monograph section, ed. B. Lewin, Wiesbaden 1974, 200 f., no. 757). An unsystematic list of food spices, among which are included the most common like salt (*milḥ*), is to be found in Ibn Kūṭayba, *Uyūn al-akhbār*, iii, Cairo 1348/1930, 296-9, under the heading *maṣālīḥ al-ṭā'am*, where *maṣālīḥ* must have the plain meaning of "spices, food-flavourings". In Arabic the meaning of *afwāh* is not sharply marked off from *itr*, *ṭīb* "scents", and *akkār* (plur. *akākīr*, *uḳḳār*), "drugs" [see 'AṬṬĀR]. The lexicographers call *al-afwāh* what is added to scents, and *al-tawābīl* what is added to food (see Lane, s.v. *fūh*).

Specific monographs on *al-afwāh* do not seem to be known. These substances are treated in their appropriate places in works on botany, pharmacognosics, medicine, knowledge of commodities, encyclopaedias and other writings. A list which is, to a certain extent, representative for the 4th/10th century, is to be found in al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, i, 367, containing 25 main kinds of spices: 1. *sunbul* spikenard, 2. *karanful* clove, 3. *ṣandal* sandalwood, 4. *ḡawzhuwvā* nutmeg, 5. *ward* rose, 6. *salikha* cassia, 7. *zarnab* (meaning doubtful, cf. Meyerhof's edition of Maimonides, *Sharḥ asmā' al-uḳḳār*, no. 137), 8. *kīrfa*, cinnamon, 9. *karnuwa* (a kind of sonchus?, cf. Ibn al-Bayṭār, *al-Djāmī'*, Būlāk, iv, 17, tr. Leclerc, no. 1775), 10. *kākulla* cardamom, 11. *kubāba* cubeb, 12. *hāthuwvā* small cardamom, 13. *manṣīm* carpobalsam, 14. *fāghīra* xanthoxylum, 15. *maḥlab* morello, 15. *vars* Flemingia rhodocarpa, 17. *kust* costus, 18. *azfār* (al-*ṭīb*), *Strombos* lentiginosus, 19. *birank* Embelia Ribes, 20. *ḡarw* lentisk gum, 21. *lāḍhan* ladanum, 22. *may'a* aromatic gum of the storax tree, 23. *kanbīl* Mallotus philippinensis, 24. *kaṣab* al-*dhārīra* calamus, 25. *zabāda* civet.—Notable is the fact that one of the oldest and most utilised spices, pepper (*ful-ful*), with its ca. 700 different kinds, does not appear in this inventory.

In the section on knowledge of commodities in his handbook on mercantile science, Shaykh Abū 'l-Faḍl Dja'far al-Dimashkī (probably 6th/12th century) enumerates, under the term *sakaṭ* (plur. *askāt*, strictly speaking "refuse"), a list of spices which is quite different from that of al-Mas'ūdī (*Kitāb al-Ishāra ilā maḥāsīn al-tijāra ilkh*, Cairo 1318/1900, 21-4): under the "small spices" (*al-sakaṭ al-ṣaghīr*) he mentions only the rhubarb (*rāwand*) and leaves the others out as being less important, but under the "great spices" (*al-sakaṭ al-kabīr*) he reckons: 1. *nīl* indigo, 2. *bakḥam* sapanwood, 3. *fulful* pepper, 4. *lubān* frankincense, 5. *maṣtakā* gum mastic, 6. *dārṣinī* al-*ṭā'am* food-cinnamon, 7. *āl* yellow ginger, 8. *zandjabīl* ginger, 9. *zurunbād* redowary-root, 10. *khūlandjān* galingale, 11. *kust* costus, 12. *lāḍhan* ladanum, 13. *ihliladāt*, kinds of myrobalan (see concerning this list, E. Wiedemann, *Aufsätze zur arabischen Wissenschaftsgeschichte*, ed. W. Fischer, Hildesheim 1970, ii, 11-5; H. Ritter, in *Isl. vii* [1917], 17 f.).



Scattered or unsystematically-arranged material for the knowledge of spices is to be found, as can be expected, in the encyclopaedias of the Arabic and Persian literature. Preliminary statements already appear in al-Kh̲ārazmī's *Mafātīh al-ʿulūm* (ed. van Vloten, Leiden 1895) under medicaments (169-80), while ample material is given by Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab*, the entire twelfth volume of which (Cairo 1356/1937) is devoted to this subject; scents (*ṭīb*), perfumery (*bakhūrat*), many kinds of *Galia moscata* (*ghawālī*), perfumes made of aloe with various admixtures (*nudūd*), distillates (*mustakṭarāt*), oils (*adhān*) and certain perfumes (*naḍūhāt*). Among these rubrics we find also descriptions of some of the spices already mentioned, such as sandalwood (39-42), spikenard (43 f.), cloves (45-8), costus (49-51), etc. All this is mixed up with detailed statements about other materials which can be counted among spices only with reservations or in no way at all. As in mediaeval Europe, ground spices were often adulterated, especially in times of distress. Here we only recall the original work of Ḍjawbarī (ca. 615/1218), *Kitāb al-Mukhtār fī kashf al-asār wa-hak al-astār*, which allegedly informs traders about deceitful devices in commerce and trade; it was printed several times in the Orient and urgently deserves a critical edition (now in preparation by S. Wild). The section on adulterations of spices and perfumes was translated into German by E. Wiedemann (*op. cit.*, i, 1970, 679-82).

Since there is hardly any spice which was not at the same time used as medicament, it is no wonder that the most comprehensive material on spices is to be found in the pharmacopoeias. These are essentially based on the *Materia medica* (ὕλη ἰατρικὴ) of Dioscorides [see *DIYUSKURIDIS*]. This work, translated into Arabic at an early period, lived on in the Islamic world in ever-new compilations, expanded by a great number of drugs which the Arabs had come to know in the course of their conquests. The material is to be found on the one hand in pharmacognostic and pharmaceutical monographs, the development of which came to a certain conclusion with Ibn al-Bayṭār's great compilation, and on the other hand in the pharmaceutical sections of compendia on general medicine [see *TIBB*]. It should, however, be remembered that in these works spices are entered and described as medicines in the first place, not as condiments.

Together with cambric textiles, spices were considered as the most fashionable luxury; both products are often mentioned together as the most lucrative ones (Mez, *Renaissance*, 452 ff.). In Egypt, where for a long time corn had offered the best chances for investment, spices and drugs took its place after the Crusades. In the later Middle Ages, the spice trade, and the pepper trade in particular, was mainly in the hands of Egyptians and Venetians. A good survey on the spice trade under the Ayyūbids and Mamlūks is to be found in G. Wiet, *Les marchands d'épices sous les sultans mamlouks*, in *Cahiers d'histoire égyptienne*, série vii (1955), 81-147, with a rich bibliography. However, the author does not deal with particular spices, but with their general trade. Under the protection of the sultans this trade was carried out by important bodies of merchants, who forwarded the spices from India and South-East Asia to Europe by way of Egypt through the Red Sea or by way of Syria through the Persian Gulf. About these trading companies and their monopoly we have some detailed information, especially about the wealthy Kārimī [q.v.], who controlled the spice trade between the

Yemen and Egypt. The "spice-wars" with the European ports in the Mediterranean, started by the Ayyūbids and continued by the Mamlūks and the Ottoman Turks, were waged on both sides with great ruthlessness. Internal policy was carried out, just as rigorously, especially by the Mamlūks: in 832/1429 Barsbāy founded a state monopoly of pepper and three years later he forced the wholesale merchants to buy from him for 80 *ḍinārs* a *ḥiml* the pepper which they had sold to him earlier for 50 *ḍinārs*. Even so, Kāṣawh al-Ghawrī not only maintained this monopoly system, but imposed additional heavy taxes on the merchants. Hopes of cutting out Egyptian middlemen were the decisive inducement for the Spanish and the Portuguese to search for a direct sea-route to India; but after the conquest of the Moluccas in 1607, the Dutch snatched the monopoly of the spice trade away from the Portuguese.

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(A. DIETRICH)

AFDAL AL-DĪN TURKA, more frequently referred to as Kh̲āḍja Afdal-i Ṣadr, was a famous theologian in the reign of the Tīmūrid Shāhrukh Mirzā [q.v.], and a member of an originally turco-phone family of Iṣfahān, whence the appellation Turka. In 845/1441, when Shāhrukh appointed his own grandson, Muḥammad b. Bāysonkor as governor of a part of 'Irāk-i 'Adjamī (al-Djibāl), Afdal al-Dīn Turka was among the learned courtiers of this young prince. But later when, in consequence of Muḥammad's revolt, Shāhrukh came to Iṣfahān, Afdal al-Dīn together with a number of other leading figures, were arrested as Muḥammad's accomplices and put to death by the order of Shāhrukh with no further inquiry (Ramadān 850/November 1446). Afdal al-Dīn is responsible for a partial translation of Shāhrastānī's *Kitāb al-Milāl wa 'l-nihāl*, in which contrary to the original author, he did not confine himself to expose only the heretical doctrines, but endeavoured also to refute these heresies. This translation was originally made in 843/1439 for Mirzā Shāhrukh, but later when Muḥammad b. Bāysonkor came to 'Irāk-i 'Adjamī, a new version of the book was dedicated to him. Among other famous dignitaries of the Turka family we know of another Afdal al-Dīn Turka (d. 991/1583), a grandson of our Kh̲āḍja Afdal al-Dīn, and also a famous theologian of the Ṣafawid period who held for a time the office of *kādī* and *mudarris*, at Kāzwīn, under the Ṣafawid Shāh Tahmāsp I.

Bibliography: Dawlatshāh, *Tadhkirat al-shu'arā'*, ed. Browne, 339; Aḥmad b. Ḥusayn al-

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(A.H. ZARRINKOOB)

AL-'AFĪFĪ, 'ABD AL-WAHHĀB B. 'ABD AL-SALĀM B. AḤMAD B. ḤIMJĀZĪ, an Egyptian mystic belonging to the Shādhiliyya [q.v.] order, after whom one of its branches is named al-'Afīfiyya. He was born in Mīnyat 'Afīf in the present-day Mīnūfiyya province in the last quarter of the 17th century. After a period of study at al-Azhar under a number of notable scholars like the Malīkī muftī Sālim b. Aḥmad al-Nafrāwī, and Aḥmad b. Muṣṭafā al-Sikandarānī al-Ṣabbāgh, he taught the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Muslim at the *madrasa al-aṣṭrafiyya* and confined himself to an ascetic way of life based upon the precepts of the Shādhiliyya order. He had been initiated into this *ṭarīqa* [q.v.] by the son of the founder of the Moroccan Ṭayyibiyya [q.v.], the Wazzānī *shāriḥ*, Mawlā Aḥmad al-Tihāmī al-Tawwātī (d. 1715), from whom he had also received the *khilāfa* [q.v.]. In addition he held an *idjāzat khilāfa* of the Khālafiyya order issued to him by Muṣṭafā Kamāl al-Dīn al-Bakrī [q.v.].

His contacts with the Mamlūk *amīrs* who used to come and visit him in his house in Kaṣr al-Shawḳ and the generous way in which he gave away to his *murīdīn* most of what was presented to him as pious donations caused his circle of adepts to increase and to spread into the rural areas.

When he died on 12 Ṣafār 1172/15 October 1758, he was buried close to the mosque of Kāyit Bāy in a grave which was swept away by a torrent in the year 1178/1764-5. After this event his body was re-interred at a much higher site in the same area where a domed shrine was constructed over his tomb, together with a number of adjacent buildings at the expense of Muḥammad Katkhudā Abāza, a Mamlūk *amīr* and onetime *katkhudā* [q.v.] of Muḥammad Bey Abū 'l-Dhahab [q.v.]. As reported by 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Djabartī, *Adjā'ib al-āthār*, Būlāḳ 1297, i, 220 f., and iv, 163, the yearly *mawlid*, about which he makes highly derogatory remarks, was not celebrated until after this event. At the end of the 19th century it had become one of the larger popular *mawlid*s in Cairo (cf. J.W. McPherson, *The moulds of Egypt*, Cairo 1941, 50, 174; Murray's *Handbook of Egypt 1888*, 209), and lasted for eight days (cf. 'Alī Mubārak, *Khūṭat*, v, 50 f., xvi, 73). According to McPherson, 174, the *mawlid* was not celebrated any more by 1940, but in the fifties celebrations were held again (cf. *Madjallat al-Islām wa 'l-Taṣawwuf*, i (Cairo 1958), no. 6, 82).

Al-'Afīfī has left no writings of his own, but his teachings have been summarised by one of his disciples 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Sulaymān al-Ghuraynī, in *Risālat al-Silsila*, and they mirror Shādhilī teaching as formulated by Aḥmad Zarrūk. The latter's *wazifa* [q.v.], known as *Safīnat al-Nadja* [*li-man ilya 'llāh iltadja*] was incorporated into the *ṭarīqa*'s liturgy and was adopted as part of the daily office prescribed for the *ṭarīqa*'s members, to whom two of al-Zarrūk's treatises, *Risālat al-Uṣūl* and *Risālat al-Ummahāt* became standard reading at a later period, towards the end of the 19th century.

Followers of the 'Afīfiyya order have been criticised

on various grounds for wearing yellow headgear in imitation of al-Zubayr b. 'Awwām [q.v.], who, according to one tradition, wore a yellow turban on the day of the battle of Badr. In defence of headgear of this colour, a small treatise was published by the order, written by Ibrāhīm al-Sadḡīnī under the title *al-Aman al-akbar fī 'ayn man ankara libas al-aṣṣar*.

Two branches of the al-'Afīfiyya *ṭarīqa* were active in Egypt in 1958 (cf. Muḥammad Mahmūd 'Alwān, *al-Taṣawwuf al-islāmī, risālatuhu wa-mabādī'uhu, māḍiyuhu wa-hādiruhu*, Cairo 1958, 72, 74).

Bibliography: The biographies by 'Alī Mubārak, *Khūṭat*, xvi, 72 f.; al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Kūhīn, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Shādhiliyya al-kubrā*, Cairo 1347/1928-9, 157 f.; and Muḥammad al-Baṣhīr Zāfir, *al-Yawāḳīt al-ṭamīna fī 'ayān 'ālīm al-Madīna*, Cairo 1324-5/1906-7, are essentially reproduced from 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Djabartī, *Adjā'ib al-āthār*, i, 220 f. A short biography may be found in Muḥammad Khālīl al-Murādī, *Silk al-durar fī 'ayān al-karn al-thānī 'aṣḥar*, Istanbul/Būlāḳ 1291-1301/1874-83, iii, 143 f., which was utilised by Yūsuf b. Ismā'īl al-Nabahānī, *Djāmi' karāmāt al-awliyā'*, Cairo 1329/ 1911, ii, 139. On the construction of the mosque of al-'Afīfī in the second half of the 19th century, see 'Alī Mubārak, *Khūṭat*, v, 51. Information about descendants of al-'Afīfī and 'ulamā' buried in the precincts of the mosque may be found in Abū 'l-Ḥasan Nūr al-Dīn 'Alī b. Aḥmad al-Sakhāwī, *Tuḥfat al-aḥbāb wa-bughyat al-tullāb fī 'l-khūṭat wa 'l-mazārāt wa 'l-tarāḍīm wa 'l-bikā' al-mubārakāt*, Cairo 1937, 54. The treatises by Aḥmad al-Zarrūk, 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Ghuraynī and Ibrāhīm al-Sadḡīnī, referred to in this article were published by 'Afīfī al-Waḳḳād in a collection under the title *Hidāyat al-sā'il ilā maḍīmū' al-rasā'il*, Cairo 1316. The order's chain of transmission of the *wazifa* and the *sanad* [q.v.], which are given in the treatise by 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Ghuraynī referred to in this article, figure also in 'Abd al-Kādir Zakī, *al-Nafḥa al-'aliya fī awrād al-Shādhiliyya*, Cairo 1321, 220 f. (photomechanical reprint: Tarābulus (Libya) 1971).

A manual of religious instruction and mystical practice intended for the members of the 'Afīfiyya order was written by one of its *khaliḥas*, Sayyid 'Abd al-Nabī Muḥammad Khādir, *al-Irshādāt al-dīniyya*, al-Mīnyā n.d. [1970]. Prayer manuals of al-'Afīfiyya are Fu'ād Ramaḍān, *Maḍīmū'at aḥzāb*, Cairo n.d.; and Aḥmad Ḥasan (ed.), *Maḍīmū'at awrād wa-aḥzāb li 'l-sāda al-Shādhiliyya*, Cairo 1351/1932-3. (F. DE JONG)

AFLĪMŪN, FULAYMŪN, IFLĪMŪN, the Greek rhetorician and sophist Antonius Polemon (ca. 88-144 A.D.) of Laodicea (near modern Deñizli [q.v.] in western Turkey). He lived most of his life in Smyrna, and was the author of a book on physiognomy, which has been preserved, apart from one single Greek quotation, in an Arabic translation only. The translator is not known. Polemon's book (*K. Afīmūn fī 'l-firāsa*) presents the characteriological physiognomy, in contrast to the branch of physiognomy which aims at medical morphoscopy [see FIRĀSA]. It was believed that characteriological physiognomy provided an insight into someone's character by means of a skilful interpretation of his physical appearance (*al-istidlāl bi 'l-khulk al-zāhir 'alā 'l-khulk al-bāṭin*). Polemon's book is divided into 70 chapters. Ch. 1 treats the characteristics of the human eye, and ch. 2 the characteristics of animals from which, by analogy, conclusions can be drawn about human nature; these constitute about half of the book. Then



follow chs. 3-30 on the different parts of the body, chs. 31-5 on the different nations of the world, chs. 36-40 on the colour of the parts of the body, chs. 41-8 on the growth of hair on the parts of the body, chs. 49-50 on the movements of the body, chs. 51-66 on several outspoken character types, and chs. 67-70 on several other topics connected with foretelling someone's destiny. The book appears to be authentic, as can be seen from the many Greek examples; thus mention is made of Oedipus (ed. Hoffmann, 111, 7), Cyrene (*ibid.* 119, 14), Lydia and Phrygia (*ibid.* 139, 13), Egypt, Macedonia, Phoenicia, Cilicia and Scythia (*ibid.* 237, 14-239, 2). The eyes of the Roman Emperor, Hadrian of whom Polemon was a favourite, are described (*ibid.* 149, 4). Polemon's opponent, Favorinus, is only too well recognisable in the anonymous and malicious description on p. 161, 8 ff. Allusion to the attempt on the Emperor's life is made on p. 141, 1 ff.

Polemon does not give a theoretical introduction to his method. He used materials from the *Physiognomicon* of Ps. Aristotle and gave his book a lively tone by including anecdotes about contemporaries and avoiding a monotonously scientific treatment of his subject (Stegemann, 1345-7). Polemon's name is mentioned by al-Djāhīz (d. 255/868 [q.v.]) in his *Ḥayawān*, ed. 'A.M. Ḥārūn, Cairo 1938, iii, 146, 269-75, 284, with extensive quotations on the physiognomy of the dove (*fīrāsāt al-ḥamām*), none of which however can be found in the Arabic physiognomicon as it exists now. Ibn al-Nadīm (d. 377/987 [q.v.]) mentions Polemon's book and, without naming its author, a *Fīrāsāt al-ḥamām* (*Fihrist*, ed. Flügel, 314). Mention of Polemon is also made by Ibn Ḥazm (413/1022 [q.v.]) in his *Tawḥ al-ḥamāma* (ed. D.K. Petrof, Leiden 1914, 30). The quotation by Ibn Ḥazm is only a faint echo of Polemon, ed. Hoffmann, 169, 1-4. An anecdote about Polemon and Hippocrates (a crude anachronism) in Ps. Aristotile, *Sirr al-asṭār* (cf. ed. Foerster, ii, 187-90) found its way into Ibn al-Kifī (d. 646/1248 [q.v.]), *Ta'rikh al-Hukamā'*, ed. Lippert, Leipzig 1903, 91 l. 12-92 l. 2 and into Ibn Abī 'Uṣaybi'a (d. 668/1270 [q.v.]), *Uyūn al-anbā'*, ed. Müller, Königsberg 1884, i, 27-8.

Polemon's book was widely used and epitomised. An Arabicised short version is the edition of M.R. al-Ṭabbākh, Aleppo 1929. The characteristics of the several nations of the Hellenistic world (ed. Hoffman, 237-9, ed. al-Ṭabbākh, 46) are applied to peoples of the Islamic world. Another short version is MS Gotha 85 (3) (see bibliography), which lacks the specific Greek characteristics but is less adapted to Islamic taste than the Aleppo version. An evaluation of the texts written under the name of Polemon has not been undertaken so far. Polemon's book was probably a primary source of al-Dīmashqī (d. 727/1327 [q.v.]), *K. al-Siyāsa fī 'ilm al-firāsa* (cf. Brockelmann, S II, 161) and Ibn al-Akfānī (d. 749/1348 [q.v.]), *Asās al-riyāsa fī 'ilm al-firāsa* (MS Paris, BN, Arab. 2762). *Firāsa* was, and still is, a popular science with its uses both in court life, human relationships and the slave trade. The exact impact, directly or indirectly, of Polemon's work on the numerous tracts on physiognomy of later times, cannot now easily be discerned.

Bibliography: On Polemon in general see the art. *Polemon* (by W. Stegmann) in Pauly-Wissowa, xxi/2, cols. 1320-57, and F. Sezgin, *GAS*, iii, 352-3. On Polemon's position in the Arabic *firāsa* tradition, see T. Fahd, *La divination arabe*, Strasbourg 1966, 384-6, and Y. Mourad, *La physiognomie arabe*..., Paris 1939, 44-6, with the literature

cited there. Polemon's book was edited by G. Hoffmann, in R. Foerster, *Scriptores physiognomiconi Graeci et Latini*, Leipzig 1893, i, 93-294 (= MS Leiden Or. 198 (1)). The only Greek quotation of Polemon preserved is given in *ibid.*, i, p. LXXVI. A Ps-Polemonic treatise is mentioned in *ibid.*; ii, 147-60 (= MS Gotha Arab. 85 (3)); Other MSS. of treatises going under the name of Polemon are mentioned by Fahd, *op. cit.* 384-6; Ullmann, *Medizin*, 96; Foerster, *Script. phys.*, i, p. LXXXVII (identical with Hādjdjī Khalifa, ed. Flügel, vii, 297, and (?) with MS Nuruosmaniye, Defter, no. 2388); and M.R. al-Ṭabbākh in his edn., introd. p. 2. The Greek physiognomicon ascribed to Polemon in *Aeliani variae Historiae Libri XIII*, Rome 1545, ff. 79-91 is not authentic, as has been demonstrated by R. Foerster, in *De Polemonis Physiognomiconis dissertatio*, Kiel 1886, 10 ff. (J.J. Witkam)

ĀFRĀG (AL-MANŞŪRA), an 8th/14th century Marīnid royal camp-town (whence its name), commanding Ceuta from the heights west of the peninsula on which this old Moroccan (now Spanish) seaport is situated. Its site lies in an area of modern suburban development: in the north-east the line of its west wall stops short of the Ceuta-Punta Blanca coast road (Carretera de la Playa Benítez), and, from south-west to north-east, the trapezoid site is bisected lengthways by the Carretera de Torrones. More than half a kilometer of the west wall, including the remains of one of its three original gates, Bāb Fās, and its towers has survived. Construction techniques suggest Andalusian influence.

Āfrāg owed its existence to that of Ceuta, which, from around 1250, had acquired growing economic and strategic importance and become the great *entre-pôt* of the western Mediterranean, boasting an economy thriving on commerce and privateering. Militarily, it was ideally suited to assist Islam in its struggle to maintain its increasingly precarious foot-hold in Spain: it had ships, harbours and a seafaring population equipped for war by land and sea; in good weather its ships could rapidly cross to Algeciras; its fortifications were formidable and, on its landward side, impregnable. However, because it could easily withstand assault and siege from the mainland, it had long enjoyed a profitable measure of independence and, at times under the 'Azafids [q.v.], escaped Marīnid control altogether. Accordingly, when in 728/1327-8 the total collapse of 'Azafid authority was followed by internal dissension, the Marīnid sultan Abū Sa'īd decided to assert his authority there once and for all. Among measures to achieve this end were decisions to demolish Ceuta's Outer Suburb (*al-rabad al-barrānī*) wall, the most formidable barrier to access from the west, and to impart solidity and permanence to what had doubtless been the site of many an earlier siege camp. Like a similar foundation built by a dynastic predecessor outside Tlemcen, it was given the name al-Manşūra. Abū Sa'īd is credited with the construction of a palace there with adjacent mosque as well as other buildings. Most of the wall and fortifications, however, seem to have been the work of Abū 'l-Hasan (931-52/1331-51). In the 9th/15th century Āfrāg was regarded as a suburb of Ceuta. Much of the place was still standing in the 18th century.

Bibliography: B. Pavón Maldonado, *Arte hispanomusulmán en Ceuta y Tetuán*, in *Cuadernos de la Alhambra*, vi (1970), 72-6; J.D. Latham, *The strategic position and defence of Ceuta in the later Muslim Period*, in *Orientalia Hispanica*, ed. J.M. Barral, i/1, Leiden 1974, 454 and *passim* (also



in *Islamic Quarterly*, xv (1971), 195-7 and *passim*); al-Anṣārī, *Iḥtiṣār al-akhbār*, ed. E. Lévi-Provençal with title *Description musulmane au xv^e siècle*, in *Hespéris*, xii (1931), 145-76, ed. Ibn Tawīt in *Tetuan* (1959), ed. A. Ben Mansour, Rabat 1969, *passim*; Spanish tr. by J. Vallvé Bermejo, in *Al-Andalus*, xxvii (1962), 398-442).

(J.D. LATHAM)

ĀGAHĪ, poetical name of MUḤAMMAD RIḌĀ MIRĀB B. ER NIYĀZ BEK, Khīwan historian, poet and translator, born 10 Dhu 'l-Ka'da 1224/17 December 1809 in the township Kiyāt, near Khīwa, in Kh'ārazm.

He belonged to Uzbek tribe of Yüz and to an aristocratic family, whose members were hereditary *mīrābs* (in the Khānate of Khīwa there were four high officials with the title *mīrāb*, members of the khān's council consisting of 34 'amaldars). His uncle was Shīr Muḥammad Mirāb with the poetical name Mu'nīs [q.v.], a poet, translator and historian. Āghahī studied in a *madrasa* and especially under his uncle, whom he repeatedly calls his *ustād*. After the death of Mu'nīs in 1244/1829, he received the title and the post of his uncle (Āghahī, *Riyād al-dawla*, MS. of the Leningrad Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, E-6, f. 334a). As a *mīrāb* he supervised the irrigation system in the country (a special interest in irrigation is noticeable in his historical works), but also, as other high officials, he usually accompanied the khāns of Khīwa in their military campaigns. In 1255/1839 he was ordered by Allāh-Kulī Khān to complete the history of the Khānate of Khīwa *Firdaws al-ikbāl* written by Mu'nīs, which had remained unfinished after his death (see *Firdaws al-ikbāl*, MS. of the Leningrad Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, C-571, f. 445a-b). Having completed this work, carrying it to the death of Muḥammad Rahīm Khān, 1240/1825, Āghahī proceeded with separate histories of Allāh-Kulī Khān and his successors, thus becoming a kind of official historiographer of the Khānate of Khīwa (formally such a post did not exist in the khānate). In 1268/1851 he resigned from the post of *mīrāb* because of an illness (see his *Djāmī' al-wāqī'āt-i sulṭānī*, MS. of the Leningrad Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, E-6, f. 488a-b) and dedicated all his time to literary work until his death in 1291/1874, shortly after the Russian conquest of Khīwa (see Muḥammad Yūsuf Bek Bayānī, *Shadīra-yi Kh'ārazmshāhī*, MS. of the Institute of Oriental Studies in Tashkent No. 9596, f. 4b).

His literary production in Čaghatāy was very considerable. Besides the continuation of the *Firdaws al-ikbāl* of Mu'nīs he wrote five other historical works, continuing one after the other till 1289/1872: (1) *Riyād al-dawla*, history of Allāh-Kulī Khān (1240-58/1825-42) and the first two years of the reign of Rahīm-Kulī Khān (1258-9/1843-4); (2) *Żubdat al-tawārīkh*, history of Rahīm-Kulī Khān (1258-62/1843-6); (3) *Djāmī' al-wāqī'āt-i sulṭānī*, history of Muḥammad Amīn Khān (1262-71/1846-55), 'Abd Allāh Khān (1271/1855) and Kutluḡ Murād Khān (1271-2/1855-6); (4) *Gulshan-i dawlat*, history of Sayyid Muḥammad Khān (1272-81/1856-64); and (5) *Shāhid-i ikbāl*, history of the first eight years of the reign of Sayyid Muḥammad Rahīm Khān II (1281-9/1864-72). Except for the *Firdaws al-ikbāl* and the greater part of the *Riyād al-dawla*, all of them are contemporary chronicles arranged in annalistic form, with their main subdivisions being the years of reign of respective khāns. Āghahī's accounts are based on his own observations as well as reports of other eyewitnesses, and, in some cases, on official documents. These

chronicles are the most outstanding work of late Central Asian historiography "in regard to the minuteness of account and the quantity of facts" which they comprise (Barthold). His Turkī *diwān* entitled *Ta'wīdh al-āshīkīn* includes mainly *ghazals*, but also *kaşīdas*, *mathnawīs*, *mukhammasāt*, etc.; he wrote also some poems (mostly *ghazals*) in Persian.

Āghahī was also a prolific translator. At the beginning of his literary career he continued the translation into Čaghatāy on the *Rawdat al-safā'* by Mirkh'ānd [q.v.] begun by Mu'nīs (Āghahī translated the second half of vol. ii, vol. iii and, allegedly, vol. vii), and later translated a number of other Persian works: *Ta'rikh-i dīhān-gushā-yi Nādirī* by Muḥammad Mahdī Khān; *Durra-i Nādirī* by the same author; the 3rd vol. of *Rawdat al-safā'-yi Nāsirī* by Riḍā-Kulī Khān; the *Gulistan* by Sa'dī; *Yūsuf wa-Żulaykhā* by Djāmī; *Haft paykar* by Nizāmī (a prose translation); *Shāh wa-gadā* by Hilālī; *Żubdat al-hikāyāt* by Muḥammad Wārith; the *Kābūs-nāma*; the *Akhlaq-i Muḥsinī* by Husayn Kāshifī; and the *Miftāḥ al-tālibīn* by Mahmūd Ghizhduwānī (cf. Storey, i/2, 973) (there exist MSS. of all above-mentioned translations, see Bibliography). In the preface to his *diwān* he mentions also several other translations made by him, manuscripts of which, however, have still not yet been discovered: a *Ẓafar-nāma* [apparently by Sharaf al-Dīn Yazdī]; *Salamān wa-Absāl* by Djāmī; the *Bahārīstān* by Djāmī; [the memoirs of] Wāsiṭī (cf. Storey-Bregel, 1123-6); *Tadhkira-yi Mukīm-Khānī*; *Tabakāt-i Akbar-Shāhī*; the *Haṣṭ bihiṣṭ* by Amīr Khūsraw; and also a *sharḥ* to the *Dalā'il al-khayrāt* from Ottoman Turkish.

Bibliography: V.V. Bartol'd, *Istoriya kul'turnoy zhizni Turkestana* (1927), in *Sochineniya*, ii/1, 285-6; P.P. Ivanov, in *Materiali po istorii turkmen i Turkmenii*, ii, Moscow-Leningrad 1938, 23-7; K. Munirov, *Āghahī* [in Uzbek], Tashkent 1959; idem, Munis, *Āghahī wa Bayānīning tarikhī aṭharlari* [in Uzbek], Tashkent 1961; R. Madjidi, *Āghahī lirikasi* [in Uzbek], Tashkent 1963; J. Eckmann, in *Philologiae turicae fundamenta*, ii, 389-90; H.F. Hofman, *Turkish literature*, section iii, Utrecht 1969, i/2, 48-52 (with additional references). On the MSS. of his original historical works see, besides the above-mentioned sources, L.V. Dmitriyeva et alii, *Opisaniye tyurkskikh rukopisey Instituta narodov Azii*, i, Moscow 1965, 106-18 (Nos. 97, 98, 100-2, 105-7, 110); *Sobraniye vostochnikh rukopisey Akademii nauk Uzbekskoy SSR*, Tashkent, i, 83-4, vii, 33-7. The MS. in the Istanbul University Library TY 82 (the only one known outside the Soviet Union) contains *Firdaws al-ikbāl*, *Riyād al-dawla* and *Żubdat al-tawārīkh*. Russian translations of extracts from historical works: V.V. Bartol'd (1910), in *Sochineniya*, ii/2, 400-13 (epitomised translation from *Shāhid-i ikbāl*); *Materiali po istorii karakalpakov*, Moscow-Leningrad 1935, 125-43; *Materiali po istorii turkmen i Turkmenii*, ii, Moscow-Leningrad 1938, 384-638. MSS. of the *diwān*: see *Sobraniye vostochnikh rukopisey Akademii nauk Uzbekskoy SSR*, vii, 128-9; separate poems: see *ibid.*, ii, 358, v, 125, vii, index. The *Diwān* was published lithographically in Khīwa in 1300/1882 and 1323/1905 and in modern Cyrillic transcription in 1960 in Tashkent (partial edition only). On the MSS. of his translations of Persian historical works see Storey-Bregel, 374, 375, 479, 910, 913; *Sobraniye vostochnikh rukopisey Akademii nauk Uzbekskoy SSR*, iii, 111, v, 107, vii, 48, 68-9, 217-8.

(YU. BREGEL)

ĀGHĀ ḤASHAR KASHMĪRĪ (1879-1935), the

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best-known Urdu dramatist. His actual name was Āghā Muḥammad Shāh and Ḥaṣṣhar his *takhallus*, while his *nisba* alludes to the country of origin of his father. The latter came from Kashmīr, and settled in Benares as a merchant. Here Āghā Ḥaṣṣhar was born and educated, until in 1897 he ran away from home and made for Bombay. He feared his father's wrath for his misuse of money entrusted to him; and his appetite for the new Urdu drama form, which was flourishing in Bombay, had been whetted by the visit of a theatrical company to Benares. He worked as playwright for various companies in Bombay, and subsequently in several provincial capitals such as Hyderabad and Madras, writing over thirty plays. Many of them were extremely successful, and earned him a fine reputation, and also considerable wealth, which, however, he quickly dissipated. He later worked in films. He died and was buried in Lahore.

When he entered the field, the main lines of the Urdu dramatic form were already established. Āghā Ḥaṣṣhar, by his technical brilliance and command of language raised it to its highest point. The form was hardly challenged until after the 1939-45 War. Common elements in the form were: the use of poetry and rhymed prose, often rhetorical to the point of bombast, prose being reserved for comedy or social drama; the development of subsidiary plots alongside the main one, as in Shakespeare; and historical or heroic themes, based on either Islamic and Indian stories or Shakespeare and other English dramatists, whose plays were freely adapted, with changes in locations and names of characters. Social themes were also employed. Violence and death were common on stage, as in *Sohrāb-o-Rustum* (1929, publ. Lahore 1959); yet adaptations of Shakespeare's tragedies might be given happy endings—thus *Safed Khwān* (1907, publ. Lahore 1954), based on *King Lear*.

Bibliography: For accounts of earlier Urdu drama, see Muḥammad Sadiq, *History of Urdu literature*, London 1964, 393-9; Ram Babu Saksena, *History of Urdu literature*, Allahabad 1927, 346-67; J.A. Haywood, *Urdu drama—origins and early development, in Iran and Islam—in memory of Vladimir Minorsky*, ed. C.E. Bosworth, Edinburgh 1971, 293-302; Accounts of Āghā Ḥaṣṣhar and his dramatic art are to be found in Wakkār 'Azīm, *Āghā Ḥaṣṣhar aur un ke drāme*, Lahore 1956; and idem, *Urdu drāma—ta'rīkh-o-tankīd*, Lahore 1957. For the texts of the plays, those published by Urdu Markaz, Lahore, are recommended. Other and earlier editions are based on information supplied by actors; many were published in the author's lifetime without his authority. They differ substantially from Āghā Ḥaṣṣhar's manuscripts, many of which are in the Nawāb of Rampūr's library. Of the Urdu Markaz series, apart from the two mentioned in the text, the following may be noted: *Ṣayd-i-hawṣ* based on Shakespeare's *King John* (1954); *Asīr-i-hīrs*, based on Sheridan's *Pizarro* (1954); *Khawbūsrāt balā* (1954); and *Pahlā piyār* or *Balwā mangal* (1955). (J.A. HAYWOOD)

AGHAOGHLU, AḤMED (originally AḤMED AGHAYEF, later AGHAOGHLU AḤMED and after 1934 Ahmet Ağaoğlu), Turkish writer and journalist (1869-1939). Born in Shusha, a town in the Karabāgh [q.v.] region of Ādharbāyījān, he was educated in his home town and Tiflis (Tbilisi) and later studied political science in Paris. In 1894 he returned home, where he collaborated with progressive and nationalist intellectuals like Ḥusayn-Zāde 'Alī, Ismā'il Gaspīrālī (Gaspinski) [q.v.] and 'Alī Merdān Topçibāshī and contributed to various papers. After the restoration

of the Constitution in Turkey in 1908, he went to Istanbul, joined the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP) and became a leader writer of the French daily *Jeune turc*. Together with Diyā Gökālp, Yūsuf Akçura and Mehmed Emīn (Yurdakul) he became one of the promoters of the Turkism movement (*Türkçülük*) which developed, with the foundation in June 1911 of the nationalist association Turkish Hearth (*Türk Odiağı*) and its organ *Türk yurdu*, into an influential current in Turkish intellectual life after 1912. In 1913 Aghaoghlu was appointed professor of Turkish history in Istanbul University and continued his contributions to various papers. Elected deputy to Parliament and a member of the executive board (*Merkez-i 'Umūmī*) of the CUP, in 1917 he accompanied the Turkish expeditionary force to the Caucasus as a political officer. On his return to Istanbul he was arrested by the British and exiled to Malta with other leading CUP members. Freed from Malta in July 1921, he joined the Nationalists in Ankara and was appointed director general of the Press. Elected to the Grand National Assembly, he contributed at the same time to the semi-official daily *Hākimiyyet-i milīyye* and taught at the newly-established Faculty of Law in Ankara. He was one of the founders of the short-lived Liberal Party (*Serbest Fırka*) of August 1930 and following its abolition in November of the same year, retired from political life, teaching in the Istanbul Faculty of Law until his retirement in 1933. He died in Istanbul on 19 May 1939.

Essentially a journalist and politician, Aghaoghlu is the author of the following major works: (1) *Üç medeniyet* ("Three civilisations") Istanbul 1927, 2nd ed. in Roman script *Üç medeniyet*, Istanbul 1972; (2) *Serbest insanlar ülkesinde* ("In the land of free people"), Istanbul 1930; (3) *Devlet ve fert* ("State and individual"); and posthumously, (4) *Serbest Fırka hatıraları* ("Reminiscences of the Liberal Party"). Istanbul 1949. Aghaoghlu's innumerable articles published in various dailies have not been published in book form.

Bibliography: Samet Ağaoğlu (his son), *Babamdan hatıralar*, Istanbul 1940 (contains the author's reminiscences of his father, Aghaoghlu's own incomplete memoirs and impressions of a number of writers on A.A.); idem, *Babamın arkadaşları*² ("My father's friends"), Istanbul 1969. (FAHİR İZ)

AGRICULTURE [see FİLĀḤA].

AGUEDAL [see ĀGDĀL].

AḤĀBĪSH [see ḤABASH, ḤABASHA].

AL-AḤDAB [see IBRĀHĪM AL-AḤDAB].

AḤMAD AL-ḤĪBA, a religious leader of southern Morocco, and ephemeral pretender to the Sharīfian throne, known above all as al-Ḥiba. He was born in Ramaḍān 1293 or 1294/September-October 1876 or 1877, the fourth son of the famous Shaykh Mā' al-'Aynayn [q.v.]. He was brought up and educated in his father's bosom, and his natural talents and temperament gave his teachers high literary hopes of him.

When his father died at Tiznīt in Shawwāl 1328/November 1910, he succeeded him at the head of the *murīdūn* of the order and was then at the peak of his responsibilities. However, when there was announced the signing of the Protectorate Treaty between France and sultan Mawlay al-Ḥafiz [q.v.], followed by the rumour of the latter's death and of the murder of the 'ulamā' of Fās by the French, he proclaimed himself sultan, organised his own *makhzan* [q.v.] and launched throughout the Sūs, and then through all Morocco, appeals for resistance. Soon the tribes of



the South (except for the ports) rallied to him, and before official letters announcing the accession of Mawlay Yūsuf [q.v.] could arrive, he appointed fresh officials with high responsibilities in the regions which had recognised him. He then used the way via Tīzī n'Ma'shū and followed the road to Marrakesh in an imperial procession. When he arrived before the southern capital, he met with hostility from the high political leaders, but was received with joy by the people of the Hawz [q.v.]. The new sultan entered Marrakesh on Sunday, 5 Ramaḍān 1330/18 August 1912, occupied the *qasaba* and installed himself in the palace of the 'Alawīs. He had to face grave troubles immediately. Profiting by the great unrest which had seized people's hearts and minds, the 'asākīr troops, the floating population of the city and the hungry hordes which had followed the new *amīr* from Taroudannt, launched themselves into sacking the shops and imposing all sorts of exactions on the populace.

Al-Hība had secured the handing-over to himself of the few French residents, including the vice-consul of France, who had attempted to flee the city. In an endeavour to save their lives, Gen. Lyautey's troops got the order to go by forced marches to Marrakesh. Aḥmad al-Hība sent out to confront them about 5,000 men, who were crushed on 6 September at Sidī Bū 'Uthmān by Col. Mangin's column, in every way better-armed and better-led than the pretender's force. In front of the rapid French advance, al-Hība and his remaining supporters, the "blue men" quickly evacuated the city which they had occupied three weeks previously and fled into the Atlas, pursued by all those who had suffered from their extortions and insolent behaviour. Col. Mangin entered Marrakesh on 7 September 1912, with an enthusiastic welcome from the Jewish community; the majority of the Muslim population sullen and silent. Sultan Mawlā Yūsuf was then proclaimed, in an atmosphere of general relief, by the great religious and political leaders of the city and of the surrounding region, wearied by the disorders and insecurity.

Al-Hība withdrew first of all to base, whence he "reigned" over the Sūs over nearly eight months, after having refused nomination as the sultan's *khālifa* over all the south of Morocco. He was then expelled from his capital by the Sharīfian *mahallas* [q.v.] sent against him from Marrakesh, and finally, continually defeated but always remaining proud, he died at Tiznūt in dignity on 18 or 24 Ramaḍān 1337/17 or 23 June 1919.

Bibliography: Ladreyt de Lacharrière, *Grandeur et décadence de Mohammed al-Hiba*, in *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie d'Alger et de l'Afrique du Nord* (1912), No. 65; 'Abbās b. Ibrāhīm al-Marrākushī, *al-Flām bi-man ḥalla Marrākush*, i, Fās 1355/1936, 289-303; Gen. Lyautey, *Rapport général sur la situation du Protectorat du Maroc du 31 Juillet 1914*, Rabat N.D., 13-15; F. Weisgerber, *Au seuil du Maroc moderne*, Rabat 1947, chs. xxii-xxiv; G. Deverdun, *Marrakech, des origines à 1912*, Rabat 1959, i, 548-9; M.M. al-Sūsī, *al-Ma'sūl*, Rabat 1380/1960, iv, 101-246 (very full and lively account of the pretender and his adventures). (G. DEVERDUN)

AḤMAD B. ʿISĀ B. ZAYD B. ʿALĪ B. AL-HUSAYN B. ʿALĪ B. ABĪ ṬĀLIB, ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH, Zaydī leader and scholar, was born on 2 Muḥarram 157/22 November 773 in Kūfa. His father ʿIsā b. Zayd, who was supported by many Zaydīs as their candidate for the imāmate, had gone into hiding in the houses of the Kūfan Zaydī traditionist al-Ḥasan b. Ṣāliḥ b. Ḥayy [q.v.] after the failure of the revolt of

Ibrāhīm b. ʿAbd Allāh [q.v.] in 145/762-3. After the death of his father in 166/783 and of al-Ḥasan in 167/783-4, Aḥmad and his brother Zayd were brought to the caliph al-Mahdī, who took charge of their upbringing. He permitted them to reside in Medina, where Zayd died. Aḥmad remained there until he was denounced to the caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd, it being alleged that the Zaydīs were gathering around him. On the order of the caliph, he and another ʿAlid, al-Ḳasīm b. ʿAlī b. ʿUmar, were brought to Baghdād and put under the custody of al-Faḍl b. al-Rabīʿ. They escaped, however, and Aḥmad b. ʿIsā, according to al-Ṣafadī, led a revolt in ʿAbbādān in 185/801, but soon fled and went into hiding in Baṣra. This date for Aḥmad's escape and concealment would agree well with the report of al-Ṭabarī (iii, 651) that Ṭhumāma b. Asḥras was imprisoned by Hārūn in 186/802 "because he had been lying in the matter of Aḥmad b. ʿIsā" and the report of al-Djahshiyārī (*al-wuzara*, ed. Muṣṭafā al-Saḳḳā, Cairo 1357/1938, 243) that the Barmakid Yahyā b. Khālīd, when he fell into disgrace in the same year, was accused of having sent 70,000 *dīnārs* to Aḥmad in Baṣra. Al-Yaʿqūbī's account (*Taʾrīkh*, 512) that Aḥmad was seized and imprisoned in al-Rāfiqa in 188-804 appears mistaken, and the date may refer merely to the capture and execution of Hādir, the servant and assistant of Aḥmad, reported in the same account. According to one report, Aḥmad was discovered in Kūfa in the time of the caliph al-Mutawakkil, but left free because he was afflicted with cataracts. He died, after having become blind, in Baṣra on 23 Ramaḍān 247/1 December 861.

Like his father, Aḥmad was considered by many Kūfan Zaydīs as the most suitable candidate for the imāmate, though he refused, after his initial failure, to become involved in any revolutionary activity. He was also accepted by his followers as an authoritative teacher in religious matters. His doctrine was collected by some Zaydī transmitters who had access to him, in particular by the foremost Kūfan Zaydī scholar of the 3rd/9th century, Muḥammad b. Maṣṣūr al-Murādī (d. ca. 290/903), whose *K. Amālī Aḥmad b. ʿIsā* (with additions from the transmission of other Zaydī authorities) is extant in manuscript. His *fiqh* doctrine was based primarily on the traditions transmitted by Abū Khālīd al-Wāsiṭī from Zayd b. ʿAlī [q.v.] and by Abū ʿl-Djārūd from Muḥammad al-Bākir, though he occasionally also relied on other traditions or taught on his own authority. He thus represented a more strictly Zaydī (Djārūdī) outlook, considering only the *ḥadīth* of the *Ahl al-Bayt* as authoritative, in contrast to his father who, in accordance with the view of the Batriyya [q.v.], accepted the *ḥadīth* transmitted by the Muslim community at large. Concerning the imāmate, however, he stood close to the Batriyya, apparently admitting the legitimacy of the caliphate of Abū Bakr and ʿUmar. In theology, he upheld the majority views of the early Kūfan Zaydiyya. He supported predestination and the creation of the acts of men by God versus human free will, held the Muslim sinner to be an "unbeliever by ingratitude" (*kāfir nīma*) though not a polytheist (*mushrik*), and refused to take a definite position concerning the question of the createdness of the Qurʾān. In the first of these doctrines he sharply differed from his contemporary al-Ḳasīm b. Ibrāhīm [q.v.], whose positions were closer to Muʿtazilī views.

His religious doctrine became one of the four *madhabs* to which the Kūfan Zaydīs adhered in the 4th/11th century. Some Zaydīs are said to have restricted the imāmate to his descendants. His popu-



larity among the Shīʿa is also reflected by the fact that the leader of the Zandj rebellion [see ʿALĪ B. MUḤAMMAD AL-ZANDJĪ] for some time claimed to be his grandson.

Bibliography: Abu 'l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī, *Maḳātil al-Tālibiyyīn*, ed. Aḥmad Ṣaqr, Cairo 1368/1949, 420-5, 619-27; al-Tanūkhī, *al-Faraj ba'd al-shidda*, Cairo 1357/1938, i, 120 f.; Abū Nu'aym al-Iṣfahānī, *Dhikr akhbār Iṣfahān*, ed. S. Dederling, Leiden 1931, i, 80 (the account seems to rest at least partially on a confusion with another 'Alid); al-Ṣafadī, *al-Wāfi*, vii, ed. Ihsān 'Abbās, Wiesbaden 1969, 271 f.; Ibn 'Inaba, *Umdat al-tālib*, ed. Muḥ. Ḥasan Āl al-Taliqānī, al-Nadījaf 1380/1961, 288-90; W. Madelung, *Der Imam al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm*, Berlin 1965, 80-3 and index s.v. Aḥmad b. ʿIsā b. Zaid.

(W. MADELUNG)

AḤMAD B. MUḤAMMAD or MAḤMŪD, called MU'IN AL-FUKARĀ, Transoxanian author of an important work on the religious leaders and saints of Bukhārā, the *Kitāb-i Mullāzāda* or *Kitāb-i Mazārāt-i Bukhārā*, in which the cemeteries of the city and their occupants are described. Since the last date mentioned in the book is 814/1411-12, the author must have lived in the reigns of Tīmūr and Shāh-Rukh [see TĪMŪRID]. From the number of extant manuscripts, the work was obviously popular in Central Asia. Extracts from it were first given by Barthold, *Turkestan v epokhu Mongolskago nashestiya*, i, *Teksty*, 166-72, and a lithograph appeared at New Bukhārā in 1322/1904. Of secondary sources, see Barthold, *Turkestan*, Eng. tr.³, 58; Storey, i, 953; O. Pritsak, *Al-i Burhān*, in *Isl.*, xxx (1952), 95-6 (the critical text of the *K-i Mullāzāda* mentioned here as being in preparation as a Göttingen thesis never in fact materialised).

Bibliography: Given in the article. (Ed.)

AḤMAD B. MUḤAMMAD AL-BARKĪ [see AL-BARKĪ, in Suppl.].

AḤMAD PASHA KÜÇÜK ('the small'), d. 1046/1636, Ottoman military commander who took a prominent part in the revival of the Ottoman empire under Murād IV (1033-49/1623-40). Of Albanian origin, he began as a soldier and became commandant of the Türkmen troops. He became governor of Damascus for the first time in 1038/1629, but was soon recalled by the Porte to become governor of Kütahya. The sultan then charged him with suppressing the revolt of İlyās Paṣha, who was ravaging Anatolia, and he rapidly achieved success here and brought the rebel back a prisoner to Istanbul (1042/1632). He then became governor of Damascus again, with the charge of pacifying the Druze country, and whilst passing through the region of Aleppo suppressed the endemic state of revolt of the nomads in the mountainous zone to the north-west of the city.

Aḥmad Paṣha easily managed to master the revolt of Fakhr al-Dīn II [q.v.], whom he took captive (1043/1633-4). As a reward for his many services, Murād IV appointed him to the vizierate with three *tugh*s and bestowed upon him, by a *firmān* of 1046/1636, the whole of Fakhr al-Dīn's wealth, which included numerous buildings in Ṣayda, one of which was the *khān* for rice in the quarter near the port in the northwestern sector of the town (and not the *khān* of the French, as often stated, including by P. Schwarz in *ET* art. sidon). Aḥmad Paṣha used these revenues for a *wakf* in favour of the Holy Cities in Arabia and a *tekiyye* which he had built in the southern part of Damascus, outside the Bāb Allāh on the pilgrimage route; this is accordingly one of the rare monuments

built in Damascus in the first half of the 17th century (it is known today as the mosque of al-ʿAssālī).

The pacification of Lebanon was hardly finished when he joined the forces campaigning against Persia as commander of the Ottoman vanguard, and he distinguished himself above all at the time of the great battle of Tabriz. In the following year, Murād IV entrusted to him the defence of al-Mawṣil, where he found a glorious death in battle against the Persian troops (20 Rabīʿ II 1046/21 September 1636). He was buried in his *tekiyye* in Damascus.

It seems that during his Lebanese expedition, Aḥmad Paṣha showed his usual severity, so much so that remembrance of "the year of Küçük" remained stamped on the popular memory in Mount Lebanon. Indeed, the Porte did not hesitate on future occasions (notably in 1214/1799) to remind the Druzes of this harshness. The terrible legacy of fear left behind in the local consciousness is probably the origin of the Lebanese legend of "Küçük". Aḥmad Paṣha is represented as a polished traitor who engineered the ruin of his benefactor and then seized his possessions. The legend relates in effect that Aḥmad Paṣha was an orphan brought up by Fakhr al-Dīn II, who appointed him tax-collector for southern Lebanon, but since he committed various financial defalcations, he had to leave his service and then sought Fakhr al-Dīn's ruin by accusing him at the Porte of wanting to make himself independent, for which he was rewarded by the wealth of the Ma'ns.

Bibliography: There is a long, fairly confused biography in Muhibbī, *Khulāṣat al-aṥhar*, Cairo 1862, i, 385-8, who, together with Samī Bey (*Kāmus al-a'lām*, Istanbul 1888, i, 797), emphasises his courage and fidelity to Murād IV. Extracts from the text of the *wakfiyya* of Aḥmad Paṣha are in the *Zāhiriyya* at Damascus, No. 8518 (history), containing in particular the description of Fakhr al-Dīn's possessions; see A. Abdel Nour, *Étude sur deux actes de waqfs du XVI^e et du XVII^e siècles des wilayets de Damas et de Ṣayda*, Sorbonne thesis 1976. For a detailed account of Aḥmad Paṣha's death, see Na'imā, *Ta'rikh*, Istanbul 1866, iii, 291-2. On his official career, see Von Hammer, *Histoire*, Paris 1838, ix, 275-6. On the "year of Küçük", see Chebli, *Fakhr al-Dīn II Ma'n*, Beirut 1936, 186 ff. One of the oldest versions of the Lebanese legend of Küçük is to be found in ʿIsā al-Ma'lūf, *Ta'rikh al-amīr Fakhr al-Dīn al-Ma'nī al-thānī*, Beirut 1966, 202-10.

(A. ABDEL NOUR)

AḤMAD-I RŪMĪ, Persian Ṣūfī and author, who lived and worked in India in the first half of the 8th/14th century. Little is known of his life except that he travelled from *khānakāh* [q.v.] to *khānakāh*, preaching and composing his moralistic treatises for the residents of these convents. He has been incorrectly identified by Blochet as Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Rūmī al-Ḥanafī (Hādjī Khālifa, iv, 582) and by Massignon as Sulṭān-i Walad's grandson, Aḥmad Paṣha.

Aḥmad's most popular work, the *Dakā'ik al-hakā'ik*, is divided in 80 chapters, each opening with an *āya* or *ḥadīth*, which serves as a starting point for the discussion of some aspect of Ṣūfī doctrine. Mawlānā Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī [q.v.] is quoted frequently, and each chapter is concluded by a short *mathnawī* in imitation of Mawlānā. Like his later, similar composition, *Umm al-Kitāb* (727/1327) it is a first instance of a class of works expounding Mawlānā's teachings, without however constituting an actual attempt at a commentary of the *Mathnawī* (as Furūzanfar would have it in his *Sharḥ-i Mathnawī*, i, Tehran 1346, 10).



The instruction of the convent's residents takes a more practical turn in *al-Dakā'ik fi 'l-tarīk*, a lengthy *mathnawī* in 12 chapters on the relation between *murshid* and *murīd*. Although Aḥmad describes himself as a "follower of Mawlānā", from his exposition of Ṣūfī praxis he does not appear as a Mawlawī in the strict sense of the word. Rather, Aḥmad's works indicate that Ṣūfī life in the 8th/14th century did not have to be organised along the formal lines of the later great orders.

One instance of lyrical poetry (a *ghazal*) occurs in a *Mathnawī* manuscript in Edinburgh (Hukk, Ethé, Robertson, *Descriptive catalogue*, no. 281).

Bibliography: A.C.M. Hamer, *An unknown Mawlawī-poet: Aḥmad-ī Rūmī*, in *Studia Iranica*, iii (1974), 229-49. (A.C.M. HAMER)

AḤMADĪ, a town about 30 years old some 20 km. south of Kuwait City. During the early days of exploration for oil in Kuwait, the Kuwait Oil Company (KOC), then owned in equal shares by the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company (later renamed British Petroleum) and by the Gulf Oil Corporation of the United States, established its base camp at Magwa (al-Maḳwa) not far north-west of the ridge known as Dhahr (al-Zahr), which with an elevation of ca. 120 m. is one of the few fairly high places in the state. In 1936/1938 KOC discovered oil south of the ridge at Burgan (Burḳān), destined to become one of the largest oil fields in the world. The involvement of Britain and later the United States in the Second World War delayed the first export of oil until 1936/1946. KOC gradually moved its field headquarters to the desert area of the ridge, which was renamed Aḥmadī (in Arabic al-Aḥmadī) in honour of Shaykh Aḥmad Āl Dījābir Āl Šabāh, then the Ruler of Kuwait. Oil from Burgan and other fields, including one called Aḥmadī, is brought to a tank farm on the ridge, whence it flows by gravity to the nearby coast for shipment from the terminal of Mīnā' al-Aḥmadī. The company built at Aḥmadī a planned community with many amenities designed especially for the comfort and pleasure of the expatriate staff (British, Americans, etc.). With the passage of time, Kuwaitis in increasing numbers received the training necessary to qualify them for higher positions in the company. The government also inaugurated and expanded in stages its participation in the ownership of KOC, culminating in a complete takeover in 1994/1975, with the original owners being retained to lend a hand in the operations. The town and the indigenous parts of the state have thus moved towards full integration.

Aḥmadī town is also the seat of the Aḥmadī Governorate (*muhāfazā*). As Kuwait endeavours to diversify its economy in order to escape undue dependence on the export of oil and natural gas, emphasis is placed on industrialisation. The largest industrial area in the state is now Shuaiba (al-Shu'ayba) on the coast of the Governorate south of Mīnā' al-Aḥmadī, with huge plants for generating electricity, distilling sea water, and manufacturing petrochemicals.

Bibliography: In addition to the general bibliography for KUWAIT, see *al-'Arabī*, Kuwait, Shawwal 1395 and Rabi' II 1396; *Maḡallat Dirāsāt al-Khalīdī*, Kuwait, Rabi'ab 1396; *The Kuwaiti Digest*, Kuwait, Jan.-Sept. 1976. (G. RENTZ)

AL-AḤMAR [see ABU 'L-ḤASAN AL-AḤMAR, in Suppl.].

AḤMED, FAḲĪH, or AḤMED FAḲĪH, early Anatolian Turkish poet whose identity and date are controversial. He is accepted to be the author of the

Čarkh-nāme, a poem of about eighty couplets in *kašīda* form, which is found in the *Maḡma' al-naẓā'ir*, compiled in the early 16th century by Ḥāḡḡdī Kemāl of Egirdir. It was first published by M. Fu'ād Köprülü as a specimen of early 13th century Turkish verse (*Anatolische Dichter in der Seldschukenzeit*, ii, *Aḥmed Faḳīh*, in *KCsA*, ii (1926), 20-38). Mecdut Mansuroğlu, who edited the work in transcription, modified the text of the 16th century manuscript, adapting it to the linguistic characteristics of the 13th century. Recent research by T. Gandjei (*Notes on the attribution and date of the "Čarkh-nāme"*, in *Studi preottomani e ottomani, Atti del Convegno di Napoli*, Naples 1976, 101-4) shows that there has been a confusion among several Faḳīh Aḥmeds and Aḥmed Faḳīhs mentioned in the sources and that the *Čarkh-nāme* attributed to one of these cannot linguistically be dated earlier than the late 14th century. The *Čarkh-nāme*, which is written in the literary language of early Anatolian (Ottoman) Turkish, repeats some of the *leitmotifs* of *diwān* poetry: life is short, all the signs indicate that the end is near; none, even prophets and kings can escape death; consider the day of Judgement and repent; etc. (For a paraphrase in modern Turkish and evaluation of the poem, see Fahir İz, *Eski türk edebiyatında nazım*, ii, Istanbul 1967, Introduction).

Bibliography: A. Bombaci, *Storia della letteratura turca*, Milan 1969, 270. (FAHIR İZ)

AḤRĀR, KH"ĀDJA 'UBAYD ALLĀH B. MAHMUD NAŠĪR AL-DĪN (806-95/1404-90), a *shaykh* of the Naḳshbandī order under whose auspices it became firmly rooted in Central Asia and spread also to other regions of the Islamic world; furthermore, the effective ruler of much of Transoxania for four decades. He was born in Ramaḍān 806/March 1404 in the village of Bāghistān near Tashkent into a family already renowned for its religious and scholarly interests. It was his maternal uncle, Ibrāhīm Shāshī, who first assumed the task of educating him and who sent him to pursue his studies in Samarḳand. Because of illness and lack of inclination on his part, Ahrār soon abandoned his studies in Samarḳand, and according to his own admission never mastered "more than two pages of Arabic grammar". Throughout his life, indeed, he manifested a certain disdain for formal religious learning, assigning more importance to the enactment of the *Shari'a* and the practise of Ṣūfism. At the age of 24, Ahrār went to Herat, and it was evidently there that his active interest in Ṣūfism was awakened. He associated with numerous *shaykhs* of the city without, however, offering his formal allegiance to any of them. The master to whom he gave his devotion was instead Ya'qūb Čarkhī (d. 851/1447), one of the principal successors of Bahā' al-Dīn Naḳshband, eponymous founder of the Naḳshbandī order, who had left Bukhārā after the death of his master to settle first in Badakhshān and then in the remote province of Čaghāniyān. Ahrār had already had some dealings in Samarḳand with another Naḳshbandī *shaykh*, KH"ĀDJA HASAN 'ATTĀR, son-in-law of Bahā' al-Dīn Naḳshband, but 'Attār had seen little sign in him of spiritual talent, and advised him instead to learn the martial arts. Returning from Čaghāniyān to Tashkent in about 835/1431, Ahrār established himself as chief Ṣūfī *shaykh* of the city.

Ahrār's rise to political prominence came in 855/1451, when he extended to the Tīmūrid prince Abū Sa'īd assistance that proved decisive in enabling him to capture the Tīmūrid capital of Samarḳand.



According to the account found in the biographies of Ahrār, Abū Sa'īd, defeated in battle by a rival prince, 'Abd Allāh Mīrẓā, fled northward to Tashkent, and in the course of his flight dreamed of the celebrated saint, Aḥmad Yasawī [q.v.]. Yasawī introduced him to a luminous figure who would aid him in his struggle. Describing the figure he had dreamed of to the people of Tashkent, Abū Sa'īd was told that it was none other than Kh'ādja 'Ubayd Allāh Ahrār. Ahrār was at the time absent from Tashkent, and it was at the small town of Parkent (Farkat) outside the city that Abū Sa'īd went to meet him. Ahrār consented to aid him, on condition that he use his rule to enforce the *Shari'a* and to alleviate the lot of the people. In the ensuing battle, 'Abd Allāh Mīrẓā was defeated, and Abū Sa'īd entered Samarkand, soon to be followed by Ahrār. Abū Sa'īd's battle against 'Abd Allāh Mīrẓā had been won, in reality, by his Uzbek auxiliaries, commanded by Abu 'l-Khayr Khān; it is said that they had intervened at the request of Ahrār, but this is uncertain. In any event, Abū Sa'īd felt himself to be in the debt of Ahrār and even, according to the chronicler 'Abd al-Razzāk Samarkandī, "regarded himself as being under his orders". Ahrār's domination of Samarkand became complete in 861/1457 when Abū Sa'īd transferred his capital to Herat. It survived the death of that prince in 874/1469, this death occurring in the course of a disastrous campaign undertaken with Ahrār's advice; Abū Sa'īd's son, Sulṭān Aḥmad, proved even more devoted to Ahrār than his father had been.

There are a number of episodes, apart from the conquest of Samarkand in 855/1451, that may be mentioned as particularly illustrative of Ahrār's political influence; his organisation of the defence of Samarkand against an army from Khurāsān in 858/1454; his success in 865/1460 in persuading Abū Sa'īd to abolish the *tamgha* in Bukhārā and Samarkand, and to promise the abolition of it and all other non-*shari'* imposts throughout his realm; his mediation between Abū Sa'īd and a rebellious prince, Muḥammad Džūkī, at Shāhrukhiyya in the years 865/1461 and 867/1463; and his arbitration of three conflicting claims for the possession of Tashkent in 890/1485.

Ahrār expounded the reasons for his political activity in a number of explicit utterances, which make it clear that he sought ascendancy over rulers in order to secure justice and the implementation of the *Shari'a*. He is thus reported as saying: "there must stand between the people and their ruling lords one capable of checking violence and oppression. The people are helpless, and have no recourse against the great. Hence it is necessary to convince kings not to transgress against God's law or to torment the people" (Mīr 'Abd al-Awwal Nishāpūrī, *Masmū'āt*, ms. Institut Vostokovedeniya, Uzbek Academy of Sciences, Tashkent 3735, f. 131b). His sense of political mission is also apparent from the following utterance: "if we acted only as *shaykh* in this age, no other *shaykh* would find a *murīd*. But another task has been assigned to us, to protect the Muslims from the evil of oppressors, and for the sake of this we must traffic with kings and conquer their souls, thus achieving the purpose of the Muslims" (Fakhr al-Dīn 'Alī Ṣafī, *Rashahāt 'ayn al-hayāt*, Tashkent 1329/1911, 315).

In fulfilling this role, Ahrār was aided by the gradual accumulation of a vast amount of wealth, which permitted him to bestow patronage and charity as well as to exercise political influence. He

may, indeed, have been the largest landowner in Transoxania of his time. Documents survive indicating that he owned 30 orchards, 64 villages with their surrounding lands and irrigation canals, and scores of commercial establishments and artisan workshops in different cities (O.D. Čekhovič, *Samarkandskie dokumenti XV-XVI vv.*, Moscow 1974). Some of this property, worked partly by slaves of Indian origin, was used for the upkeep of Nakshbandī *khānākhāhs*, but it is evident that in many cases the purchase of land by Kh'ādja Ahrār was purely nominal; the property remained in the effective ownership of the sellers, who benefited from the security and prestige bestowed by the name of Ahrār.

In addition to thus establishing, in his own person, Nakshbandī supremacy in Transoxania, Ahrār extended the influence of the order to other regions. One of his principal followers, Muḥammad Kādī, travelled to the Mughal rulers of Farḡhāna and obtained their adhesion to the Nakshbandī order, thus laying the foundation for several centuries of both spiritual and temporal rule by Nakshbandī *kh'ādjas* in Eastern Turkestan (see Muḥammad Haydar Dughlāt, *Ta'rīkh-i Rashīdī*, ms. British Museum or. 157, f. 67b). Others undertook to travel to the presence of Ahrār in Samarkand; by way of example we can mention Mawlānā 'Alī Kurdī of Qazwīn and Shaykh 'Ayān Kāzarūnī, who introduced the Nakshbandiyya to western and southern Iran before it was swept away by the Safavids (Muḥammad b. Husayn b. 'Abd Allāh Qazwīnī, *Silsil-nāma-yi Kh'ādjaḡān-i Nakshband*, ms. Istanbul, Laleli 1381, f. 13a. Ff. 10a-14a of this work contain a complete list of the *murīds* of Ahrār). Possibly most significant was the transmission of the Nakshbandī order to Turkey by another *murīd* of Ahrār, Mollā 'Abd Allāh Ilāhī, since whose time the Nakshbandī order has maintained an uninterrupted presence among the Turks (see Kasim Kufralı, *Molla Ilahî ve kendisinden sonraki Nakşibendiye mühtî*, in *Türk Dili ve Edebiyatı Dergisi*, iii [October 1948], 129-51).

Ahrār died in Rabī' al-Awwal 895/February 1490, and a decade later Timūrid rule in Transoxania came to an end. Muḥammad Shaybānī, the Uzbek conqueror of Transoxania, showed himself hostile to the sons of Ahrār, confiscating much of the property they had inherited from their father, and putting to death Kh'ādja Muḥammad Yaḥyā, his second and favourite son. However, Muḥammad Shaybānī's nephew, 'Ubayd Allāh Khān, restored the major part of their lands and took pride in the coincidence of his name with that of the great Ahrār. In general, the posthumous repute and influence of the *kh'ādja* were great, and the various branches of the Nakshbandī order that descended from him played a major role in the history of Central Asia down to the Russian conquest.

Bibliography: Materials on the life of Ahrār are unusually copious. A complete bibliography is given in Hamid Algar, *The origins of the Naqshbandi order*, ii (forthcoming), which contains a full discussion of the career of Ahrār. Here the following primary sources—all of them in Persian—will be mentioned: Mīr 'Abd al-Awwal Nishāpūrī, *Masmū'āt*, ms. Institut Vostokovedeniya, Uzbek Academy of Sciences, Tashkent 3735; Fakhr al-Dīn 'Alī Ṣafī, *Rashahāt 'ayn al-hayāt*, Tashkent 1329/1911 (numerous other editions also exist, as well as Arabic and Turkish translations); Muḥammad Kādī, *Silsilat al-'arīfin wa-tadhkirat al-siddīqīn*, ms. Istanbul, Hacı Mahmut Efendi



2830; and Mawlānā Shaykh, *Manāḳib-i Kh'ādja Ahrār*, ms. Institut Vostokovedeniya, Uzbek Academy of Sciences, Tashkent 9730. There is mention of Ahrār in most of the Timūrid chronicles, and a long encomium of him in 'Abd al-Rahmān Dīāmī's *Nafahāt al-uns* (pp. 406-13 of the edition published in Tehran in 1336/1957 by Mahdī Tawhīdīpūr). Most later manuals of Naḳshbandī biography also contain accounts of Ahrār, generally based on the *Rashahāt*; see, for example, Muḥammad Amīn al-Kurdī, *al-Mawāhib al-sarmadiyya fī manāḳib al-Naḳshbandiyya*, Cairo 1329/1911, 155-72. Averse to formal learning, Ahrār did not leave many writings; there survive from him, however, a commentary on a quatrain of obscure meaning attributed to Abū Sa'īd b. Abī 'l-Khayr, *Sharḥ-i ḥawrā'iyya* (published by V.A. Zhukovskii as an appendix to his edition of Muḥammad b. al-Munawwar's *Asrār al-tawhīd*, St. Petersburg 1899, 489-93), and two treatises, entitled *Risāla-yi wāḥidiyya* and *Fakarāt* (numerous mss. of both are to be found in European, Turkish and Soviet collections; the former has been translated into both Ottoman and Çağatāy Turkish). Some of his correspondence has also been preserved in Soviet collections, partly in autograph; see, for example, ms. Institut Vostokovedeniya, Tajik Academy of Sciences, Dushanbe 548. The branches of the Naḳshbandiyya descending from Kh'ādja Ahrār are enumerated in Kamāl al-Dīn al-Harīrī, *Tibyan wasā'il al-ḥaḳā'ik*, ms. Istanbul, Ibrahim Efendi ff. 34a-41b. Scholarly writing on Ahrār has been done up to the present almost entirely in Russian: mention may be made of the pages devoted to Ahrār in V.V. Bartold's *Ulug Beg i ego vreniya*, reprinted in *Sochineniya*, Moscow 1964, ii (2), 121-4, 205-17, Eng. tr. V. and T. Minorsky, in *Four studies on the history of Central Asia*, ii, Leiden 1958, 117-18, 166-77, and a number of more recent studies concentrating on the socio-economic aspects of Ahrār's activity: R.N. Nabiev, *Iz istorii politiko-ekonomicheskoi zhizni Maverannakhra XV v. (zametki o Khodzha-Akhra)*, in *Velikiĭ Uzbekskii Poet—Sbornik Statei*, Tashkent 1948, 25-49; Z.A. Kutbaev, *K istorii vakufnykh vladenii Khodzha Akhvara i ego potomkov*, doctoral thesis, Tashkent University 1970; and O.D. Čeković, *Samarkandskie Dokumenty XV-XVI vv.*, Moscow 1974. (HAMID ALGAR)

AHRUN (AHRŪN) B. A'YAN AL-KASS, "the priest", presbyter and physician, who lived in Alexandria probably in the 7th century and belonged, with Paulus of Aigina, to the last great medical scholars produced by the Alexandrian School. A satirical verse of al-Hakam b. 'Abdal [q.v.], in which a tax official of 'Abd al-Malik b. Bishr b. Marwān, governor of Baṣra, is advised to have the offensive smell of his breath and nose cured by Ahrun before presenting himself to the *amīr* (Djāhīz, *Hayawān*, i, Cairo 1949-50, 247, 14 = 249, 8 = 250, 2; Ibn Kutayba, *Uyūn*, Cairo 1930, iv, 62; *Aghānī*, Cairo 1928, ii, 424), possibly offers a *terminus post quem* for the period in which Ahrun lived. 'Abd al-Malik b. Bishr was governor under Yazīd II in 102/720-1 (Ṭabarī, ii, 1433, 1436).

Ahrun (probably = Ἀρρὸν) allegedly composed a medical compendium (Πανδεκτης, Σύνταγμα?) consisting of 30 books, which was translated into Syriac by a certain Gōsiōs (*The Chronography of Gregory Abu 'l-Faraj... Bar Hebraeus*, tr. Budge, Oxford 1932, 57; see also M. Meyerhof in *Isl.*, vi

(1916), 220 f.). Māsardjuwayh is said to have translated the work afterwards into Arabic under the title *al-Kunnāsh* and to have added two more books. The information on this procedure is, however, defective and inconsistent (see *Fihrist*, 297; Ibn Djuḍḍul, *Ṭabakāt*, ed. F. Sayyid, 61; Kiftī, *Hukamā'*, ed. Lippert, 80; Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a, *Uyūn al-ambā'*, i, 109; Sā'id, *Ṭabakāt*, ed. Cheikho, 88; Barhebraeus, *Duwal*, ed. Šālḥānī, 157). The data are the more uncertain because it is not known when Māsardjuwayh was living. According to Ibn Djuḍḍul, he is said to have translated Ahrun's work under the caliphs Marwān (64-5/684-5) or 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Marwān (99-101/717-20); according to others he belongs to the 2nd/8th or 3rd/9th century.

In any case, the *Kunnāsh* must have been highly appreciated (*Kunnāsh fādil afḍal al-kanānīsh al-kaḍima*, Kiftī, *Hukamā'*, 324), although it was very badly arranged and difficult to consult even for specialists, according to the judgement of Abū Sahl Bishr b. Ya'kūb al-Sidjīzī (4th/10th century). For example, the twenty kinds of headaches (*ṣudā'*) are said to have been brought together in one place, while their causes, symptoms and treatments are discussed separately in various places. The subject-matter could thus only be mastered by lengthy readings (see Dietrich, *Medicinalia arabica*, Göttingen 1966, Arabic text, 6 ff.). Al-Madḡūsī (*Kitāb al-Malakī*, i, Būlak 1294, 4 f.) remarks that the work is bad and without value, especially for those who had not read Hunayn b. Iṣḥāk's translation—which thus also did exist.

The *Kunnāsh* has not been preserved in complete manuscript, but it has survived in many quotations, especially in al-Rāzī's *Hawā'ī*. They have been brought together by Ullmann, *Die Medizin im Islam*, 88 f., and by Sezgin, *GAS*, iii, 167 f. They can certainly be enlarged through systematic research, see e.g. Maimonides, *Sharḥ asmā' al-'uḳkār*, ed. Meyerhof, Cairo 1940, no. 247; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *Kitāb 'amal man ṭabb li-man ḥabb*, ed. Maria C. Vazquez de Benito, Salamanca 1972, 89, 132, 135, 140. A judgment on the work will only be permitted after all the quotations attainable have been compiled systematically with the greatest possible completeness. Rāzī more than once quotes an abstract from the *Kunnāsh* under the title *al-Fā'ik*. It could not be verified whether the *al-Adwiyā al-kātila*, mentioned by S. Munadjjid in *RIMA*, v (1959), 278, is indeed a work of Ahrun, but Munadjjid considers the attribution as doubtful.

Bibliography: given in the article. See further, Ullmann and Sezgin, and for the older literature, L. Leclerc, *Histoire de la médecine arabe*, i, 1876, 77-81. (A. DIETRICH)

'Ā'ISHA KANDĪSHA, a female spirit, diversely referred to as a *djinnīyya* (a female *djinnī* [q.v.]), an *'afrita* [see *IFRĪT*] or a *ghūla* [see *GHŪL*], by the peoples of northern Morocco. Westermarck classifies her as one of the "individual spirits" whose characteristics are more explicitly elaborated than those of the run-of-the-mill *djinn*. Although there is some difference of belief in her attributes, 'Ā'isha Kandīsha is said generally to appear as either a wondrous beauty or an old, wrinkled hag with elongated nipples, pendulous breasts, and long finger nails. In both manifestations she has a hooved foot of a camel, a goat, or an ass. She is thought to be jealous, arbitrary, whimsical, and quick-tempered—ever-ready to strangle or strike those who have offended her. Her victims, at least in the area around



Miknās, must undergo the rituals of the Ḥamādīsha [q.v. in Suppl.], her special devotees, to be rid of the symptoms of her attack: paralysis, sudden deafness, blindness, or mutism. In her beautiful manifestation she is an insatiable temptress. Once a man has succumbed to her—he is said to be married to her—he is in her absolute power and must follow her every command. His only redress is to plunge a steel knife into the earth before giving into her.

‘Ā’isha Kandīsha is said to be married to a far less elaborated *djinnī*, Hammu Kiyu, and to live in the earth or under a river. Along the Moroccan littoral she is thought to live in the sea. The Ḥamādīsha claim that her favourite home is a grotto under a giant fig tree, near the sanctuary of Sīdī ‘Alī b. Hamdush, one of the saints whom they venerate, on the Djebel Zarhūn. This grotto is visited by ‘Ā’isha Kandīsha’s followers, especially by women who are anxious for children or for relief from menstrual cramps and other gynaecological complaints. Such women smear henna on their ailing body and make a promise (*‘ār* [q.v. in Suppl.]) to sacrifice a chicken or goat if they are relieved of their complaint. During the *musam*, or annual pilgrimage [see MAWSIM], to Sīdī ‘Alī’s sanctuary, the grotto is the scene of wild, trance-like dances in which some of ‘Ā’isha Kandīsha’s female followers grovel in the mud in imitation of pigs. ‘Ā’isha Kandīsha is said to like henna and to fear iron and steel. Her favourite colours are red and black. She has a preference for black benzoin and certain Ḥamādīsha melodies.

‘Ā’isha Kandīsha is often indigenously confused with similar female spirits. She is, of course, identifiable with other female spirits in North Africa and the Middle East. Westermarck has related her worship to that of Astarte. The Ḥamādīsha claim that she was brought north from the Sudan by one of their saints, Sīdī Ahmad Dghughī.

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ĀKĀ KHĀN KIRMĀNĪ, MIRZĀ ‘ABD AL-ḤUSAYN, also known as Bardsīrī (ca. 1270-1314/1853-96), a modernist thinker of 19th century Iran. He belonged to a well-to-do family of Kirmān. He studied Persian and Arabic literature, Islamic history, *fikh*, *uṣūl*, *hadīth*, mathematics, logic, natural philosophy, and mediaeval medicine under several teachers such as Mullā Dja’far, Hādjdjī Ākā Šādīk, and Sayyid Djawād Karbalā’ī. He also learned some English, French, Turkish and Old and Middle Persian. In 1298/1880 he assumed a position in the Kirmān Revenue Office. After approximately three years, however, he suddenly abandoned his job and secretly left Kirmān for Iṣfahān because he was not willing to co-operate with the Nāṣir al-Dawla, the oppressive governor at that time of Kirmān. Thereafter he began to work for the governor of Iṣfahān, Zill al-Sultān, and at the same time he continued to study French under the Jesuits. Because of the trouble that the Nāṣir al-Dawla created for him, he, together with his close friend, Shaykh Ahmad Rūhī, went to Tehran in 1303/1885, but he could not stay there for the same reason. He and Rūhī therefore, after spending a few months in Mashhad, proceeded to Istanbul towards the end of 1303/1886. Soon afterwards, they both went to Cyprus and each married a daughter

of the then Bābī leader, Mīrzā Yahyā Nūrī, known as Šubh-i Azal.

While in Istanbul, Ākā Khān was living in poor circumstances; his mother and his brother had deprived him of the wealth to which he was due by inheritance. He had therefore to live on a modest income earned through teaching, as well through contributing to the Persian newspapers, such as the *Akhbar* of Istanbul and Malkam Khān’s *Kānun* published in London. He was one of the outspoken opponents of the 1890 Persian Tobacco Concession and other concessions granted by the Shāh, and his sharp criticism of Nāṣir al-Dīn made the latter so angry that “... while kicking the ground and chewing his lips, the Shāh said: ‘Anyone who establishes correspondence with Ākā Khān, I will demolish his house over his head’” (Yahyā Dawlatābādī, *Tārīkh-i mu’āsīr yā ḥayāt-i Yahyā*, i, Tehran 1957, 125).

In addition to his press campaign, Ākā Khān joined the Pan-Islamic group headed by another bitter critic of the Shāh, Sayyid Djamāl al-Dīn Asadābādī “Afghānī”, and he also corresponded with the Persian ‘ulamā’ of Irāk. Because of these anti-Shāh activities, the Iranian government urged the Turkish authorities to extradite Ākā Khān and his close associates to Iran. This development coincided with the 1893-4 Armenian unrest in Turkey, and Ākā Khān was accused of cooperation with the rebels. An arrangement was therefore made that Turkey should exchange Ākā Khān and his friends for the rebellious Armenians who had fled to Iran. In the meantime (1314/1896), Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh was assassinated by a disciple of Afghānī, Mīrzā Riḍā Kirmānī; this incident expedited the process of Ākā Khān’s extradition. Finally, in Šafar 1314/July 1896 Ākā Khān, together with two friends, Rūhī and Hasan Khān Khabīr al-Mulk, were beheaded in Tabriz while Muḥammad ‘Alī Mīrzā, the later Shāh, was watching the scene.

Ākā Khān has been recognised as a distinguished forerunner of modernist thinking in Iran, of greater intellectual calibre than other contemporaries such as Malkam Khān, Ākhūnd-Zāda, and Mustashār al-Dawla Tabrizī; for one thing, his linguistic ability provided him with a broader access to European sources on social, political, and philosophical thought. Despite his Pan-Islamic activity, he was anti-religious and quite hostile to many traditional practices.

As a modern school of thought, Bābīsm attracted Ākā Khān and for a while he became one of its adherents. Later, however, he turned against Bābīsm, and considered all religious sects to be useless (Firūdūn Ādamiyyat, *Andīshahā-yi Mīrzā Ākā Khān Kirmānī*, Tehran 1967, 66). In his thinking, he was influenced by European thinkers such as Voltaire, Spencer, Rousseau, Montesquieu, and Guizot.

Ākā Khān’s works, many of them unpublished and incomplete, include detailed accounts of materialism, anarchism, nihilism, nationalism, and the philosophy of religion. He had modernist interpretations of history and suggested a new methodology for Persian historiography; in regard to the arts, and particularly literature, he believed that they should be responsible to and representative of society. In his treatment of society, he proclaimed that “Wealth consists essentially of (1) material objects such as metals and mines, and (2) the labourers’ wages. The true criterion for wealth is physical as well as intellectual labour alone... not silver and gold, which are the means of exchange alone” (*ibid.*, 237-8).

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(ABDUL-HADI HAIRI)

ĀKĀ NADJAFĪ, HĀDĪJĪ SHAYKH MUḤAMMAD TAQĪ ISFAHĀNĪ (1845-1931), member of a very powerfully-established clerical family of Isfahān and himself an influential and wealthy religious authority in that city. Contrary to some of his clerical contemporaries, such as Mirzā Hasan Shīrāzī and Muḥammad Kāzīm Khurāsānī [q.v.], Ākā Nadjafī was not known as being devoted to the welfare and prosperity of the Muslims in general and the Iranians in particular. Rather, he has often been referred to as a grain hoarder, a venal, power-hungry religious leader, a usurper of other people's property, and an unjust judge. After his primary education under his

father, who was also a powerful cleric, he went to Nadjaf and studied *fikh* and *uṣūl* under Shīrāzī and others. After his father's death in 1883, Ākā Nadjafī was widely recognised as a religious leader in Isfahān: he led the prayers in congregation in the Shāh mosque, and performed judicial duties at home. Despite the governmental injunction, he went as far as to execute the judgements which he himself passed on civil and criminal cases. Many books on prayers, ethics, *fikh* and other Islamic subjects have been ascribed to him and were published at his own expense, but it is believed that they were not in reality written by himself (Mahdī Bāmdād, *Sharh-i ḥāl-i ridjāl-i Irān*, iii, Tehran 1968, 327). Since he was a wealthy landowner, he naturally had much in common with the feudal governor of Isfahān, Zill al-Sulṭān; they often worked together, although at times this co-operation was replaced by hostility, conspiracy, and struggle.

Ākā Nadjafī has been held responsible for two major disorders in Isfahān and Yazd, in which many people were murdered, on the accusations of Bābism and irreligiosity: once in 1890 and another time in 1902, both of which resulted in Ākā Nadjafī's banishment to Tehran. He, along with many other people, protested against the Tobacco Concession of 1890 being given to a British company; he also favoured the Persian Constitutional Revolution of 1906. In both cases Ākā Nadjafī appears less as a genuine lover of freedom than as an opportunist who hoped to increase his prestige, wealth, and influence in the light of those national movements. To preserve his power and wealth, Ākā Nadjafī declared as unbelievers, and even at times had murdered, those who opposed him or who were critical of him (Mahdī Malik-Zāda, *Ta'rikh-i inkilāb-i mashrūṭiyyat-i Irān*, i, Tehran 1949, 166). Moreover, by 1911, Ākā Nadjafī and his sons had made a volte-face and wished "to place their extensive landed property under foreign protection" (Cd. 5656. *Persia*, No. 1 (1911), G. Barclay, to E. Grey, Feb. 25, 1911, London 1911, CIII, p. 30).

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(ABDUL-HADI HAIRI)

AKAGÜNDÜZ, Turkish writer and novelist (1886-1958) whose original name was Husayn 'Awnī. In his writings he used the pen-name Enīs 'Awnī which he later changed to Akagündüz. The son of an army major, he was born in a village of Alasonia, near Salonica, and was educated at the Kuleli military high school and the War College (*Mektebi harbiyye*), which he left because of ill health, being sent to Paris for treatment where, for three years, he attended the courses of the Academy of Fine Arts and the Faculty of Law. Back in Salonica, he volunteered for the Action Army (*Hareket ordusu*) which was sent to quell the mutiny of 13 April 1909 (*31 Mart wa'asī*) in Istanbul. He was active as a journalist until 1919, when, because of his enthusiastic support of the Nationalists in Anatolia, he was arrested by the British and deported to Malta. Freed by the Nationalist government, he settled in Ankara where he combined the functions of a Member of Parliament with his career as a writer. He died in Ankara on 7 November 1958.

Akagündüz started his career in Salonica in close relationship with his friend 'Ömer Seyf el-Dīn, as a poet, short story writer and playwright. But he is primarily known as a novelist. Apart from his collection of verse *Bozghun* ("Débacle", 1913) and his plays *Muhterem kâtil* ("Respectable assassin", 1914) and *Mai yıldırım* ("Blue thunderbolt", 1934), he is the author of several volumes of short stories and more than sixty novels, the most famous of which are *Dikmen yıldızı*, ("The star of Dikmen", 1928); *İki süngü arasında* ("Between two bayonets", 1929); *Üvey ana* ("The step-mother", 1933) and *Yayla kızı* ("The girl of the plateau", 1940). Akagündüz's unsophisticated novels and short stories, written in an unpolished style with no claim to literary value, which were immensely popular in the 20s and early 30s, treat, with a certain element of realism, mainly of sentimental or tragic themes among ordinary people.

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(FAHİR İZ)

'AKĀR (أَكَاَر), a legal term denoting "immovable property", such as houses, shops and land, as opposed to *māl mankūl* ("movable property"). As such, 'akār is identical with "realty" or "real property". All property which is 'akār is non-fungible (*kīmī*), but the two terms are not co-extensive, since animals, furniture, etc. are *kīmī*, although they do not constitute 'akār.

The owner of 'akār is deemed also to be the owner of anything on it, over it or under it, to any height or depth, so that ownership of land includes ownership of minerals beneath it and buildings and plants

on it. Like personalty, realty may be held in joint ownership in Islamic law, without the shares being allocated (*mushā'*). As regards ownership of the fore-shore and new land formed by natural processes, this is vested in the state in modern Islamic countries.

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(R.Y. EBIED and M.J.L. YOUNG)

AKBAR B. AWRANGZĪB, Mughal prince. His mother dying when he was an infant, he was very affectionately brought up by Awrangzīb [q.v.]. In 1090/1679 he was deputed to lead an army against the Rathors, and after initially taking a vigorous part in the operations, he was won over to their side by the rebels. His own reasons for his defection are given in a letter to Awrangzīb in 1092/1681, where he criticises his father's hostility to the Rājputs. However, his attempt at a surprise attack on his father at Adjimār failed, and he had to flee, first to Shambhadji, the Marāthā ruler (1680-9), and then to Persia; where he died in 1116/1704; until his death, Awrangzīb continued to feel some anxiety of a threat from Persia.

A large number of letters written on behalf of Akbar are preserved in the well-known collection of Awrangzīb's letters, the *Adāb-i 'ālamgīrī* (see *Bibl.*).

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(M. ATHAR ALI)

AKHBĀR AL-ŠĪN WA 'L-HIND, the title by which are now designated two narratives concerning China and India which have, for various reasons, attracted the attention of Arabists.

Ms. 2281 of the B. N. contains amongst other things: I. fols. 2a-23b, an untitled and anonymous text which constitutes the basis of the work; and II. fols. 24a-56a, a sequel to the preceding, of which the author is named as Abū Zayd al-Sīrāfi.

In 1718, the Abbé Renaudot published in Paris, under the title *Anciennes relations des Indes et de la Chine, de deux voyageurs mahométans qui y allèrent dans le neuvième siècle, traduites d'arabe, avec des remarques sur les principaux endroits de ces relations*, a version of I and II, which was in its turn translated into English and Italian; since he had supplied no precise information regarding the origin of the text, Renaudot was accused of committing a hoax, but the original (the actual ms. 2281, to which was added, as no. 2282, the copy made by the translator himself) was subsequently found in the Bibliothèque Royale and printed through the good offices of Langlès; it was, however, M. Reinaud who put it into circulation 34 years later, accompanied by a new annotated translation and an introduction, under the title *Relations des voyages faits par les Arabes et les Persans dans l'Inde et Chine dans le IX^e siècle de l'ère chrétienne* (Paris 1845, 2 vols.). In 1922 G. Ferrand produced a new translation, *Voyage du marchand arabe Sulaymān en Inde et en Chine, rédigé en 851, suivi de remarques par Abū*



Zayd Hasan (vers 916), as vol. vii of the *Classiques de l'Orient*. Finally, in 1948, J. Sauvaget published in Paris the text, a translation of and a lavish commentary on no. I, as *Ahbār aš-Šīn wa 'l-Hind, Relation de la Chine et de l'Inde rédigée en 851*.

Independently of the reactions provoked by Renaudot's version (see Sauvaget, p. xvi), the anonymity of the first of these narratives has given rise to discussions and hypotheses. Quatremère (in *JA* (1839), 22-5), thought rather unwisely to attribute it to al-Mas'ūdī [q.v.]; Reinaud, on the basis of the name of Sulaymān al-Tādjir which is quoted in the text (§ 12 of the Sauvaget edition), thought that this last was the author; G. Ferrand, adopting this point of view, entitled his work *Voyage du marchand arabe Sulaymān*, and V. Minorsky (*Hudūd al-'ālam*, index) is seen to follow him deliberately in speaking only of "Sulaymān the Merchant". It is true that these authors can claim support from an important authority, since Ibn al-Fakīh refers (*Buldān*, 11; tr. H. Massé, 14) to Sulaymān al-Tādjir in a context other than the narrative in which his name appeared. However, H. Yule (*Cathay and the way thither*, London 1866, pp. cii-ciii) and after him P. Pelliot (in *T'oung-Pao*, xxi (1922), 401-2, xxii (1923), 116) have drawn attention to the fact that this Sulaymān was apparently only an informant, among others who remained anonymous.

As for the general title, it may be deduced from a remark figuring at the beginning of the "sequel" written by Abū Zayd, who says that his own contribution is *al-kitāb al-thānī min akhbār al-Šīn wa 'l-Hind*; even if these words are more a general indication of the contents of the work, later authors have considered them as a title, notably al-Bīrūnī who, in his *Nubadh fī akhbār al-Šīn* (ed. Krenkow, in *MMIA*, xiii (1935), 388), claims to borrow a fact from the *Kitāb Akhbār al-Šīn*, and there is no reason not to adopt this solution.

The anonymous narrative is called *al-Kitāb al-awwal* by Abū Zayd, who gives the precise date of 237/851. On the other hand, that of the *kitāb al-thānī* is not so precisely known; but we possess some information on the author of this "sequel", thanks to al-Mas'ūdī, who incidentally commits an error in calling him, probably inadvertently, Abū Zayd Muḥammad b. Yazīd al-Sīrāfī, although he himself says that his surname is al-Ḥasan. The author of the *Murūdj* declares (i, 321 = § 351) that he met Abū Zayd at Baṣra, where he was resident in 303/915-16, and that he received information from him; in reality, Abū Zayd must have supplied him with the text of the two narratives which were put to extensive use in the *Murūdj*, often distorted by al-Mas'ūdī's zeal for elegance.

Texts I and II are quite dissimilar; both are clearly recollections of journeys in exotic lands, but if the first is characterised by the quality of the observations of the author or of the merchants who gave him the information and probably constitutes the most ancient account of China, the second, later by about 70 years, seems less reliable. While the first narrative, without pretension of any sort, is in general exact and spontaneous, that of Abū Zayd, which had itself been moreover commissioned, is more laboured, gives much space to sailors' stories and to marvels, and betrays the tendency, resisted however by al-Djāhiz, to introduce fables into this form of *adab*.

Other authors than al-Mas'ūdī have exploited, directly or indirectly, admitting it or not, the *Akhbār al-Šīn wa 'l-Hind* (see Sauvaget, pp. xxiii-

xxix), and it is astonishing that only one ms. of it has survived. It is, however, not impossible that parts of it were detached and passed into the oral domain, which would explain why at a fairly early date the texts ceased to be copied, although these texts were originally intended for a literate public.

Bibliography: Pre-1948 references appear in Sauvaget's work. See further, I. Kračkovskiy, *Arabskaya geografičeskaya literatura*, Moscow-Leningrad 1957, 141-2; A. Miquel, *La géographie humaine du monde musulman*, Paris 1973, 116-26 and index.

(CH. PELLAT)

AKHBĀRIYYA, in Ithnā 'Asharī Shī'ism, means those who rely primarily on the traditions, *akhbār*, of the *Imāms* as a source of religious knowledge, in contrast to the Uṣūliyya [q.v.], who admit a larger share of speculative reason in the principles (*uṣūl*) of theology and religious law. Opposing traditionalist and rationalist currents were apparent in the Ithnā 'Asharī Shī'a from its beginnings in the 2nd/8th century. In the Buwayhid age, the three leading scholars, al-Mufīd (d. 413/1022), al-Murtadā (d. 436/1044) and the Shaykh al-Tūsī (d. 460/1067), in confrontation with the traditionalist school of Kumm, put the rationalist Uṣūlī doctrine on a firm basis by adopting Mu'tazilī theological principles and elaborating a distinctive Ithnā 'Asharī methodology of jurisprudence (*uṣūl al-fikh*). Akhbāriyya and Uṣūliyya are first mentioned as antagonistic factions by 'Abd al-Djalīl al-Kāzwīnī, an Ithnā 'Asharī scholar of Rayy writing ca. 565/1170, who characterises the former as narrowly traditionalist and literalist, the latter as basing the fundamentals of religion on reason and rational investigation.

Akhbārī opposition to the predominant Uṣūlī trend remained latent during the following centuries, until Mullā Muḥammad Amīn b. Muḥammad Sharīf al-Astarābādī (d. 1033/1624), encouraged by his teacher Mīrzā Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Astarābādī (d. 1028/1619), articulated the Akhbārī position in his *K. al-Fawā'id al-madaniyya* and thus became the founder of the later Akhbārī school. He proposed to restore the early Akhbārī doctrine which had remained undisputed until the time of al-Kulaynī (d. 328/929) and vigorously criticised the innovations of the three famous scholars of the Buwayhid age and, even more so, of the 'Allāma al-Hillī (d. 726/1325), the Shahīd al-Awwal Muḥammad b. Makkī al-'Āmilī (d. 786/1384) and the Shahīd al-Thānī Zayn al-Dīn al-'Āmilī (d. 966/1558) in the *uṣūl al-fikh* and theology. The basic theses which he affirmed against the Uṣūlī position included the doctrine that the *akhbār* of the *Imāms* take precedence over the apparent meaning of the Qur'ān, the *ḥadīth* of the Prophet and reason, since the *Imāms* are their divinely appointed interpreters. The apparent meaning of the *akhbār* which were accepted as sound (*ṣaḥīḥ*) by the early Ithnā 'Asharī community provide "customary certainty" (*yakīn 'ādī*), not merely probability (*ẓann*) as the Uṣūlī *muḍṭahids* maintained. All *akhbār* contained in the four canonical collections of the Ithnā 'Ashariyya belong to the category of *ṣaḥīḥ*. The categories besides *ṣaḥīḥ* and *da'if*, weak, which the 'Allāma al-Hillī, in imitation of Sunnī practice, introduced with regard to the reliability of the transmitters, are irrelevant. Also, consensus (*iḍmā'*), which has been handled too laxly by the *muḍṭahids*, is valid only if the inclusion of the *Imām* is absolutely certain and thus does not provide a source of the law separate from the *akhbār*. *Iḍṭihād*, leading to mere *ẓann*, and *taḳlīd*, i.e. following the opinions of a *muḍṭahid*,



are forbidden. Every believer must rather follow the *akhbār* of the *Imāms*, for whose proper understanding no more than a knowledge of Arabic and the specific terminology of the *Imāms* is needed. If an apparent conflict between two traditions cannot be resolved by the methods prescribed by the *Imāms*, *tawakkuf*, abstention from a decision, is obligatory.

The *Akhbārī* school flourished during the following two centuries. Muḥammad Amīn al-Astarābādī's teaching was expressly endorsed by the elder al-Maḍḍīṣī, Muḥammad Taqī (d. 1070/1660), and adopted by Mullā Muḥsin Fayḍ al-Kāshānī (d. ca. 1091/1680), both inclining to Ṣūfism and philosophy. An influential champion of *Akhbārī* doctrine was al-Ḥurr al-‘Amīlī [q.v.] (d. 1104/1693), author of a vast collection of *akhbār* of the *Imāms*, *Tafṣīl wasā’il al-shī’a ilā aḥkām al-shī’a*, who strictly adhered to, and refined, *Akhbārī* methodology, refraining, however, from any polemics against the *mudjtahids*. His contemporary ‘Abd ‘Alī b. Djum’a al-‘Arūsī al-Ḥuwayzī, author of the Kur’ān commentary *Nūr al-thīkalayn*, also staunchly supported *Akhbārī* views. Al-Astarābādī's verbal attacks on the *Uṣūlī mudjtahids* were resumed by ‘Abd Allāh b. Ḥādīdj Šāliḥ al-Samāhīdjī al-Bahrānī (d. 1135/1723), who in his *Munyat al-mumārīsīn fī adjuwibat su’ālāt al-shaykh Yāsīn* expounded some forty points of conflict between the *Akhbārīs* and the *mudjtahids*, and by the *Muhaddith* ‘Abd ‘Alī b. Aḥmad al-Dīrāzī al-Bahrānī (d. 1177/1763-4) in his *Iḥyā’ ma’ālim al-shī’a*. Among the more moderate supporters of *Akhbārī* positions were ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥādīdj Muḥammad al-Tūnī al-Buṣṭrawī (d. 1071/1666), author of *al-Wāḍiyya fī uṣūl al-fikh*, the Sayyid Ni’mat Allāh al-Djazzā’irī al-Šuṣṭarī (d. 1112/1700), and Yūsuf b. Aḥmad al-Bahrānī (d. 1186/1773), brother of the previously mentioned ‘Abd ‘Alī b. Aḥmad and author of the *Lu’lu’at al-Bahrayn* and of the extensive and popular *fikh* work *al-Ḥadā’ik al-nāḍira*. The latter originally upheld pure *Akhbārī* doctrine, but later he espoused an intermediate position between the two factions and blamed al-Astarābādī for having opened the door of slandering the *mudjtahids* and splitting the ranks of the *Shī’a*.

In the second half of the 12th/18th century, *Uṣūlī* doctrine was forcefully restated by Muḥammad Bakīr al-Bihbihānī (d. 1208/1793-4) in his *al-Idjtihād wa ‘l-akhbār* and other works. He went so far as to denounce the *Akhbārīs* as infidels and was able to break their dominant position in Karbalā’. The last prominent representative of the *Akhbārīyya*, the *Muhaddith* Muḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Nabī an-Nisābūrī al-Akhbārī, author of a *K. Munyat al-murtād fī nufāt al-idjtihād*, countered with polemical vituperation and cursing of the *mudjtahids*. He gained the favour of the Kādījār Šāh Fath ‘Alī Šāh for some time, but, having been denounced by the *Shaykh* Dja’far Kāshif al-Ghiṭā’ [q.v.], was eventually exiled to ‘Irāk and, in 1233/1818, was killed by a mob in al-Kāzimayn. Thereafter the *Akhbārīyya* rapidly declined. The only *Akhbārī* community known to have survived to the present is in the region of *Khurramshahr* and *Abādān*.

Bibliography: ‘Abd al-Djalīl al-Kazwīnī al-Rāzī, *K. al-Nakd*, ed. Djalāl al-Dīn Urmawī, ma’rūf bi-Muhaddith, Tehran 1331/1952, 2, 256, 291, 301, 304, 492; Muḥammad Amīn al-Astarābādī, *al-Fawā’id al-madaniyya*, Tehran 1321/1904; Muḥammad al-Dizfūlī, *Fārūḥ al-hakk*, printed together with Dja’far Kāshif al-Ghiṭā’, *al-Hakk al-mubīn*, Tehran 1319/1901; al-Khānsārī,

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(W. MADELUNG)

‘ĀKIL KHĀN RĀZĪ, MĪR MUḤAMMAD ‘ASKARĪ, Mughal official and commander. He came from a family of the Sayyids of Khwāf [q.v.] in Khurāsān, but was born in India. He was in the service of Prince Awrangzīb from the very beginning. When Awrangzīb left the Deccan to contest the throne in 1068/1658, ‘Ākil Khān was left in charge of the city of Dawlatābād. Subsequently, he was promoted to the rank of 1,500/1,000 and was made *fawjdār* [q.v.] of the Dōāb. In 1092/1681 he was appointed as *sūbadār* of Dīhli, and he held this post till his death in 1108/1696-7, having been promoted to the rank of 4,000/1,000.

A work called the *Wākīāt-i ‘ālamgīrī* or *Ẓafarnāma-yi ‘ālamgīrī* is ascribed to him. This contains a very interesting, but on occasions a highly-coloured, account of the war of succession and the opening years of Awrangzīb's reign. It does not always present a very flattering picture of Awrangzīb, and contains much information not found in the official history, the *‘Ālamgīr-nāma*. ‘Ākil Khān was devoted to literary pursuits and was interested in poetry, leaving behind a *Dīwān* and a number of *mathnawī* poems.

Bibliography: ‘Ākil Khān Rāzī, *Wākīāt-i ‘ālamgīrī*, ed. Zafar Ḥasan, Aligarh 1945 (see Storey, i, 584-5); Muḥammad Kāzīm, *‘Ālamgīr-nāma*, Bibl. Ind., Calcutta 1865-73; Sākī Mustafīd Khān, *Ma’āthīr-i ‘ālamgīrī*, Bibl. Ind., Calcutta 1871; Šāh Nawāz Khān, *Ma’āthīr al-umarā’*, ii, Bibl. Ind., Calcutta 1888; M. Athar Ali, *The Mughal nobility under Aurangzeb*, Bombay 1966. (M. ATHAR ALI)

AL-‘AKKĀD, ‘ABBĀS MAḤMūd, one of the most influential figures in the development of Egyptian culture in the first half of the 20th century, littérateur, journalist, educator, polemicist and critic. Born in Aswān in 1889, he did not complete his secondary education but moved to Cairo at the age of fourteen. While taking a series of minor posts in the civil service, he began to make up for his lack of formal education by reading widely. He was particularly interested in literature, philosophy and the natural sciences, and among his greatest contributions was to pass on to a younger generation of Egyptians a synthesis of his views on these and other subjects. His writings on aesthetics and poetic theory show a strong influence of English writers such as Hazlitt, Coleridge, Macaulay, Mill and Darwin, and he was also acquainted with the ideas of Lessing, Schopenhauer and Nietzsche among the German philosophers. It was early in the 1910s that al-‘Akkād met Ibrāhīm al-Māzinī, and the two men formed a firm friendship based both on a love of poetry (especially that of the English Romantics found in such works as Palgrave's *The Golden Treasury*) and on a distaste for the conventions of the neo-classical school of Egyptian poets personified by Aḥmad Šhawkī and Ḥāfiẓ Ibrāhīm. Al-‘Akkād wrote the Introduction to al-Māzinī's first collection of poetry (1913) and published two collections of his own during this decade, *Yakẓat al-sabāḥ* (1916) and *Wahādj al-zahira* (1917). The same views on poetry were also shared by a third writer, ‘Abd al-Rahmān



Shukrī, the best poet of the group. These three are often referred to as the “Dīwān School”, but that is somewhat of a misnomer in that al-‘Akkād and al-Māzinī alone were the authors of *al-Dīwān*, a blistering piece of criticism in which al-Māzinī accused Ḥafīz Ibrāhīm of madness and confusion while al-‘Akkād attacked Shawkī’s occasional poetry in the most caustic of terms. The three men seemed to have shared a common view of the nature and rôle of poetry, but it was al-‘Akkād who provided much of the critical impetus for which the group is primarily remembered.

At the conclusion of the First World War, al-‘Akkād became closely associated with Sa’d Zaghlūl, the leader of the Wafd, and began to write articles for the party’s newspaper, *al-Balagh*. Many of these articles on literature, aesthetics, religion and history were later collected into book form under such titles as *Murādja’āt fi ‘l-‘ādāb wa ‘l-funūn* and *Mutālā’āt fi ‘l-kutub wa ‘l-hayāt*. During the regime of Ismā‘īl Ṣidqī in the early 1930s when the constitution was revoked, al-‘Akkād’s fervent convictions led him to undertake the considerable risk of publishing a work criticising the ruling authorities, *al-Hukm al-muṭlak fi ‘l-kam al-‘ishrīn*, for which he was imprisoned for nine months. This decade also saw the appearance of three more volumes of his poetry (*Wahy al-arba‘īn*, *Hadiyyat al-karawān*, and *‘Abir sabīl*), the novel, *Sāra*, and a series of biographies on famous figures from the early history of Islam. These latter works seem to form part of a trend in the 1930s whereby Egyptian intellectuals (including Ṭāhā Husayn and Muḥammad Husayn Haykal) turned their attentions to religious biographical themes.

In 1938, al-‘Akkād abandoned the Wafd Party and joined the breakaway Sa’dist group led by Ahmad Māhīr and al-Nukrāshī. However, the self-reliance and outspokenness which had served his purpose as a younger man seem to have turned progressively to scepticism, arrogance and extreme conservatism. He left the Sa’dist group and became essentially a one-man party. In the literary sphere, he not only vigorously opposed the new free verse poetry which began to emerge following the Second World War, but also changed his mind about the possibilities of blank verse in Arabic, something which he had encouraged Shukrī to experiment with in the earlier part of their careers. He joined a number of other conservative critics in opposing “committed” literature; in fact, as David Semah notes (*Four Egyptian literary critics*, Leiden 1974, 25) he seemed unwilling to accept any kind of criticism of his own views or to tolerate the idea that some of his earlier theories had been superseded.

Al-‘Akkād’s contributions to creative literature tend to be of interest more for historical reasons than for their intrinsic literary merit. He composed a large number of personal poems as well as some occasional ones, and translated a number of works from English (see Mustafa Badawi, *A critical introduction to modern Arabic poetry*, Cambridge 1975, 109 ff.). In his novel, *Sāra*, the psychological insights into the relationship of the two lovers may have been on a new level of sophistication when compared with previous works in this genre, but the element of doubt and questioning which pervades the work (six of the chapters have questions as their title) reduces it to an almost abstract analytical plane. Several commentators have also pointed out that the attitude to women found in this work is more than a little autobiographical (Ahmad Haykal, *al-Adab al-kaṣaṣī wa ‘l-masrahī*, Cairo 1971, 164;

Hilary Kilpatrick, *The modern Egyptian novel*, London 1974, 32; ‘Abd al-Hayy Diyāb, *al-Mar’a fi hayāt al-‘Akkād*, Cairo 1969, 100 ff.).

The views of al-‘Akkād on aesthetics and poetic theory propounded so forcibly in many of his works are also clearly visible in his writings on other poets, both ancient and modern. While he wrote numerous articles on ancient poets during the 1920s (such as on Imru ‘l-Qays, Abū Nuwās, Bashshār b. Burd and al-Mutanabbī), it is his study of Ibn al-Rūmī published in book form in 1931, *Ibn al-Rūmī, hayātuhu min shi‘rihi*, which is widely regarded as his best literary study and especially as the one which permits al-‘Akkād to use his own theories on psychology, race and poetics in an analysis of this somewhat neglected poet. Al-‘Akkād’s introduction of such objective criteria, often based on non-literary information, into the analysis of literature led to new insights into the Arabic poetic tradition of ancient times. However, it also tended to place more emphasis on the writer than the work of literature, and it was left to the next generation (and especially Muḥammad Mandūr) to restore importance to the work itself in literary analysis, while fusing into the critical process the best elements of the theories which al-‘Akkād had developed.

In 1960, he was awarded the State Appreciation Prize for his contribution to Egyptian literature. Shawkī Dayf’s work, *Ma’a ‘l-‘Akkād* (Ikra’ Series no. 259, Cairo 1964) shows a picture of the aged bachelor browsing in the natural science section of his library (opp. p. 65). He died in 1964.

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(R. ALLEN)

AKKĀR (A.), pl. *akara* (abstract *ikāra*), literally “tiller, cultivator of the ground”, a word of Aramaic origin (see Fraenkel, *Die aramäischen Fremdwörter im Arabischen*, 128-9), borrowed into Arabic, apparently in the post-Islamic period (it does not appear in the Qur’ān), and applied to the peasantry of Aramaean stock in Syria and ‘Irāk; accordingly, the term had in Arabic eyes, like the name *Nabat*, a pejorative sense (see *LA*¹, v, 85-6). Some of these peasants were sharecroppers who cultivated lands of wealthy landlords for one-sixth or one-seventh share of the produce and on *mukāsama* [q.v.] terms of contract (cf. Abū Yūsuf, *al-Kharāj*, Būlāk 1884, 52; Ibn Ḥawqāl, *Sūrat al-arḍ*, ed. Kramers, 218). Following the Arab conquest of the Fertile Crescent, the *akara* paid the lowest amount of poll-tax (*ḡizya*) at the rate of 12 *dirhams* per head per annum (Balādhuri, *Futūḥ*, 271).

Social and economic conditions deteriorated for the *akara* during the ‘Abbāsid period. One finds them as itinerant farm labourers moving from village to village in search of work and working on estates



of land for the highest bidder among landlords (Šābī, *Wuzarāʾ*, ed. Amedroz, 259). They also worked on lands owned by Christian monasteries (Shābushtī, *al-Diyārāt*, 214-15). In a typical story we read of a certain *akkār* who was employed by a rich man of Baṣra as a domestic servant, possibly out of farming season. His work included husking rice, grinding it in a mill turned by an ox, and making bread for his master (Djāhīz, *Bukhālāʾ*, Cairo 1963, 129). Djāhīz has evidently recorded in the story of the *akkār* and his employer the tale of the toiling labourers and the hard task-master of this epoch. Djāhīz also mentions a certain *mashāyikh al-akara* (elder of the *akara*), which may be indicative of some form of organised social grouping of the *akara* headed by a revered *Shaykh* (cf. *Hayawān*, v, 32). The rural population of the Sawād of ʿIrāk, at least, seems to have continued to be Aramaic-speaking into the 3rd/9th century and perhaps until later; cf. the anecdote of al-Muʿtaṣim and the old *Nabaṭī* peasant of the Sawād in Masʿūdī, *Murūj*, vii, 113-4 = § 2796.

Bibliography: In addition to references given in the article, see also Tanukhi, *al-Faraj baʿd al-shidda*, Cairo 1903, i, 125-6; Thaʿālibī, *Thimār al-kulūb*, Cairo 1908, 195; al-Šābī, *The historical remains of Hilāl al-Šābī*, Leiden 1904, 91, 216, 254, al-Nawbakhtī, *Farāḡ al-Shiʿa*, Istanbul 1931, 61; Lane, *Lexicon*, i, 70-1; M.A.J. Beg, *Agricultural and irrigation labourers in the social and economic life of Iraq during the Umayyad and ʿAbbasid caliphates*, in *IC* (January 1973), 15-22. (M.A.J. BEG)

AL-AKṢARĀYĪ, KARĪM AL-DĪN MAHMŪD B. MUHAMMAD, historian of Anatolia under the Saldjūks and Il-Khānids. The date of his birth is unknown, but it seems that he died at an advanced age in the 720/1320s. As an official in the Il-Khānid service, he was attached to the retinue of Muḍjir al-Dīn Amīr Shāh (the representative of the Mongol fiscal department in Saldjūk Anatolia, and then *nāʾib* from 1281 to 1291) until the latter's death in 1302. Ghāzān Khān then appointed him *nāzīr* or intendant of the *awḳāf* in the Saldjūk territories, and an uncertain date he acted as military commandant (*kutwāl* [see *kōrwāl*]) of Akṣarāy, his natal town. He enjoyed a privileged view of the events of his time, and in 723/1323 put together in Persian his chronicle the *Musāmamat al-akhbār wa-musāyarat al-akhbār* which is, together with Ibn Bībī's work, one of the essential sources for Anatolian history in the period of Mongol domination. This period forms the subject of the fourth and last chapter of the work, the most important one, since it takes up three-quarters of the book and covers some 75 years contemporary with al-Akṣarāyī himself. The chronicle is known only in two manuscripts (Ayasofya 3143, copied in 734/1334, and Yenikami 827, copied in 745/1345, both now in the Süleymaniye Library in Istanbul), and was hardly used by sub-sequent historians, with the exceptions of Kādī Ahmad of Nigde (14th century) and the Ottoman compiler Münedjdim Bāshī (d. 1702), until it was rediscovered by Turkish historians at the end of the 19th century. In his preface to his critical and annotated edition of the text, Osman Turan conveys all the information known about the author, and gives an account of previous studies on the latter and his book.

Bibliography: *Muāmeret ü-ahbār. Mogollar zamanında Türkiye Selçukları tarihi*, Mukaddime ve haşiyelerle tashih ve neşreden Dr. Osman Turan, Ankara 1944; Fikret İşıltan, *Die Seltschuken*

Geschichte des Akserayī, Leipzig 1943 (summary translation in German of the fourth chapter of the history). (J.-L. BACQUÉ-GRAMMONT)

AKŪNĪTUN (Greek ἄκονιτον) appears frequently in Arabic medical writings as a particularly deadly poison originating from a plant root; it can denote a substance either (A) from the Mediterranean region, or (B) from India. Synonyms for (A) include *khānik al-nimr*, *khānik al-dhīb*, *kātil al-nimr* and *bīsh*. This last, however, is the name generally accepted for (B). Akūnītun thus well exemplifies a constant problem of Arabic botanical literature: identification today of the actual plant referred to and of its Greek equivalent.

(A) Mediterranean region: ἄκονιτον as a poison in Greek writings: remedies are given by Nicander in his *Alexipharmaca* (95, lines 11-73). Theophrastus describes two types, (a) ἄκονιτον with a prawn-shaped root; (b) θηλυφονον or σκορπιον able to cure scorpion bite (*HP*, 9.16.4 and 9.18.2). Cf. Paulus of Aegina (Eng. tr. F. Adams, London 1844-8, III.28). Dioscorides similarly lists two types, in the reverse order, described in much the same terms: (i) = (b) above, with synonyms παραλασγης, καμμαρον, θηλυφονον, κυνοκτονον, μυοκτονον (IV. 77); (ii) = (a) above, synonym λυκοκτονον (IV.78). When Dioscorides was translated into Arabic, the possibility of regional variation in species was not always considered; some Greek names were transliterated, but in time most were given standard equivalents in Arabic. In the Julia Anicia MS, 6th century, marginal notes in Arabic explain ἄκονιτον (i) as *akūnītun* and *khānik al-nimr*; (ii) as *khānik al-dhīb* (f. 66b).

The Arabic version of these sections (Bodleian MS Hyde 34) gives as synonyms for (i) *nabbāl* and *khānik al-nimr* (f. 123a, marginal note). *Nabbāl* occurs also in the *Tafsiṭ* to Dioscorides by Ibn Quljdjul (Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional MS 4981, f. 7a); in Ibn Quljdjul's *Supplement* to Dioscorides (MS Hyde 34, f. 198b) *nabbāl* is mentioned as a poisonous plant whose antidote is *bustān abrūz* (*Amaranthus tricolor* L.). Cf. F.J. Simonet, *Glosario de voces ibéricas y latinas usadas entre los mozárabes*, Madrid 1888, 395.

(B) India: *Bīsh*, although sometimes considered a synonym for *akūnītun*, refers to a far more poisonous plant (probably *Aconitum ferox* Wall) and is described as the most deadly of plant poisons by such writers as Thābit b. Kurra (*Dhakhira*, ch. xxv, 143 (298)), Djābir b. Hayyān (*Gifte*, 56 = f. 46a-b, 104 = f. 95b, 185 = f. 179a), Ibn Wahshiyya (*Poisons*, 84-5, 108), Ibn Sīnā (*Kānūn*, I, 276, III, 223), al-Bīrūnī (*Saydana*, Arabic 81, Eng. 53). Most agree that there is little if any hope of recovery, even if the Great *Tiryāk* is administered. Ibn Sīnā distinguishes clearly between *bīsh* and the plant known as *khānik al-dhīb* etc., the latter being described separately (I, 424, 460).

(C) Possible identifications: Although (A) *Akūnītun* is often equated with an *Aconitum* sp. (e.g. Ghalib I.86, Nos. 1752-7, Issa 5.1, cf. W. Schmucker, *Die pflanzliche und mineralische Materia Medica im Firdaus al-Hikma des Tabari*, Bonn 1969, 126, No. 157, where *bīsh* = ἄκονιτον), a modern botanist thinks it likely that the ἄκονιτον of Dioscorides was (i) a *Doronicum* sp., (ii) a *Delphinium* sp., possibly *D. staphisagria* or *D. elatum*. In the case of (B) *bīsh*, this did not have to be identified in the growing state, but was known to the Arabs as a deadly poison from India (Issa 4.19).

Bibliography: Dioscorides, *De materia medica*, ed. D.G. Kühn, Leipzig 1829; Dioscorides, *Codex*



Aniciae Iulianae picturis illustratus, nunc Vindobonensis Med. Gr. I, Leiden 1906 (phototype edn.); *La Materia Médica de Dioscórides*, ii, ed. C.E. Dubler and E. Terés, Tetuan 1952; Bodleian MS Hyde 34; Theophrastus, *History of Plants*, ed. and tr. A. Hort, Loeb edn. London 1916; Nicander, *Alexipharmaca*, ed. A.S.F. Gow and A.F. Scholfield, Cambridge 1953; ‘Abd Allāh b. Ahmad b. al-Bayṭār, *al-Djāmi‘ li-mufradāt al-adwiya wa ‘l-aghḥāya*, Cairo 1874; Thābit b. Kurra, *K. al-Dhakhira fi ‘ilm al-tibb*, ed. G. Sobhy, Cairo 1928; Rabban al-Tabarī, *Firdaws al-hikma*, ed. M.Z. Siddiqi, Berlin 1928; *The abridged version of “The Book of Simple Drugs” of Ahmad ibn Muhammad al-Ghāfiqī* . . ., ed. M. Meyerhof and G. Sobhy, Cairo 1932-40; Maimonides, *Sharḥ asmā’ al-‘uḳkār*, ed. M. Meyerhof, Cairo 1940; *Das Buch der Gifte des Ġābir Ibn Ḥayyān*, tr. A. Siggel, Wiesbaden 1958 (with facsimile text); Ibn Sīnā, *al-Kānūn fi ‘l-tibb*, 3 vols., repr. Baghdād n.d. [= 1970?]; Ibn Waḥshīyya (translation): M. Levey, *Medieval Arabic toxicology: the Book on Poisons of Ibn Waḥshīya and its relation to early Indian and Greek texts*, Philadelphia 1966; al-Bīrūnī, *K. al-Saydana fi ‘l-tibb*, ed. and tr. H.M. Said, Karachi 1973; M. Levey, *Early Arabic pharmacology*, Leiden 1973; M. Meyerhof, *The article on aconite from al-Beruni’s kitab as-Saydana*, in *IC*, xix/4 (1945); P. Johnstone, *Aconite and its antidote in Arabic writings, in Journal for the History of Arabic Science*, i/1 (1977); A. Issa, *Dictionnaire des noms des plantes en latin, français, anglais et arabe*, Cairo 1930; A. Siggel, *Arabisch-Deutsches Wörterbuch der Stoffe aus den drei Naturreichen*, Berlin 1950; E. Ghalib, *Dictionnaire des sciences de la nature*, Beirut 1965.

(P. JOHNSTONE)

ĀL-ī AHMAD, SAYYID DJALĀL, Iranian prose writer and ideologist (1923-69). His œuvre may be tentatively classified as comprising literary fiction on the one hand (*kiṣṣa*, *dāstān*), and essays and reports on the other hand (*maḳāla*, *guṣṣa*). This classification, however, only follows the author’s own designation. Āl-ī Ahmad lacks the technical concern and sophistication of a contemporary like Ṣādiq Čubak, and in terms of formal structure, this tends to blur the dividing lines, not merely between the “novel” (*kiṣṣa*) and the “short story” (*dāstān*), but also between the *dāstān*, often approaching the “narrative essay”, and the *maḳāla*. Among biographical data, three factors stand out for their crucial influence on Āl-ī Ahmad’s career as a writer: his birth in a Tehrani family of lower *Shī‘ī* dignitaries; his occupation as a professional schoolteacher; and his vivid interest and, for a brief period, active participation in national politics.

The religious element is reflected in the early collections of short stories *Did wa bāzdid* (1945), *Sih-tār* (1948) and *Žan-i ziyādī* (1952). Written after the “flight” from his traditional family background and adherence to the leftist ideologies of post-war political parties, they offer an ironic picture of the religious milieu of lower and middle class Tehran. A similar, if more outspoken aloofness pervades his *hadjdi*-diary of 1966, *Khaṣṣi dar miḳāt*. While preserving a personal piety throughout his life, Āl-ī Ahmad is the critical observer, rather than the raptured participant. A tone of irony is seldom absent; yet it is generally mild and benevolent, occasionally even slightly nostalgic.

His life-long experiences as a schoolteacher prompted an interest in educational and, more broadly, cultural issues, as expressed in some of his

most vitriolic articles (notably in *Sih maḳāla-i digar* (1959)). Moreover, they inspired the “novels” *Mudīr-i madrasa* (1958) and *Nafīn-i zamīn* (1967). The former especially, which relates the alienation of a provincial school-principal, is counted among his most successful literary achievements. If indebted to an earlier prose-experiment in French literature, i.e. *Voyage au bout de la nuit* by Louis-Ferdinand Céline (1932), *Mudīr-i madrasa* convincingly established Āl-ī Ahmad’s reputation as an innovator of Persian literary style. Its highly economic use of words, abundant colloquialisms and vivid, staccato rhythm has been described in a laudatory fashion as *inshā’-i kārikātūrī* by *Djamāl-zāda* (cf. bibliography).

Some similarity exists between the development of Āl-ī Ahmad’s religious attitudes and his political ones. After an intensive exposure to the orthodox milieu in the early stages (as son of a *Shī‘ī rūḥānī*, as a devoted and prominent member of political parties), he proved in both instances incapable of conforming to collective, organised loyalty. His membership of the recently established communist *Tūda* party lasted from 1944 until early 1948 only; his subsequent adherence to the “anti-Stalinist” faction of *Khalīl Malikī* ended in early 1953, following bitter experiences with personal rivalries within this “Third Force” movement. He left the forum of organised politics, never to return. Among the literary documents of this political career, the short stories collected in *Az randī-kih mībarīm* (1947) belong to the *Tūda* period. First printed at the party-press *Shu‘lawar*, it constitutes an effort to create “socialist-realist” literature. With its very explicit commitment, in some ways reminiscent of Buzurg ‘Alawī’s work, it lacks the ironic, observing distance common to Āl-ī Ahmad’s remaining œuvre, and was afterwards considered a failure by the author himself. *Žan-i ziyādī* was written after the breakaway from the *Tūda*, and contains the story *Khudādād-khān*, a sarcastic description of the ambitions, hypocrisy and luxuries of a leading party executive. The ideological importance of this collection further lies in the introduction which the author added to the second edition (1963), *Risāla-i Pawlūs bi-kātibān*. A “testament” according to the writer, it calls for literary honesty and commitment. In a less biblical fashion, this theme dominates many of his other essays: the conviction that “in our land, writing literature means waging a battle for justice”, and that “the pen has become a weapon”. Since the ending of the Mossadegh experiment in August 1953 and Āl-ī Ahmad’s departure from party-politics, he saw this battle for justice as a cultural, rather than political one. Its primary target is not the external force of oppression, but the spirit of submissiveness which had turned his countrymen into voluntary, even zealous servants. This phenomenon was diagnosed as *gharb-zadagī* (“western-struckness” sc. blind worship and imitation of western civilisation), and its causes and symptoms are described at length in the essay of the same name (1962), which, in spite of its prompt confiscation by the authorities, remained Āl-ī Ahmad’s most widely read and most hotly debated work. In search of a cure, he calls for an “inner revolt” (*kiyām-i durūnī*): a return to the classical virtues of unconditional devotion and self-sacrifice. This *shahādāt* forms the central theme of *Nūn wa ‘l-kalam* (1961), an allegory tale explaining the failure of contemporary leftist movements.

Finally, mention should be made of the regional monographs which the author composed during his numerous travels throughout the country, trying to



recapture the "majesty" (*izmat*) and "authenticity" (*aṣālat*) which he could no longer find in the capital. *Awrazūn* (1954), *Tātnishīn-hā-i Balūk-i Zahra* (1958) and *Djazīra-i Khārg* (1960) have appeared as separate volumes; comparable studies of Khūzistān, Yazd and the outskirts of the Kawīr have been included in his collected essays.

Bibliography: 1. Works by Āl-ī Ahmad, in addition to those mentioned in the text: *Sarguzāsh-i kandū-hā* (1333 sh.) is a symbolic *kis̄sa* dealing with the abortive oil-nationalisation 1951-3. Not included in the four collections mentioned above are the short stories *Djazīn-i far-khanda*, *Khā'āhar wa 'ankabūt*, *Khūnābā-i anār*, *Shawhar-i Amrikā'i* and *Guldastah wa falak*. The first one is available through M.A. Sipānlū's anthology *Bāz-āfarīn-yi wāqīyyat* (Tehran 1352 sh.). The other ones have been collected in the posthumously-edited and only narrowly distributed *Pandj dāstān* (1350 sh.), which also contains a short autobiographical sketch dated Day 1347 sh.: *Mathalan sharh-i ahwālāt*. The majority of Āl-ī Ahmad's numerous essays and travel reports were first published in periodicals and afterwards reprinted in the collections *Haft makāla* (1334 sh.), *Sih makāla-i digar* (1337 sh.), *Arzyābī-yi shītabzāda* (1344 sh.) and *Kāmāma-i shī-sāla* (1348 sh.). These collections, however, are far from exhaustive, and a substantial number of articles remains scattered over the various magazines, for the later period notably *Andīsha wa hunar*, *Arīsh* and *Djohān-i naw*. Certain other writings were completed by the author before his death, but have not yet been deemed suitable for publication. These include a novel (*Nas-i dīādīd*) and diaries of his travels to Europe, the United States and the Soviet Union. Of the latter, two fragments have appeared in *Hunar wa sinimā*, Nos. 1 (18 *Ādhar* 1345) and 2 (25 *Ādhar* 1345). Translations prepared by Āl-ī Ahmad were almost without exception done from or via French; well-known among these are his rendering of works by André Gide, Albert Camus, Eugene Ionesco and Dostoevski. Translations made from Āl-ī Ahmad's writings include *The old man was our eyes*, a monography on the poet Nīmā Yūshīdjī, in *The Literary Review*, Rutherford N.J., xviii (1974), 115-28, *The pilgrimage*, in *Life and letters*, lxiii (1949), 202-9, *Someone else's child*, in *Iranian Studies*, i (1968), 161-9, and *The school principal*, by J.K. Newton and M.C. Hillmann, Minneapolis and Chicago 1974; the preface to this volume also contains an English translation of the story *Guldān-i čīnī*.

2. Studies. See the cursory remarks in H. Kamshad, *Modern Persian prose literature*, Cambridge 1966, 125-6; B. Alavi, *Geschichte und Entwicklung der modernen persischen Literatur*, Berlin 1964, 221-2; Miloš Borecký, in *MEJ*, vii (1953), 238-9; and M. Zavarzadeh, in *MIW*, lviii (1968), 311-12. Opinions of Iranian critics may be found in the special Āl-ī Ahmad issue of the periodical *Andīsha wa hunar*, v (1343 sh.), 344-489, including also a lengthy interview with the author. For more specific discussions, cf. *Djamāl-zāda's review of Mudīr-i madrasa in Rahnamā-yi Kitāb*, i (1337 sh.), 166-78; Riḍā Barāhinī, *Kis̄sa-niuest*, Tehran 1348 sh., 416 ff.; G.L. Tikku, in *idem* (ed.), *Islam and its cultural divergence*, Urbana, Chicago and London 1971, 165-79; and G.R. Sabri-Tabrizi, in *Correspondance d'Orient* 11, Brussels 1970, 411-18.

(G.J.J. DE VRIES)

'ALĀ' AL-DĪN KHALDĪ [see KHALDĪS].

AL-'ALAMĪ, 'ABD AL-KĀDIR [see KĀDDŪR AL-'ALAMĪ].

ALANGU, TAHIR, Turkish author and literary critic (1916-73). The son of a naval officer, he was born in Istanbul and graduated from the Department of Turkish Studies of Istanbul University (1943). He taught Turkish literature in various high schools until 1956, when he was appointed to Galatasaray Lycée in Istanbul where he taught until his death on 19 June 1973. During the last few years of his life he was also a part-time lecturer at Boğaziçi University in Istanbul.

Two leading themes of his many books and large number of articles are firstly, Turkish folk-lore, and secondly, the modern Turkish novel and short story. As a literary critic and research worker, his judgments are based on sound scholarly research and are (with rare exceptions when his close friends are involved) balanced, responsible and fair. Alangu is the author of the following major works: *Cumhuriyetten sonra hikāye ve roman*, 2 vols, Istanbul 1959 and 1965, a comprehensive study on Turkish short story writers and novelists of the 1920-50 period, with copious examples of their works; *Ömer Seyfettin*, Istanbul, 1968, a monograph in the form of biographical novel of this pioneer of the modern Turkish short story; and his posthumous *100 ünlü Türk eseri*, 2 vols, Istanbul 1974, an anthology from 100 famous works from Turkish literature, with introduction and comments. The second volume of this work covering the last hundred years (1870-1970) is particularly valuable as it is based mainly on his own research. Unfortunately, many of his articles published in various journals and reviews have not yet been collected into book form. Alangu translated (from the German) several authors, and particularly from the Israeli author Samuel Agnon.

Bibliography: Mehmet Seyda, *Edebiyat dostları*, Istanbul, 1970; Behçet Necatigil, *Edebiyatımızda isimler sözlüğü*, 1975, s.v. (FAHİR İZ)

'ALĪ B. HANZALA B. ABĪ SĀLIM AL-MAHFŪZĪ AL-WĀDĪ'Ī AL-HAMDĀNĪ, succeeded 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. al-Walid [q.v.] as the sixth *dā'ī muṭlaq* of the Musta'li-Tayyibī Ismā'īlīs in Yaman in 612/1215. As the country was passing through a critical period of internal strife after its occupation by the Ayyūbids, the *dā'ī* pursued a policy of non-interference in politics. He maintained good relations both with the Ayyūbid rulers of Ṣan'ā' and the Yāmid sultāns of Banū Hātim in Ḍhamarmar which enabled him to carry out his activities without much difficulties. He died on 12 or 22 Rabī' I 626/8 or 18 February 1229.

Both his compositions, *Simt al-ḥakā'ik* and *Risālat Diyā' al-hulūm wa-misbāḥ al-'ulūm*, concerning *al-mabda' wa 'l-ma'ād*, are considered important works on *ḥakā'ik* [q.v.]. The former, edited by 'Abbās al-'Azzāwī (Damascus 1953), is a *radjāz* poem, whereas the latter is an elaborate treatment of the subject and exists in manuscript.

Bibliography: The main biographical source, Idrīs b. al-Hasan, *Nuḥat al-afkār*, still in manuscript, is studied by H.F. al-Hamdānī, *al-Ṣulayhiyyūn*, Cairo 1955, 291-7; Hasan b. Nuḥ al-Bharūcī, *Kitāb al-Azhār*, i, ed. 'Adil al-'Awwā, in *Muntakhabāt Ismā'īliyya*, Damascus 1958, 195, 247; Ismā'īl b. 'Abd al-Rasūl al-Maḥjūdī, *Fihrist*, ed. 'Alī Naḳī Munzawī, Tehran 1966, 196-7, 269-70. For a detailed account, see Ismail Poonawala, *Bio-bibliography of Ismā'īlī literature*, Malibu, Cal. 1977.

(I. POONAWALA)



‘ALĪ B. MUḤAMMAD B. DJA’FAR B. IBRĀHĪM B. AL-WALĪD AL-ANF AL-KURASHĪ, the mentor of ‘Alī b. Hātim al-Hāmidī [q.v.], whom he succeeded as the fifth *dā’ī mutlak* of the Musta’lī-Tayyibī Ismā’īlīs in Yaman in 605/1209, came from a prominent al-Walīd family of Kuraysh. His great-grandfather Ibrāhīm b. Abī Salama was a leading chieftain of the founder of the Ṣulayhid dynasty ‘Alī b. Muḥammad al-Ṣulayhī, and he was sent by the latter on an official mission to Cairo. He studied first under his uncle ‘Alī b. al-Husayn and then under Muḥammad b. Tāhir al-Hārithī. After al-Hārithī’s death, Hātim b. Ibrāhīm al-Hāmidī [q.v.] appointed ‘Alī b. Muḥammad as his deputy in Ṣan‘ā’. He lived in Ṣan‘ā’ and died there on 27 Sha‘bān 612/21 December 1215 at the age of ninety. He headed a distinguished family of *dā’īs*: for approximately three centuries the headship of the *dā’wa* was held by his descendants.

He was a prolific author and his works are held in high esteem by the community. The following works are extant. On *ḥakā’ik*: 1. *Tāḍī al-akā’id*, ed. ‘Arif Tāmir, Beirut 1967, English tr. (in summary form) W. Ivanow, *Creed of the Fatimids*, Bombay 1936. 2. *Kitāb al-Dhakhīra*, ed. Muḥammad al-A‘zamī, Beirut 1971. 3. *Risālat Djlā’ al-‘ukūl*, ed. ‘Ādil al-‘Awwā in *Muntakhabāt Ismā’īliyya*, Damascus 1958, 89-153. 4. *Risālat al-Idāh wa ‘l-tabyīn*, ed. R. Strothmann, in *Arba’a kutub Ismā’īliyya*, Göttingen 1943, 138-58. 5. *Risāla fī ma’nā al-ism al-a‘zam*, ed. Strothmann in *ibid.*, 171-7. 6. *Ḍiyā’ al-albāb*. 7. *Lubb al-ma‘ārif*. 8. *Lubāb al-fawā’id*. 9. *Risālat mulḥikat al-adhḥān*. 10. *al-Risāla al-mufīda*, a commentary on the *kaṣīdat al-naṣī* ascribed to Ibn Sīnā. Refutations: 11. *Dāmigh al-bāṭil*, refutation of al-Ghazālī’s *al-Mustazhirī*. 12. *Mukhtaṣar al-‘usūl*, refutation of Sunnīs, Mu‘tazilīs, Zaydīs and *Falāsifa* who deny God all attributes. 13. *Risālat tuḥfat al-murtadd*, ed. Strothmann in *Arba’a kutub Ismā’īliyya*, 159-70, a refutation of the Hāfiẓi-Maḍjidi *dā’wa*. Miscellaneous: 14. *Maḍjālis al-nuṣṣa wa ‘l-bayān*. 15. *Ḍiwān*, eulogies of the *Imāms* and his teachers, elegies, and valuable historical information about contemporary events in Yaman.

HUSAYN B. ‘ALĪ, son of the preceding. He succeeded Ahmad b. al-Mubārak b. al-Walīd as the eighth *dā’ī mutlak*. He lived in Ṣan‘ā’ and died there on 22 Šafar 667/31 October 1268. His writings deal mainly with *ḥakā’ik*. The following works have survived. 1. *Risālat al-Idāh wa ‘l-bayān*. The section about the fall of Adam has been edited by B. Lewis in *An Ismā’īlī interpretation of the fall of Adam*, in *BSOS*, ix (1938), 691-704. 2. *al-Risāla al-wahīda fī tathbūt arkān al-‘akāda*. 3. *‘Akīdat al-muwahhidīn*. 4. *Risālat al-īdāh wa ‘l-tabyīn fī jaḍl yawm al-Ghadīr*. 5. *Risāla Māhiyyat al-zūr*. 6. *al-Mabda’ wa ‘l-ma‘ād*, ed. and tr. H. Corbin, in *Trilogie Ismaélienne*, Tehran 1961, 99-130 (Arabic pagination), 129-200.

‘ALĪ B. HUSAYN, son of the preceding. He succeeded his father as the ninth *dā’ī mutlak*. He lived in Ṣan‘ā’ and then moved to ‘Arūs, but following the Hamdānīd repossession of Ṣan‘ā’, he returned and died there on 13 Dhū ‘l-Ḳa‘da 682/2 February 1284. His *al-Risāla al-kāmila* is extant.

Bibliography: Hātim al-Hāmidī, *Tuḥfat al-kulūb*, in manuscript, (edition being prepared by Abbas Hamdani); Idrīs b. al-Ḥasan, *Nuḥat al-afkār*, manuscript used by H.F. al-Hamdānī, *al-Ṣulayhiyyūn*, Cairo 1955, 284-91; Hasan b. Nūḥ al-Bharūcī, *Kitāb al-Azhār*, i. ed. ‘Ādil al-‘Awwā in *Muntakhabāt Ismā’īliyya*, Damascus 1958, 191,

193-4, 198, 247-8; Ismā’īl b. ‘Abd al-Rasūl al-Maḍjūdī, *Fihrist*, ed. ‘Alī Naḳī Munzawī, Tehran 1966, 41-2, 80, 93-5, 123-7, 131, 140, 151, 153, 200-1, 229-37, 244-6, 257, 278; For a full description of works and sources, see Ismāil Poonawala, *Bio-bibliography of Ismā’īlī literature*, Malibu, Cal. 1977. (I. POONAWALA)

‘ALĪ B. MUḤAMMAD AL-TŪNISĪ AL-ĪYĀDĪ, pro-Šhī‘ī poet of Ifrīkiya, who was, according to Ibn Rashīk (*Kurāda*, 102), in the service of the Fātimid caliphs al-Ḳā‘im, al-Manṣūr and above all al-Mu‘izz, whom he joined in his new capital in Egypt, despite his great age and the hazards of the journey. It was probably in Cairo that he died, in the same year as his protector, 365/976, according to H.H. ‘Abd al-Wahhāb (*Tārīkh*, 96), but later than this, according to Ch. Bouyahia (*Vie littéraire*, 39); these two authors place his birth in Tunis, apparently in order to explain his ethnic of al-Tūnisī, which in the 4th/10th century, and even later, referred merely to a small place adjacent to the ruins of Carthage (cf. Kaḍī Nu‘mān, *K. al-Maḍjālis wa ‘l-muṣāyarāt*, ed. Yalaoui-Feki-Chabbouh, Tunis, 1978, 203, 332-3, and al-Bakrī, ed. de Slane, 37). This *nisha* has caused him to be often confused with a later homonym, ‘Alī b. Yūsuf al-Tūnisī, also the eulogist of an al-Manṣūr and an al-Mu‘izz, but this time, Zīrids (cf. Bouyahia, *loc. cit.*). On the other hand, the ethnic al-Īyādī leads one to postulate an Arab origin, the Īyād being a component of a section of the Banū Hilāl, the Aṭṭahādī, who had established themselves in the region of Msila (see P. Massiera, *Msila du X^e au XV^e siècles*, in *Bull. de la Soc. hist. et archéol. de Sétif*, ii [1941], repr. in *CT*, No. 85-6).

The poet’s fame reached the Spanish shores in his own lifetime; an anecdote of the same Ibn Rashīk (*Umda*, i, 111) shows us the Andalusian Ibn Hānī [q.v.] on his arrival in al-Ḳayrawān involved in hostilities with the poets already established there, but making specific mention only of al-Īyādī. However, despite the high esteem in which later critics held him, such as Ibn Šaraf (*Questions de critique littéraire*, ed. Ch. Pellat, Algiers 1953, 9), no poem of his has come down to us in complete form; is this attributable to later Sunnī ostracism of the poet after the sudden change to the Zīrid régime, or a change in literary tastes? Whatever the reason may be, out of the 105 verses which the present writer has been able to gather together (*Hawāṣiyāt*, 1973, 97), only two fragments are Šhī‘ī in inspiration. These however are preserved by pro-Fātimid authors, these being firstly a rather poignant and moving relation of the end of Abū Yazīd, “the man on the donkey” (*Širat Ustādī Dhawdhar*, Cairo, 48, tr. M. Canard, 69) and secondly a eulogy in honour of al-Manṣūr (Dawādārī, *Kanz al-durar*, vi, 117). The remainder is made up of well-turned, descriptive fragments, which abound richly in images, hence admired and gathered together for this reason by the anthologists; thus out of these last, al-Ḥuṣrī (*Ẓahr*, 189, 314, 1003) reproduces a description of the Fātimid fleet, armed with the fearsome Greek Fire, a picture of a galloping horse and a tableau of the splendours of the Lake Palace, Dār al-Baḥr, at Manṣūriyya.

In sum, al-Īyādī seems to have been a great poet, quite apart from his Fātimid allegiance, but our knowledge of his poetry—apart from his talent—remains till now only fragmentary.

Bibliography: Ibn Rashīk, *Kurādat al-dhahab*, ed. Bouyahia, Tunis 1972; H.H. ‘Abd al-Wahhāb, *Muḍīmal tā’rīkh al-adab al-tūnisī*, Tunis 1968, 96; Ch. Bouyahia, *La vie littéraire en Ifrīqiya sous les*



Zirides, Tunis 1972; M. Yalaoui, *Poètes ifrīgiens contemporains des Fatimides*, in *Hawāṣṣ al-Djāmi‘a al-Tūnisiyya* (Annales de l’Université de Tunis), 1973. (M. YALAOUI)

‘ALĪ EMĪRĪ (1858-1924), Turkish bibliophile and scholar. He was born in Diyārbekr, the son of Mehmed Sherif, a wealthy merchant from a locally prominent family. He learnt Arabic, Persian and the Islamic sciences from his great-uncle and private tutors. At the age of 18 he published in the local paper *Diyārbekr a dūlūsiyye*, a poem commemorating the enthronement of Murād V which made his name widely known in educated circles. When ‘Abidīn Pasha (the *Mathnawī* commentator) came in 1879 to Diyārbekr as president of the committee of reform for the eastern provinces, he appointed ‘Alī Emīrī as secretary, and later took him to Salonika when he became the governor of that province. Thus there began his career as a civil servant which was to last for three decades. He served in diverse parts of the Empire until he retired in 1908. He died in Istanbul on 20 January 1924.

A life-long passionate collector of rare books, he saved many important manuscripts from destruction (e.g. the unique copy of Kāshgharī’s *Diwān lughāt al-turk*), and made copies of the rare books which he could not purchase. He conveyed his invaluable collection to the *Shaykh* al-Islām Fayḍ Allāh Efendi Library at Fātih in Istanbul (1916), then re-named the Millet Library, of which he remained Director until his death. ‘Alī Emīrī wrote *diwān* poetry with great ease and facility (but with not much talent), and his enormous output of several volumes is among his personal papers in the Millet Library. Except for the biographies of poets of his native Diyārbekr (*Tedhkire-yi shu‘arā’-yi ‘Amid*, Istanbul 1325 rāmī/1909), very little of his research work on the Ottoman poets (with special emphasis on sultan and prince poets), has been published (and that mainly in his journal *‘Oḥmānī ta’rīkh ve edebīyyat medīme-‘asī*, founded in 1920, 31 issues). ‘Alī Emīrī followed, in method and approach, the tradition of the classical *tedhkire* [q.v.] writers. The bulk of his manuscript notes is in the Millet Library. His study on the Eastern provinces, *‘Oḥmānī wīlāyat-ī sharqīyyesi*, Istanbul 1334 rāmī/1918, was of great use and was appreciated by the Nationalists in Ankara; Muṣṭafā Kemāl Pasha (Atatürk) personally gave financial help to him in his old age. The list of ‘Alī Emīrī’s other publications are given in Aḥmed Refīk and İbnülemin M.K. Inal (see Bibl. below).

Bibliography: Aḥmed Refīk, *A.E.* in *TTEM*, No. 78 (1924); İbnülemin M.K. Inal, *Son asır türk şairleri*, i, Istanbul 1930, 298-314; Muzaffer Esen, *Istanbul ansiklopedisi*, ii, Istanbul 1959, s.v. (FAHİR İZ)

‘ALĪ MARDĀN KHĀN, AMĪR AL-UMARĀ’, a military commander of Kurdish origin, was one of the prominent nobles of Shāh ‘Abbās of Persia. During the reign of Shāh Saḥī (1038-52/1629-42) he came under a cloud. He thereupon went over to the Mughal Emperor Shāh Dījahān (1037-68/1628-58) and handed over the fort of Kāndahār [q.v.] to the Mughals. He was given the rank of 5,000/5,000 by his new master in 1048/1638 and was appointed governor of Kashmīr. In 1050/1640 he was promoted to 7,000/7,000 and was appointed governor of the Panjāb. In 1641 he was appointed governor of Kābul in addition to the Panjāb.

‘Alī Mardān Khān was connected with the construction of a major canal running from Ravi to Lahore, and laid out the famous Shalamār garden-

at Lahore. He died in 1067/1657 and was buried in his mother’s tomb at Lahore.

Bibliography: ‘Abd al-Hamīd Lāhorī, *Bādshāh-nāma*, ii, Bibl. Ind., Calcutta 1868; continuation by Muḥammad Wārith, *Bādshāh-nāma*, I. O. MS., Ethé 329 (see Storey, i, 574-7); Shāh Nawāz Khān, *Ma‘āthir al-umarā’*, ii, Bibl. Ind., Calcutta 1888-91; H.I.S. Kanwar, ‘Alī Mardān Khān, in *IC*, xlvii (1973), 105-19. (M. ATHAR ALĪ)

‘ALLĀL AL-FĀSĪ, MUḤAMMAD, Moroccan statesman and writer (1907-74). Born at Fās, he was educated at the university of al-Ḳarawīyyīn [q.v.]. From the age of 18 onwards, he took part in the diffusion throughout Morocco of the progressive movement of the Salafīyya [q.v.], and his militant attitude in favour of local nationalist aspirations, as well as his oratorical powers, soon led the government to confine him to a house, under guard, at Tāza. He was freed in 1931 and returned to Fās, where he began to lecture at the Ḳarawīyyīn; these lectures were however boycotted by certain religious leaders who feared that his unrestrained political attitudes might well cause difficulties for the Moroccan authorities in their relations with the French Protectorate. Al-Fāsī then took part in the delegation of the most influential nationalist leaders to the sultan of Morocco in 1934, when the document called *Maṭālib al-sha‘b al-maghribī* (“Demands for reform of the Moroccan people”), the first catechism of the nationalist movement, consisting of a complete programme for the reform and renovation of the land, especially in the politico-social sphere, was presented to the sovereign. The tergiversations and delays of the speakers engaged in this exasperated the more ardent of patriots, and led the *Kullat al-‘amal al-waṭanī al-maghribīyya* (“Moroccan bloc for national action”) which had until 1934 worked in the background, to intensify its activities. Disorders broke out in 1936 in Fās, Salé and Casablanca, and the leaders of the bloc, including ‘Allāl al-Fāsī, were arrested. After their freeing almost immediately, the bloc decided to disband itself, and two parties were then formed, *al-Haraka al-kaumiyya* and *al-Hizb al-waṭanī li-taḥkīk al-maṭālib*, which merged in 1943 to form the single party of the *Istiklāl*, led from 1946 onwards by al-Fāsī. In the following year he fled to Cairo, where he organised the resistance movements against the French and Spanish Protectorates from a centre in the *Maktab al-Maghrib al-‘arabī* founded in the Egyptian capital. He returned to Morocco in 1956, the year when his country gained its independence, and was nominated Professor of Islamic Law at Rabat and Fās and then Minister of State entrusted with Islamic affairs and a Deputy.

‘Allāl al-Fāsī’s work as a publicist, as well as a politician, continued to be most intense. At the beginning of 1957 he founded the newspaper *Le Sahara marocain* in order to promote the inclusion of Mauretania in Morocco, and in 1962, the monthly review *al-Bayyina*, which was at the same time Pan-Arab and Pan-Islamic and also concerned with culture and social progress. In all his work, the writer dealt with topics and problems of the Maghrib’s history and politics, above all in regard to the modern and contemporary periods, with the exception of his *Makāyid al-sharī‘a al-islāmiyya wa-makārimuhā* (Casablanca, n.d.), in which the author gathered together his lectures on law at the Faculty. Two books are devoted to an historico-juridical analysis of the French and Spanish Protectorates over Morocco: *al-Himāya fī Marrākush min al-widḥa*



al-ta'rikhiyya wa 'l-kānūniyya and *Himāyat Isbāniyā fī Marrākush min al-wid'ha al-ta'rikhiyya wa 'l-kānūniyya* (publ. in Cairo 1947). His *al-Maghrib al-'arabī min al-harb al-'ālamīyya al-ūlā ilā 'l-yawm* (Cairo 1955), on the other hand, belongs to the usual class of historical compilations. His essay on *al-Haraka al-istiklālīyya fī 'l-Maghrib al-'arabī* (Cairo 1948, 2nd ed. 1956) may be considered as an unpretentious contribution to our knowledge of Maghribī nationalism, especially in Morocco; there exist of these an English translation (New York 1954, repr. 1970) and a Spanish one. Other works comprise collections of lectures given in various capitals of the Arab world (as in *Hadith al-Maghrib fī 'l-Mashrik*, Cairo 1956) and radio talks (as in *Nidā' al-Kāhira*, Rabat 1959)—these last revealing the passionate character of the writer's political beliefs. *Al-Nakd al-dhātī* (Cairo 1952), of which there even exists a Chinese translation, is a self-criticism of the Arab world (particularly in regard to Morocco), in which the author analyses with a careful dialectic the recent past, and above all the present, in order to discern exactly the most effective way for Arabism to face up to the exigencies of modern life and to become part of European civilisation without at the same time renouncing its own particular genius and identity. In this, 'Allāl al-Fāsī places himself in the forefront of the ideology of Islamic fundamentalism with its roots in Muḥammad 'Abduh's [q.v.] thought, but at times he goes beyond this basic model when it is a question of penetrating more clearly to the heart of western thought.

Bibliography: There is information on 'Allāl al-Fāsī in all the numerous works (mainly in French) on Morocco. There is a good source of documentation on his political activity in *Oriente Moderno*, esp. xvii (1937), 595, xix (1939), 429-30, and xxxii (1952), 1-31 *passim*. See also Anouar Abdel-Malek, *Anthologie de la littérature arabe contemporaine*. ii. *Les essais*, Paris 1965, 190-6; and A. Laroui, *L'idéologie arabe contemporaine*, Paris 1967, *passim*.

(U. RIZZITANO)

'ALLAWAYH AL-A'SAR, ABU 'L-ḤASAN 'ALĪ B. 'ABD ALLĀH B. SAYF, court musician in early 'Abbāsīd times, died in or shortly after 235/850. He was of Soghdiān origin, *mawla* (al-'itk) of the Umayyads and *mawla* (al-khidma) of the 'Abbāsīds. Ibrāhīm and Ishāk al-Mawṣilī taught him the 'classical' *ḥudūdī* music, but he preferred the 'romantic' style of Ibrāhīm b. al-Mahdī and introduced 'Persian melodies' (*nagham fārisiyya*) into Arab music. As a court musician, he started in the third class (*tabaka*) under Hārūn al-Rāshid and continued to serve the caliphs up to al-Mutawakkil, but suffered from the rivalry of his more brilliant colleague Mukhārīk. 'Allawayh is described as being a master musician (*mughannī ḥādhik*), an excellent lutenist (*dārīb mutakāddim*)—being left-handed he used an instrument strung in reverse order—and a skilful composer (*ṣānī mutafannin*). Abu 'l-Faraj al-Iṣbahānī recorded 80 of his songs, using sources like 'Allawayh's own *Kutāb* (or *Djāmi'*) *al-Aghānī* and the songbooks of 'Amr b. Bāna, Ibn al-Makkī, Ḥabash and al-Hishāmī.

Bibliography: *Aghānī*³, xi, 333-60 (main source, see also indices); Ibn Ṭayfūr, *Kutāb Baghdād*, Cairo 1949 (see indices); Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, *Ikā*, vi, Cairo 1949, 31, 33, 37; Djāhiz, *Bayān*, i, 132; Sūlī, *Awrāk* (*Aḥ'ār awlād al-khulafā'*), 30; Nuwayrī, *Nihāya*, v, 9-13; O. Rescher, *Abriss der arabischen Literaturgeschichte*, ii, Stuttgart 1933, 81-3; H.G. Farmer, *History*

of Arabian music, 123; Kh. Mardam, *Djamharat al-mughannīn*, Damascus 1964, 163-4.

(E. NEUBAUER)

ALUS, SERMED MUKHTĀR, modern Turkish SERMET MUHTAR ALUS, Turkish writer (1887-1952). He was born in Istanbul, the son of Ahmed Mukhtār Paşa, the founder of the Military Museum and a teacher at the War College. Educated mainly privately at Galatasaray Lycée, he studied law, graduating in 1910. As a student, he founded with two friends, the humorous paper *El-Üfürük* (1908) and contributed essays and cartoons to another humorous paper *Davul* (1908-9). His early interest in philosophy and social studies did not last long, and he turned to the theatre. Between 1918 and 1930, apart from a number of short stories which he contributed to various papers, he concentrated exclusively on the theatre, writing and adapting from the French many plays, some of which were performed in the Istanbul Municipal theatre (*Dār al-Bedāyī*). Some of his plays were serialised in satirical weeklies (*Akbaba* and *Amcabey*). The year 1931 was a turning point in his literary career. He began to publish in the newspaper *Akşam* sketches of everyday life in Istanbul at the turn of the century, *Otuz sene evvel İstanbul* ('Istanbul thirty years ago') which were followed by stories, essays, autobiographical sketches, novels, etc. serialised in the same paper and in the dailies *Son posta*, *Cumhuriyet*, *Vatan*, *Vakit*, etc. and in the periodicals *Yedigün*, *Hafta*, *Yeni mecmua*, etc., all describing life in mansions, villas, *yahıs* (sea-side villas), famous resorts, or in the humble homes of Istanbul during the last decade of Hamīdian era.

An extremely prolific writer, he produced continuously until his death in Istanbul on 18 May 1952. Unfortunately the great bulk of his output (articles, essays, short stories, novels, memoirs) always accompanied by his own designs and sketches, remains scattered in many dailies and periodicals. Four of his novels have been published in book form: *Kıvrak Paşa* (1933), *Pembe maşlahlı hanım* (1933), *Harp zengininin gelini* (1934), *Eski Çapkın anlatıyor* (1944). The plots in these novels, as in all Alus's writings, are loose and unimportant, and are only a pretext for describing and reporting the conversations of his pet characters, who are Hamīdian pashas, local beauties or toughs, snobs and simple people. Alus is the last representative of the popular entertainment narrative school inaugurated by Ahmed Midhat and continued by Husayn Rahmī, Ahmed Rāsim and O. Dj. Kaygılı [q.v.]; perhaps he is more akin to the latter in that he is more entertaining and simplistic without high claims to any moral or philosophic conclusions. In spite of his often unpolished, even sloppy, style and his weakness for the farcical, his work has a great documentary value for the spoken language, way of life, customs and folklore of the period.

Bibliography: Reşat Ekrem Koçu, in *İstanbul ansiklopedisi*, Istanbul, 1958-69, s.v. (the main source for all subsequent studies); Metin And, *Meşrutiyet döneminde Türk tiyatrosu*, Ankara 1971, 112.

(FAHİR İZ)

'AM'AK, SHIHĀB AL-DĪN BUKHĀRĪ, one of the leading Persian poets at the court of the Ilk-Khāns (Kara-Khānids) [q.v.] of Transoxania. Late sources ascribe to him the *kunya* Abu 'l-Nadīb (e.g. Taḳī al-Dīn Kāshānī). It is not certain whether 'Am'ak is a personal name or a *laqab* used as a pen-name. It cannot be connected with any existing Arabic, Persian or Turkish word. Dh. Šafā has

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suggested a corruption of an original 'ak'ak ("magpie") which occurs as the name of the poet in a manuscript of the *Diwān* of Sūzanī. S. Nafīsī conjectured a possible Soghdian origin. The forms 'Amīk and 'Amīkī, which can be found in some manuscripts of the *Bahāristān* of Dījamī, are certainly to be rejected.

'Am'ak was born in Bukhārā, probably before the middle of the 5th/11th century. If any of the dates given for his death by later biographers viz. 542 (e.g. Dawlatshāh and Ridā-Kulī Khān Hidāyat), 543 (Takī al-Dīn Kāshānī) or 551 (Šādiq b. Šāliḥ Iṣfahānī in *Shāhid-i Šādiq*) is correct, he would have lived to become a centenarian.

The earliest datable poems that are attributed to 'Am'ak are *kašidas* written for the Illek-Khān Naṣr b. Ibrāhīm (460-72/1068-80). The poet must have lived at least till 524/1129-30, according to the anecdote that he was ordered to write an elegy for Sulṭān Sandjar's daughter Māh-i Mulk Khātūn, whose death occurred in that year (Dawlatshāh, on the authority of 'Am'ak's contemporary Khātūnī), or even later if the prince Maḥmūd named in a fragmentary poem is identical with the Illek-Khān who was put on the throne of Samarḳand by Sandjar in 526/1132.

Already during the short reign of Khidr b. Ibrāhīm (472-3/1080-1), 'Am'ak appears to have reached a dominating position at the court of Samarḳand. The story about his rivalry with Rashīdī, told in the *Čahār maḳāla*, pictures him as an *amīr al-shu'arā'*. In his later years he is said to have lived a secluded life, communicating with his patrons through a son by the name of Ḥamīdī or Ḥamīd al-Dīn. 'Am'ak also wrote a poem for the Saldjūk ruler Alp Arslān.

Although the greater part of 'Am'ak's poetry seems to have been lost, a small number of his *kašidas* has been preserved in anthologies or in *maḍmū'a* manuscripts. There are also some quatrains attributed to his name. A *mathnawī*-poem on the theme of Yūsuf and Zulaykhā, which is said to have been written in such a way that it could be scanned according to two different metres, has, however, left no trace.

In spite of this early loss of the *diwān*, estimated at 7,000 *bayts* (*Haft iklīm*), 'Am'ak appears to have had a remarkable influence on the poetry of his contemporaries as well as on that of the following generation. No one less than Anwārī styled him "a master of poetry" (*ustād-i suḵhan*), and designed one of his poems on a model provided by 'Am'ak (cf. *Diwān-i Anwārī*, i, Tehran 1347², 205, 274). This reputation was based, first of all, on the clever use 'Am'ak made of rhetorical artifices which were still a novelty in his time. A fragment of one of his *kašidas*, in which the words *mīr* ("ant") and *mūy* ("hair") have been used in every line, is often quoted as an example of this. 'Am'ak was also renowned as a writer of elegies, but nothing more than the few lines he wrote at the request of Sandjar has been preserved.

Another notable feature of 'Am'ak's poetry is the use of long and elaborate prologues to his odes. The most extreme example of this, a prologue of 100 *bayts*, contains the conceit of a spiritual journey to an imaginary world on the back of the donkey of 'Isā combined with satirical hints to the poet's rivals (*Diwān*, ed. Nafīsī, 141 ff.). 'Am'ak had a distinct taste for fantastic images; in one of his many descriptions of nocturnal scenes, the night is represented as a preacher who from his pulpit extols the virtues of the poet's native town Bukhārā (*op. cit.*, 176 ff.).

According to Dh. Šafā, the "fantastic simile" (*tashbih-i khayālī*) is also a major characteristic of the imagery 'Am'ak applied to the individual lines of his poems.

Bibliography: The *Diwān* of 'Am'ak published at Tabriz, 1307 *sh.* (624 *bayts*) is unreliable, as it contains several poems that actually belong to other poets. S. Nafīsī has assembled a collection of 806 *bayts* from various sources in *Diwān-i 'Am'ak-i Bukhārā*, Tehran 1339/1960. This volume lacks, however, precise references on the provenance of each item. The *kašidas* written for the Illek-Khāns have also been inserted into the *ta'liqāt* to Nafīsī's edition of *Ta'riḫ-i Bayhaḳī*, Tehran 1332/1953, iii, 1301-23.

The most important sources containing fragments of his poetry are: 'Awfī, *Lubāb*, ed. Browne, 181-9, ed. Nafīsī, 378-84, cf. *ta'liqāt*, 686-94; Rashīd-i Waṭwāt, *Hadā'ik al-sihr*, Tehran 1308/1929, 44-5; Shams al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Kays al-Rāzī, *al-Muḍjam fī ma'āyir aṣḥār al-'adjam*, Tehran 1338/1959, 351, 381; Dījadjarmī, *Mu'nis al-aḥwār fī daḳā'ik al-aṣḥār*, ii, Tehran 1350/1971, 499; Dawlatshāh, 64-5; Dījamī, *Bahāristān*, Dushambe 1972, 107; Amīn Ahmad Rāzī, *Haft iklīm*, Tehran 1340/1961, iii, 409-20; Kāsimī, *Sullam al-samawāt*, Tehran 1340/1961, 53, cf. *hawāshī*, 303-4; Luṭf-'Alī Beg Adhar, *Ātashkada*, lith. Bombay 1299 A.H., 337-42; Ridā-Kulī Khān Hidāyat, *Maḍmū' al-fusahā'*, lith. Tehran 1295 A.H., i, 345-50, ed. Tehran 1336/1967, ii, 879-88.

For manuscripts of *maḍmū'a*s containing poems by 'Am'ak, see E. Blochet, *Catalogue des manuscrits persans de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris 1912, ii, 48 ff.; Ch. Rieu, *Catalogue of Persian manuscripts in the British Museum*, London 1881, ii, 869, *Supplement*, 105; A.J. Arberry, in *JRAS* (1939), 379; A. Munzawī, *Fihrist-i nushḥahā-yi khāṭṭi-yi fārsī*, iii, Tehran 1350/1971, 2551, nos. 24876-9.

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(J.T.P. DE BRUIJN)

AMĀN ALLĀH, Amīr of Afghānistān and the successor and third son of Ḥabīb Allāh [q.v.] by his chief wife, 'Ulyā Ḥadrat (d. 1965). He was born on 2 June 1892 in Paghmān and educated at the Military Academy. Intelligent, energetic and hard-working, he was attracted to the nationalist and Islamic modernist ideas of Maḥmūd Tarzī (1866-1935), the editor of *Sirāḳī al-akḥbār*, and in 1914 married Tarzī's daughter, Soraya (Thurayyā) (d. 21 April 1968). At the time of his father's murder on 20 February 1919, Amān Allāh, as Governor of Kābul, controlled the capital with its garrison, arsenal and treasury. Supported by the army, the younger nationalists and the Bārakzay faction, he resisted the claims of his uncle, Naṣr Allāh, and his eldest brother, Ināyat Allāh, and was recognised as *amīr* on 28 February.

Amān Allāh promptly asserted Afghānistān's in-

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dependence from British control of her foreign relations. Possibly hoping to promote his goal by the threat of war, he despatched forces to the Indian frontier, but hostilities commenced on 3 May and endured until an armistice at the beginning of June (the Third Afghan War). By the Treaty of Rāwalpindi (8 August 1919) Britain recognised, by implication, Afghānistān's independence, although the Durand Line remained the frontier. After further negotiations at Mussoorie (April-July 1920) and in Kābul, a treaty of good neighbourliness was signed by Britain and Afghānistān on 22 November 1921. In the meantime Amān Allāh had obtained international recognition through treaties with the USSR (28 February 1921) and Turkey (1 March 1921). Relations were also established with Italy, France and Iran. In the early years of his reign Amān Allāh espoused a Pan-Islamic policy involving support for Indian Muslims, friendship with Turkey and Iran and the creation of a Central Asian federation under Afghān leadership including Bukhārā and Khīwa, but the reassertion of Soviet control over Turkistān put an end to this project.

Amān Allāh's internal policy was one of rapid modernisation. His reforms came in two main bursts. In the period 1921-4 he reformed the structure of Afghān government, introducing the first budget (1922), constitution (1923), and administrative code (1923). He introduced legal reforms including a family code (1921) and a penal code (1924-5). The legal reforms were partly the work of ex-Ottoman advisors and influenced by Islamic modernism, being derived largely from the *Shari'a* but replacing '*ulamā*' control by that of the state. Education was central to his reforms and he established new secondary schools and sent Afghān students abroad. His support of female education gave rise to bitter criticism from traditional groups. Amān Allāh made some effort to promote economic development by fostering communications (aircraft, radio and telegraph introduced, and railway surveys begun), reforming the currency (the rupee replaced by the *afghāni*), reorganising the customs, and helping light industry. The principal economic success of his reign, however, owed nothing to his efforts; this was the development of the *Karakūl* and carpet industries following Uzbek immigration into the northern provinces. There was also some agricultural development. Amān Allāh's reforms were financed largely from domestic resources and lack of money imposed constraints which were especially marked in his military reforms. With the aid of foreign instructors (mainly Turks) Amān Allāh sought to develop a non-tribal national militia based on conscription for short periods, and at the same time to reduce military spending. The result was strong tribal opposition to conscription, and a disaffected, discontented and inefficient army. Hostility to centralisation, conscription and certain social reforms lay behind the *Khōst* [*q.v.*] rebellion in 1924, which was suppressed only after a protracted struggle. For a time Amān Allāh was obliged to abate his reforming zeal.

In December 1927 Amān Allāh departed for a tour of Europe, returning to Kābul on 1 July 1928. His object, he explained, was to discover the secrets of progress; his conclusion was that these were the discarding of outworn ideas and customs. He summoned a national assembly (*Loe Džirga*) (28 August-5 September) and dressed the delegates in European clothes to hear his new ideas. At the last moment he was persuaded to omit his most far-reaching proposals, but his announced changes in the con-

stitution, new social reforms, and increased taxes were sufficiently disturbing to his hearers. Unabashed, Amān Allāh repeated his proposals in a further series of five three-hour speeches delivered between 30 September and 4 October to an invited audience, which was treated to the spectacle of Queen Soraya dramatically unveiling herself.

Enraged by the social reforms, by their diminution of their own authority, and by new proposals by Amān Allāh to examine them in their proficiency to teach and to expel those trained at Deoband, the '*ulamā*', under the leadership of the Hazrat family of Shor Bazaar, denounced Amān Allāh as an infidel. The Amir arrested the leaders, but in November found himself confronted by two tribal risings supported by '*ulamā*', one in the vicinity of Djalālābād, involving the *Shinwārīs* and other tribes, and the second in the *Kūhistān*, led by a Tādjik bandit known as Bačča-yi Saḳaw. His inadequate forces divided, Amān Allāh was unable to resist the attack on Kābul from the *Kūhistān*, and his belated withdrawal of nearly all his reforms did not pacify the rebels. On 14 January 1929 Amān Allāh abdicated in favour of 'Ināyat Allāh and fled to Qandahār. 'Ināyat Allāh also abdicated on 18 January and the Bačča became ruler of Kābul with the title of Ḥabīb Allāh II. At Qandahār Amān Allāh rescinded his abdication on 24 January and sought help from Britain (which remained neutral), from the USSR (which briefly sent troops to northern Afghānistān), and from Afghān tribes. Although Amān Allāh received help from the Hazāras and some other tribes, he failed to command the support of the *Durrānīs* and the majority of the *Ghālzaīs*, and was forced to turn back his advance on Kābul at Ghazna. On 23 May he left Afghānistān for India and on 22 June sailed from Bombay to exile in Rome. He died in Switzerland on 26 April 1960 and was brought home and buried at Djalālābād.

Bibliography: The older biographies of Amān Allāh such as those by R. Wild, London 1932 and Ikbal Ali Shah, London 1933 have little value by comparison with modern studies based on the British archives. See Rhea Talley Stewart, *Fire in Afghanistan 1914-1929*, New York 1973; L.B. Poullada, *Reform and rebellion in Afghanistan, 1919-1929*, Ithaca 1973; L.W. Adamec, *Afghanistan 1900-1923*, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1967, and idem, *Afghanistan's foreign affairs to the mid-twentieth century*, Tucson 1974; V. Gregorian, *The emergence of modern Afghanistan*, Stanford 1969. All these latter works contain valuable further bibliographies.

(M.E. YAPP)

AMĪD TŪLAKĪ SŪNĀMĪ, *Kh*^{ADJA} 'AMĪD AL-DĪN *Fakhr* AL-MULK, poet of Muslim India. He was born in Sūnām, an important town (now in the district of Patiala in the Indian part of the *Pandjāb*) that had emerged as a centre of culture and learning in the 7th/13th century. 'Amīd called himself Tūlakī along with Sūnāmī because his father was said to have migrated from Tūlak in *Khurāsān* to India. In the art of poetry, he was the disciple of a famous master, *Shihāb* Mahmrā. He started his career as a poet in Multān, which had become the capital of a short-lived kingdom under Malik 'Izz al-Dīn *Khān-i* Ayāz and his son, Tādj al-Dīn Abū Bakr (who died in 638/1241). Two of his *kašidas* preserved in mediaeval anthologies are in praise of Sultan Tādj al-Dīn. On the death of patron, he moved from Multān to Dihlī, and during the reign of Sultan Balban he was appointed *mustawfī* of the district of Multān and Učch, placed under the charge

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of Prince Muḥammad, who was later known as Khān-i Shāhid.

‘Amīd’s *divān* is not extant, but the poems contained in mediaeval anthologies and other literary works give us an idea of his greatness and excellence in the art of poetry, showing that he was one of the distinguished poets of the Dihlī Sultanate during the 7th/13th century, contributing to the growth of Indo-Persian literature. It emerges from his poems that he was interested in the philosophy of *Ishrāk* or illuminative wisdom as propounded and advocated by Shaykh Shihāb al-Dīn Suhrawardī (d. 587/1191).

Like most of his contemporaries, ‘Amīd was basically a poet of the *qaṣida*, and his known poems largely comprise panegyrics on rulers, princes and noblemen. Among his poems, there are also one *Tardī*-band, two *ghazals* and one *hazl* (humorous poem); their characteristic features are simplicity, spontaneity, freshness of thought and beauty of diction. His *habsiyyāt* (poems written in prison and depicting the prisoner’s life [see *HABSIYYA* below]) shed light on the actual conditions in mediaeval jails. It should also be stressed that his *ghazals*, like those of Shaykh Djamāl of Hānsī, paved the way for the *ghazal*’s subsequent popularity as an independent branch of poetry.

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(I.H. SIDDIQUI)

AMĪN AL-HUSAYNĪ, *muftī* and Palestinian leader. He was born in Jerusalem in 1893, the son of Tāhir al-Husaynī. The Husaynīs were a leading family in Jerusalem who claimed Sharīfī lineage although this was disputed by others, as on two occasions the line had passed through female members of the family. They had often held the office of *muftī* in the past, and three had been *muftī* in the period immediately before 1821: Muṣṭafā, Amīn’s grandfather; Tāhir, his father; and Kāmīl, his elder brother by another mother. The holding of this office enhanced the standing of the family, other members of which had held other high positions, including that of Mayor of Jerusalem and of deputy in the Ottoman parliament. Thus Amīn came from a family used to the prestige and authority of high office and also to rivalry on the part of the other leading families in Jerusalem. Moreover, the concept of Jerusalem as the third holiest city in Islam and of preserving it as such must have been at the very centre of their thoughts. The office of *muftī* gave the Husaynīs a special role in this act of preservation.

Amīn al-Husaynī had a varied education. He first attended a local Muslim school and then the Ottoman state school in Jerusalem. It seems that he also attended for a year the school of the Alliance Israélite Universelle where he studied French. In 1912 he went to Cairo and entered al-Azhar, but stayed less than a year and left without graduating and without the title of *‘ālim*. He immediately went to make the *ḥajj*, from which he returned to Jerusalem. His religious education was incomplete and did not qualify him for the office of *muftī*. Further education was received in the Ottoman army in

which he served during the First World War. He undertook his basic training in the School of Officials, the *Mülkiyye*, in Istanbul and at the Military Academy. His war years were spent chiefly in an office in Izmir. By virtue of this training he was permitted to wear the *tarbūsh*, the symbol of an Ottoman official but not of a religious dignitary.

On the conclusion of the war, Amīn returned to Jerusalem which was to be the base of his activities for the next nineteen years. He worked as teacher, translator and civil servant, but he soon turned to journalism and direct political activity. He was an intensely political man, possessed of great energy and organising ability and from the first inspired by two deeply-held ideas, Arab nationalism and a hatred of the Zionist attempt to change the character of Palestine. For him, Palestine was an Islamic Arab country belonging to the wider Arab world and he believed that any alteration of its basic Arab character would isolate it and its inhabitants from their Arab neighbours. He was convinced that the Palestinians had the right to determine the future form of government of their country, a right possessed by neither the British government nor the Zionist organisation. He also believed that European Jews settling in Palestine would spread customs and usages alien to the more traditional Islamic way of life. If change was to come in Palestine, it should be organic and internal and not imposed from outside. He devoted the rest of his life to a vain attempt to stem this tide of change.

Opposition to Zionism amongst the Arabs of Syria and Palestine grew in intensity once Jerusalem and Damascus had fallen to the Allied forces. The opposition was led by a group of young Palestinians, foremost amongst whom were Amīn al-Husaynī and ‘Arīf al-‘Arīf. Verbal opposition in speeches and newspapers led to street demonstrations in September 1919. Editorials and sermons called for the shedding of Jewish blood if protests went unheeded. Amīn began to organise small groups of *fidā’iyyūn* whose task was to strike against the Jews and the British. When in March 1920 the Syrian National Congress voted for Syrian independence, Palestine Arabs took to the streets in the belief that their country was included in the new state. ‘Arīf’s newspaper *Sūriyya al-Djānūbiyya* published the headline: “Arabs arise! The end of the foreigners is near. Jews will be drowned in their own blood”. Because of the Amīr Fayṣal’s lack of strong leadership, the Palestinians tended to separate from his state and follow their own path. In April, the Arabs of Jerusalem in the prevailing tense atmosphere exploded from a demonstration into an assault on the Jewish population.

Amīn, who was leading the demonstration, was reported to have tried to restrain the rioters, but two days of trouble left five Jews dead and 211 wounded and four Arabs dead and 21 wounded. During the disturbances, Vladimir Jabotinsky’s Jewish Self-Defence Group attempted to assassinate Amīn and ‘Arīf, whose *fidā’iyyūn* tried to retaliate. British intelligence forestalled these attempts and the two had to flee to Transjordan after having been accused of provoking the riots. This was the first of a series of charges laid against Amīn during his lifetime. His precise role in the provocation can never be ascertained, but it is certain that he approved of all actions taken to discomfort the Jewish population and that he was not averse to the shedding of blood. The concepts of *djihad* and of the *fidā’i* were in Islamic history associated with the possibility of death in the pursuit of a goal. All Muslims could

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be summoned to a *djihad* in defence of Islam against a perceived threat, while the *fidā'i* was always prepared to die himself while assassinating an opponent.

The first British High Commissioner in Palestine, Herbert Samuel, pardoned Amīn in August 1920 and he returned to Jerusalem. Samuel had issued the pardon in order to try to calm Arab feeling and to attempt to enlist Arab support for his policies. In March 1921 the *mufti* of Jerusalem, Kāmil al-Ḥusaynī, died. The British authorities had assumed the mantle of the Ottoman government and consequently the responsibility for religious appointments. In an election, local '*ulamā*' had to select three candidates for the office of *mufti*, one of whom would be approved by the government. The al-Ḥusaynī family campaigned for their nominee, Ḥādīdj Amīn, but he was not one of the three selected in April. It appeared however that he had some popular support in the country and the government was loathe to go against the wishes of the people. Samuel eventually decided that Amīn was his man and in May he was appointed Grand Mufti (*al-mufti al-akbar*), a title given by the British to enhance the status of the office.

Amīn's appointment as head of the Muslim community in Palestine did not settle the problem of the Muslim religious organisation of the country. In Ottoman times, the *shari'a* courts had come under the general jurisdiction of the *Shaykh al-Islām* and the *wakfs* had been administered by the Ministry of *Awakaf*. The British assumed responsibility for these, but the Muslims soon demanded that they be allowed to run their own religious affairs. The government concurred and the Supreme Muslim *Shari'a* Council (*al-Madjlis al-Shari' al-Islami al-A'la*) was elected by leading Muslims. Ḥādīdj Amīn was chosen as *Ra'is al-'Ulamā'* and President of the Council, as he later maintained, for life. He had thus, as a young man, consolidated his position as leader of the Palestinian Arabs both in their religious and their secular affairs. In March 1921 he wrote a Memorandum to the British Colonial Secretary, Winston Churchill, in which he outlined Palestinian resistance to Zionism and the ideas which were the foundation of his future policy—the complete prohibition of Jewish immigration, the abolition of the Jewish National Home and the establishment of an Arab government of Palestine.

The period 1921-9 was used by the Mufti to build up his following. As President of the Supreme Muslim Council, he controlled the *wakf* revenues, which were not used exclusively for charitable purposes. Preachers were paid to disseminate political propaganda and those who did not support his policies were dismissed. Financial assistance was given to Arab schools to instruct their pupils in the Arab nationalist spirit. Demonstrations and boycotts were encouraged. Money was also used to enhance the status of Jerusalem and its mosques in the Islamic world. To Amīn, the area of the *Harām* was the very centre and symbol of his aspirations to preserve Jerusalem and Palestine as Arab and Islamic. In 1928 a screen was set up by the Western Wall of the sanctuary to separate male and female Jewish worshippers. This move was taken as a reason for protest and seen by Muslims as a Jewish encroachment on the *Harām*. The Mufti felt the threat deeply, and encouraged propaganda to the effect that the Jews were planning to take over the Muslim holy places. A year later feelings between the two communities became so exacerbated that the Arabs attacked and committed

atrocities amongst the Jews. 133 were killed by the Arabs and 116 Arabs killed by police action. The subsequent British government report did not accuse the Mufti directly of provoking the attacks, but blamed him for not doing enough to forestall them and for having played upon public feeling. The agitation had been conducted in the name of a religion of which, in Palestine, he was head. The British still saw him as a force for moderation, whereas it is clear that he was committed to an uncompromisingly anti-Zionist policy and that he would do everything in his power to frustrate the establishment of a Jewish National Home.

In 1931 he convened a Pan-Islamic Conference in Jerusalem which he attempted to use as a platform to further his anti-Zionist policy, although his position was challenged by other Palestinian leaders. He later travelled to other Muslim countries to gain political support and to raise funds. In 1935 he helped to found the Palestine Arab Party, a Husaynī organisation under the presidency of Djamāl, the Mufti's cousin. The Party's policy was that of Amīn himself, and it attempted to prohibit the further sale of Arab land to Jewish settlers.

The year 1936 was a time of rising tension in Palestine, culminating in the Arab revolt. The increase in Jewish immigration caused by the rise of Nazism led the Arabs to fear the future takeover of their country by the Zionists. In April an Arab Higher Committee of Christians and Muslims was formed under the leadership of Amīn. It immediately supported a general strike, to be called off when the British government suspended Jewish immigration. Murderous attacks on Jews began to occur, but the brunt of the Arab effort was quickly turned against the British and those Arabs considered disloyal. The strike and the unrest continued until October. The British Commission appointed to investigate the disturbances apportioned a large share of the blame for them to the Mufti. The Arab Higher Committee under his chairmanship had clearly instigated illegal acts and had not condemned sabotage and terrorism. The Mufti had seen and encouraged the revolt as a movement of the people, largely peasants, who had risen to defend their country and their rights.

The British still clung to their hope of using Amīn as a moderating influence, but after the assassination of a government officer in September 1937, stricter regulations were introduced. The Arab Higher Committee was declared illegal and Amīn was removed from his post as president of the Supreme Muslim Council. Six members of the former were arrested and deported (although Djamāl al-Ḥusaynī escaped) and the Mufti, fearing arrest himself, fled to Lebanon. From there he fought a propaganda war against the British, while his followers contributed to the continuing unrest in Palestine or set about eliminating members of rival clans. He was not allowed to attend the London Conference on the future of Palestine in February 1939, although a four-man delegation of members of the disbanded Higher Committee was present.

In October 1939 the Mufti made another move, this time to Iraq. As German successes multiplied in the Second World War, he began to make approaches to the Nazis in the hope that at the end of the war he would be on the winning side. He sent his private secretary to Berlin in September 1940 to ask for German commitments to the Arabs—recognition of the complete independence of the Arab countries, the abrogation of the mandates,



and the right of the Arabs to solve the Jewish question in Palestine "in the national and racial interest on the German-Italian model". These latter words were the Nazi Secretary of State's report of his conversation with Amīn's secretary, and it is not clear exactly what the Mufti knew in Baghdad in September 1940 of the "model" on which the Nazis were solving the Jewish problem and how he would apply it in Palestine. However, his letter was noted in Berlin and he was able to build on it later. His pro-German feelings led to him to support Rashīd 'Alī al-Gaylānī, the anti-British 'Irākī politician who had become Prime Minister in March 1940. They both sought promises of material support from the Axis, and in April 1941 al-Gaylānī and his supporters carried out a shortlived pro-German coup. Promised German support was too little and too late, and a small British force was able to unseat him. Amīn had issued a *fatwā* urging all Muslims to support the coup and to fight the British, and when it failed he had once again to flee, via Iran to Italy.

He was warmly welcomed by Mussolini who hoped to use him for his own purposes. The Mufti was more interested in negotiating with the senior partner of the Axis in Berlin, and he arrived there in November 1941. Al-Gaylānī arrived later the same month and the two disputed for the position of spokesman for the Arab cause. Amīn claimed that he was the leader of the Arab national movement. He was the first to be received on November 20th by Hitler to whom he repeated his request for the formal recognition by Germany of the independence of the Arab countries. The Führer was non-committal. Nevertheless the Mufti assured him of the friendship and co-operation of the Arabs.

The period that the Mufti spent in Nazi Germany, November 1941 to May 1945 is the most controversial in his life. He had fled to Germany to escape the British and because he believed that the Axis would win the war. As a strict Muslim he could have had little sympathy with National Socialism as such, but his chief aim in life of ridding Palestine of the Jews coincided hideously with the Nazi final solution of the Jewish "problem". He therefore used all available anti-British and anti-Jewish sources in the naive hope that he would be recognised by the Axis as the ruler of an independent Arab state. He never obtained written pledges from the Germans (although the Italians were more forthcoming), and he was used to the limit by Nazi propaganda. The Germans provided staff and finance for *Das Arabische Büro* from which the *Grossmufti* was able to send propaganda, both printed and broadcast, to the Middle East. He issued calls to the Arabs to rise against the British and the Jews and to destroy them both. "Only when Britain and her Allies are destroyed will the Jewish questions, our greatest danger be definitely resolved" (broadcast of 11th November 1942). He also helped to organise fifth columns in the Middle East and to establish Muslim and Arab units to fight in the German armies.

The greatest suspicions surround his attitude to, his knowledge of, and his possible encouragement of the Nazi extermination policy. Calls to Palestinians to rise and kill the Jewish settlers had been frequent since the Balfour Declaration; they had been the headlines of newspapers and the slogans of demonstrations, but they became much more sinister when proclaimed in Nazi Germany. The evidence produced to condemn him is difficult to substantiate. He is said to have been befriended by Eichmann, one of

the chief executives of Hitler's policy. During his trial in Jerusalem in 1961, Eichmann denied having known the Mufti well, having met him only once during an official reception. The evidence for the friendship came from Dieter Wisliceny, one of Eichmann's aides, who months before the Nuremberg trials had begun to prepare an alibi for himself at the expense of Eichmann. Wisliceny went much further and accused the Mufti of being an "initiator" of the extermination policy. Other evidence of the Mufti's alleged role came from Rudolf Kastner (a Jewish leader in Hungary), who reported that Wisliceny had told him that "According to my opinion, the Grand Mufti... played a role in the decision... to exterminate the European Jews... I heard say that, accompanied by Eichmann, he has visited incognito the gas chamber at Auschwitz". These reports coming only from Wisliceny must be questioned until substantiated from other sources.

It has been established that Amīn actively tried to prevent the emigration of Jews to Palestine from Nazi-occupied countries. With his aims in mind it is understandable that he would try to prevent an expansion of the Jewish population in Palestine. By his protests he might have influenced German actions, although Hitler had long ago formulated a policy of extermination which could not be contradicted. Eichmann had once offered the lives of a million Hungarian Jews for 10,000 trucks, but Hitler had insisted on extermination. All the Jews in Hungary had been condemned to death, and the voice of the Mufti was insignificant.

A further piece of evidence which has been adduced to condemn him is a broadcast he made in September 1944 in which he referred to the eleven million Jews of the world, when it is said that before the Second World War it was well known that the world Jewish population was seventeen million. Thus, it is alleged, the Mufti knew that precisely six million Jews had been murdered. In September 1944 the holocaust had not been completed, as Eichmann continued his activities at least into October 1944. Moreover, Eichmann is said to have spoken of 5 million victims. The Mufti's figure does not prove that he, alone with the top Nazi leaders, knew the full horror, but neither does it disprove that he knew at least in general terms of German atrocities. At a press conference in 1961 he denied that he knew Eichmann and that he had visited the camps. By his presence in Germany, by his propaganda and other activities, by his protests against Jewish emigration, he gave moral authority to Nazi policy. He was, however, never brought to trial as a war criminal, for the technical reason that he was not, from the British point of view, an enemy national. Amīn had chosen the wrong side in the war but as a Palestinian Arab nationalist he had had little choice. If the Nazis won they would adopt an anti-Jewish policy in Palestine, if the British, then they would continue to support the establishment of a Jewish National Home.

When the outcome of the war was clear he escaped again, first to Paris, 1945-6, and then back to the Middle East, to Egypt. During the war Palestinian politics had been rather muted, but in 1944 the Husaynīs had decided to re-establish the Palestine Arab Party and soon called for the return to the exiled Husaynī politicians. Amīn began to try to regain his former position and influence. He had become the symbol of Arab opposition to Zionism, and the Arab League, in an effort to end political quarrels amongst the Palestinians, ordered the dis-



solution of the Arab Higher Committee and the Higher Front (the anti-Ḥusaynī body) and the formation of the Arab Higher Executive with the Muftī as its chairman. He was not allowed by the British to return to Palestine and had to direct the resistance from outside. He continued to follow an uncompromising line, boycotting the United Nations Special Committee on Palestine, refusing to contemplate any partition plans, and urging total opposition to the Zionists. As violence on both sides increased, the Higher Executive at the end of 1947 began to organise and direct military resistance. An Arab Liberation Army, owing partial allegiance to the Muftī, was created which later attempted to co-operate with other Arab armies.

Inter-Arab rivalry hindered co-operation, and after the proclamation of the State of Israel a split grew over Transjordan's ambitions in the West Bank of the Jordan. Egypt supported the Muftī and allowed him to settle in Gaza, where he announced in September 1948 the formation of a Palestine government. A self-constituted Assembly elected him its president and several Arab governments recognised the Gaza régime. However, the rump of Palestine was under Transjordanian control and its final annexation in April 1950 was not opposed by the Arab League. Henceforward the Muftī lost any real base of power and spent the rest of his life vainly trying to rally support for an effort to destroy Israel. Amīr 'Abd Allāh of Transjordan appointed his own *muftī* and president of the Muslim Supreme Council.

In July 1951 'Abd Allāh was assassinated and Amīn was thought to be implicated although this was never conclusively proved. In 1951 he chaired a World Muslim Conference which he used as a platform to publicise his policy. He attended the Bandung Afro-Asian Conference in a minor capacity, having to accept the predominance of President 'Abd al-Nāṣir [*q.v.* in Suppl.]. In fact, the latter's lack of regard for him caused him to move to Beirut in 1959. He had more freedom of action in Lebanon, but no more authority. He tried various alliances, with President Kāsim of Irāq, with the Sa'ūdīs, with Jordan, all to no avail. In the shifting sands of inter-Arab politics, Amīn was now of little account. He moved about, to Damascus, to al-Riyāḍ and back to Beirut. In the Palestine movement, first Ahmad Shuḡayrī and then the Palestine Liberation Organisation took over precedence.

Al-Ḥādīdj Amīn died in Beirut on July 4th 1974. To the end, he proclaimed his unwavering belief that his country had been illegally given away by foreigners to other foreigners, both of whom had scant regard for its Arab and Islamic character. He spent his adult life trying to prevent a change in the character of Palestine. Through his intransigence, his desire to dominate his rivals and his inability to distinguish between his personal aspirations and his political goals, he ended by losing everything for himself and almost everything for the Palestinian Arabs.

Bibliography: Two works deal specifically with the Muftī, M. Pearlman, *Mufti of Jerusalem*, London 1947, written in an attempt to have him tried as a war criminal, and J.B. Schechtman, *The Mufti and the Fuehrer*, New York and London 1965, a fairer work but one taking too much for granted from Pearlman. Otherwise, references have to be sought in the many histories of the Palestine problem, and in works dealing with German relations with the Middle East and with Nazi policy towards the Jews. (D. Horwood)

AMĪNDJĪ b. **DJALĀL** b. **ḤASAN**, an eminent Musta'li-Tayyibī Ismā'īlī jurist of India, was the son of the twenty-fifth *dā'ī* *muṭlaq*. He lived in Aḥmadābād in Guḍjarāt and died there on 13 Shawwāl 1010/6 April 1602. His works deal mainly with jurisprudence and are considered a great authority on legal matters after the works of al-Kāḍī al-Nu'mān [*q.v.*]. The following works have been preserved: 1. *Masā'il Amīndjī b. Djalāl*, in the form of questions, answers, and anecdotes bearing on legal issues, hence also known as *Kitāb al-Su'āl wa 'l-ḡawāb*. The book contains many problems that are typically Indian, and although the book is in Arabic, the author uses many local Gujarati words and expressions. 2. *Kitāb al-Ḥawāshī*, consisting of problems in the form of questions and answers relating to the text of al-Kāḍī al-Nu'mān's *Da'ā'im al-Islām* and *Mukhtaṣar al-āthār*. The problems discussed in the book throw some light on the social history of the Ismā'īlī Bohra community. 3. *Hisāb al-mawārith*, concerning inheritance. 4. *Sharḥ al-muntakhaba al-manẓūma*, a commentary on al-Kāḍī al-Nu'mān's *al-Urdjūza al-muntakhaba* on jurisprudence. 5. *Sharḥ Asās al-ta'wīl wa-ta'wīl al-da'ā'im*, a commentary on al-Kāḍī al-Nu'mān's *Asās al-ta'wīl* and *Ta'wīl al-da'ā'im*.

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AMĪR KABĪR, MĪRZĀ MUḤAMMAD TAKĪ KHĀN (ca. 1222-68/1807-52), the most prominent reformist statesman of 19th century Iran. He was a son of Karbalā'ī Kurbān, the chief cook of the Kādjār ministers 'Isā and Abu 'l-Kāsim Kā'immaḳām, through whom he found his way to the Kādjār royal court. After receiving the necessary education in Arabic and Persian studies, he began his secretarial position in the court and rapidly achieved in succession the important titles of "Mīrẓā", "Khān", "Wazīr-i Nizām", "Amīr-i Nizām", and finally the highest of all, "Amīr-i Kabīr Atābak-i A'zam". He also married Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh's sister, 'Izzat al-Dawla.

The Amīr Kabīr served the Persian government in different capacities such as the State Accountant of Ādharbāyḍjān in ca. 1240-5/1829-34 and as Minister of the Army in 1253/1837. Before being appointed as Grand Vizier in 1264/1848, the Amīr Kabīr took part in three diplomatic missions. In 1244/1828 he went to St. Petersburg with Khusrāw Mīrẓā in order to settle the problems caused by the murder of Griboyedov, the Russian special envoy to Iran. The second diplomatic mission was his accompanying, in 1253/1837, the then Crown Prince, Nāṣir al-Dīn Mīrẓā, to Erivan for a meeting with the Russian Emperor. The Amīr was also appointed as the head of the Iranian mission to the "Erzurum Conference", which was held in Erzurum in 1259-63/1843-6 to deal with Ottoman-Persian territorial and border disputes.

During these missions to Russia and Turkey, the Amīr studied closely the processes of modernisation in those countries. In his term of office as a Grand Vizier, therefore, he made strenuous efforts to in-



introduce certain modernising measures into his own country. He took steps, for instance, towards the secularisation of Iranian legal systems, the separation of religion and state, toleration towards religious minorities, publication of newspapers, abolition of ceremonial titles, foundation of modern factories and schools, and so on. He did not, however, pay much attention to the limitation of the monarchic absolute power by establishing a law-making body in Iran; on this problem, he had reportedly said, "I had the intention of [establishing] constitutionalism (*konstitūsiyūn*), but my big obstacles were the Russians" (Firūdūn Ādamiyyat, *Maḳālāt-i ta'riḳhī*, Tehran 1973, 88-9).

In the course of his service as a Grand Vizier, the Amīr created many domestic and foreign enemies for himself because, on the one hand, he limited bribery, injustice, and abuses of power committed by government officials and high dignitaries at court, including the Shāh's mother, Mahd 'Ulyā, and on the other hand he opposed the Anglo-Russian interventions in Iranian affairs. This hostility at court, together with the Anglo-Russian intervention, finally brought about the Amīr's execution in Kāshān some two months after his dismissal from the Grand Vizierate, and the succession to that position of Ākā Nūrī, a protégé of the British.

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(ABDUL-HADĪ HAIRĪ)

AMĪR NIZĀM, ḤASAN 'ALĪ KHĀN GARRŪSĪ (1236-1317/1820-99) was born into a distinguished Kurdish family of the Garrūs district in western Iran. His ancestors and relatives held important positions at the courts of the Tīmūrīds, the Ṣafawīds, the Afshārīds, the Zandīds, and finally the Qājār's. After studying Persian, Arabic, history and calligraphy, he began his government service at the age of seventeen and, as a commander of the Garrūs regiment, he helped Muḥammad Shāh Qājār's army to lay siege to the city of Harāt in 1253/1837. After that, the Amīr Nizām (a title which he received from Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh in 1302/1884) continued his administrative, political, military, and diplomatic duties with little interruption for approximately 62 years. His military missions include his victorious participation in the 1265/1848 expedition to Mashhad, and that of 1273/1856 to Harāt. He was also one of those military commanders who ended the Bābī movement in Zandjān in 1267/1850 and that of the Naqshbandī Ṣūfīs led by Shaykh 'Ubayd Allāh in Kurdistān in 1297/1879; the former success gained the Amīr Nizām the title of "aide-de-camp" to Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh, and the latter the governorship of five western regions in Iran.

In the sphere of civil offices the Amīr Nizām served, among other things, as Director of the Office of Royal Effects and Treasuries (1273-5/1856-8), as a member of the Grand Consultative Assembly (1283-8/

1866-71), as Minister of Public Works (1289-99/1872-81), and as Governor of Kurdistān, Kirmān-Balūčistān, and other provinces at various times.

As Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh's special political envoy, the Amīr Nizām went to Europe and met the heads of state in London, Paris, Berlin, Brussels, and a few other European capitals in 1275/1858. It was on this trip that he was accompanied by 42 students seeking further education in Europe. Later, from 1276/1859 to 1283/1866, he was appointed Minister Plenipotentiary in Paris.

The Amīr Nizām is known to have refused to co-operate with the Shāh in putting into effect the Tobacco Régie Concession of 1890 which had caused wide-spread unrest in Ādharbāy-djān. For this reason, he resigned from his position as vizier to the Shāh's heir-apparent in that province (Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān 'Iṣmād al-Saltāna, *Rūz-nāma-yi khātirāt*, Tehran 1971, 765-70 and *passim*). Curzon held that "the Amīr-i Nizām was reputed to be a strong Russophile" (*Persia and the Persian question*, i, repr. London 1966, 415, 431). Besides, the 'Iṣmād al-Saltāna reported that the Russians were insisting in sending the Amīr Nizām back to his previous position in Ādharbāy-djān (*Rūz-nāma*, 773). We also know that the Amīr Nizām was popular with the Russians to the extent that he received the insignia of the order of the "White Eagle" from the Russian Emperor (Amīr Nizām, *Munsha'āt*, Tehran 1908, 14). It would accordingly probably be safe to assume that, in his opposition to the Tobacco Concession, the Amīr Nizām was not inspired by a desire to protect national interests, but was, rather, protecting the interests of the Russians, the latter power being a firm opponent to the Concession.

The Amīr Nizām had continued contacts with the West through his diplomatic missions abroad. He was one of the distinguished companions of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh during the latter's trip of 1290/1873 to Europe (Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh, *Safar-nāma*, Tehran 1964, 12), a trip in which "Our principal goal", said the Shāh, "... is to learn about the basis of reform, development, and the means of interests and progress. We would like to see in person, and choose those things which are instrumental for the welfare and progress of the people in other countries" (Abdul-Hadi Hairī, *Shi'ism and constitutionalism in Iran: a study of the role played by the Persian residents of Iraq in Iranian politics*, Leiden 1977, 15). In addition, the Amīr Nizām was closely associated with intellectuals such as Malkam Khān and Yūsuf Khān Mustashār al-Dawla Tabrizī, two men who were widely known as apostles of modernist ideas (idem, *The idea of constitutionalism in Persian literature prior to the 1906 Revolution*, in *Akten des vii. Kongresses für Arabistik und Islamwissenschaft*, Göttingen, 15. bis 22. August 1974, Göttingen 1976, 189-207). He even reportedly signed an oath, together with a number of Persian modernist thinkers, to work towards "the progress of our beloved people and country" (Firūdūn Ādamiyyat, *Andīsha-yi tarakkī va hukūmat-i kânūn: 'asr-i Sipahsālār*, Tehran 1972, 249 ff.).

Despite all these facts, however, the Amīr Nizām seems in practice to have followed very much the traditional ways characteristic of despotic régimes. Thus it is reported that he used to burn in furnaces bakers who were believed to have overcharged their customers, and mutilated Kurds when he was sent to suppress their uprisings. At one time, his hostility towards modernisation went so far as to have 'Alī Kulī Ṣafarov bastinadoed and his Tabriz newspaper



Ihtiyādī banned in 1316/1898 because Šafarov had advocated the idea of industrialisation in Iran (Mahdī Bāmdād, *Šarh-i hāl-i riḡāl-i Irān*, i, Tehran 1968, 367, under “Hasan ‘Alī”).

The Amīr Nizām’s reputation as a learned man, a stylistically distinguished prose writer, an excellent calligrapher, and a tough bureaucrat made him so highly respected in the royal court that at one time, in 1316/1898, even Muẓaffār al-Dīn Shāh preferred to side with the Amīr Nizām in the latter’s conflicts with the royal heir-apparent, Muḥammad ‘Alī Mīrzā (Mahdī Kulī Hidāyat, *Khātīrāt va khaṭarāt*, Tehran 1965, 98-9). Among foreign observers, Curzon called him “a man of very strong will and determination” (*Persia*, i, 431). Dr. J.B. Feuvrier admired him as a “vieillard d’une intelligence supérieure, d’une grande expérience et d’une sagesse consommée” (*Trois ans à la cour de Perse*, Paris, n.d., 86).

The Amīr Nizām wrote a book called *Pand-nāma-yi Yahyawiyya*; it consists of counsels given to a child of his, and has been published several times since 1315/1897 in Tehran and Tabriz. This short book is also included in a collection of his epistolary prose called *Munsha‘āt*, already cited. This comprises letters written by the Amīr Nizām to many Iranian political and religious figures, and provides much interesting and useful information about 19th century Iran. Some of his epistolary works can also be found in ‘Abbās Ikbāl, *Amīr Nizām Garrūsī*, in *Yadgār*, iii/6-7 (1947), 8-33, and in some other references given in the Bibliography below.

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Mumtahīn al-Dawla Shākāḳī, *Khātīrāt*, Tehran 1974. (ABDUL-HADī HAIRI)

AL-‘AMIRĪ, ABU ‘L-ḤASAN MUḤAMMAD B. YŪSUF, philosopher who lived mainly in Persia, born early in the 4th/10th century in Khurāsān, where he studied with the well-known geographer and philosopher Abū Zayd al-Balkhī [see AL-BALKHĪ]. From about 355/966 he spent some years in Rayy, enjoying the patronage there of the Būyid vizier Abū ‘l-Faḍl b. al-‘Amīd, and of his son and successor Abū ‘l-Faḥ [see IBN AL-‘AMĪD]. AL-‘Amīrī also visited Baghdād at least twice, in 360/970-1 and again in 364/974-5. There he met many of the leading intellectuals of the day, but according to al-Tawḥīdī he was very coldly received, being regarded as an uncouth provincial. By 370/980 he had returned to Khurāsān, where he dedicated a treatise to the Sāmānid vizier Abū ‘l-Husayn al-‘Uṭbī (d. ca. 372/982), and composed another in Bukhārā in 375/985-6. AL-‘Amīrī died in Nishāpūr on 27 Shawwāl 381/6 January 992.

In his *K. al-Amad ‘ala ‘l-abad* (MS Istanbul Servili 179, edition by E.K. Rowson forthcoming), written only six years before his death, al-‘Amīrī gives a list of his works, comprising seventeen titles, of which four are known to be extant: *K. al-Ibār wa ‘l-mubṣar* (MS. Cairo, Taymūriyya ḥikma 98) on optics; two works on predestination, *Inḳādī al-baṣḥar min al-ḡabr wa ‘l-ḳadar* and *al-Takrīr li-awḡḍih al-takḍīr* (together in MS Princeton 2163 (393B)); and a philosophical defense of Islam entitled *K. al-Flām bi-manākib al-Islām* (ed. A. Ghurāb, Cairo 1967). Omitted from the list are his Aristotelian commentaries, three of which (on the *Categories*, *Posterior Analytics*, and *De Anima*) he cites elsewhere. Also missing from the list is the *Fuṣūl fi ‘l-ma‘ālim al-ilāhiyya* (MS Istanbul Esat Ef. 1933), a metaphysical work which paraphrases large sections of the famous *K. al-Khayr al-mahd* (known in Latin as the *Liber de causis*). Another work possibly to be attributed to al-‘Amīrī is the doxographical *K. al-Sa‘āda wa ‘l-is‘ād* (facs. ed. M. Minovi, Wiesbaden 1957-8).

AL-‘Amīrī’s philosophy is a rather conventional amalgam of Neoplatonism and Aristotelianism, of a type familiar from works by such figures as his contemporary Miskawayh [q.v.], but his particular concern seems to have been to justify the pursuit of philosophy to the religious establishment. In the *Flām* he attempts to show the ‘ulamā’ how philosophy and Islam can be seen as complementary rather than contradictory, illustrating his point by using philosophical methods in a programmatic demonstration of the superiority of Islam to other religions. The *Amad* similarly combines philosophical and dogmatic evidence in a discussion of the afterlife, as well as giving the ‘ulamā’ an elementary (and highly apologetic) introduction to the Greek philosophers. This conciliatory attitude towards Islam represents a conscious continuation of the tradition initiated by al-Kindī [q.v.], the master of al-‘Amīrī’s master al-Balkhī.

AL-‘Amīrī’s only pupil of note was Ibn Hindū [q.v.], and his influence on later figures seems to have been minimal. The massive impact of Ibn Sīnā, who began writing shortly after al-‘Amīrī’s death, all but obliterated his memory.

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(E.K. ROWSON)

AMĪRĪ, MĪRZĀ MUḤAMMAD ŠĀDIK ADĪB AL-MAMĀLIK, Persian poet and journalist, was born at Kāzarān near Sulṭānābād (mod. Arāk) in 1860. On his father’s side he was directly descended from Mīrzā Abu ‘l-Kāsim Kā’immaḳām Farāhānī, statesman and writer of the early 19th century, while his mother was a member of the same family. After his father’s death in 1874 the family was in serious financial difficulties, until in 1890 Mīrzā Šādiq took service with Amīr-i Nizām Garrūsi, whom he accompanied to Tabriz, Kirmānshāh and Tehran. During this period he acquired the titles *Amīr al-Shu‘arā’* (whence his *takhallus* Amīrī) and later *Adīb al-Mamālik*. In 1894 he was in charge of the Government Translation Bureau in Tehran. Two years later he returned to Tabriz, and after taking theological qualifications became Vice-Principal of the Luḳmāniyya College of science and medicine. For a time he published *Adab*, a literary and scientific journal, and in 1900 travelled by way of the Caucasus and Khīwa to Mashhad, and in 1903 to Tehran, in both of which cities he resumed publication of his journal. 1904 saw him in Baku, where he edited a Persian supplement to the Turkish periodical *Irshād*. After the Constitutional Revolution of 1906 he became editor of *Madjlis*, the record of the National Assembly debates, and later of the official periodicals *Rūznāma-yi Dawlati-yi Irān* and *Āftāb*; in between he started his own journal, *Irāk-i ‘Ājam*. In 1911 he entered the judicial service and held posts in Simnān, Sāwudjbulāgh, Sulṭānābād and Yazd. He died in Tehran in 1917.

Amīrī had a wide range of interests from geography, mathematics and lexicography to history, literature and astrology. He was well-versed in Persian and Arabic, in both of which he composed poems, and was familiar with a number of other languages. However, he was no ivory tower poet; his poems, following the new trend to re-unite literature and daily life, reflect the turbulent politics of his time, in which he was generally on the side of the Constitutionalists. His later writings are marked by social satire and revolutionary fervour.

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und Entwicklung der modernen persischen Literatur, Berlin 1964, 35-6. (L.P. ELWELL-SUTTON)

‘AMR B. KIRKIRA, ABŪ MĀLIK AL-‘A‘RĀBĪ, *mawlā* of the Banū Sa’d, had learnt the ‘arabiyya in the desert and had settled at Baṣra. Since his mother had married Abu ‘l-Baydā’ [q.v.], he acted as *rāwīya* to this last, but he owed his fame to his incomparable knowledge of the Arabic language, since, according to an oft-mentioned tradition, he knew it in its entirety, whereas al-Aṣma’ī had only one-third of it, Abū ‘Ubayda (or al-Khalīl b. Aḥmad) half of it and Abū Zayd al-Anṣārī (or Mu‘arrīdj) two-thirds of it. His speciality was rare words. Abū Mālik was allegedly the author of at least two works, a *K. Khalk al-insān* and a *K. al-Khayl*. Al-Djāhīz was one of his auditing students.

Bibliography: Djāhīz, *Bayān*, iv, 23; *ibid.*, *Hayawān*, iii, 525-6; *Fihrist*, 66; Suyūṭī, *Muzḥir*, ii, 249-50; *ibid.*, *Bughya*, 367; Zubaydī, *Tabakāt*, 139; Anbārī, *Nuzha*, 82; Yāqūt, *Udabā’*, xvi, 131-2.

(Ed.)

AMRŌHĀ, a district and town of mediaeval northern India, now a town. It arose as a metropolitan centre after the accession of Sultan Ghiyāth al-Dīn Balban to the throne of Dihlī in 664/1266. Since the Rādjipūt Rādjā of Kētehr or Katahr [q.v.] (modern Bareilly district in the U.P.) rose in rebellion and carried his depredations as far as the *iktā’* of Badā’ūn, Balban attacked him in his own region, and having cleared the vast district, carved out the *iktā’* of Amrōhā that comprised the area of the modern districts of Bareilly, Murādābād, Rāmpūr and Bīdḡnore in Western Uttar Pradesh. For the consolidation of his authority, he brought the *iktā’* under direct, *khālīṣa* administration and appointed efficient officers. As a result of this, the town of Amrōhā soon developed considerably with public buildings, a fort, mosques, *madrasas* and Sūfī *khānkhāhs*; Among all these, only the mosque constructed by an officer of Sultan Mu‘izz al-Dīn Kaykubād in 686/1287 is intact.

In the 8th/14th century Amrōhā became a centre of Muslim culture, and was held by a high noble of the sultanate. For instance, the Prince Khidr Khān, the eldest son of Sultan ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Khaldījī, was appointed its governor towards the close of his father’s reign. In the time of Muḥammad b. Tughluq, (725-52/1325-51), Ibn Baṭṭūṭa found Amrōhā a beautiful city, placed under the joint responsibility of a number of important nobles. ‘Azīz Khammār, the governor, was in charge of its revenue affairs, while Shams al-Dīn Badakhshānī acted there as the army commandant. Besides, there was a *kāḍī*, Sayyid Amīr ‘Alī, to administer justice; a *shaykh al-Islām*, charged with the duty of looking after the religious affairs and providing maintenance land for the scholars, saints and other deserving persons; and 4,000 royal slaves stationed there under Malik-Shāh for military service. The Ḥaydarī *kalandar* dervishes also settled down there in quite large numbers.

During the reign of Sultan Firūz Shāh, Amrōhā lost its importance as a provincial capital, for administrative headquarters were shifted from here to Sambhal because of the contumacious activities of the Katehriya Rādjipūt *zamīndārs*. However, Amrōhā continued as a centre of culture and learning, with many saints and scholars. Shaykh Čā’ildā, a descendant of Shaykh Farīd al-Dīn Gandī-i Shakar of Adjodhān, was a respectable Sūfī saint in Amrōhā during the reign of Sultan Sikandar Lōdī. The Masnad-i ‘Alī Maḥmūd Khān Lōdī, the governor of the territory of Sambhal, gave Shaykh Čā’ildā two

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villages in maintenance grant in the *pargana* of Nindru (now in the district of Bidjnore).

During the Mughal period, Amrōhā also produced famous Ṣūfīs and scholars, such as Shaykh Ibban Čiṣṭī during the reign of Akbar. Mīr Sayyid Muḥammad, the famous Mīr ‘Adl (Chief justice) and Mawlānā Allāhdād (d. 990/1582), a leading scholar, also belonged to Amrōhā. Maṣḥafī Amrōhāī, the famous Urdu poet of the 18th and 19th centuries, was also born and educated there. Wīkār al-Mūlk, an associate of Sir Sayyid Aḥmad Khān and one of the founder members of the Aligarh Movement, also hailed from Amrōhā. It is now a *taḥsīl* headquarters in the district of Murādābād in Uttar Pradesh.

Bibliography: Abu ‘l-Faḍl, *Ā’in-i Akbarī*, Eng. tr. Jarrett, Bibl. Ind. Calcutta 1927; ‘Abd al-Kādir Badā’ūnī, *Muntakhab al-tawārīkh*, iii, Bibl. Ind., Calcutta 1868; Diyā’ al-Dīn Baranī, *Tārīkh-i Firūz Shāhī*, ed. Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, Bibl. Ind., Calcutta 1862; Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Rihla*, iii, 436-40, Eng. tr. Gibb, iii, 762-4; ‘Isāmī, *Futūḥ al-salāṭīn*, ed. Usha, Madras 1948; Shaykh ‘Abd al-Haḥk Muḥaddith, *Akhbār al-akhyār* Dihlī 1914; Shams Sirādj ‘Afīf, *Tārīkh-i Firūz Shāhī*, Bibl. Ind., Calcutta 1890. (I.H. SMIDQUI)

AL-ĀMULĪ [see HAYDAR-I ĀMULĪ, in Suppl.].

ANDJUMAN-ı KHUDDĀM-ı KA’BA, a religious society founded by Indian Muslims in their period of great pan-Islamic fervour just before World War One. The Andjuman was started by Mawlānā ‘Abd al-Bārī [q.v. above] and Muṣṭafī Husayn Kidwāī [q.v.] of Lucknow who hoped to be able to defend Mecca and Medina by raising ten million rupees to build dreadnoughts and airships and to maintain armed forces. Such an ambitious programme proved impracticable, and the final constitution of the organisation published early in 1932/1914 declared that to defend the Holy Places it would: “(a) preach the aims and objects of the Andjuman to Muslims generally; invite them to join it; and induce them to render sincere service to the holy places; (b) spread Islamic ethics in the neighbourhood of the holy places; invite the attention of the inhabitants of those places to a knowledge of the religion; promote intercourse and unity among them; and persuade them to the allegiance and assistance of the guardian of the holy places; (c) promote relations between Muslims and the holy places and extend and facilitate means of communication with the holy places”.

The leaders of the Andjuman came in large part from young western-educated Muslims of pan-Islamic predilections, for instance, Muḥammad and Shawkat ‘Alī [qq.v.], Dr. M.A. Anṣārī and Muṣṭafī Husayn Kidwāī, and ‘ulamā’ who were in some way connected with the Farangī Maḥall family [q.v. below] of Lucknow, for instance, ‘Abd al-Bārī, Shāh Aḥmad Aṣṭraf of Kaṭāwā and ‘Abd al-Madḥūd Kādīrī of Badā’ūn. The ‘ulamā’ of Deoband, landlords, and men closely associated with government, were conspicuous by their absence. Nevertheless, many, including women, joined the Andjuman. By Shawwāl 1332/September 1914 the Andjuman had over 17,000 members, a central organisation in Dihlī and branches throughout India; moreover, it had grown faster and spread more widely than any other Indo-Muslim organisation.

The achievements of the Andjuman, however, were limited. One problem was that the Government of India, suspicious of the alliance between young western-educated politicians and ‘ulamā’, refused to support it. The Andjuman’s work was restricted to

the *Ḥaḍḡ*, and here Shawkat ‘Alī strove to improve the conditions of Indian pilgrims and attempted to break the European monopoly of the pilgrim trade by setting up, with Turkish aid, a wholly Muslim shipping company. But the outbreak of World War One and the closing of the *Ḥaḍḡ* route put an end even to this work, and the organisation, without an obvious function, fell apart amidst squabbles between the ‘ulamā’ and the young politicians. In 1334/1916 ‘Abd al-Bārī moved its central office to Lucknow and the organisation was last talked of in 1336/1918 when he tried to restart it as a vehicle for a campaign to release Muslims who had been interned during the War.

The importance of the Andjuman lies more in what it portended than in what it achieved. In working to protect the Holy Places, the leading pan-Islamic politicians of the day, Shawkat and Muḥammad ‘Alī, met ‘Abd al-Bārī and became *murīds* of this very important *pīr*. More generally, young western-educated politicians came to appreciate the widespread influence in Indo-Muslim society of ‘ulamā’ like those of the Farangī Maḥall family. These same people were to come together again after World War One to organise a much greater effort for a pan-Islamic cause, the *Khilāfat* movement [q.v.].

Bibliography: Mawlawī ‘Ināyat Allāh, *Risāla-i ḥasrat al-āfāk ba wafāt madḡimāt al-akhḡlāk*, Lucknow n.d. 16-17; Francis Robinson, *Separatism among Indian Muslims: the politics of the United Provinces’ Muslims 1860-1923*, Cambridge 1974, 208-12, 214-15, 279, 281, 287. (F.C.R. ROBINSON)

ANĪS, MĪR BĀBAR ‘ALĪ (1217-91/1802-74), Urdu poet, was born in Fayḍābād (Fyzabad) [q.v.] into a family which had produced five generations of poets. Some of these, including his father Khālīk, wrote the characteristically Indian type of *marṭhiya* which thrived at public recitals in Lucknow, capital of the Shīrī Nawābs of Oudh. This type, which may have originated in the Deccan, was devoted to the martyrdom of al-Husayn b. ‘Alī at Karbalā’ (61/680). Anīs moved to Lucknow as a young man, and devoted his life to writing poetry, especially *marāṭhī*. He became the leading exponent of this form; thousands attended his readings in Lucknow, and in other Indian cities which he occasionally visited later in life. Some critics thought his contemporary and rival Dabīr superior, but this view is now discounted. By the time Anīs began writing, the main lines of the Indian *marṭhiya* had already been foreshadowed, if not fully established; and he used it to the full. Formerly in quatrains, it was now almost always in *musaddas* form. Starting as a short emotional and devotional lament, it was lengthened to over a hundred verses of varied content. Alongside the incidents involving al-Husayn and his followers at Karbalā’, Anīs includes description of nature, such as landscape, the desert, and storms; character sketches of the protagonists; the horse, the sword; warlike accountrements; and a philosophising which gave universality to a superficially restricted theme. The language employs all the devices of rhetoric (*balāgha*), yet there is an inherent simplicity and sincerity which contrasted strongly with the Urdu *ghazal* [see GHĀZAL, iv] then in vogue. It consequently won the approval of forward-looking critics and poets such as Hālī and Āzād, and occupies an important place in Urdu literary history. It says much for Anīs’s artistry that he managed to sustain interest in an output estimated at 250,000 verses; but it is



hardly surprising that the form ceased to be widely cultivated after the end of the 19th century.

Bibliography: Critical accounts of Anīs and his *marāthī* may be found in Muhammad Sadiq, *History of Urdu literature*, London 1964, 155-63; Abu 'l-Layth Šiddīqī, *Lakḥnāū kā dabistān-i shā'irī*, Lahore 1955, which also contains examples from previous and subsequent *marthiya* poets. Ram Babu Saksena's *History of Urdu literature*, Allahabad 1927, in a general chapter on "Elegy and elegy writers" (123 ff.), contains a genealogical table of Anīs's family (p. 136), showing the poets in the family before and after him.

Among critical studies of Anīs are Amīr Aḥmad, *Yādgar-i Anīs*, Lucknow 1924, and Dja'far 'Alī Khān, *Anīs kī marthiya nigārī*, Lucknow 1951. Shibli Nu'mānī's *Muwāzana-yi Anīs-o-Dabir* is still the standard comparison of the two poets, though heavily weighted in Anīs's favour. There are numerous editions of Anīs's poetry, none complete. One of the fullest is *Marāthī Anīs*, ed. Nā'ib Husayn Naḳwī Amrotā, 4 vols., Karachi 1959. The three-volume edition of Nawāb Ḥaydar Djang, Badāun 1935, is less full, but has an introduction by Nizām al-Dīn Husayn Nizāmī Badāunī.

(J.A. HAYWOOD)

ANŠĀRĪ, SHAYKH MURTAḌĀ, despite his being rather unknown in the West, is considered to have been a Shī'ī *muḍṭahid* whose widely-recognised religious leadership in the Shī'ī world has not yet been surpassed. He was born into a noted but financially poor clerical family of Dizfūl, in the south of Iran, in 1214/1799; his lineage went back to Djabir b. 'Abd Allāh Anšārī (d. 78/697), a Companion of the Prophet. After learning the recitation of the Qur'ān and related primary subjects, Anšārī studied under his uncle Shaykh Husayn Anšārī until 1232/1816 when he, accompanying his father, Muhammad Amīn, went to visit the shrine cities of 'Irāk. While in Karbalā', he attended the teaching circle of the then Shī'ī leader, Sayyid Muhammad Muḍjahid (d. 1242/1826), who found Anšārī a man of extraordinary genius and urged Anšārī's father to let his son remain in Karbalā'. Anšārī then studied under Muḍjahid until ca. 1236/1820, when Anšārī, together with hundreds of other Iranian people, fled from Karbalā' due to the pressures imposed by the Ottoman governor at Baghdād, Dāwūd Pasha, after the growth of the Perso-Ottoman hostility at that time (S.H. Longrigg, *Four centuries of modern Iraq*, Oxford 1925, 242-9; Sir Percy Sykes, *A history of Persia*, ii, repr. London 1963, 316 ff.). Anšārī then returned to Dizfūl.

In ca. 1237/1821, Anšārī again went to Karbalā' and attended the circle of the famous *muḍṭahid* Mullā Muḥammad Sharīf al-'Ulamā' (d. 1245/1829). In ca. 1238/1829 he proceeded to Naḍjaf and continued his studies under Shaykh Mūsā Kāshif al-Ghiṭā' (d. 1241/1825), and after a year or so he again returned to his home town, Dizfūl. Heading for Mashhad in 1240/1824 with the intention of attending the circles for religious learning in different Iranian cities, Anšārī joined the teaching circle of Shaykh Asad Allāh Burūdjirdī (d. ca. 1271/1854) in Burūdjird ('Abd al-'Azīz Šāhib al-Djawāhir, *Dā'ira al-ma'ārif al-Islāmiyya: Irān wa hama-yi ma'ārif-i Shī'a-yi Imāmiyya-yi Iḥnā'ashariyya*, ii, n.d., 155, under "Asad Allāh") and that of Sayyid Muḥammad Bākīr Shafī (d. 1270/1853) in Isfahān (Anšārī's biography written by Muḥammad Riḍā al-Raḍawī al-Khānsārī (sic), in Anšārī, *Kitāb al-Maṭāḍīr (al-Makāsib)*, Tehran 1908, 1), each for no more than a month.

When Anšārī met Mullā Aḥmad Narākī (d. 1245/1829) in Kāshān, he decided to remain there because he found Narākī's circle most congenial for learning. Narākī also found Anšārī exceptionally knowledgeable, saying that within his experience he had never met any established *muḍṭahid* as learned as Anšārī, who was then ca. thirty years of age (Murtaḍā al-Anšārī, *Zindigānī wa shakhsīyat-i Shaykh-i Anšārī kuḍdisa siruh*, Ahwāz (sic) 1960, 69).

In 1244/1828, Anšārī left Kāshān for Mashhad, and after a few months living there he went to Tehran. In 1246/1830, he returned to Dizfūl, where he was widely recognised as a religious authority, despite the presence of other important 'ulamā' in that town. It is said that Anšārī suddenly left Dizfūl secretly after sometime because he, as a religious-legal judge, was put under pressure to bring in a one-sided verdict in a legal case. He then arrived in Naḍjaf in ca. 1249/1833 and joined the teaching circle of Shaykh 'Alī Kāshif al-Ghiṭā' (d. 1254/1838) and, according to some sources, that of Shaykh Muḥammad Ḥasan Šāhib al-Djawāhir (d. 1266/1849), but each for only a few months, and soon organised his own teaching circle independently.

Anšārī's life as a distinguished religious scholar entered a new phase in 1266/1849 after he had received an overwhelming recognition from all the Shī'ī communities which formed a population then estimated at 40 million across the Muslim world, so that the institution of *marḍja'-i taklid* [q.v.] reached its highest point. "The Twelver Shī'ī population of Iran," wrote one of Anšārī's contemporaries, Muḥammad Ḥasan I'timād al-Saltāna, "and the numerous Shī'ī groups who live in India, in Russia, in some of the Ottoman provinces, and in several other cities of Afghānistān, Turkistān, and elsewhere used to send to Anšārī their endowment funds, alms taxes, one-fifth of their annual savings . . . and other similar payments, which amounted to 200,000 *tūmāns* [ca. \$ 30,000.00] annually" (*al-Ma'āthir wa 'l-āthār*, Tehran 1888, 136-7).

Despite his vast income and his overwhelming leadership, Anšārī, according to a number of eye-witness accounts, nevertheless denied his family a comfortable life and himself lived an ascetic life, as was evident from his appearance (cf. *inter alia*, Muḥammad Hirz al-Dīn, *Ma'ārif al-riḍāl*, ii, Naḍjaf 1964, 399-404). Instead, he gave the money to the poor and needy, to the students of religious schools, and at times to those Muslims who, on their way to visit the shrine of Imām Riḍā in Mashhad, were taken captive by the Turkomans. When Anšārī died in 1281/1864 his wealth and belongings were worth only seventeen *tūmāns* (less than three dollars), for an equal amount of which he was in debt. One of his followers therefore took charge of the funeral expenses.

Anšārī's piety, and above all his scholarly qualifications, deserved of course such recognition, but other factors also were certainly instrumental in establishing his leadership: the then great *marḍja'-i taklid*, Šāhib al-Djawāhir, shortly before his death declared Anšārī to be the legitimate sole *marḍja'-i taklid* of the Shī'a. This endorsement was compounded with the earlier death of other distinguished religious authorities such as Shaykh Muḥammad Husayn Šāhib al-Fuṣṭūl (d. 1261/1845). In addition, this development was preceded by the gradual decline of Isfahān as religious centre, a process which had begun its course since the fall of the Safawīd dynasty and was accelerated by the death of such religious authorities of Isfahān as Shafī and fbrāhīm



Karbāsī (d. 1262/1845). Consequently, Najaf began then to enjoy an unprecedented attention from the Shīʿa of Iran, and most of this attention was certainly focused on the person of Anṣārī.

Anṣārī not only established a new era in the history of the Shīʿī leadership but was also an important figure in the field of Shīʿī jurisprudence, being credited with introducing a new methodology in the field of *uṣūl*. His interpretation, for instance, of the “principle of no harm” (*kāʿida lā darar*), which had long engaged the Shīʿī ‘ulamā’, opened up a more settled way for practising *ijtihād* in general and for dealing with the problem of private ownership in particular. Anṣārī’s system in jurisprudence laid great importance on the *maḍjāʾ-i taklīd*’s being the most learned man of his time; he said that ‘*akl* (reason) and ‘*urf* (social conventions and common practices) are to be taken as criteria and bases for introducing new laws. His name is also mentioned as an authority with original views on such *uṣūl* subjects as the principles of *istiḥāb*, *harāʾa*, and *ẓann*, each of which were the subject of an independent study done by Anṣārī (for a concise definition of the above terms, cf. *Djāʿfar Sadjjādī, Farhang-i ‘ulūm-i naḳlī va adabī*, Tehran 1965, 51-3, 136, 359).

Anṣārī’s school of thought has been clearly dominant in the Shīʿī clerical circles since the middle of the 19th century, and his views have been discussed and adopted by most of the Shīʿī ‘ulamā’. A descendant of Anṣārī’s brother has listed the names of 144 *muḍtahids* who have written commentaries on Anṣārī’s various books (Anṣārī, *Ẓindigānī*, 354-87). Anṣārī’s influence on the later ‘ulamā’ can also be found in the bio-bibliographical dictionaries compiled on the Shīʿī authorities (cf. *Bibl.*). The influence of Anṣārī’s ideas is further seen in the laws made for various Shīʿī communities, because many of those who were involved in the process of law-making were either Anṣārī’s disciples or were indirectly under the influence of his thought. The Persian civil law which was substantially based on the Shīʿī jurisprudence may be mentioned as an example; and the man who “translated into Russian the Islamic law according to which the Muslims of Caucasus were being tried in the legal courts” was Mirzā Kāzīm Bey, a disciple of Anṣārī (Mahdī Khān Mumtaḥin al-Dawla Shākākī, *Khāṭirāt*, Tehran 1974, 110).

Anṣārī’s circle of teaching was attended by numerous pupils, many of whom became great *maḍjāʾ-i taklīd*’s of their times, e.g. Husayn Kūhkamārī (d. 1291/1874), Muḥammad Īrwānī (d. 1306/1888), Ḥabīb Allāh Raṣṭī (d. 1312/1894), Muḥammad Ḥasan Shīrāzī (d. 1312/1894), and Muḥammad Kāzīm Khurāsānī (d. 1329/1911). There are also reports that Sayyid Djāmāl al-Dīn Asadābādī “Afghānī” was also a pupil of Anṣārī (Aṣghar Mahdawī and Irādj Afshār, *Madjmūʿa-yi asnād va madārik-i ʿāpnaṣṭuda dar bāra-yi Sayyid Djāmāl al-Dīn maṣḥūr bi Afghānī*, Tehran 1963, 20) and that Afghānī studied in Anṣārī’s circle for four years prior to Afghānī’s departure from Najaf in 1270/1854 (Mirzā Luṭf Allāh Khān Asadābādī, *Sharḥ-i ḥāl va āthār-i Sayyid Djāmāl al-Dīn Asadābādī maʾrūf bi Afghānī*, Berlin 1926, 21-2; but these accounts are controversial. It cannot be accepted that Anṣārī, despite his great caution in issuing a certificate of *ijtihād*, gave one to Afghānī, then only sixteen years of age (Khān Malik Sāsānī, *Siyāsat-garān-i dawra-yi Kādīār*, i, Tehran 1959, 186, nor has Luṭf Allāh Khān been correctly quoted by Nikkī R. Keddie that “Shaikh Murtazā gave Jamāl ad-Dīn an *ijāzah* (certificate of advanced knowledge)” (*Sayyid Jamāl ad-Dīn “al-Afghānī”: a politi-*

cal biography, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1972, 15-16); rather, Luṭf Allāh reported that Anṣārī gave a certain certificate to Afghānī’s father (Asadābādī, *op. cit.*, 15, 21 and the Arabic translation of Asadābādī’s book by ‘Abd al-Naʿīm Muḥammad Ḥasanayn, Beirut 1973, 64; see also Abdul-Hadi Hairī, *Andīshahā-yi Sayyid Djāmāl al-Dīn Asadābādī dar pīrāmūn-i inḥilāt-i musalmānān va inkilāb-i maḥrūṭiyyat-i Irān*, in *Vahīd*, nos. 225-9 [1978], 47-52, 57-61, etc.).

Despite his being a one-eyed man, Anṣārī was quite productive in writing. According to a report, he wrote over thirty books (Anṣārī, *Ẓindigānī*, 131-4), twenty-four of which are listed as Anṣārī’s published works in Khānbābā Mushār, *Muʾallifin-i kutub-i ʿāpī-yi fārsī va Arabī*, vi, Tehran 1965, nos. 126-35; many of these books have been published several times in India, Irāk, and Irān since 1267/1850. Two of his works are especially frequently consulted and have been considered by the Shīʿī ‘ulamā’ to be of exceptional importance: *Farāʾid al-uṣūl (al-Rasāʾil)* on *uṣūl* and *al-Makāsib* on *fiqh*, which were first published in Tehran in 1268/1851 and 1280/1863 respectively. Both these have constantly been used as text books in all Shīʿī circles.

One of the financial foundations with which many of the Shīʿī ‘ulamā’ of Irāk were knowingly or unknowingly connected was the so-called “Oudh Bequest”. It was, in the words of the British Minister of Tehran, a “powerful lever which helped to promote good relations between the Persian ecclesiastics and myself and . . . afforded opportunities for influencing the leading Persian Ulema” (Sir Arthur Hardinge, *A diplomatist in the East*, London 1928, 323-4). The British authorities, however, did not succeed in influencing Anṣārī through the Oudh Bequest (Sayyid Muḥsin Amīn, *Aʿyān al-Shīʿa*, xl, Beirut 1960, 43-6). He received money only for a short period of time, and then rejected further sums (Mahmūd Maḥmūd, *Taʾrīkh-i rawābiṭ-i siyāsi-yi Irān va Ingilis*, vi, Tehran 1953, 1743).

In the arena of politics and public affairs, Anṣārī was quite inactive. He refused to make use of his influence in the interest of his followers. Persian or otherwise, in their political and other struggles. Theoretically, however, he believed that the ‘ulamā’ are not only the custodians of religions, but are also unquestionably responsible for judicial and political affairs also (Hairī, *Shīʿism and constitutionalism in Iran: a study of the role played by the Persian residents of Iraq in Iranian politics*, Leiden 1977, 60). Anṣārī’s lack of interest in social and political issues has been criticised by contemporary modernist thinkers. Fath ‘Alī Ākhūnd-Zāda, for instance, said: “God has not given Anṣārī enough insight to understand why Irān is in the state of collapse and why the Iranians are suffering abasement” (*Alifbā-yi dīdīd va maktūbāt*, Baku 1963, 121), and Akā Khān Kirmānī [q.v. above] believed that Anṣārī contributed to the people’s ignorance and perplexity (Firīdūn Adamiyyat, *Andīshahā-yi Mirzā Akā Khān Kirmānī*, Tehran 1967, 66).

On the other hand, his aloofness from politics was warmly welcomed by the political authorities, who seem to have taken it as a sign of his asceticism. Thus we come across the reports that the governor of Irāk referred to him as the Greatest Fārūḳ (i.e. one who distinguishes truth from falsehood) and that the British Ambassador allegedly said: “Anṣārī is either Jesus himself or his special deputy on earth” (Ḥasan Khān Shaykhī Djābirī Anṣārī, *Taʾrīkh-i Isfahān va Ray va ḥama-yi dīhān*, Tehran 1943,



inside the front cover). The cult formed around him led some people to say that Anšārī had met with the Twelfth Imām.

Anšārī has also been praised in Bābī literature as "... a man renowned for his tolerance, his wisdom, his understanding justice, his piety and nobility of character"; the leader of the Bahā'īs, Mīrzā Husayn 'Alī Nūrī known as Bahā' Allāh [q.v.], included Anšārī among "those doctors who have indeed drunk of the cup of renunciation"; 'Abbās Efendī ('Abd al-Bahā') also referred to Anšārī as "the illustrious and erudite doctor, the noble and celebrated scholar, the seal of seekers after truth" (Shoghi Effendi, *God passes by*, Wilmette, Illinois 1944, 143). Anšārī is thus praised because he did not share the condemnation by other Shī'ī 'ulamā' of the Bābī faith and rituals. He did not attend the meeting convened by the Shī'ī 'ulamā' in Kāzīmāy in ca. 1863 for determining on the banishment of Bahā' Allāh and his adherents from 'Irāk (Muhammad Khān Zā'īm al-Dawla, *Miftāh Bāb al-abwāb*, Cairo 1903, 347). According to Bābī sources, he did attend the meeting, but as soon as he was informed of the 'ulamā's actual design, he left, declaring that he was not acquainted with the new faith and that he had not witnessed in the Bābīs' demeanour anything at variance with Islam (E.G. Browne, ed. and tr., *A traveller's narrative written to illustrate the episode of the Bāb*, ii, Cambridge, 1891, 86-7).

Although Bābism appeared at the outset as a religious sect within Shī'ism, it did eventually assume a variety of political aspects, aspects which Anšārī was very reluctant to deal with. It seems, therefore, that Anšārī's lack of publicly-expressed opinions here was substantially a result of his lack of interest in and cautious attitude towards issues of political and public significance.

Anšārī, however, remote from politics, did train disciples who made use of the highly influential position he had earned for the Shī'ī 'ulamā' of 'Irāk by their taking part in contemporary social and political movements; thus Mīrzā Hasan Shīrāzī issued a *fatwā* against the Tobacco Concession (cf. *inter alia*, Firuz Kazemzadeh, *Russia and Britain in Persia, 1864-1914*, New Haven 1968, 241 ff.), and Khurāsānī [q.v.] actively supported the 1906-11 Persian Revolution and helped to depose the then Persian monarch (Abdul-Hadi Hairi, *Why did the 'Ulamā participate in the Persian Constitutional Revolution of 1905-1909?*, in *WI*, xvii (1976), 127-54).

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mad Tunukābunī, *Kiṣaṣ al-'ulamā'*, Tehran 1886; Habīb Allāh Sharīf Kāshānī, *Lubb al-albāb fī alkāb al-atiyāb*, Tehran 1958; Shaykh Dja'far Mahbūba, *Mādī al-Nadja' wa-hādiruhā*, i, Nadjaf 1958; Muhammad Husayn Nāsir al-Sharī'a, *Ta'rikh-i Kum*, Kum 1971; Muhammad 'Alī Tamīmī, *Mashhad al-Imām*, ii, Nadjaf 1954; Āghā Buzurg Tihirānī, *Musaffā al-makāl fī musannif 'ilm al-ridjāl*, Tehran 1959; idem, *al-Dharī'a ilā taṣānif al-Shī'a*, i-xx, 1936-74; idem, *Tabakāt al-'alām al-Shī'a*, i-ii, Nadjaf 1954-62; Muhammad Mahdī al-Aṣfā, *Murūr karnīn 'alā waṣfāt al-Shaykh al-Anšārī*, in *Madjallat al-Nadja'*, iv, no. 8 (1961), 29 ff.; Muhammad Hāshim Khurāsānī, *Muntakhab al-tawārikh*, Tehran n.d.; Mullā 'Alī Wā'iz Khīyābānī, *Kitāb-i 'ulamā'-i mu'āsirīn*, Tabriz 1946; Naṣr Allāh Turāb Dizfūlī, *Lama'āt al-bayān*, n.p., n.d.; Habīb Allāh Raṣhī, *Badā'i al-afkār*, Tehran?, 1895; 'Alī Akbar Nihāwandī, *Akhlaq-i rabī'i: bunyān-i rafī'*, Tehran 1926; Yahyā Dawlatābādī, *Ta'rikh-i mu'āsir yā hayāt-i Yahyā*, i, Tehran 1957; Muhammad Mahdī al-Kāzīmī, *Aḥsan al-wadī'a*, i-ii, Nadjaf 1968; Homa Pakdaman, *Djamal-Ed-Din Asad Abadi dit Afghani*, Paris 1969; 'Abbās 'Alī Kaywān Kazwīnī, *Kaywānnāma*, Tehran 1929; Muhammad Tāhā Nadja'fī, *Itkān al-makāl fī ahwāl al-ridjāl*, Nadjaf 1921; 'Abd Allāh Mamaḳānī, *Tanḳīh al-makāl fī ahwāl al-ridjāl*, Nadjaf 1933; Dja'far Khālīlī, *Maṣṣā'a al-'Atabāt al-mukaddasa*, 4 vols., Baghdad 1965-6; 'Abd al-Rahīm Muhammad 'Alī, *al-Musliḥ al-mudjahid al-Shaykh Muhammad Kāzīm al-Khurāsānī*, Nadjaf 1972; Nādjī Wadā'a, *Lamahāt min ta'rikh al-Nadja'*, i, Nadjaf 1973; Muhammad Mu'tin, *Farhang-i 'alām*, v, Tehran 1966, under "Anšārī"; Murtaḍā Āl Yāsīn, *Uslūb al-dirāsa al-dīniyya fī madrasa al-Nadja'*, in *Madjallat al-Nadja'*, i, no. 3 (1956), 2 ff.; 'Abd Allāh al-Mudarris al-Šādīkī al-Iṣfahānī, *Lu'lu' al-ṣadaf fī ta'rikh al-Nadja'*, Iṣfahān 1959; 'Abbās Ikbal, *Hudjāt al-Islam Hādīj Sayyid Muhammad Bakir Shafī*, in *Tādghār*, v, no. 10 (1949), 28-43; Mīrzā Husayn Hamadānī, *Ta'rikh-i dīdād*, ed. E.G. Browne, Cambridge 1893; Ismā'il Rā'īn, *Huḳūḳ bigirān-i Ingilīs dar Iran*, Tehran 1969; Khān Malik Sāsānī, *Dast-i pinhān-i siyāsāt-i Ingilīs dar Irān*, Tehran 1950; Muhammad 'Alī Muhammad Ridā Tabasī, *Dhikrā Shaykhīnā al-Anšārī ba'd karnīn*, Nadjaf 1961 (?); art. *Anšārī*, *Shaykh Murtaḍā*, in *Lughat-nama-yi Dihkhudā*, no. 86, 1963, 408; Dīyā' al-Dīn al-Dakhīlī, *Ta'rikh al-hayāt al-'ilmiyya fī dīami' al-Nadja' al-ashraf*, in *Madjallat al-nisāla*, vi (1938), 1509-11, 1555-8.

(ABDUL-HADI HAIRI)

ANTHROPOID [see KIRD].

ANZARŪT, greek *σαρκοκόλλα*, is a gum-resin from a thorn-bush which cannot be identified with certainty; known from antiquity, it is used for medical purposes. Synonyms are: *anzarūt*, *'anzarūt*, *kuhl fārsī*, *kuhl kirmānī*; in Persian: *anzarūt* or *andjarūt*, *tashm* (< *čashm*), *kandjuba*, *kandjudha*, *kandjudak*, *bāzahr-i čashm* (so instead of *zahr dīashm*, Antākī, *Tadhkira*, see *Bibl.* below). Much has been written on this drug. Formerly, the species *Penaea*, belonging to the Thymelaeaceae, was generally considered to be the original plant, namely either *Penaea mucronata* L., or *P. Sarcocolla* L. or *P. squamosa* L. But in 1879 W. Dymock was able to prove that at least the Persian *Sarcocolla* is the product of what he called *Astragalus Sarcocolla* Dym. (Leguminosae). Widely known in antiquity, the drug has practically disappeared from the



European store of medicines, but, according to Meyerhof, it is still well-known in the Orient, especially in the drugmarket in Cairo.

According to Dioscorides, the yellowish bitter resin was above all useful for causing new flesh wounds (σάρξ "flesh", κόλλα "glue") scar over. Already al-Kindī used it as component of a good number of recipes (*Akrābādīn*, see *Bibl.* below), among others for leprosy. The most detailed description is given by Ibn al-Bayṭār on the basis of Greek and Arabic sources as well as his own observations. The resin consumes the festering flesh of putrescent abscesses, assists the ripening of tumours, carries away mucus and yellow gall, and is a remedy for inflammations of the eye, for agglutinating eyelids and for excessive secretion of the eye. Taken internally, the resin is a strong purgative, but causes also the hair to fall out. The best *Sarcocolla* consists of crushed, white seeds, mixed with walnut oil. Measured out in different ways, it can be mingled with other drugs (sagapenum, myrobalanum, aloes, bdellium, etc.). When taken neat, the resin can be lethal; therefore, the dose should not be more than $2\frac{1}{4}$ dirhams. Ibn al-Bayṭār, however, maintains that he saw in Egypt women partaking, immediately after a bath, of up to 4 ounces of *anzarūt*, together with the pulp of the yellow melon, hoping to increase thus their corpulence.

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(A. DIETRICH)

ʾAPE [see **ḲRD**].

ʿĀR (ʿA.), "shame, opprobrium, dishonour", has undergone in North Africa a semantic evolution

analogous to that of the root *dh.m.m.* of classical Arabic, arriving at a sense close to that of *dhimma* [q.v.], that is to say, of "protection", with nuances which should be taken into account. A formula such as *ʿārī ʿalayk/ʿalīk*, "my shame upon you", contains visibly a threat against the person to whom it is addressed and means in effect "the shame shall be yours if you do not grant my request" (cf. W. Marçais, *Textes arabes de Takroûna*, Paris 1925, 200, 215-6, where the challenge is addressed to a deceased saint and the appeal is for rain). When applied to a living person the formula presupposes a transfer of responsibility accompanied by a mystical sanction, the divine malediction which will not fail to afflict the man whose refusal is unjustified. To this sense of *ʿār*, current even in Tunisia, there is added in Morocco (where the term was adopted by Berber in the form *dʿar*, *lʿar*), a new sense which appears in expressions of the type: *anā f-ʿarak* "I am in your ʿar—under your protection" (cf. W. Marçais, *Textes arabes de Tanger*, Paris 1911, 396). The sense of "conditional malediction" (E. Westermarck, *Survivances païennes dans la civilisation mahométane*, Paris 1935, 87) continues to underlie it, and from "mystical responsibility" (G. Marcy, *Le droit coutumier zemmoûr*, Algiers-Paris 1949, index, s.v. *dʿar*), we pass into the material world when *ʿār* comes to designate the indemnity due in cases of breach of honour.

In fact the "throwing" (Arabic verb: *rma*, Berber: *gər*) of the *ʿār* is effected by means of practices already in part attested in the pre-Islamic period, for example touching the pole or the cords of a tent, taking a child in one's arms, etc. (see Wellhausen, *Reste*, 223 ff.), which permitted a solitary person or a fugitive to obtain the status of *dakhīl* or of *djār* and in consequence the protection of an individual, a clan or a tribe (cf. B. Farès, *L'honneur chez les Arabes avant l'Islam*, Paris 1932, 88-9). J. Chelhod (*Le droit dans la société bédouine*, Paris 1932, 222 ff.) has called attention to three terms in current use, of which the connotations are close:

(1) *dakhīl* "an oppressed or hunted man who seeks the aid of his own tribe", according to a ritual comprising especially a gesture of humility; this practice, introduced by the formula *anā dakhīl ʿalayk*, constitutes the *dakhāla* and implies, on the part of the beneficiary, a recompense for the services rendered by the protector, henceforward responsible for the conduct of the affair in which his intervention has been solicited. A much attenuated vestige of this type of requisition survives in the Oriental expression *dakhīlak*, which means nothing more than "I beg you";

(2) *ṭanīb* "a man who, to safeguard his rights, to escape from justice or to save his life, leaves the clan of his birth, alone or with his family and goes to establish himself in a different tribe which promises to assist him". This term is to be linked with *ṭunub* "tent-cord" [see **ḲHAYMA**], the suppliant being obliged, originally, to touch at least a cord of the tent of the one to whom he appeals; while in Morocco this gesture is still a part of the ritual, it has been forgotten in the Orient, where the *ṭanīb* pronounces the same formula as the *dakhīl*, but enjoys a wider protection and owes no indemnity; and

(3) *kaṣīr*, also a refugee, but entitled to make use of his prestige among his former group with which he has not severed all relations.

In all the cases cited above, the Bedouin who has granted his protection cannot again withdraw it, and if he falls short of his obligations, tacit or ex-



plicit, he will be forever marked by dishonour. Thus we return to the primitive sense of the word *ār*, which is not however used in the Orient in the same way as in Morocco. J. Chelhod (*op. laud.*, iii), who has drawn attention to the use of this word to designate a spouse (*ārī* = my wife), links it to *āura* "nudity, modesty, etc.", but the two words do not belong to the same root and, what is more *īrd* "honour" is also used in the same sense (for Mosul, see A. Jaussen, *Coutumes des Arabes au pays de Moab*², Paris 1948, 45, n. 3). In this case, *ār* would seem rather to imply the idea that dishonour would affect the husband who did not protect his wife; one dare not go so far as to attribute to this term the sense of "protection", but there is found here a notion firmly rooted in the Arab mentality, the notion of honour upon which B. Farès has founded his entire thesis.

The Moroccan *ār* thus implies a transfer of responsibility and of obligation, for the supplicatee, to accord his protection to the suppliant, in default of which dishonour falls on the former, who is obliged to give satisfaction to the latter. This transfer can operate in a number of ways, with variable consequences. The most simple consists in saying *ār ālik* "the *ār* on you" and making a material contact with the person to whom the appeal is made, for example touching the edge of his turban, or laying one's hand upon him or his mount. More serious is the case of a man guilty of a crime or a misdeed and pursued by his enemies: the pursuit must cease as soon as the suppliant has touched the ropes or the pole of the tent of the supplicatee or has penetrated his home: the result is still more spectacular when the latter is an interested party of the suppliant's victim. However, in such serious cases a more efficacious means consists in slaughtering an animal (Arabic *dbīha*, Berber *tam ghrust*) without pronouncing the *basmala*, so as to preclude the eating of its flesh, on the threshold of the house or at the entrance of the tent of the member of the alien tribe to whom appeal has been made. The latter is obliged to grant the request presented in this manner from the instant that he sets foot in the pool of blood or simply perceives it; here the efficacy of the procedure is due to the blood [see DAM, in the Supplement], which possesses magic power. Finally, to appeal for the aid of another tribe, to address a request to the authorities or to give force to a submission to central government, recourse would be made to the *l'argiba* which consisted in hamstringing a horse, a camel or a bull and placing it in the posture of a suppliant.

Other procedures are still employed (see E. Westernmark, *op. laud.*, 87-107) which may be passed over without comment except to recall that the persons solicited are not permitted to refuse and that they are bound, whatever their inner inclination, to protect the suppliant, and whatever the circumstances, to provide him with hospitality: a private house, and in more serious cases where the *ār* has been imposed on the tribe, a mosque, or the tomb of a saint enjoying a right of asylum rarely violated.

There was quoted at the beginning of this article an example of *ār* exercised with regard to a Tunisian saint. The Moroccans also use it towards their saints (see below), to whom they offer sacrifices to obtain their intercession; they also employ other procedures (heaps of stones, votary offerings, etc.) which doubtless rely more on sympathetic magic than on *ār* in the true sense of the word. In the same way, they

assure themselves of the neutrality of *djinn*s by immolations which could be interpreted as offerings and therefore unrelated to *ār*.

The latter is imposed, so it is understood, to obtain all sorts of things, from the most banal to the most important; to obtain pardon for an offence, to assure oneself of an intervention, to protect oneself from an enemy, to bring about a change of mind on the part of a father who has refused to give his daughter in marriage to a suitor, to oblige the parents of a murdered man to accept the *diya* and not to insist on vengeance on the guilty party; a douar can even impose it on another whose cooperation it is seeking, for example in the harvest.

Women can also have recourse to the *ār*, under the same conditions as men or using procedures of their own. In certain Berber tribes of Morocco, a woman who wishes to leave her husband may take refuge in an alien tent or house, kiss a beam or handle the mechanism of a mill: from that moment, the owner of the property must marry her and compensate the abandoned husband, or... take flight. A fugitive who has succeeded in sucking a woman's nipple obtains her protection and that of her husband, and cases are known of adoption by suckling (see G. Marcy, in *RAfr.*, lxxix (1936), 957-73) or even by simulated suckling [see for instance AL-KĀHINA].

As regards adoption, which does not exist in Islamic law, a particular aspect of *ār* in certain Berber tribes is an institution concerning an individual called, with nuances, *amazal*, *amzyad*, *amhaz*, *amhars*, *awrith*, etc. It occurs in the case of a stranger to the group who, usually after committing some offence in his own clan (also sometimes one refused by a father whose daughter he has asked for in marriage), has imposed the *ār* and obtained the protection of another group which he makes henceforward the beneficiary of his work. He becomes *amazal* when his protector has given to him in marriage his own daughter or another woman over whom he holds the right of *qabr* [q.v. in Suppl.]; the marriage-price must be paid in work over a prescribed period. If the head of the family so decides, the *amazal* may be adopted and may enjoy all the rights of a legitimate son, even though he is the daughter's husband. In certain par-lances, a distinction is drawn between the *amhars*, a term designating the stranger adopted by a man, and the *amazal* in the true sense of the word; in this last case, a widow who is the head of a family may adopt a stranger whom she makes her concubine and whom she has the right to reject or to marry legally when the pre-arranged marriage-price has been paid in full. This institution gives rise to judicial arrangements, the details of which cannot be discussed here (see G. Marcy, *Zemmour*, index; G. Surdon, *Institutions et coutumes des Berbères du Maghreb*, Tangier-Fez 1938, 244-50).

In spite of the absence, in Berber speech, of an original term to designate *ār*, it is quite certain that this custom presents a number of autochthonous features which justify a treatment distinct from that of the ancient *djīwār* and its aspects which define within strict limits the protection accorded by oriental Bedouin to strangers to their tribe. However, orthodox opinion is particularly worried by the practice of throwing one's cloak or turban on the tomb of a saint, or furthermore, of slaughtering an animal there as a form of *ār*, and the *fukahā* make the comment that the deceased would not be able alone to fulfil the request. They object in other



ways besides to the use of the word *ʿār*, and only permit these rites when their object is to obtain the *baraka* of the saint or when an animal is sacrificed for the distribution of its meat to the guardians of the sanctuary (see al-Kattānī, *Salwat al-anfās*, i, 54-6).

Bibliography: In addition to references given in the article, see G. Kampffmeyer, *Texte aus Fes*, Berlin 1909 (text V); E. Westermarck, *Ritual and belief in Morocco*, London 1928; idem, *L'ār, the transference of conditional curses in Morocco*, in *Anthropological essays presented to E.B. Tylor*, Oxford 1907, 361-74; A. Jaussen, *Coutumes des Arabes au pays de Moab*, Paris 1948, 187-220. (CH. PELLAT)

ARAGHŪN, Arabic name corresponding to the Spanish Aragón. In fact, this word has both a geographical and a political sense. As a geographical term, it refers to a river, dominated by the fortress of Shantamariyya, the first of the defensive system of Navarre (al-Himyarī, *Rawḍ*, no. 105). This watercourse rises on the southern slope of the Pyrenees, near Canfranc; after passing the town of Jaca, the Sierra de la Peña diverts it towards the west, watering Berdun, Tiermas, Sangüesa, Rocafort, Aibar, Caparrosa and Villafranca before joining the Arga and flowing into the Ebro in Navarre.

This *Wādī Araghūn* would seem to constitute the natural path of incursion into the Christian kingdom of Navarre. Having followed the river as far as Sangüesa, the Muslim forces followed the course of its tributary the Iratí, in the direction of Pamplona. This is to be inferred from *Bayān*, ii, 148, "Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Malik al-Tawīl marched in 298/911 towards Aragon with the object of capturing Pamplona and linking up there with 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Lubb." This is precisely the route used in the famous campaign of 'Abd al-Rahmān III in 312/924. The forces of the caliph, coming from Tudela, attacked the stronghold of Karkastal/Carcastillo on the river Aragon, Markwīz/Marcuella, Sangüesa, Rocafort and Aibar, Lumbier and Pamplona (*Muktabis*, v, 123; *Bayān*, ii, 186; A. Cañada, *La Campaña musulmana de Pamplona. Año 924*, Pamplona 1976). In 325/937 we find the same juxtaposition of details when the general Ahmad b. Muḥammad b. Ilyās was sent, with 1,500 horsemen, on a reconnaissance expedition, *ilā basīṭ Banbalūna wa-wādī Araghūn* (*Muktabis*, v, 271).

For Rāzī it was also a mountain range (*Crónica moro...*, ed. Catalan, Madrid 1975, 48-9) "E en su termino (de Huesca) ha... otro (castillo) que ha nonbre Tolia, yaze cerca de la sierra de Aragon. E Aragon es muy nombrada sierra entre las Españas. E en ella yazen dos castillos muy buenos, el uno ha nonbre Sen e el otro Ben; e yazen en dos peñas que son encima de la sierra de Aragon, e corre por entre ellos un rrio de Flumen... E de las sierras... e logares nombrados en fortaleza, son en aquella tierra que se ayunta con monte Aragon que ha nonbre Monte Negro, e non lo podra pasar ome a cavallo, que ande bien, en menos de tres dias." Al-'Udhri (*Masālik...*, 56) states that the town and district of Huesca "lies in the vicinity of the *Djabal Araghūn*, renowned among the Christians."

If it is accepted that this valley was the route employed by the various Muslim expeditions, not only towards the Christian centre of Jaca but also, and especially, towards Navarre, it must be assumed that it was organised as a "frontier" for the defence of Pamplona. This defensive function would create a centre for resistance and for counter-attacks. The

"reconquest" of the valley of the Ebro would have been an enterprise of Aragon rather than Navarre, just as Castille had absorbed the old kingdom of Leon. The Christian advance at the expense of al-Andalus would henceforward be the product of these two "frontier" forces, *Kashṭāla* [q.v.] and Araghūn.

In fact, these two kingdoms were to share between themselves their future conquests. This gave rise to various formal treaties: Tudellen (1151), Cazorla (1179) and Almizra (1244) (Roque Chabas, *División de la conquista de España nueva entre Aragón y Castilla*, in *Congreso Hist. Aragón*, Barcelona 1909), in which were fixed the respective zones of the legal expansion of Aragon and Castille. The former, having achieved by 1238 its own particular "reconquest", turned its attention to the sea. It was then that there took shape the broad outlines of its policy towards Africa (Ch. E. Dufourcq, *L'Espagne catalane et le Maghrib aux XIII et XIV siècles*, Paris 1965), the Mediterranean (Corsica, Sardinia, Sicily, and the kingdom of Naples—in competition with the Angevin dynasty), annexation of part of the Byzantine empire (the duchies of Athens and of Neopatria), of the island of Cyprus, and commercial relations with Mamlūk Egypt (A. Masia de Ros, *La Corona de Aragón y los estados del Norte de Africa*, Barcelona 1951; A. Lopez de Meneses, *Los consulados catalanes de Alejandria y Damasco en el reinado de Pedro IV el Ceremonioso*, Saragossa 1956; F. Giunta, *Aragonesi e Catalani nel Mediterraneo*, Palermo 1959; L. Nicolau d'Oliver, *L'expansio de Catalunya a la Mediterrania Oriental*, Barcelona 1926). After the union of the kingdoms of Aragon and Castille in 1474, Spain inherited this interventionist line to the Mediterranean: attempts at invasion of Algiers in 1519 and 1541 (directed against the piracy of the Barbarossa brothers [see 'ARŪJ and KHAYR AL-DĪN BARBAROSSA]), conquest of the island of Djerba (1520), the capture of La Golletha at Tunis (1535) (E.G. Ontiveros, *La política norteafricana de Carlos I*, Madrid 1950) and the battle of Lepanto [see AYNABAKHTI] in 1571.

But Araghūn above all has a political sense. According to al-Himyarī (*Rawḍ*, no. 8), "it is the name of the territory of Gharsiya b. Shandjuh, comprising cantons (*bilād*), staging posts (*manāzil*) and districts (*amāl*)". According to Maḥḥarī (*Nafḥ*, ed. Beirut, i, 137), "The fifth region passed through Toledo and Saragossa and their environs, towards the territory of Aragon, to the south of which lies Barcelona." As a political concept, its borders were constantly changing. Just as al-Andalus did not cease to contract in the course of the centuries, *Araghūn* constantly expanded. So its history is founded on the recession of the Muslim *thaghr al-a'lā* [q.v.], sc. of the Upper March. Its growth took place at the expense of the neighbouring Hispano-Arab states; the Banū Qasī, Tudjribids, Banu 'l-Tawīl, Banū Hūd, Banū Razīn, Almoravids, Banū Ghānīya and Banū Mardaniṣh [q.v.], following a continuous advance during the 11th-13th centuries. The principal landmarks of this "reconquest" are the taking of Graus (1083), Monzón (1089), Alquézar (1091), Almenara (1093), Huesca (1096), Barbastro (1100), Balaguer (1105), Ejea and Tauste (1106), Tamarite (1107), Morella and Belchite (1117), Saragossa (1118), Tarazona and Tudela (1119), Calatayud and Daroca (1120), Alcañiz (1124), Tortosa (1148), Lérida, Fraga and Mequinenza (1149), Teruel (ca. 1157), Valderobes (1169), Caspe (1171), Majorca (1229), Morella (1232), Burriana (1233), Peñíscola (1234), Ibiza (1235), Valencia (1238) and Minorca (1287). The expansion



of Castile was fundamentally local, while that of Aragon took place in a wider context. Alfonso I was in a sense a crusader. The author of the *Hulal mawshiyya* (76) tells us that for his epic raid in 1225-6 against the Levante and Andalusia—which brought back numerous Mozarabs [q.v.]—"He chose, assembled and equipped 4,000 horsemen of Aragon, whom they selected with their squires. They agreed and swore by the Gospel that not one of them would desert his companion". First of all, a psychological offensive took place (articles by D.M. Dunlop, A. Cutler and A. Turki, in *Al-Andalus*, 1952, 1963 and 1966; Chalmers in *RUM*, xx, 1972), followed by the Council of Toulouse in 1118 which proclaimed the expedition against Muslim Spain. There was also participation by numerous French troops, creating a greater "mass movement" and a change of tactics. Technical innovations (catapults and mobile siege-towers built by an expert, a veteran of the sieges of Nice, Antioch, and especially Jerusalem, Gaston de Béarn) made possible the capture of strongholds hitherto impregnable. The great campaigns of James I the Conqueror (the Balearic islands in 1229 and Valencia in 1238) were also to be considered as a crusade (R.I. Burns, *The Crusader kingdom of Valencia*, Cambridge, Mass. 1967). The royal house of Aragon was systematically more tolerant than Castile towards the conquered Muslims. The treaties of capitulation seem all to have been inspired by the need to retain labourers and peasants (hence this was a policy different from "repopulation"). The first example was to be that of the conquest of Valencia by the Cid in 1094. Those, subsequently, of Saragossa, Tudela and Tortosa, as well as the later ones signed by James I, also correspond to this scheme (R.M. Menéndez Pidal, *La España del Cid*, Madrid 1956, 483-93; R.I. Burns, *Islam under the Crusaders*, Princeton 1973, 118-38, 173-83). These circumstances explain the importance of the Mudéjars (q.v., and Macho Ortega, *Condición social de los mudéjares aragoneses* (s. XV) in *Mem. Fac. Fa. Zaragoza*, i (1923), 137-319, and L. Piles, *La situación social de los moros de realengo en la Valencia del s. XV*, Madrid 1949), and later of the Moriscos (q.v., and T. Halperin Donghi, *Un conflicto nacional: moriscos y cristianos viejos en Valencia*, in *CHE*, xxiii-xxiv (1955), 5-115; xxv-xxvi (1957), 83-250; idem, *Reconvencions de civilisation: les morisques du royaume de Valence au XVI s.*, in *Annales*, xi (1956), 154-82; J. Reglá, *Estudios sobre los moriscos*, Valencia 1964; M.S. Carrasco Urgoiti, *El problema morisco en Aragón al comienzo del reinado de Felipe II*, Valencia 1969) in these regions where they were almost always vassals of local lords and bore the name of "exarico"/*sharik* (E. Hinojosa, *Mezquinos y exaricos* . . . , in *Obras*, Madrid 1948, 245-56). It is the permanence of this *modus vivendi* which explains the fact that the vast majority of aljamiada [q.v.] literature comes from this region.

For the Arab historians, *Araghūn* means not only a region but also all the territories of the political entity embodied in the Kingdom of Aragon. In this context are included Catalonia, the Balearic Islands and Valencia. Al-Marrakūshī (*Mu'djib*, 50-1, 235, 267) defines its extent in 621/1224 thus: "The Banū Hūd possessed the towns of this region (al-Andalus), Tortosa and its environs, Saragossa and its environs, Fraga, Lérida and Calatayud. They are now in the hands of the "Franks", belonging to the prince of Barcelona, and constitute the country known as *Araghūn*. The latter has the borders of the kingdom of Barcelona, to the French frontier. Neighbouring

the Banū Hūd, there used to be Abū Marwān 'Abd al-Malik b. 'Abd al-'Azīz . . . who possessed Valencia and its surrounding territory. The Frontier was under the control of Abū Marwān b. Razīn, whose rule extended as far as the frontiers of Toledo. The four parts of Spain are ruled by four kings: one is constituted by the afore-mentioned Aragon and lies to the south-east . . . The first town, at the south-east border on the Mediterranean coast, is Barcelona, followed by Taragona, then Tortosa. In this region, the non-coastal cities are Saragossa, Lérida, Fraga, and Calatayud all under the rule of the king of Barcelona. It is the region called *Araghūn*". For Hīmīyārī (*Rawd*, no. 182), "Majorca lies one day's sail from Barcelona, *min bilād Araghūn*", and in 636/1238 "the Rūm entered into possession of Valencia, demanding capitulation and James/*Ḍāknūh malik Araghūn* took control of it". Finally, we find the equation *Araghūn* = the territories of the Kingdom of Aragon clearly expressed in the 14th century. Ibn Khaldūn (*Ibar*, ed. Beirut, iv, 395) declares: "As for the king of Barcelona, in the Levante of al-Andalus, his territories are extensive and his kingdom is great. The latter includes Barcelona, Aragon, Jativa, Saragossa, Valencia, Dénia, Majorca, and Minorca." Speaking of the taking of Valencia by James I, he describes him as *malik* or *tāghiyat Araghūn*.

The origin of the future Navarre-Aragon heartland apparently dates back to the period of the Muslim invasions. It seems in fact that the Arabs only penetrated fairly superficially into the region of the Pyrenees (F. Codera, *La dominación arábiga en la Frontera Superior*, Madrid 1879; idem, *Limites probables de la conquista árabe en la cordillera pirenaica*, in *BRAH* (1906); J. Millas Vallicrosa, *La conquista musulmana de la región pirenaica*, in *Prineos* (1946), ii, 53-67). Thus "the regions lying beyond the sierras of Santo Domingo and Guara, of Alquézar in Sobrarbe, Roda in Ribagorza, Agar in Pallars, like the highlands of Urgel, Bergada, Ripolles and Besalu in Catalonia" were not occupied.

Although the texts lack precision, they agree in asserting that Mūsā b. Nuṣayr [q.v.] conquered Saragossa in 96/714. He marched for twenty days and captured a sea-port town, probably Taragona, if we are to believe the *Cronica del moro Rasis* (41-2), which attributes this deed to "Tarife, el fijo de Nazayr". Pamplona capitulated before 100/718, during the emirate of al-Hurr, and the *tābī'is* 'Alī b. Rabāḥ al-Lakḥmī and Ḥanash b. 'Abd Allāh al-Ṣan'ānī (Ibn al-Faradī, no. 913) countersigned it. This was hardly a durable submission, since "Uḡba conquered Narbonne . . . Pamplona, where he established Muslims" (*Bayān*, ii, 29) and the *amīr* Yūsuf hurried thither with clearly insufficient forces, "Sulaymān b. Shihāb and al-Husayn b. Dādīn against the Vascons of Pamplona" (*Akhbār maḍmū'a*, 75). After seven years of siege, Huesca surrendered (al-'Udhri, 56-7) on conditions similar to those of Tudmīr [q.v.], under the governorship of al-Hurr or of al-Samḥ: "When the Muslims penetrated into Spain, the inhabitants of the mountain fortresses of Lérida and the High Aragon made a pact with them, and paid them tribute, without any argument" (*Crónica Rasis*, 42-3).

In 132/750, the situation of the valley of the Ebro began to pose serious problems when Yūsuf al-Fihri sent there, as *wālī*, his adviser and *alter ego* al-Sumayl. In 136/753, there broke out the rebellion of 'Amīr and the Banū Zuhra b. Kilāb, who, at the head of a coalition of Yemenis and Berbers besieged him in



Saragossa. The Kayṣīs relieved al-Ṣumayl while 'Abd al-Rahmān I attempted a crossing to Spain (*Akhbār*, 62-79). Later the *amīr* sent there his trusted lieutenant, the *mawlā* Badr. The Yemenī Sulaymān b. Yaḥzān al-Kalbī and al-Ḥusayn b. Yahyā al-Anṣārī, by promising Saragossa to Charlemagne, encouraged him to undertake his ill-fated expedition of 778. This Upper March was always an extremely volatile zone and politically very unstable. We find there the Tudjībid Banū Salama in the region of Huesca, ousted by the "reign" of Bahlūl b. Marzūk. The loyal 'Amrūs b. Yūsuf re-established authority there in the name of al-Ḥakam I, but the representative of the *muwallad* family of the Banū Kaṣī, Mūsā b. Mūsā [q.v.], rebelled in 842 at Tudela, took possession of Saragossa and Huesca and declared himself the "third king of Spain". To curb him, the *amīr* Muḥammad installed at Calatayud and Daroca the Tudjībid Banū Muḥādīr who, having succeeded, transformed themselves into autonomous "lords" of the March of a more-than-changeable loyalty. In the north, we find in the 10th century the Banū Shabrīt b. al-Tawīl at Huesca. All these peoples did not hesitate to play the Franks, the Arabs, the *muwallads* and the Navarro-Aragonese (with whom they had family ties) off against their rivals, Muslim as well as Christian. Such was also the policy of the Banū Hūd, who employed the Cid and were able for a long time to balance the ambitions of the Almoravids, the Aragonese, the Catalans, the Navarrese and the Castilians. In fact, it seems that, in about 228/843 there was legal recognition of the North-Pyrenean enclaves by the emirate of Cordova. Thanks to an annual tribute of 700 *dīnārs* and the status of vassalage, there was *ikrār* [q.v.] of the territories of Iñigo and of Sancho (al-Udhri, 30).

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(P. CHALMETA)

ARAT, REŞİD RAHMETİ, up to 1934 G.R. RACHMATI, modern Turkish REŞİD RAHMETİ ARAT, Turkish scholar and philologist (1900-64). Born at Eski Üdjüm, to the south-west of Kazan, he was the son of 'Abd al-Reşīd 'İsmet Allāh, of a family of *mudarrisūn* who emigrated from Kazan and set up a "hereditary" *madrasa* there. He attended various schools in his home town, and later in Kızılyar (Petropavlovsk) and in Harbin in Manchuria where

he finished high school (1921). He joined cultural associations of the Kazan Tatars in Harbin and contributed to various papers. In December 1922 he left for Germany and he enrolled in Berlin University, where he was trained in Turkish philology by Willy Bang. He obtained his Ph. D. in 1927 with a thesis on *Die Hilfsverben und Verbaladverbien im Altäaischen* which was published in *Ural-altäaische Jahrbücher*, viii/1-4 (1927), 1-66. He then joined the teaching staff of the Department of Oriental languages at the University. In the same year he married Dr. Rabī'a, also from the Kazan area, whom he had met in Harbin. In 1928 he was made a research assistant in the Prussian Academy. In 1933, following the university reform in Turkey, he was offered the chair of Turkish philology in the University of Istanbul where he taught until his death. He was the director of the Institute of Turcology (1940-50) founded by Fu'ād Köprülü in 1924 and a visiting professor in the SOAS London (1949-51). He died in Istanbul on 29 November 1964. R.R. Arat, who contributed greatly in introducing the historic and comparative approach to studies of Turkish language and dialects, was a scholar who preferred to limit his efforts to a given area and to deepen it rather than spread over many problems and cognate fields. He remained strictly interested in linguistic and philological problems and text criticism. He is the author of the following major works: *Zur Heilkunde der Uighuren*, 2 vols, Berlin 1930-2; *Die Legende von Oghuz Qaghan* (with W. Bang), Berlin 1932; *Türkische Turfan Texte*, vii, Berlin 1936; *Un yarlık de Mehmed II, le Conquérant*, in *Annali RISON*, xx (1940); *Bābur, Vekayi*, 2 vols, Ankara 1943-6; *Kutadgu Bilig* (critical edition), Istanbul 1947; *Atebetü 'l-hakāyik* (critical edition and modern Turkish paraphrase), Istanbul 1951; *Yusuf Has Hacib, Kutadgu bilig* (Modern Turkish paraphrase), Ankara 1959; *Türk şivelerinin tasnifi*, in *TM*, x (1953), 59-139 (a summary of former attempts to classify Turkish dialects, together with a new proposal; under the influence of his own dialect, Arat insisted on using the term *şive* (accent) instead of *lehçe* (dialect) of standard Turkish); *Eski türk şiiri* (Pre-Islamic and early Islamic Turkish verse, texts, modern Turkish paraphrase and notes), posthumous, Ankara 1965.

Bibliography: *Reşit Rahmeti Arat için—A memorial volume published by Türk Kültürünü Araştırma Enstitüsü*, Ankara 1966, pp. x, xxx (the principal source for biographical and bibliographical data on Arat up to the date of publication).

(FAHİR İZ)

ARBA'ÜN ḤADĪTH^{AN}, a genre of literary and religious works centred round 40 *ḥadīths* of the Prophet.

This type of work has arisen, from one aspect, from the *ḥadīth* which says "The member of my community who learns 40 *ḥadīths* connected with the prescriptions of the faith will be raised to life by God among the authorities on the law and the scholars", and from another aspect, from certain secondary factors: the desire to be covered by the Prophet's grace, the hope of escaping the tortures of hell-fire, the intention of enabling oneself to see the great ones, etc.

Works in this category of *arba'ün ḥadīth^{an}* may be written in prose, verse or in the two combined. The contents may also differ; some writers and compilers are content to gather together the *ḥadīths*, others add to them explanations, whilst yet others adorn and complete these texts by means of accounts, *āyāt* and homilectic material. The elements of works



in this general category are selected according to differing principles: *ahādīth kudsīyya*, of divine inspiration [see ḤADĪTH KUDSĪ]; *khutbas* of the Prophet; *ḥadīths* chosen from amongst those texts easy for learning by heart; etc. *Arba'ūn* collections are also found centred on a particular subject: the qualities of the Qur'ān, the essential principles of Islam, the Prophet and his Companions (or even his children and grandchildren), sects and mysticism, knowledge and the scholar, politics and law, the holy war, social and moral life, etc.

The genre is called *ḥīl ḥadīth* by the Persians and *kīrk ḥadīth* by the Turks. It developed first of all in Arabic and developed extensively. Amongst the oldest collections are those of Abū Bakr al-Āḍjurrī (d. 330/942) and of Ibn Wad'ān (d. 494/1101). But the most celebrated is that put together by Muḥyī 'l-Dīn Abū Zakariyyā³ Yahyā al-Nawawī (631-76/1235-77), the object of numerous commentaries in Arabic and translations into other Islamic languages. The first *ḥīl ḥadīth* collections in Persian which have come down to us were written in the 6th-7th/12th-13th centuries, sc. the *Tabīb al-kulūb* of Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Farawī and *al-Arba'ūn al-Bahā'ī* of 'Imād al-Dīn Ḥasan b. 'Alī. However, the most famous and most widely-disseminated collection is that composed in quatrains, the *Tarjuma-yi Arba'ūn ḥadīth* of 'Abd al-Rahmān Dīāmī (817-98/1414-92). The works of Nawawī and Dīāmī were translated into Turkish and published on many occasions.

It should further be noted that the Turks not only appreciated highly the genre in question, but also composed didactic works full of teaching points. The oldest one of these in Turkish known to us is the *Nahḍ al-farādis* of Maḥmūd b. 'Alī (8th/14th century), followed in the next one by Kemāl Ummī (translation after 815/1412) and also 'Alī Shīr Newā'ī (845-906/1441-1501), and then in the 10th/16th century by Fuḍūlī (?885-963/?1480-1556), Uṣūlī (d. 975/1568), New'ī (942-1007/1535-99), 'Ashīk Çelebī Naṭṭā'a (translation 979/1571) and Muṣṭafā 'Alī (translation 1005/1597). This work of translation was further pursued with enthusiasm in succeeding centuries, the most important works being those of Mehmed Khākānī (1011/1603), Ismā'īl Rusūkhī (d. 1040/1631), Yūsuf Nabī (1052-1124/1642-1712), 'Oṭmān-zāde Tā'ib (1120/1708), Mūnif (1145/1733), 'Ömer Dīyā' al-Dīn (publ. 1326/1908) and Aḥmed Na'īm (publ. 1343/1925).

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(ABDÜLKADİR KARAHAN)

ARGHIYĀN, the name found in mediaeval times for a district of northern Khurāsān. It lay to the south of Kūcān/Khabūshān [q.v.], straddling the hilly region of the modern Kūh-i Shāh Dīahān and the Kūh-i Binālūd, around the sources of the Kashaf-Rūd. It is not to be identified with the district of Dīādīarm [q.v. in Suppl.] lying further to the west, as was done by Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 392, an error perpetuated by B. Spooner in his *Arghiyān. The area of Jājam in western Khurāsān*, in *Iran, Jnal. of the British Institute of Persian Studies*, iii, (1965), 97-107. The name of Arghiyān's *chef-lieu*, Rāwnīr, appears in the *Hudūd al-'ālam*, tr. Minorsky, 103, as Rāwīnī (restored by

Aubin as Rāwnīr, see Bibl.); the correct form Rāw(a)nīr is further given in Yāqūt, *Buldān*, ed. Beirut, i, 153, as the *kaṣaba* of this district of 71 villages, and by Sam'ānī, *Ansāb*, ed. Hyderabad, i, 167-70, who visited the district personally and who has a long list of the 'ulamā' of Arghiyān.

In Tīmūrid times, we find the administrative coupling Dīahān u Arghiyān, and then in the Ṣafawid period, Dīahān-i Arghiyān is linked with the district of Kalīdar (thus as a single *tīpuldār* under Shāh Ṣafī in 1046/1636). By modern times, however, the name of Arghiyān dropped out of usage.

Bibliography: In addition to the sources mentioned in the article, see the penetrating discussion of J. Aubin in *Réseau pastoral et réseau caravanier. Les grand' routes du Khurassan à l'époque mongole, in Le monde iranien et l'Islam*, i (Geneva-Paris 1971), 109 ff.

(C.E. BOSWORTH)

'ĀRIF ÇELEBĪ, dervish mystic, grandson of Mawlānā Dīālāl al-Dīn Rūmī and the third *khālifa* of the Mawlawīyya order, was born at Konya on 8 Dhu 'l-Ka'da 670/7 June 1272 as a son to Sultān Walad and Fāṭima Khātūn, the daughter of the goldsmith Ṣalāh al-Dīn. His actual name was Dīālāl al-Dīn Farīdūn. Mawlānā, who named him thus after his two grandfathers, gave him also the by-name Amīr 'Ārif, from which the commonly-used Turkish form Ulu 'Ārif has been derived.

An extensive biography with many hagiographic traits is contained in the eighth chapter of the *Manāqib al-'arīfīn* by Allākī [q.v.]. Being one of 'Ārif's pupils, Allākī was an eyewitness to a great part of his life and accompanied him on a number of his travels. 'Ārif frequently wandered through Anatolia, but he made journeys to 'Irāk and Persia as well. On one occasion, Sultān Walad sent him to the court of the Il-Khān at Ṣultāniyya to remonstrate against the pro-Shī'a policy adopted by Oldjeitü. In 712/1312, 'Ārif succeeded his father as the head of the Mawlawīyya. His death occurred at Konya on 23 Dhu 'l-Hijja 719/5 November 1320. His tomb is still extant in the Mawlawī *türbe*.

The anecdotes related by Allākī depict 'Ārif as a colourful personality. Through his conduct, he expressed the antinomian tendencies inherent in the Mawlawī tradition from its origin. He acted like a *rind* dervish and indulged in long and exhaustive *samā'* sessions which often gave rise to scandal.

Unlike his ancestors, 'Ārif was neither prominent as a scholar nor as a writer. The only works known to us are collections of his *ghazals* and his quatrains which were all written in Persian. The rareness of these poems both in separate manuscripts and in collections of Mawlawī poetry suggests that they were not very highly appreciated in the literary tradition of the order. A manuscript in the Leiden University Library contains a collection of 'Ārif's *ghazals* and *rubā'īs* under the heading *al-Asrār al-'arīfiyya* (Or. 1676 B/8, ff. 89a-130a).

Bibliography: Allākī, *Manāqib al-'arīfīn*, ed. Tahsin Yazıcı, Ankara 1961, ii, 825-974; H. Ritter, *Philologica XI*, in *Isl.*, xxvi (1942), 127; Feridun Nafiz Uzluq, *Ulu Ārif Çelebinin rubailerī*, Istanbul 1949; Abdülbakī Gölpınarlı, *Mevlānā'dan sonra Mevlevilik*, Istanbul 1953, 65-95; idem, *Mevlānā Müzesi yazmalar kataloğu*, Ankara 1971-2, ii, 211; iii, 21 f.

(J.T.P. DE BRUIJN)

'ĀRIF, MĪRZĀ ABU 'L-KĀSIM, Persian revolutionary poet and satirist, was born in Kāzwīn ca. 1880, and after studying Persian, Arabic, calligraphy and music, became a *rawedakh'ān*, an occupation that he abandoned after his father's death.

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At 17 he married a young girl against her parents' wishes, and two years later was obliged to divorce her; he never married again. Leaving for Tehran, he took service at the court of Muẓaffar al-Dīn Shāh, where his singing attracted the attention of the sovereign and leading courtiers. Court life, however, did not appeal to him, and he returned to Qazwīn, where he remained until the 1906 Constitutional Revolution, of which he was one of the leading spirits. His outspoken and reckless verses, usually sung at public concerts, made him many enemies, including even his former friend the poet Irādj Mīrā. In 1915 he joined the *muḥadjarat* to Kirmānshāh, whence he went to Istanbul, returning to Persia in 1919. During the next few years he gave his support successively to Col. Muhammad Taqī Khān, the dissident gendarmier officer in Khurāsān, Sayyid Diyā', and Riḍā Khān. In 1924 he campaigned in favour of the establishment of a republic, but after the accession of Riḍā Khān to the throne he was unable to continue his public concerts, and retired on a small government pension to Hamadān, where he died in poverty in 1934. His *Dīwān* was published in Berlin in 1924 together with an autobiography on the lines of Rousseau's *Confessions*.

‘Arif was a man of dervish-like disposition, and had no use for material wealth or respect for authority and position. His poetry is full of social satire, attacks on corruption, and nostalgia for Persia's great past, all couched in popular language free from classical artificialities.

Bibliography: After the edition of ‘Arif's *Dīwān* published by Riḍā-zāda Shafak, in Berlin 1924, further writings appeared in M.R. Hazār, *‘Arif-nāma-yi Hazār*, Shirāz 1935, and Sayyid Hādī Hā’irī Kūrūsh, *Ḍjild-i duvum-i dīwān-i ‘Arif*, Tehran 1942; Biographical information is to be found in E.G. Browne, *Press and poetry of modern Persia*, Cambridge 1914, 250-2; M. Ishaque, *Sukhamawārān-i Irān dar ‘asr-i ḥāḍir*, i, Calcutta 1933, 191-218; Rashīd Yāsīmī, *Adabiyāt-i mu‘āṣir*, Tehran 1937, 69-70; M. Ishaque, *Modern Persian poetry*, Calcutta 1943, *passim*; Sayyid Muhammad Bakīr Burkā’i, *Sukhamawārān-i nāmī-yi mu‘āṣir*, i, Tehran 1950, 159-61; J. Rypka, *Iranische Literaturgeschichte*, Leipzig 1959, 352-3; *ibid.*, *History of Iranian literature*, Dordrecht 1968, 372-3; Bozorg Alavi, *Geschichte und Entwicklung der modernen persischen Literatur*, Berlin 1964, 36-44.

(L.P. ELWELL-SUTTON)

‘ARIFĪ, MAWLĀNĀ MAHMŪD, Persian poet. Virtually nothing is known of the life of ‘Arifī except the approximate dates of his birth and death (791-853/1389-1449), and that he belonged to the circle of poets that flourished at the court of Shāh Rukh [q.v.] in the first half of the 9th/15th century.

The best-known of his works is a brief *mathnawī* of some 500 *bayts* entitled *Gūy u cūgān* or *Hālnāma*, which he composed in just two weeks during his fiftieth year to honour a prince Muhammad, assumed to be Muhammad b. Bāysonkor (Browne, *LHP*, iii, 496). The subject of the poem is a mystical romance between a dervish and a prince whom he first sees playing polo. The game of polo provides the predominant imagery. R.S. Greenshields published an edition of this work, of which there are many good manuscripts, in 1931, and a translation of it under the title *The Ball and polo stick or Book of ecstasy*, in 1932 (both at London).

According to Dawlat-Shāh, ‘Arifī was the author of numerous panegyrics of the kings and princes of his day, and of *ghazals* and *kit’as* as well. The same

source says that in addition he composed ten letters in verse addressed to Khāḍja Pīr Ahmad b. Ishāk and a versified work on Ḥanafī *fiqh* called *Mā lā budd madhhab Imām A’zam*. None of these works has yet been published.

Although the authors of contemporary *tadhkiras* credit him with an elegant style and considerable popularity, in the modern period his works have received only cursory mention.

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(J.W. CLINTON)

ARĪN [see KUBBAT AL-ARD].

ARNAB (A.), pl. *arānīb*, in poetry, *al-arānī*. Grammatically this noun is feminine and denotes the hare with the general meaning of a leporid, either as a collective noun, or specifically the doe-hare (see Ch. Pellat, *Sur quelques noms d'animaux en arabe classique*, in *GLECS*, viii, 95-9). In all the Arabic dialects the term maintains this meaning, but in Maghribī two plural forms are found, *rawānīb* and *arānīb*. Today its archaic synonym *kuwā’* (fem. *kuwā’a*) seems to have been forgotten. Arabic lexicographers relate *arnab* to a root *r-n-b* (see *LA*) according to the rules of triliteralism, but its etymology should perhaps be sought in Sumerian or Akkadian, from which a number of animal and bird names in Arabic are derived (like *dhī’b*, *ghurāb*, *iwaḥḥ*, *kurkī* etc.). Semantic equivalents to *arnab* are *khargūsh* in Persian, *tavsan* in Turkish, *avtul* (pl. *iwtal*, fem. *tawtult*, pl. *tiwtalin*) in Berber of the Maghrib, *emerwel* (pl. *imerwelēn*, fem. *temerwelt*, pl. *timewelēn*) from the verb *erwel*, “to flee”, in Tamahāk, while *abekni* (pl. *ibekniten*, fem. *tabeknīt*, pl. *tibeknītīn*) is little used.

Among the order of lagomorphs and the family of leporids, the genus *lepus* is represented in Islamic lands predominantly by the *lepus capensis* or Cape hare. Its breeding ground stretches from Africa (Cape of Good Hope) to China (Shantung, bordering on the Yellow Sea of Asia). In the Mediterranean zone it is found with the plains species, *l. granatensis* (Spain), *l. schlumbergeri* and *l. sherif* (Morocco), *l. mediterraneus* and *l. kabylicus* (Algeria), *l. tunetia* (Tunisia) and *l. rotschildi* (Egypt); in western Morocco the smaller *l. atlanticus* is also found. In the hills are found *l. maroccanus* and *l. pediaeus* (Morocco) and *l. sefranus* (Algeria). The characteristically desert hare, *l. arabisus*, is found on the borders of the Sahara, together with *l. pallidior*, *l. harterti* and *l. barcaeus*, from Morocco to the Sinai peninsula. A systematic study of the hares of the Arabian Peninsula has yet to be made. The species *l. europaeus* is represented in the Near East in several isolated places as well as *l. syriacus* (Lebanon) and *l. judeae* (Palestine).

Literary authorities differ about the gender of the noun *arnab*; some see it as masculine with an associated feminine *arnaba* (see *al-Ifṣāḥ fī fiqh al-lughā*, Cairo 1929, 391), but country people, both sedentary and nomadic, knew from very early times how to distinguish the sex and age of hares by a specific terminology which is unambiguous. The male, or buck, was called *khuzaz* (pl. *khizzān*, *akhizzā*) or *hawshab* or *kuffa* (Maghribī ‘*akrūsh*). The female, or doe, was named ‘*ikriṣha*’ (Sa’ūdī, ‘*idana*’); while suckling she was called *ḡahmarish*. The leveret was called *khūnik* (pl. *khārānik*) or the *khawta*, and the weanling *suhla* (Maghribī *khārūsh*, *harbūsh*; Tamahāk

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eberdewel, pl. *iberdewēlen*, fem. *teberdewelt*, pl. *tiberdewēlīn*). From an ethnological point of view, these country folk knew the habits of the hare in detail and its simple form or lair (*makā* / *mak'* / *makw*, pl. *amkā'*, *khūl*, Maghribī, *margad*) did not escape the eyes of the herdsman; it was found facing the prevailing wind behind a tuft of grass. Regions where hares were plentiful were named *mu'arnab/murnaba* or *makhazza* or *mukhamika*, according to whether adults or young hares were predominant. Most of the Bedouin observations about the leporids have been recorded by the naturalists al-Ḳazwīnī (*ʿAdjā'ib al-makhḷūkāt*, ii, 215-217, margin), al-Damīrī (*Ḥayāt al-hayawān al-kubrā*, Cairo 1356/1937, i, 20-3) and especially al-Djāhīz (*Ḥayawān*, vi and *passim*). From these records scholars can learn that the hare has hair inside its cheeks, that it dozes with its eyes wide open, and that it is always on the alert and flees at the slightest danger, which has gained it a universal reputation as a coward. The doe, like a bitch or she-ass, menstruates from time to time and because of this impurity in the family of leporids, the species was not mounted by the djinn. The passion of the rut linked with the phenomenon of superfoetation in fertilising the doe led to a popular belief in the hare changing sex annually. In antiquity, it was also considered to be a case of hermaphroditism.

The enormous length of the hare's back legs in comparison with its front legs allows it to run extremely swiftly, and this is its chief means of defence. It can thwart the best saluki tracker set on its heels, especially on hard and hilly ground where it will make turns and back-casts (*murāwagha*) frequently, whence the saying "to swerve more than a hare", and the nicknames the hunters give it emphasise its speed, like *darrāma*, *dāmika* *hudhuma*, *muḳattīʿat al-suhūr* and *al-nyāt*. When a hare is surprised at its form, the leap (*naḡḡia*) it makes is so instantaneous and impetuous that it has become an illustration of the brevity of life on earth compared with the life beyond, as in the expression in *ḥadīth* form *mā al-dunyā fī 'l-ākḥira illā ka-naḡḡiati amab* "compared with the world hereafter, this present world is like a hare's leap" (*Ḥayawān*, vi, 352-3). Because of the many ruses they devise to avoid the hounds, hares and foxes are considered the most difficult of animals to catch. When hard pressed on loose ground, one of the commonest tricks is the *tawbīr* (*Ḥayawān*, vi, 357), which is an instinctive attempt to blur the tracks by placing the body weight on the back foot only. The back of the foot has a pad which is covered with hair and thus prevents the toes and claws from marking the ground.

The hare is certainly one of the most highly-prized game animals in Muslim countries, as elsewhere. To catch it, man has employed all kinds of ingenuity; he has caught it with nets (*hibāla*, pl. *ḥabāyil*), snares (*sharak*, pl. *ashrāk*) and traps (*mighwāt*, pl. *maghāwī*, *mughawwāt*, pl. *mughawwayāt*; *hukna*, pl. *hukan*), and he has hunted (*tarada*) with the help of trained beasts (*dawārī*) like the gazehound (*salūki salūki*, pl. *-iyya*), which always hunts by sight, and pointers or other hounds (*zaghārī*, pl. *-iyya*, Maghribī *tārūs*, pl. *ṭawāris*) which hunt by scent. The Persian lynx (*anāk al-arḍ*) and trained birds of prey (*djāwārīh*) are also used. He has used various weapons to attack the hare like the thrown cudgel (*hirāwa*, *zarīṭa/zarawāta*), which the young shepherds of the plains of the Maghrib can wield so skilfully, as well as the sling (*mikhḍāfa*, *mīklā'*), the bow, then the cross-bow and eventually firearms. As well as man,

the hare is surrounded by a number of natural enemies, carnivores and rapacious predators; it is especially threatened by the tawny eagle (*aquila rapax*) which is appropriately called *'ukāb al-arnab* or *sakr al-arnab*. Hare flesh has no fat or tendons, owing to the alimentary eclecticism of the animal. It is instinctively attracted to certain aromatic and sweet plants, and the Bedouin expression *arnab al-khulla*, "the hare of the sweet plants" summarises the appreciation of the gourmet and the glutton (*Ḥayawān*, iv, 134). The gastronomic authority Abu 'l-Wadīh al-'Uklī, a man of the desert and one of the informants of al-Djāhīz, gave pride of place to the hare in the metaphor "If the uromastix-lizard (*dabb* [q.v.]) had been a chicken, the hare would be a francolin (*durrādī*)" (*Ḥayawān*, vi, 353). Oriental cookery books esteem hare highly in their chapters on meats (see M. Rodinson, *Recherches sur les documents arabes relatifs à la cuisine*, in *REI* [1949], 107). To serve jugged hare (*arnabī*) or roast saddle of hare (*'adjz mashwī*) to a guest was a mark of honour, especially if one kept the kidneys for him; these were regarded as the finest morsel, as can be seen from the picturesque maxim *aḡ'im akhā-ka min kulyat al-arnab* "feed your brother with hare's kidneys", which meant using the tenderest words to console a friend in difficulty.

Al-Djāhīz draws attention to the double benefit which the hare provides. Apart from its highly desirable flesh, its fine warm pelt also has a commercial value in the fur trade [see FARW] and the textile industry. An anonymous satirical line of verse (*Ḥayawān*, vi, 360) alludes to the trade in these terms: "When gentle folk move (among them), it is to see them touching hare skins with their hands wide open". The sentence expresses the scorn which has always attached to rabbit skin dealers. Rabbit skin is not distinguished from hare skin in the making of fabrics called *mu'arnab/murnab* and certain felts. The fur is also used to line gloves and slippers and to trim winter bonnets. It is not inconceivable that they were also used as counterfeit furs, which would normally be more highly priced, but the secrets of dyeing and other treatments were known only to the tricksters. The colour of the fur can vary from light brown almost to blonde according to the hare's habitat, and certain beige materials are called *marnabānī* "hare coloured"; conversely, in popular French the hare is known as "capuchin" because of the brown habit worn by the monks of that order. The hare's tail is black on top and immaculately white underneath; it is conspicuous even from a distance because the tuft is always erect. The Saharans have a name (*abū nawwāra*, "the one with the flower" which is used for the hare as well as for the fox.

As Islam expanded westwards to Spain and north-eastwards to the Indus, Arabs were introduced to a second leporid, the rabbit (*Oryctolagus cuniculus*), both wild and domestic. Since there was no specific term for rabbit in the *'arabiyya*, *amab* was used. At first they regarded the wild rabbit simply as a small hare, and it was sometimes called "levret" (*khimik*). The duality of the term *amab* in the East to cover hare and rabbit is a source of constant confusion, but one of the first to find difficulty with it was Ibn al-Muḳaffā'. When he was translating the fables of Bidpai from Pahlavi, he encountered the typically Indian episode of the elephants who were looking for water and trampled over a rabbit warren (*arḍ li 'l-arānīb*), crushing the inhabitants in their burrows (*djūhr*, pl. *adḡhār*, *adḡhira*, *dḡhara*), but the



clever rabbit Fayrūz (= Felix) became their spokesman and drove away the elephants by a trick (see *Kalīla wa-Dimna*, Cairo 1931, 207-9). This story could not possibly be concerned with hares, for they do not live in colonies and they do not tunnel underground. Once the domestic rabbit was being bred on a large scale, it became necessary to add epithets to *arnab* to make the word more specific; *arnab barrīyya* or *waḥṣīyya* was used for the hare, and *arnab ahlīyya* or *dādīna* or *bal-ādīyya* for the domestic rabbit, but the wild rabbit hardly had any specific name. In the Muslim West the same confusion did not arise, because in Spain as well as in the Maghrib the wild and domestic rabbit kept its original Latin name *cuniculus* in Arabised form (compare Fr. *conill* or *conin*, Provençal *cuniéu*, Sp. *conejo*, Port. *coelho*, It. *coniglio*, Eng. *cony*, Ger. *Kaninchen*, Swed. *kouin*). The Hispano-Arabic names *kunīya/kunīya*, *kullīn*, *kulayn* are still found in the Maghrib as *kanīn/ganīn* (sing. -a, pl. -āt and *knāyen/gnāyen*), *kalīn* (pl. *klāyen*), *kūnīn/gūnūn*, *ganūn* and Kabyle *agunin* (pl. *igunnen*). Besides *arnab*, Hispanic languages use *labbay* (pl. -āt), ultimately derived from Ibero-Roman *lapparo* (from *leporis*, Sp. *liebre*, Catalan *llèbre*, Prov. *lèbre*, Fr. *lièvre/lapereau/lapin*). As for Tunisia, Ibn Saʿīd (in al-Maḳḳarī, *Analectes*, i, 122) notes that the practice of raising rabbits for fur was introduced there from Spain in the 7th/13th century; the wild rabbit is to be found only on some coastal islets, but it is common in Algeria (*cuniculus algerius*) and in northern Morocco.

According to Qurʾānic law, the flesh of a hare which has had its throat cut ritually may be consumed; the doctors of law agree unanimously about this, for the hare is a product of hunting and the animal is herbivorous and not carnivorous. It is true that some *ḥadīths* suggest that the Prophet Muḥammad abstained from eating hare, but no-one accepts this as a formal prohibition [but see ḤĀYAWAN concerning the Rāfiḍīs]. This permission extended *ipso facto* also to the rabbit when the animal was introduced to Muslims. In al-Andalus, the rabbit was highly prized and the only restriction imposed on it was that it should not be sold around the Great Mosque. Instead, a place was chosen by the *mukhtasib* and there they had to be offered for sale properly slaughtered and skinned so that the meat could be seen to be fresh (see Ibn ʿAbdūn-Lévi-Provençal, *Séville musulmane au début du XII^e siècle*, Paris 1947, 95-6).

In pre-Islamic times the Arabs attached great power to the hare's foot as a talisman (*kaʿb al-arnab*). It was considered to be a protection against all evil spells, and mothers would affix one of their children to preserve them from the evil eye [see ʿAYN]. Every man who went into a strange village would equip himself with one to protect him from evil spells, which were always to be feared in unknown territory.

In Greek medicine a number of specific virtues were accorded to particular organs of the hare. The flesh was thought to have laxative and aphrodisiac properties. Later Arab medicine confirmed the views of Hippocrates and Galen on this subject, but added some new empirical prescriptions. Perhaps the most important parts were the brain and the gastric juices (*infahā*); the brain was the best remedy for trembling and senility, and it could be applied to an infant's gums to suppress the pain in teething, but if it was mixed with camphor and drunk it was thought to be an infallible love philtre. The gastric juices and stomach tissue were mixed into a potion

with a vinegar base and used as an antidote for all kinds of poison. It is interesting that modern science, whether by chance or not, knows no proven remedy which has any real chance of fighting the poison of the phalloidine (death's cap) fungus other than the absorption of a mixture of minced brains and stomachs of leporids. Perhaps after all, Arab empirical medicine was not just pure fancy. Dried and powdered hare's blood had recognised healing qualities for sores and wounds and helped to extract foreign bodies like splinters and thorns; it was also used to treat arrow wounds. In surgery, leporid hair was used instead of cotton wool as an absorbent tampon and as a cap for ruptured veins and arteries.

Since Sāsānid times in Iran, hares and rabbits have held a position of not negligible importance in the field of Muslim art. They figure either as a decorative motif incorporated into a hunting scene or are themselves the main theme of inspiration. Besides the mass of Persian miniatures, probably the most typical representations of leporids are in illustrations of the incident mentioned above, where the wily Fayrūz harangues the king of the elephants; it is found in Syrian manuscripts of the 8th/14th century of *Kalīla wa-Dimna* (Paris B.N., ms. Ar. 3467, fol. 70, and Oxford Bodl. Libr., Pococke 400, fol. 99). Iranian ceramics, which also inspired those of Fāṭimid Egypt, frequently incorporate the motif of "the hare". There is a glazed ewer from Gurgān (6th/12th century, Paris Mus. Arts Déc.) which is decorated on its bulged-out sides with a frieze of hares chasing each other in an endless circle. Another example is the remarkable glazed Fāṭimid cup of the 5th/11th century (Paris Louvre, coll. F. Sarre), with its white base decorated with a beautiful hare strolling among the flora, symbolised by the stylised Kūfic inscription on its margin. Persian silks and carpets from every period, but especially from that of the Ṣafawid dynasty (10th/16th century), assert their inborn taste for nature. Animals are portrayed as living in an earthly paradise, with hares and gazelles gambolling among their carnivorous enemies, and there are hunting scenes commemorating famous slaughters by battues, of which the Chosroes were so fond. All these interpretations have been carefully represented in bronze, copper and ivory, and here also hares and gazelles have their proper place. The Fāṭimid goldsmiths in Egypt, following their Persian predecessors, were skilled in portraying animals and birds in metal, even on commonplace objects, as is shown by the famous "hare on the alert" bronze aquamanile. This is the proud possession of the Museum of Brussels (coll. Stoclet), and naturalists are amazed at its realism. The same Persian animal themes are found on carved ivory caskets (pyxes) from Egypt through Sicily to Muslim Spain, and in Mesopotamia they are even found on the stone of lintels and door cases in Artuḳid art (6th/12th century).

In zoology, the name *arnab bahrī*, translated from the Latin *lepus marinus*, "sea hare", has been given to *aphysia depilans*, a nudibranch mollusc of the order *opisthobranchia*. It is found widely in the sea, and ancient man treated it with a profound disgust as much for its hideous appearance (it looks like a slug with a hare's head) as for the nauseating violet secretion which it emits in self-defence and which was thought to be a deadly poison (see al-Damīrī, *op. cit.*, i, 23).

Finally, in astronomy *al-arnab* "Alarnab" is the Hare constellation found beneath the left foot of Orion, the legendary hunter. The first star of the



constellation is called "Arneb" (α *Leporis*, mag. 2.7; see A. Benhamouda, *Les noms arabes des étoiles*, in *AIEO*, Algiers [1951], 179-80).

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(F. VIRÉ)

ARMOUR [see SILĀḤ].**ART** [see FANN].

ĀS, Arabic for the myrtle, *Myrtus communis* L. (Myrtaceae), the well-known fragrant, evergreen shrub, growing to over a man's height. The term, derived from Akkadian *āsu* came into Arabic through Aramaic *āsā*; the Greek term μυρσίνη (μύρτος) exists also as *masīnī* (and variants). Much material has been collected by I. Löw (*Die Flora der Juden*, ii, 257-74), among which are many, more or less locally-defined synonyms. Occasionally, myrtle is mentioned in the *ḥadīth* (Dārimī, see Wensinck, *Concordance*, i, 132b), by the Arab botanists and in the verses quoted by them (Dīnawarī, *K. al-Nabāt*, ed. B. Lewin, Uppsala-Wiesbaden 1953, 25 f.; Asma'ī, *K. al-Nabāt*, ed. al-Ghunaym, Cairo 1392/1972, 32), but the plant was mainly used as medicine. Like Dioscorides, the Arabs knew the black garden-myrtle (*al-ās al-bustānī al-aswad*) and the white field-myrtle (*al-ās al-barī al-abyaḍ*), the leaves, blossoms and berries of which occasioned positive therapeutic results. The scent of the myrtle mitigates headaches and invigorates the heart. The extract is suitable for hipbaths which cure ulcers of the fundament and uterus; as a beverage it calms down the spitting of blood and cures coughs and diarrhoea. Dried and pulverised leaves of the myrtle remove putrescent boils and facilitate the growing of new flesh. Rāzī, otherwise critical and not given to superstition, curiously enough declares in his *Kitāb al-Khawāṣṣ* (preserved in Latin; of the Arabic text, only quotations are known) that a man, suffering from a boil in the inguinal region, may find mitigation by putting the stalk of a myrtle around his finger by way of a ring. The manifold symbolical meaning attributed to the myrtle on festive occasions by the Israelites, Greeks and Romans seems to have remained unknown to Islam; according to an Arab legend, it was brought from Paradise by Adam (Löw, *op. cit.*, 269).

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drugs" of . . . al-Ghāfiqī by . . . Barhebraeus, ed. Meyerhof and Sobhy, Cairo 1932, no. 37; Suwaydī, *Simāt*, Ms. Paris ar. 3004, fols. 17b-18a, 174b-175a; Ibn Bīklārīsh, *Musta'nt*, Ms. Naples, Bibl. Naz. iii, F. 65, fol. 14 f.; Ibn al-Djazzār, *ʿIṭmād*, Ms. Ayasofya 3564, fols. 14a-15a; Maimonides, *Sharh asmā' al-'uḳkār*, ed. Meyerhof, no. 10; Ibn al-Bayṭār, *Ḍamī*, Būlāk 1291, i, 27-30, tr. Leclerc, nos. 69, 70; *Die pharmakologischen Grundsätze des Abu Mansur . . . Haraẓī*, tr. A. Achundow, Halle 1893, no. 10; Rāzī, *Hāwī*, xx, Haydarābād 1387, no. 23; Ibn Sīnā, *Kānūn*, i, Būlāk, 245 f.; Ibn Hubal, *Mukhtārāt*, Haydarābād 1362, ii, 17 f.; Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab*, xi, Cairo 1935, 239-42 (important); H.G. Kircher, *Die "einfachen Heilmittel" aus dem "Handbuch der Chirurgie" des Ibn al-Quff*, Bonn 1967, no. 16; W. Schmucker, *Die pflanzliche und mineralische Materia medica im Firdaus al-hikma des 'Alī ibn Sahl Rabban al-Ṭabarī*, Bonn 1969, no. 19.

(A. DIETRICH)

AL-ASAD [see MINTAKAT AL-BURŪD].

ASAD B. MÜSĀ B. IBRĀHĪM B. 'ABD AL-MALIK B. MARWĀN B. AL-ḤAKAM AL-UMAWĪ, Arab (traditionalist and author of ascetic writings. He was born in Egypt in 132/750 (according to others in Baṣra (Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*, i, 260), and died in Egypt in 212/827. He made his reputation as a *ḥāfiẓ*, *nawī* or *akhlbārī*, had disciples and was nicknamed Asas al-Sunna. He exchanged *ḥadīth*s with the majority of the Egyptians who are known to us from this period, in particular with 'Abd Allāh b. Lahī'a (97-174/715-90) and al-Layṭh b. Sa'd (94-175/713-91), a great master and one of the richest men in Egypt, into whose house he entered in disguise, following his flight from the persecution of the Umayyad family to which he himself belonged (Abū Nu'aym, *Hilya*, vii, 321 ff.), but also with 'Abd Allāh b. al-Mubārak (118-81/736-97), an author of ascetic writings who, among his numerous masters, exercised the most profound influence on him, although the texts that are available to us show very few signs of this influence *expressis verbis*. Opinion is divided among Arab-Islamic writers as to the value of Asad's activity as a traditionalist; while al-Bukhārī calls attention to the reputation of his *ḥadīth*, al-Nasā'ī refutes this statement to some extent in declaring that he is "worthy of belief, but he would have done better not to write" (Ḍahabī, *Huffāẓ*; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb*). Since then, the tendency has been to attack him vociferously, pointing out the exaggerated side of his traditions, as is indicated by Ibn Khaldūn's resumé on this subject (*Mukadimma*, 564-6). This distrust, like that shown towards the work of Ibn Ishāk and many authors of the early period of Islam, is explained, not so much by the fact that some of his traditions go beyond the serious framework accepted by Muslim theological good sense, as by the fact that Ibn Mūsā was under no obligation to masters recognised as such by the major schools of *ḥadīth*. On this basis, the author's fate was no better than that of his master Ibn Lahī'a, whose material has been taken into consideration and propagated by other means, and especially under other names (see R.G. Khoury, *Asad*, 28).

Asad is known primarily as transmitter of the *Kitāb al-Tiḍqān* of Ibn Hishām, more particularly of the part that is associated with Ibn Munabbih (Abbott, *Studies*, i, 12; R.G. Khoury, *Wahb b. Munabbih*, 286 ff., esp. 292). Asad's interest in the Yemenī heritage is no doubt explained by the in-



fluence of the policies of Mu'āwīya on all his descendants, but also by the author's wish to borrow material for his own writings from a *kāss* as famous as Wahb. As a transmitter, he is also encountered in a number of historical and ascetic books, like the *Futūḥ Miṣr* of Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam (see *Bibl.*), where there is a large number of traditions linked with his name; these are, like the majority of those attributed to his Egyptian masters, of an ascetic and pious nature. Other works are further attributed to him: *Musnad Asad b. Mūsā* (Ibn Khayr, *Fihrist*, 141-2; Ibn al-Faradī); the four versions mentioned by the *isnāds* of Ibn Khayr were the work of one Naṣr b. Marzūk. Not one of them seems to have appeared in book form. Then there is a treatise entitled *Risālat Asad b. Mūsā ilā Asad b. al-Furāt* [142-213/759-828] *fī luzūm al-sunna wa 'l-taḥdhīr min al-bidā'* (Ibn Khayr, 299) (see R. Sayid, who seems to have discovered a manuscript of it). Ibn Khayr (270) also mentions *Faḍā'il al-tābi'in*, a book that he attributes to Sa'īd, son of Asad, which Ibn Ḥaǧǧar had seen in two volumes and which apparently contained, according to the last-named, a great deal of information afforded by the father (Asad) and his circle (Ibn Ḥaǧǧar, *ibid.*). Finally, there is the *Kitāb al-Zuhd wa 'l-ibāda wa 'l-wara'* (Ibn Khayr, 270; Ḥāǧǧīr Khalīfa, v, 91); this book seems to have been the author's most important work, and according to Ibn Khayr comprised several books (*kutub*) corresponding to the three parts of the title which he supplies. Unfortunately, only two copies of the *Kitāb al-Zuhd* are available to us, one of them preserved in Berlin (Sprenger, 495) the other in Damascus (Zahiriyya, *madj.* 100/1). The first was edited by Leszynsky who, in the guise of an introduction, devoted a study to the traditions of the book and compared them with their parallels in Judaism and Christianity, but was not at all concerned with the author himself. The author of the present article has re-edited this copy, also taking account of the second, and adding to it all the "certificates of reading" in both of them, with a study of Asad (see *Bibl.*). It will be appreciated that the word *kitāb* is used here in the most flexible sense, seeing that one of the two copies begins with the word *bāb*, which tends to give to all the *kutub* cited by Ibn Khayr on this subject the dimensions of a single work. This book perhaps best illustrates the influence of the author and his importance in the sphere of ascetic and pious literature in general from the formative period of Islam, for it is the second work of its kind, after the *Kitāb al-Zuhd wa 'l-raḳā'ik* of 'Abd Allāh b. al-Mubārak, which provided a model for it, both in content and in title, although Asad does not acknowledge this. It is made up of a collection of traditions with eschatological questions, while the other lost portions, corresponding to the *Kutub al-'Ibāda wa 'l-wara'* mentioned by the bibliographer must have contained the remainder of the themes encountered in the work of Ibn al-Mubārak; piety, ascetic meditation, etc. (see Khoury, *Asad*, 39 ff.; Abbott, *Studies*, ii, 237 ff.).

Bibliography: Abū Nu'aym, *Hilya*, vii, 321 ff.; Dhahabī, *Mizān*, i, 207; idem, *Huffāz*, 1375/1955, i, 402; Ḥāǧǧīr Khalīfa, v, 91; Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, *Futūḥ Miṣr*, ed. Torrey, index; Ibn Abī Ḥātim, *Ḍarh*, i, 338; Ibn al-Faradī, no. 484; Ibn Ḥaǧǧar, *Tahdhīb*, i, 260; Ibn Khaldūn, *Mukaddima*, Beirut 1961, 564-5, tr. Rosenthal, ii, 170-1; Ibn Khayr al-Ishbīlī, *Fihrist*, 141-2, 270, 299; Ibn Hishām, *K. al-Tiǧān*, 2 ff.; Ibn al-Mubārak, *K. al-Zuhd*

wa 'l-raḳā'ik, ed. A'zamī, 1966; 'Umar al-Kindī, *Faḍā'il Miṣr*, Cairo 1971, index; N. Abbott, *Studies*, i, Chicago 1957, index, ii, 1967, 237-45, where Asad is suggested as the possible author of a two-page collection of traditions on papyrus; F. Krenkow, *The two oldest books on Arabic folklore*, in *IC*, ii (1928), 55 ff.; R.G. Khoury, *Importance et authenticité des textes de Hilyat al-awliyā'*, in *SI* (1977), 94-6; idem, *Wahb b. Munabbih*, Wiesbaden 1972, 286 ff.; Brockelmann, *S I*, 257, 351; Sezgin, *GAS*, i, 354-5; The main studies on Asad's work are: R. Leszynsky, *Mohammedanische Traditionen über das jüngste Gericht. Eine vergleichende Studie zur jüdisch-christlichen und mohammedanischen Eschatologie*, Kirchhain 1909 (contains an ed. of the *K. al-Zuhd*, based on the Berlin ms., with a study); R.G. Khoury, *Asad b. Mūsā, Kitāb al-Zuhd*, new ed., with a study, Wiesbaden 1976; R. Sayid is preparing in Beirut an ed. of Asad's *Risāla*.

(R.G. KHOURY)

AL-AṢAMM, ABŪ BAKR 'ABD AL-RAḤMĀN B. KAYSĀN, died 200/816 or 201/817, early theologian and *mufasssīr*, commonly counted among the Mu'tazilīs, although always treated as an outsider by the Mu'tazilī *ṭabaqāt*. In his youth he served, together with other *mutakallimūn* like Mu'ammār, Ḥafṣ al-Fard and Abū Shamir al-Ḥanaflī, as *adlatus* (*ghulām*) to Ma'mar Abu 'l-Ash'ath, a Baṣran physician with certain "philosophical" leanings (cf. *Fihrist*, ed. Flügel, 100, ll. 28 ff.). In the later days of Ḍirār b. 'Amr [*q.v.*], i.e. in the last quarter of the 2nd century A.H., he created in Baṣra a circle of his own. Abū 'l-Hudhayl did not like him; he called him, with a Persian expression, *khārban*, the "donkey-driver", obviously alluding to his low origin (cf. Malaṭī, *Tanbih*, ed. Dederig, 31, ll. 12 ff.). But Abū 'l-Hudhayl became influential only when he had been called to Baghdad by al-Ma'mūn after 204/819, at a rather advanced age; in Baṣra al-Aṣamm seems to have enjoyed the higher prestige (cf. Kāḍī 'Abd al-Djabbār, *Faḍl al-'itizāl*, ed. Fu'ād Sayyid, 267, ll. -5 and *pu. f.*). This may be due to his eventual relations with the Ibāḍiyya who had, at that time, not yet entirely left the town (Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī introduces him as *ṣāhib al-Ibāḍiyya* in his *Bayān*, ed. Kaylānī, ii, 825, ult. f.). But it may also be attributed to the fact that he was a prolific writer; Ibn al-Nadīm mentions 26 books, none of which is unfortunately preserved (cf. *Fihrist*, ed. Fück, in *Shafī' comm. volume*, 68, ll. 5 ff.). All of them treated of theological and juridical subjects. But he seems also to have been a poet (if the 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Kaysān mentioned by Ḍjāḥīz, *Ḥayawān*, iv, 205, ll. 6 ff. is identical with him; cf. Goldziher, *Isl.*, vi (1916), 174, n. 2). At least he was known to be eloquent; al-Djubbārī still acknowledged him as such (cf. *Faḍl al-'itizāl*, 267, l. -6 and 268, l. 3; also the aphorism mentioned in Ḍjāḥīz, *Bayān*, i, 80, ll. 1 f.). With the authority of an expert, he passed a severe judgment on Ibn al-Muḳaffā' (cf. Ḍjāḥīz, *Dhamm akhlāk al-kutāb*, in *Rasā'il*, ed. 'Abd al-Salām Muḥammad Ḥārūn, ii, 195, ll. 7 ff.).

His solidarity with certain Mu'tazilī ideas is attested by his repeated polemics against the pre-destinarians (al-Muḍjibira; cf. titles nos. 5 and 14 in the *Fihrist*, also no. 11) and by his reflections about tawḥīd (cf. title no. 3). But he did not accept the tenet of *al-manzila bayn al-manzilatayn* (cf. Ash'arī, *Makālāt al-Islāmiyyīn*, 269, ult. ff.); he believed that the *fāsiḳ* remains a believer because of his monotheistic creed and because of the good deeds he has performed (*ibid.*, 270, ll. 9 ff.). The

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fāsiḳ will nevertheless be condemned to eternal punishment; for this al-Aṣamm did not base himself, like his Mu'tazilī colleagues, on Qur'ānic evidence (which refers to unbelievers), but on the unanimous judgment of the community (ibid., 278, ll. 3 ff.; Ibn Ḥazm, *Fiṣal*, iv, 45, ll. 10 ff. seems to be a wrong generalisation). His ideas on the principle of *al-amr bi 'l-ma'rūf wa 'l-nahy 'an al-munkar* (cf. *Fihrist*, title no. 9) equally did not entirely correspond to those of other Mu'tazilīs (cf. Aṣḥ'arī, 278, ll. 7 ff.); he based himself on a peculiar exegesis of sūra III, 104 (cf. Ibn Ḥazm, *Fiṣal*, iv, 171, ll. 10 ff.). He wrote about the createdness of the Qur'ān at a moment when other Mu'tazilīs did not yet touch the problem (cf. title no. 2); a fierce opponent of this doctrine, Yazīd b. Hārūn (died 205 or 206/820-822), saw him here as in line with Bishr al-Marīṣī, who was younger than he and whom he may have influenced (cf. Bukhārī, *Khalk al-af'āl*, in Nashshār-Talībī, *ʿAkā'id al-salaf*, 129, ll. 16 ff.). It was perhaps for this reason that Thumāma b. Aṣḥras recommended him to al-Ma'mūn when the caliph was still in Marw (cf. *Fihrist*, ed. Fück, 67, ll. -4 ff.). He clashed with Hishām b. al-Ḥakam, certainly because of his strongly anti-Shi'ī feelings (cf. *Faḍl al-ʿitizāl*, 267, apu. f. and title no. 13), but also because of Hishām's "anthropomorphism" (cf. title no. 10), and he attacked the *zanā-dika* and the Dahriyya, probably in correspondence with the policy pursued by al-Mahdī (158-69/775-85) and his successors (cf. titles no. 24 and 15).

The theological doctrine most strongly connected with Aṣamm's name was his denial of the accidents (*ʿa'rāḍ*), which put him in opposition to Ḍirār b. ʿAmr [*q.v.*] and may have brought him into a certain connection with Hishām b. al-Ḥakam [*q.v.*; cf. Tawhīdī, *Basā'ir*, ii, 825, ult. ff.]. He seems to have proceeded from a sensualistic basis: only bodies are visible; qualities appearing on them cannot subsist by themselves and can therefore not be ascribed a separate existence (ibid., also Aṣḥ'arī, *Maḳālāt*, 335, ll. 12 ff.). In comparison with Ḍirār's ideas, this was perhaps not so much a difference in substance but in explanation and in the conceptual apparatus. Like Ḍirār, he was led to deny a separate existence of the soul (cf. Aṣḥ'arī, *Maḳālāt*, 335, ll. 12 ff., and 331, ll. 6 ff.; Ibn Ḥazm, *Fiṣal*, iv, 70, l. 4 and 74, ll. 4 f.); like him he seems to have rejected the idea of *kumūn* [*q.v.*; cf. Aṣḥ'arī, 328, ll. 14 f.]. In any case, he was not an atomist; this is why he was attacked for his doctrine by Abu 'l-Hudhayl, who tried to show that juridical obligations are normally not concerned with man as a whole, but with one of his accidents (e.g. his prostration in prayer, or his being flogged in case of adultery; cf. *Faḍl al-ʿitizāl*, 262, apu. ff.). Hishām al-Fuwaṭī, a disciple of Abu 'l-Hudhayl, seems to have been mainly shocked by the ensuing denial of movement (which, understood in a very broad sense, was considered as the only accident by al-Nazzām; cf. the title of Fuwaṭī's book in *Fihrist*, ed. Fück, 69, l. 1). Many opponents and, influenced by their polemics, the later heresiographers, tended to understand Aṣamm's denial of the accidental character of qualities as a denial of qualities as such (cf. Aṣḥ'arī, 343, ll. 12 ff.; Baghdādī, *Fark*, 96, ll. 8 f./116, ll. 3 f.; *idem*, *Uṣūl al-dīn* 7, ll. 14 ff. etc.). He consequently also regarded the Qur'ān as a body, and may have derived its createdness from this; God is the only essence which is not a body. Under this aspect, the doctrine seems to have been taken over by Ḍja'far b. Mubashshir [*q.v.*; cf. Aṣḥ'arī, 588, ll. 4 ff.].

In addition to these ideas, al-Aṣamm is frequently mentioned for his unusual views concerning political theory. Government (*imāma*) was according to him not an obligatory attribute of human society; the ideal community is the community of the righteous which can do without a ruler (cf. Baghdādī, *Uṣūl al-dīn*, 272, l. 10 and 271, ll. 14 f.; many later sources like Māwardī, *al-Aḥkām al-sultāniyya*, ed. Enger, 3, l. 7; Ghazzālī, *Faḍā'ih al-Bāṭiniyya*, ed. Badawī, 170, ll. -5 ff.; Rāzī, *al-Muḥaṣṣal*, 176, ll. 9 f. etc.). Government is therefore not prescribed by reason nor by revelation, but is a mere practical measure against human iniquity. Theoretically speaking, universal knowledge of the Qur'ān should be sufficient in order to keep a society in order (cf. Pazdawī, *Uṣūl al-dīn*, ed. Linss, 186, ll. 11 ff.); but the reality being imperfect, the Muslims always decided to choose somebody as their *imām*. This can only be done by consensus (cf. Aṣḥ'arī, 460, ll. 6 f.; Baghdādī, *Fark*, 150, ll. 4 f./164, ll. 1 ff.; etc.), and once somebody has been agreed upon, the election is irreversible, even if a more appropriate (*afḍal*) candidate presents himself afterwards (cf. al-Nāshī, 'al-akbar, *Uṣūl al-niḥal*, ed. van Ess, § 99). Armed resistance against a ruler is only allowed if this person has seized power in an unjust way and if the leader of the rebellion has been agreed upon by consensus (cf. Aṣḥ'arī, 451, ll. 12 f.).

Applied to the historical reality of the past, this meant that al-Aṣamm accepted Abū Bakr and ʿUmar as the most appropriate candidates in the moment of their election. After ʿUmar's death, the *afḍal* was ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. ʿAwf, who demonstrated his virtue by renouncing the caliphate for himself; ʿUthmān was only second in rank after him (cf. Nāshī, *Uṣūl al-niḥal*, § 100). In contrast to him, ʿAlī was not elected by a *shūrā*, i.e. by consensus; his government was therefore unrighteous (ibid., § 101). This does not mean that all his measurements were unlawful *per se*; in the case of his war against Talḥa and Zubayr and of his establishing the arbitration at Siffin, an impartial assessment would have to proceed from his intentions and those of his opponents, whether he acted out of mere despotism or in order to put things right again. But as these intentions are no longer known, we have to suspend judgment. It is clear, however, that Talḥa and Zubayr had a certain superiority over ʿAlī (perhaps because they sought revenge for ʿUthmān) and that Abū Mūsā al-Aṣḥ'arī was right when he deposed ʿAlī in order to give his community a single ruler (cf. al-Mufīd, *K. al-Djāmal*, Nadjaf 1382/1963, 26, ll. 16 ff., tr. M. Rouhani, *La victoire de Bassora*, Paris 1974, 17, and, shorter, Aṣḥ'arī, 457, ll. 13 ff.; ibid., 453, ll. 13 ff.). Mu'āwiya was right in his resistance against ʿAlī, because he had been legally appointed governor of Syria by ʿUmar and confirmed in his office by ʿUthmān; he would have only been obliged to hand over Syria to a ruler who had been elected by consensus (cf. Nāshī, § 102).

Thus far Aṣamm's theory could be learnt from his books, mainly his *K. al-Imāma* (cf. *Fihrist*, title no. 7) which, for understandable reasons, encountered opposition especially from the Shi'īs and from theologians sympathetic to them: from Bishr b. al-Mu'tamir (cf. *Fihrist*, ed. Flügel, 162, l. 21), probably from the early Shi'ī Faḍl b. Shādhān (died 260/874; cf. Tūstī, *Fihrist*, 150, ll. 10 f.) and even much later from the *shaykh* al-Mufīd (died 413/1022), who also seems to quote from the original in his *K. al-Djāmal*, 26, ll. 16 ff. Al-Nāshī also preserves, however, an oral tradition from Aṣamm's closest adherents saying



that there may be several rulers at once in the Muslim community, provided that they are legally elected and co-ordinate their efforts in righteousness. He based this theory on the fact that the Prophet appointed governors for different regions and that, after his death, his prerogative had been transferred to the population of these regions, who may decide according to their consensus. For his own time, al-Ašamm deemed this even to be the better solution: a condominium, with its smaller political entities, would allow closer contact between the people and the ruler (cf. §§ 103 f.). As to the origin of these ideas, Goldziher suggested the influence of the Pseudo-Aristotelian Περὶ βασιλείας which may have been translated thus early (cf. *Isl.*, vi (1916), 176 f. and Cheikh's edition of the text in *Machriq*, x (1907), 311 ff.; for an analysis of the text itself S. M. Stern, *Aristotle on the World State*, Oxford 1968, passim, M. Grignaschi in *BEO*, xix (1965-6), 14 and M. Manzalaoui in *Oriens*, xxiii-xxiv (1974), 202). But it seems easier to assume that they were stimulated by discussions in Ibādī circles in Baṣra (cf. *ET*², III, 658a, and Bosworth, *Sistān under the Arabs*, 88).

Ašamm's high appreciation of the consensus led him to the theory that the 'ulamā', if they are sufficient in number not to agree on a lie, are able to issue laws (cf. *Ash'arī* 467, l. 6 f.). For their *iǧtihād* is not a matter of mere probability; every true judgment is based upon an irrefutable proof. Among *muǧtahidūn* of different opinions, therefore, only one is right (cf. Abu 'l-Husayn al-Baṣrī, *al-Mu'tamad*, ed. Hamidullah, 949, ll. 10 ff.). In principle, there is no difference between juridical and dogmatical verities in this respect (cf. Kādī 'Abd al-Djabbār, *al-Mughnī*, xvii, 369, ll. 17 ff.); but we may distinguish between errors which lead to unbelief (about God and prophecy), other ones which lead only to sinfulness (*fiṣk*; about the *ru'ya* or about *khalk al-Kur'ān*, e.g.) and those which result in the mere imputation of a fault (*ta'thīm*) as in juridical questions (cf. Ḥazālī, *Mustasfā*, ii, 107, ll. -6 ff.; Shīrāzī, *Luma'*, Cairo, Ṣubayh, n.d., 76, ll. 17 ff.; Māwardī, *Adab al-kādī*, Baghdād 1391/1971, i, 532 no. 1234; Amīdī, *Ihkām*, iv, 244, ll. 7 ff.). Because of this rational criterion, even a sinful *kādī* may pass righteous judgments (cf. Māwardī, *ibid.*, i, 634, no. 1579). On the other hand, the *āḥād*, isolated traditions (which, at that time, must have comprised the majority of *ḥadīth* in the view of the Mu'tazila), cannot claim any value as criteria (*ibid.*, i, 376, no. 787). In these ideas, which seem to have been characteristic for Baṣra (cf. Mas'ūdī, *Tanbih*, 356, ll. 10 ff.), al-Ašamm was followed by Bishr al-Marīsī [q.v.] and Abū Ishāq Ibrāhīm b. Ismā'īl Ibn 'Ulayya, who had been his *adlatus ghulām* and who founded a quite influential juridical school in Egypt (he died, like al-Marīsī, in 218/832, cf. *Ta'rikh Baghdād*, vi, 20 ff. no. 3054, etc.; there were adherents of his in Rāmhurmuz even in the 4th/10th century, cf. *Faḍl al-ʿItizāl*, 316, l. 3).

A rational trend appears also to have permeated al-Ašamm's *Tafsīr*. He defines the *muḥkamāt* as those verses, the veracity of which cannot be denied by any opponent as, e.g., all statements about the past; the *mutashābihāt* are verses which tell something about the future and which reveal their truth only after reflection as, e.g., statements about the Last Judgment (cf. *Ash'arī*, 223, ll. 3 ff.; Baghdādī, *Uṣūl al-dīn*, 222, ll. 4 ff.; Rāzī, *Mafātīḥ al-ghayb*, Cairo n.d., vii, 182, ll. -5 ff.). There are thus no verses which remain permanently obscure to human

reason. Al-Ašamm seems to have concentrated on the meaning of entire passages (*ma'nā*); he did not deal with philological problems. The verse containing the problematic word *abb* (sūra LXXX, 31) is counted by him among the *muḥkamāt*. Nazzām criticised his arbitrariness and did not distinguish him from non-Mu'tazilī commentators like Kalbī or Muḳātil b. Sulaymān (cf. *Djāhīz*, *Ḥayawān*, i, 343, ll. 5 ff.; translated by Goldziher, *Richtungen der Koranauslegung*, 111 f.). But he was quoted exclusively by *Djubbā'ī* in his lost *Tafsīr* (although perhaps only for one passage; cf. *Faḍl al-ʿItizāl*, 268, ll. 1 f.) and later on by Māturīdī in his *Ta'wīlāt ahl al-sunna* (cf. i, 59, ll. 4 ff.; 95, ll. 8 f.; 103, ll. 1 ff.), by Ahmad b. Muḥammad al-Tha'labī al-Nishābūrī (died 427/1035) in his *Kashf wa 'l-bayān* (cf. *GAS*, i, 615), by Ḥākim al-Djushamī (died 494/1101) in his voluminous *Tafsīr*, and by Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī in his *Mafātīḥ al-ghayb* (cf. iii, 230, ult. ff.; ix, 160, ll. 13 ff. etc.). *Djāhīz* uses the work sometimes (cf. *Ḥayawān*, iv, 73, ll. -4 ff.; also 205, ll. 6 ff.), and Ṭabarī may have known it, although he does not mention al-Ašamm by name. But it was interesting mainly to theologically-minded commentators and accessible obviously only in the East. Whether the ms. Kiliç Ali 53/8 really contains the text (cf. *GAL*, S II, 984 no. 7) has still to be checked.

This Baṣran Mu'tazilī should not be confounded with another Mu'tazilī by the name of Abū Bakr al-Ašamm who lived in Egypt and who initiated the *miḥna* there at the instigation of Ibn Abī Duwād. He was called Naṣr b. Abī Layth and was at least one generation younger than 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Kaysān (cf. Kādī 'Iyād, *Tartīb al-madārik*, Beirut 1387/1967, i, 516, ll. -5 ff.; 527, ll. 6 ff.; 564, pu. ff. etc.; cf. the index).

Bibliography: Given in the article, but cf. also amongst sources: *Ash'arī*, *Makālāt*, 242, l. 2; 456, ll. 9 ff.; 458, ll. 3 ff.; 564, ll. 3 f.; Nawbakḥī, *Firaḥ al-Shī'a*, 14, ll. 1 ff. = *Kummī*, *Makālāt*, 14, ll. 3 f.; Ibn Baṭṭa, *Ibāna*, ed. Laoust, 91, ll. 15 f. and 92, l. 16; al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā, *al-Fuṣūl al-muḥtara*², i, 63, ll. 10 ff.;³ 68, 4 ff.; Kādī 'Abd al-Djabbār, *al-Mughnī*, xx², 61, ll. 1 f.; Baghdādī, *al-Farḥ bayn al-firaḥ*, 95, l. 7; idem, *Uṣūl al-dīn*, 7, ll. 14 ff. and 36, ult. ff.; Abū Ya'la, *al-Mu'tamad fī uṣūl al-dīn*, ed. Haddad, 37, l. 4 and 222, ll. 3 ff.; *Djuwaynī*, *al-Shāmil*, i, 168, 6 f.; Pazdawī, *Uṣūl al-dīn*, ed. Linss, 11, pu. f.; Shahrastānī, *Milāl*, 19, ll. 3 ff.; 51, ll. 5 ff.; 53, ll. 6 f.; Ibn al-Murtaḍā, *Ṭabakāt al-Mu'tazila*, ed. Diwald-Wilzer, 56, ll. 17 ff.; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Lisān al-mizān*, iii, 427, ll. 2 ff.; Dāwūdī, *Ṭabakāt al-mufasssīrīn*, ed. 'Alī Muḥammad 'Umar, Cairo 1392/1972, i, 269, no. 258; Studies: M. Horten, *Die philosophischen Systeme der spekulativen Theologen im Islam*, Bonn 1912, 298 f.; A.S. Tritton, *Muslim theology*, London 1947, 126 f.; A.N. Nader, *Le système philosophique des Mu'tazila*, Beirut 1956, index s.v. Abū Bakr al-Ašamm (sic); H. Brentjes, *Die Imamatlehren im Islam*, Berlin 1964, 43, 52; W. Madelung, *Der Imam al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm*, Berlin 1965, 42 f.; E. Gräf, in *Bustān*, x/2-3 (1969) 44; H. Laoust, *La politique de Gazālī*, Paris 1970, 231; H. Daiber, *Das theologisch-philosophische System des Mu'ammār ibn 'Abbād al-Sulamī*, Beirut 1975, Index s.v. (JOSEF VAN ESS)

ASĀTĪR AL-AWWALĪN "stories of the ancients," a phrase occurring nine times in the Kur'an (VI, 25/25, VIII, 31/31, XVI, 24/26, XXIII, 83/85, XXV, 5/6, XXVII, 68/70, XLVI, 17/16, LXVIII, 15/15, and LXXXIII, 13/13; see also *ET*²,



IV, 980b, s.v. *KHĀLK*) and there “put exclusively in the mouth of unbelievers . . . expressing themselves against the Kur’ānic revelation or, more specifically, against the doctrine of the Resurrection, by referring to the *asāfir* of the former (generations) when similar, and in their opinion silly, things could already be found without being accepted” (R. Paret, *Der Koran. Kommentar*, Stuttgart 1971, 137). The commentators (e.g. al-Ṭabarī, to VIII, 31) connected its use at one point with the opponent of the Prophet, al-Nadr b. al-Hārith. Travelling as a merchant to Fārs or al-Hīra, he saw Christians praying and reading the Gospels and, upon returning to Mecca, compared their activities to the Prophet’s allegedly similar worshipping. More interestingly, another version (Ibn Hishām, 191 f.) says that al-Nadr compared the Prophet’s story-telling unfavourably with “the stories of the Persian kings and the stories of Rustum and Isfandiār” he had learned in al-Hīra.

The fact that, with the exception of XXV, 5/6, all occurrences are at the ends of verses suggests a set expression that had been long in use. The appearance of *asāfir* in a verse by the *mukhadram* poet ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Zī‘barā, although attribution and date are uncertain, seems to support the assumption of its currency in Mecca in pre-Islamic times (cf. J. Horowitz, *Koranische Untersuchungen*, Berlin-Leipzig 1926, 70; A. Jeffery, *The foreign vocabulary of the Qur’ān*, Baroda 1938, 56 f.; P. Minganti, in *RSO*, xxxviii, (1963), 326 f., 351). With its general meaning hardly in doubt, most of the discussion has concerned the grammatical form and, more generally, the derivation of the word. It was declared a *plurale tantum*, or else entirely hypothetical singular forms were reconstructed (Lane, 1358b). Its widely accepted derivation from *s-t-r* led to meanings such as “writings, written (accounts, stories).” It was glossed “lying stories,” or *asādir* “rhymed prose pieces,” or, frequently, *turahāt* “obscure and confused statements.” It was explained as reflecting *s-t-r alā* in the sense of “making up embellished stories for” (Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Nihāya*, s. rad.). Later Muslims (as, strangely, also a modern scholar, D. Künstlinger, in *OLZ*, xxxix (1936), 482), imbued with respect for the cultural achievements of the “ancients,” would ask themselves why the phrase should have been used in a negative sense when “the ancients wrote things containing knowledge and wisdom which it was not blame-worthy to state”, and give the answer that use of it was meant to criticise the Qur’ān as unrevealed or as difficult and obscure (Ibn al-Djāwzī, *Ẓād al-masīr*, Damascus 1384-8, iii, 20, to VI, 25).

Orientalists, beginning, it seems, with Golius, have suggested a derivation from Greek *historia*; see, e.g., the references in T. Nöldeke and F. Schwally, *Geschichte des Qur’āns*, i, 16; Horowitz; Jeffery; R. Köbert, in *Orientalia*, N.S., xiv (1945), 274-6; F. Rosenthal, *A History of Muslim historiography*, Leiden 1968, 28 f.; Paret, *op. cit.*). This is philologically possible and would make good sense. However, neither this etymology nor another connecting the word with Syriac *š-t-r* “stupidities” (Künstlinger) can be supported by proof; nor is there any compelling evidence for a South Arabian origin. For the time being, its connection with Arabic *s-t-r* “to write” (possibly supported also by Qur’ān, XXV, 5/6) appears to have the best claim to being correct.

Bibliography: given in the article.

(F. ROSENTHAL)

‘ĀSHĪK WEYSEL, modern Turkish ĀSHIK VEYSEL (1894-1973), Turkish folk poet and the last great representative of the tradition of *Sāz şhā‘irleri* [see

ĀRADJAOĞHLAN]. He was born in Sivrialan, a village near Şarkışla of Sivas province, the son of a farmer, Kara Ahmed, whose family name of Şhātiroğlu Weyssel rarely used. Loss of sight in both his eyes at the age of seven followed smallpox. At ten he began to chant poetry accompanied by his instrument the *sāz* [q.v.]. An ‘āshik of his own village and other wandering folk poets whom he came across and who discovered his talent, taught him poetry and music and encouraged him to continue. In 1931, in a traditional gathering of folk poets at Sivas, he was hailed as a prominent ‘āshik. In 1933 he joined, as a volunteer, the 10th Anniversary celebrations of the Turkish Republic in Ankara, to which he went wandering on foot during several months, accompanied by a friend. He went all over Anatolia reciting his poems and playing his *sāz*. He performed many times on Ankara and Istanbul radios. For a short while (1942-4) he taught folk songs in the Village Institutes [see KÖY ENSTİTÜLERİ]. He died in his village on 21 March 1973. ‘Āshik Weyssel was married and had six children. Differing from many contemporary folk poets who joined the “social protest” literature of most modern writers, ‘Āshik Weyssel preferred to follow the classical tradition of folk poetry in the line of Āradjaoghlan, Emrah, Rukhsatī and others, and he sang of love, friendship, nostalgia, separation, life’s mutability and death. He is the author of *Değişler* (1944) and *Sazından sesler* (1950). His collected works have been edited by Ümit Yaşar Oğuzcan as *Dostlar beni hatırlasın* (1970).

Bibliography: Ü.Y. Oğuzcan, *Aşık Veysel, hayatı ve şiirleri*, İstanbul 1963; S.K. Karaalioglu, *Resimli Türk edebiyatçıları sözlüğü*, İstanbul 1974, s.v.

(FAHİR İZ)

ASHRAF AL-DĪN GĪLĀNĪ, Persian journalist and poet, was born in Rasht in 1871. He completed his early studies in Kazwīn, and from 1883 to 1888 was a theological student in Nadjaf. Returning to Rasht, he earned his living as a letter-writer until the Revolution of 1906, when he began the publication of *Nasīm-i Shīmāl* (a name that he also sometimes used as his *takhallūs*). This weekly journal was suppressed after the counter-revolution of Muḥammad ‘Alī Shāh in 1908, but the following years Ashraf accompanied the Constitutionalist forces on their successful occupation of Tehran, where he resumed publication of his journal. Although he admired Ridā Khān, he abandoned public life after the latter’s accession to the throne in 1925, and devoted him-self to literary pursuits. Apart from his poems, which mostly first appeared in *Nasīm-i Shīmāl*, he wrote a novel in verse and prose and works on history and philosophy. He died in poverty and ill-health in 1934.

Though Ashraf’s poetic talent was not up to the level of some of his contemporaries, he was an influential innovator in the use of colloquial vocabulary and style. He was an ardent supporter of constitutionalism and social reform, including the emancipation of women, and a fervent patriot who often cited the example of Persia’s great past. *Nasīm-i Shīmāl* was regarded as one of the best literary journals of its day.

Bibliography: Ashraf’s poems were collected in *Bāgh-i Bihisht*, Tehran 1919, and *Djild-i duvucum-i Nasīm-i Shīmāl*, Bombay 1927; Biographical details in: E.G. Browne, *Press and poetry of modern Persia*, Cambridge 1914, 182-200; M. Ishaque, *Sukhamavarān-i Irān dar ‘asr-i ḥādīr*, i, Calcutta 1933, 146-70; *ibid.*, *Modern Persian poetry*, Calcutta 1943, passim; Sayyid Muḥammad Bakir



Burka'i, *Sukhanwarān-i nāmī-yi mu'āṣir*, ii, Tehran 1951, 250-5; Muḥammad Ṣadr Ḥaṣhīmī, *Tā'rikh-i ḡarā'id wa maḡallāt-i Irān*, iv, Tehran 1953, 295-9; Bozorg Alavi, *Geschichte und Entwicklung der modernen persischen Literatur*, Berlin 1964, 51-5.

(L.P. ELWELL-SUTTON)

ASHTURKA, **ASTURKA**, the Spanish town of Astorga, the Asturica Augusta of the Roman period, capital of the Conventus Asturum, already by then a focal point for communications (J.M. Roldán, *Iter ab Emerita Asturicam. El camino de la Plata*, Salamanca 1971), and later a halting-point on the "route of the herds" (R. Aiken, *Rutas de trashumancia en la Meseta castellana*, in *Estudios geográficos*, xxvi (1947), 192-3) and on the "road to St. James" (C.E. Dubler, *Los caminos a Compostela en la obra de Idrisi*, in *And.*, xiv (1949), 114; N. Benavides Moro, *Otro camino a Santiago por tierra leonesa*, in *Tierras de León*, v (1964). Al-'Udhri compares it with Saragossa (F. de la Granja, *La Marca Superior en la obra de al-'Udhri*, in *Estudios Edad Media Corona Aragón* (1967), 456). Astorga was another *urbs magnifica*, although Theodoric destroyed it in 456 (A. Quintana, *Astorga en el tempo de los suevos*, in *Archivos Leoneses* (1966). Al-Idrīsī says that Astorga was "a small town, surrounded by a green countryside" (E. Saavedra, *La geografía de España del Edrisi*, Madrid 1881, 67, 80; H. Mu'nis, *Ta'rikh al-ḡuḡhrāfiya wa 'l-ḡuḡhrāfiyyīn fī 'l-Andalus*, Madrid 1967, 265).

Astorga was captured by Tāriḡ b. Ziyād in 95/714. In 718 there was formed to the north of it the kingdom of the Asturias, which nevertheless did not include all the territory of the Conventus Asturum (G. Fabre, *Le tissu urbain dans le N.O. de la péninsule ibérique*, in *Latomus* (1970), 337). The region was settled by Berbers, who rose against the Arabs in 123/740-1 (*Akhbār maḡimū'a*, 38, tr. 48). The Christian advance which overcame the Muslims and expelled them from the whole of Ḍjālīkiya (133/750-1) compelled them "to cross the mountains towards Asturka" (*ibid.*, 62, tr. 66). It seems definite that in this region, the Berber element has left behind an enduring ethnic imprint (= Maragatos (?); P. Guichard, *Al-Andalus. Estructura antropológica de una sociedad islámica en Occidente*, Barcelona 1976, 143 n. 5, 146). Alfonso I reconquered Astorga in 753-4, but it was not repopulated till ca. 854 (C. Sanchez Albornoz, *Despoblación y repoblación del valle del Duero*, Buenos Aires 1966, 261-2; *idem*, *Repoblación del reino asturleonés. Proceso, dinámica y proyecciones*, in *CHE*, liii-liv (1971), 236-49) or in 860 (J.M. Lacarra, *Panorama de la historia urbana en la península desde los siglos V al X*, in *Settimane...* Spoleto, 1958, 352). In 179/795 the town was attacked by Hishām I's general 'Abd al-Karīm b. Muḡhīth (A. Fliche, *Alphonse II le Chaste et les origines de la reconquête chrétienne*, and A. de la Torre, *Las etapas de la reconquista hasta Alfonso II*, in *Estudios sobre la Monarquía asturiana*, Oviedo 1971, 115-31, 133-74). In 267/878, al-Mundhir launched an expedition against Astorga. We possess documents dating from that year proving the presence there of Mozarabes (M. Gómez Moreno, *Iglesias mozárabes*, Madrid 1919, 107-11), who played a key role in the repopulating of the town (L.C. Kofman and M.I. Carzolio, *Acerca de la demografía astur-leonesa y castellana en la Alta Edad Media*, in *CHE*, xlvii-xlviii (1968), 136-70). Under Alfonso III, Astorga, by now properly organised, was part of a defensive line with Coimbra, Leon and Amaya (Sanchez Albornoz, *Las campañas del 882 y del 883 que Alfonso III esperó en León*, in

León y su historia, i (1969), 169-82). The bishopric was re-established there (A. Quintana Prieto, *El obispado de Astorga en los siglos IX y X*, Astorga 1968), and its bishops played an important role in political life (L. Goñi Gaztambide, *Historia de la Bula de la Cruzada en España*, Vitoria 1958, 84-5, 155, 184, 203, 386, 521, 681, 683; H. Salvador Martínez, *El "Poema de Almería" y la épica románica*, Madrid 1975, 48-9, 399). It was attacked by al-Manṣūr Ibn Abī 'Amir [q.v.] in 385/995. It fell into decay at the beginning of the 14th century. In the 15th century the "marquisate of Astorga" was formed there (A. Seijas Vazquez, *Chantada y el señorío de los Marqueses de Astorga*, Chantada 1966).

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(M.J. VIGUERA)

ASMĀ' BINT 'UMAYS B. MA'D AL-KHATH'AMIYYA, a contemporary of the Prophet (d. 39/659-60). Her mother, Hind bint 'Awf b. Zubayr, called al-'Adjūz al-Ḍjurashiyya, was famous through the illustriousness of her sons-in-law, amongst whom were included the Prophet, al-'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib and Hamza b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib (Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḡabbar*, 91, 109), as well as of Asmā's husbands. In fact, the latter probably married in the first place Rab'ā b. Riyāh al-Hilālī, by whom she had three sons, Mālik, 'Abd Allāh and Abū Hubayra; but all the sources agree that she was successively the wife of (1) Ḍja'far b. Abī Tālib, by whom she had three further sons, 'Abd Allāh, 'Awn and Muḡammad, with whom she emigrated to Abyssinia, where she saw for the first time biers, introducing them subsequently into usage in Arabia; the continuance of Ḍja'far's line was assumed by Muḡammad; (2) Abū Bakr, by whom she had Muḡammad; and (3) 'Alī b. Abī Tālib, by whom she further had Yahyā. Despite all these marriages, she was not considered to be one of the famous *mutazawwiḡāt*, and the number of sons which she brought into the world does not seem to have attracted particular attention.

On the other hand, she is considered to be the authoress of a *Kitāb* which Ya'qūbī cites (*Historiae*, ii, 114, 128) and which must have contained *ḥadīths* of the Prophet; that Asmā' should have made such a compilation, which would circulate in Shī'ī circles, is a priori suspect, even though 'Alī's main wife, Fāṭima, would have been able to hand on to Asmā' the doings and happenings concerning her father. Furthermore, the Sunnis seem to have accepted only with reservations *ḥadīths* transmitted by this woman (cf. I. Goldziher, *Muh. Studien*, ii, 9, Fr. tr. L. Bercher, Paris 1952, 10-11, Eng. tr. Barber and Stern, London 1967-71, ii, 22).

Bibliography: Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, *Ḍjamhara*, Tab. 226 and ii, 198; Zubayrī, *Nasab Quraysh*, 80, 277; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Istī'āb*, iv, 234-6; Ibn Sa'd, *Tabakāt*, viii, 205-9; Ibn Kutayba, *Ma'ārif*, index; Mas'ūdī, *Murūḡi*, iv, 181-2, v, 148 = §§ 1515-16, 1908; Balāḡhūrī, *Futūḡh*, 451-5; Nawawī, *Tahḡhib al-asmā'*, 825; Maḡdisī, *al-Baḡ' wa 'l-ta'rikh*, iv, 137; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Iṣāba*, iv, No. 51; Caetani, *Annali*, x, 231-5.

(CH. PELLAT)



AL-ASMAR, 'ABD AL-SALĀM B. SALĪM AL-FAYTŪRĪ, 16th century revivalist of the 'Arūsīyya order, was born on 12 Rabi' I 880/16 July 1475 in the coastal oasis of Zlīṭen (Zālīṭan, Zlīṭan; obsolete forms, Zalīṭan, Yazlīṭan, Yazlītīn, Izlītān) in Tripolitania. He belonged to the Faytūrīyya (Fawātīr) tribe, whence his *laqab*, while the nickname al-Asmar was given to him by his mother who had been ordered to do so in a dream. He received his early mystical training from 'Abd al-Wāḥid al-Dūkālī, a *khalīfa* [q.v.] of the 'Arūsīyya order, who initiated him into this *ṭarīqa* [q.v.] and to whose circle of disciples he belonged for seven years. According to the canonised history of the order, he received additional instruction from eighty other *shaykhs* before he started to manifest himself as the revivalist of al-'Arūsīyya, whose coming had been predicted by the founder of this *ṭarīqa* Aḥmad b. 'Arūs (d. 868/1463). His proselytising efforts involved him in tribal rivalries and led to accusations of sorcery and heresy being brought against him. On various occasions he was expelled from villages and from tribal territories, where he must have aroused the hostility of the population because of his denunciations of the prevailing marriage customs (cf. *WK*, 113; see Bibliography), mourning rites (cf. *WK*, 117), and of the relatively free social intermingling of the sexes in tribal society (see e.g. *WK*, 127). He was expelled from the town of Tripoli, where he had settled in the early 16th century, and where he had become an increasingly popular religious leader, by the local ruler, who may well have considered 'Abd al-Salām's proselytising activities as part of a Ḥafṣid [q.v.] plot aimed at his overthrow and the re-establishment of the dynasty's power in the area. The actual revival of the *ṭarīqa* did not start until after he again took up residence in Zlīṭen, where he established a *zāwiya* [q.v.] in the territory of one of the local tribes, the Barāhima, who had come to accept his claims to sainthood. Here he died in Ramaḍān 981/January 1574.

'Abd al-Salām al-Asmar gave a new direction to the original 'Arūsīyya of which he amended the ritual and to which he added his own body of teachings. He obliged his adherents to wear white clothes (*WK*, 100 ff.), forbade smoking (*WK*, 70), and introduced the playing of the *bandīr* (*duff*) during the *ḥadra* [q.v.], claiming that he had received an authorisation to this effect from heaven (al-Mulaydjī, 257 ff.; see bibliography). In addition, he prohibited self-mutilation during the *ḥadra* (*WK*, 201) and stressed the importance of attending these occasions by proclaiming that attendance was half the *wird* [q.v.] and that absence consequently meant abandoning the *wird* (*WK*, 170; *Rawḍat*, 307), which had come to consist of a number of *awrād* composed by 'Abd al-Salām himself, in addition to the original 'Arūsī *wird* (cf. Mulaydjī, 393 ff.). He claimed that the 'Arūsīyya were the original *Shādhiliyya* [q.v.], which was the *ṭarīqa* practised by the most intimate companions of the Prophet (*Rawḍat*, 104), and that its outstanding nature was testified to by the fact that in a miraculous act, the angels had written the names of the *shaykhs* mentioned in the *silsila* [q.v.] on the *lawḥ al-mahfūz* [q.v.] (*WK*, 267). Moreover, he taught that anybody who knew his speech by heart, i.e. who memorised everything which had been written down—he himself was an illiterate—of that which he had ever said (which was partly codified in *kaṣidas* [q.v.] sung during the *ḥadra* and on other ceremonial occasions) would be protected by God in this world and in the next (*WK*, 217), and that his adherents

would be assisted by him, wherever they were, by means of his miraculous omnipresence (*WK*, 262; this belief is also expressed in the introductory lines to every *kaṣīda* composed by him, viz. *al-asmār fī kull' diwān, kursīhi fī 'l-waṣaṭ al-'alī . . .*). Members of the order were moreover required to direct their lives in accordance with a number of ethical precepts and admonitions elaborated by 'Abd al-Salām in a set of rules known as *al-Waṣīyya al-kubrā*, which is very similar to the Ṣūfī tracts on *ādāb* [q.v.] of earlier eras. To abandon the *ṭarīqa* was considered as equal to apostasy and would, as was taught, not be considered as such only by those belonging to the order, but by God himself (*WK*, 260). 'Abd al-Salām exhorted his adherents to adopt al-Sanūsī's *'akīda* in matters of *tawḥīd* (*WK*, 3), but urged them at the same time to pay tribute to Ibn al-'Arabī as the greatest *walī* [q.v.] of all times—except for the Prophets and the companions of the Prophet Muḥammad—and stressed him as the pillar of the *ṭarīqa* (*WK*, 245).

The period in which 'Abd al-Salām lived, largely coincided with the turbulent era in which the Ḥafṣids, the Spaniards, local tribal chiefs, the Knights of Saint John and the Ottomans, had all become involved in the struggle for control of Tripolitania. This caused conditions of life to become increasingly unsettled, and must have made it possible for an exclusivist mystical salvationist movement, like the one into which the original 'Arūsīyya had been elaborated by 'Abd al-Salām, to flourish and spread the way it did.

Throughout the collections of sayings and texts attributed to 'Abd al-Salām al-Asmar, the *ṭarīqa* is referred to as al-'Arūsīyya. It does not seem to have been referred to as al-Salāmiyya until in the 19th century in Tunisia (cf. Muḥammad Muḥammad Maṣḥūna, *al-Anwār al-kudsīyya fī 'l-kaṣf 'an ḥakīka al-ṭarīqa al-Salāmiyya al-Shādhiliyya*, Cairo 1365, 9), where the order had obtained a substantial membership, in particular in the southern parts (cf. Mustafa Kraïem, *La Tunisie pré-coloniale*, Tunis 1973, ii, 129).

Nowadays, the names 'Arūsīyya and Salāmiyya are used more or less synonymously throughout North Africa, except for Egypt where the names refer to two distinct branches, which emerged there in the 19th century. Active lodges of the *ṭarīqa* of 'Abd al-Salām may be found in Tunisia (see al-Sādiq al-Rizkī, *al-Aghānī al-Tūnisīyya*, Tunis 1967, 129 ff.), in Egypt, where it has a wide-spread membership (see Ibrāhīm Muḥammad al-Faḥḥām, *Ibn 'Arūs wa 'l-ṭarīqa al-'Arūsīyya*, in *al-Funūn al-sha'biyya*, iv (Cairo 1970), no. 15, 71), and in Libya (see Djamīl Hilāl, *Dirāsāt fī 'l-wāḥī' al-Lībī*, Tripoli 1969, 141 f.; 'Abd al-Djalīl al-Tāhir, *al-Mudjtama' al-Lībī, dirāsāt idjtimā'iyya wa-anṭhrūpālūjīyya*, Ṣayḍā/Beirut 1969, 325 ff.; and *al-Muslim*, xx (Cairo 1969), no. i, 23). The shrine of 'Abd al-Salām at Zlīṭen has significance, as a centre of pilgrimage; religious education is provided at the establishment attached to it known as *al-maḥad al-asmārī* (cf. Mulaydjī, 23).

Bibliography: *al-Waṣīyya al-kubrā* (abbreviated in the article as *WK*, with reference to the paragraphs in which it is sub-divided), also known as *Nāṣihat al-murīdīn li 'l-djama'a al-muntasibīn li 'l-'Arūsī*, was published in Cairo n.d., in Tripoli (cf. O. Depont and X. Coppolani, *Les confréries religieuses musulmanes*, Algiers 1897, 339-49, 351), and in Iṣḥāk Ibrāhīm al-Mulaydjī, *Fī ḥāmishī ḥayāt Sīdī 'Abd al-Salām al-Asmar*, Tripoli 1969, 422-529. This book contains also 'Abd al-Salām's



Waṣīyya al-ṣughra (which is essentially a summary of the *Waṣīyya al-kubrā*), the texts of various prayers (*aḥzāb*) composed by him (402-19), a collection of his admonitions as well as a list of works (largely unpublished) containing data about al-Asmar's life (247 ff.). The biography presented in it is based upon oral information collected by the author (cf. 93) and upon materials contained in Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. Maḥlūf al-Munastirī, *Tanḳīh rawḍat al-azhār wa-muṣṣat al-sādāt al-abrār fī manāḳib Ṣidī 'Abd al-Salām al-Asmar*, Tunis 1325/1907-8. This work, also known under the title *Mawāhib al-raḥīm fī manāḳib Mawlanā al-Shaykh Ṣidī 'Abd al-Salām Ibn Salīm* (cf. *Tanḳīh*, 4), is an abridgement of the unpublished *Rawḍat al-azhār wa-muṣṣat al-sādāt al-abrār fī manāḳib Ṣāhib al-Tār*, by Karīm al-Dīn al-Barmūnī, a disciple of 'Abd al-Salām al-Asmar. A sample of al-Asmar's poetry, reflecting his ideas, may also be found in al-Rizkī's book referred to in the article and in 'Abd al-Salām al-Asmar, *Safinat al-buḥūr*, Cairo 1969. For a defence of playing the *bandir* (*duff*) in this *ṭarīka*, see Muḥammad Muḥammad Maṣḥīna, *Risālat al-kaul al-ma'rūf fī aḥkām al-ḍarb bi 'l-duff*, contained in Maṣḥīna's *al-Anwār al-kudsiyya* (see the article). For details about the history of al-Salāmiyya and al-'Arūsīyya in Egypt and further references, see F. De Jong, *Turuq and turuq-linked institutions in 19th century Egypt, passim*, Leiden 1978. In addition to these references and the references in the article, see the biographies by Ṭāhā Muḥammad Maṣḥīna al-Tādjūrī, *al-Ṭarīka al-Salāmiyya al-Shādhiliyya*, in *Madjallat al-Islām wa 'l-Taṣawwuf* (1959), no. 10, 79-81; Sālim b. Hamūda, *al-Shaykh 'Abd al-Salām al-Asmar*, in *al-Muṣlim* xiii (Cairo 1962), no. 8, 16-20; Muḥammad al-Bashīr Zāfir, *al-Yawākūt al-thamīna fī a'yān madhhab 'ālim al-Madīna*, Cairo 1324-5/1906-7, 200 f.; Muḥammad 'Abd al-Hayy al-Kattānī, *Fihris al-fahāris*, Cairo 1346/1927-8, i, 147.

(F. DE JONG)

ASSASSINS [see ḤASHIṢHIYYA].**ASSOCIATION** [see ANDJUMĀN, DJAM'ĪYYA].**ASYLUM** [see BAST, BĪMARISTĀN].

'ATABĀT (A. "thresholds"), more fully, *'atabāt-i 'āliya* or *'atabāt-i muḳaddasa* ("the lofty or sacred thresholds"), the Shī'ī shrine cities of 'Irāk—Nadīf, Karbalā', Kāzimayn and Sāmarrā [*q.v.*], comprising the tombs of six of the *Imāms* as well as a number of secondary shrines and places of visitation.

Nadīf, 10 km. to the west of Kūfa, is the alleged site of burial of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib (d. 41/661) (another shrine dedicated to 'Alī is that at Mazār-i Sharīf in Northern Afghanistan; see *Kh*"adja Sayf al-Dīn Khudjandī, *Karwān-i Balkh*, Mazār-i Sharīf, n.d., 18 ff.). His tomb is said to have been kept secret throughout the Umayyad period, and was marked with a dome for the first time in the late 3rd/9th century by Abu 'l-Haydījā, the Ḥamdānī ruler of Mosul; this early structure was repaired and expanded by 'Aḍud al-Dawla the Buwayhid in 369/979-80 (Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 518). Karbalā', 100 km. to the south-west of Baghdād, the site of the martyrdom and burial in 61/680 of Ḥusayn b. 'Alī, became very early a centre of Shī'ī pilgrimage; according to Shī'ī tradition, the first pilgrim was Dījābir b. 'Abd Allāh, who visited the site forty days after the death of Ḥusayn. Endowments were settled on the shrine (known as Maṣḥad al-Hā'ir, "shrine of the garden pool") by Umm Mūsā, mother of the 'Abbāsīd caliph al-Mahdī (Tabarī, iii, 752), but it was temporarily destroyed in 236/850

by an 'Abbāsīd less favourable to the Shī'a, al-Mutawakkil: he caused the site to be flooded (Tabarī, iii, 1407). By the time that Ibn Hawkal visited Karbalā' in 366/977, the shrine had evidently been restored (ed. J.H. Kramers, i, 166), and it was expanded, like that at Nadīf, by 'Aḍud al-Dawla in the late 4th/10th century (Ibn al-Athīr, *loc. cit.*).

From the Buwayhid period onward, Nadīf and Karbalā', the two most important of the *'atabāt*, have in fact had a common destiny, each receiving patronage and pilgrimage from the successive conquerors and rulers of 'Irāk. Thus Malik Shāh the Saldjūk visited both Nadīf and Karbalā' in 479/1086-7 and bestowed gifts on the shrines (Ibn al-Athīr, x, 103). Spared by the Mongol invaders, the two shrines prospered under Il Khānīd rule. 'Alā' al-Dīn Djuwaynī Ṣāhib al-Diwan had a hospice erected at Nadīf in 666/1267 to accommodate pilgrims, and also began the construction of a canal linking the city with the Euphrates ('Abbās al-'Azzāwī, *Tārīkh al-'Irāk bayn iḥtilālāyn*, Baghdād 1354/1935, i, 263, 310). In 703/1303, Ghāzān Khān visited both shrines: in Nadīf he built a lodging for the *sayyids* resident there (*dār al-siyāda*), together with a further hostel for pilgrims, as well as improving the canal constructed by Djuwaynī, and he bestowed similar favours on Karbalā' (Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍl Allāh, *Tārīkh-i mubārak-i Ghāzānī*, ed. K. Jahn, London 1940, 191, 203, 208). After his capture of Baghdād in 803/1400, Timūr made a pilgrimage to Nadīf and Karbalā' and presented gifts to the shrines (al-'Azzāwī, *op. cit.*, ii, 240).

In the 10th/16th century, 'Irāk became an object of dispute between the Safawids and the Ottomans, and both sides endowed and patronised the shrines of Nadīf and Karbalā' during their periods of control. Shāh Ismā'īl the Safawid visited and bestowed gifts on the two shrines in 914/1508, as well as restoring the canal at Nadīf dug in Il Khānīd times (al-'Azzāwī, *op. cit.*, iii, 316, 341). Sultan Sulaymān Kānūnī made a similar pilgrimage to Nadīf and Karbalā' after his conquest of 'Irāk in 941/1534, and had a new irrigation canal dug at Karbalā', called *al-nahr al-sulaymānī* after him (al-'Azzāwī, *op. cit.*, iv, 29, 36-7). Shāh 'Abbās I restored 'Irāk and the *'atabāt* to Safawid control in 1032/1623; this new occupation, terminated by Murād IV in 1048/1638, led to a further enriching and expansion of the shrines at both Nadīf and Karbalā'. Again in the years 1156-9/1743-6, parts of 'Irāk, including Nadīf and Karbalā', were temporarily removed from Ottoman sovereignty, this time by Nādir Shāh; he is variously reported to have had the main dome at Karbalā' gilded, and to have plundered the treasury at the shrine. This was the last time that Ottoman rule of 'Irāk was threatened from Iran, but throughout the 13th/19th century royal Iranian patronage of both Nadīf and Karbalā' continued, and it is this that accounts for the largely Iranian appearance of the shrines in the present age. Āghā Muḥammad Khān, the first Qājār monarch, had the dome at Karbalā' regilded, and endowed the tomb at Nadīf with a golden grill (H. Algar, *Religion and state in Iran, 1785-1906; the role of the Ulama in the Qajar period*, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1969, 42). Following his example, Fath 'Alī Shāh had the minarets at Karbalā' gilded, as well as reconstructing the dome out of gold bricks; Muḥammad Shāh provided for the repair of the damage inflicted on Karbalā' by the Wāhhābīs during their incursion of 1216/1801; and Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh himself visited the *'atabāt* in 1287/1870 and commissioned

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various work in Najaf, Karbalā' and Kāzimayn (Algar, *op. cit.*, 48, 104, 167). Gifts and endowments were also sent to the 'atabāt by the rulers of various Shī'ī principalities in India, especially Oudh (J.N. Hollister, *The Shi'a of India*, London 1953, 107, 112, 162-3).

Kāzimayn (also known as Kāzimiyya), the third of the 'atabāt, formerly a separate city on the right bank of the Tigris but now virtually a suburb of Baghdād, is the site of the tombs of the seventh and ninth Imāms, Mūsā al-Kāzim (d. 186/802) and Muḥammad al-Taḳī (or al-Djāwād) (d. 219/834). It occupies a geographically central place among the 'atabāt, being situated between Sāmarrā to the north and Najaf and Karbalā' to the south, and has always received a steady flow of pilgrims. Unlike Najaf and Karbalā', it did not escape the Mongol invasion unscathed, and was extensively damaged by fire during conquest of Baghdād in 656/1258. Most of the existing structures in Kāzimayn date from the time of Shāh Ismā'īl, who was particularly lavish with his patronage in Kāzimayn because of his claim to descent from the seventh Imām. The work begun under his auspices was completed by Sultan Sulaymān in 941/1534 and restored and expanded by several Qājār monarchs in the 19th century. The major courtyard (*sahn*) at Kāzimayn was built in 1298/1880 by Farhād Mirzā, a Qājār prince. Also buried in Kāzimayn are two early Shī'ī scholars, Sharīf al-Raḍī (d. 406/1015) and Sharīf al-Murtaḍā (d. 436/1044); two sons of Mūsā al-Kāzim, Ismā'īl and Ibrāhīm; Tāhir b. Zayn al-'Abidīn, a son of the fourth Imām; Khadijā bint al-Hasan; and Fāṭima bint al-Husayn (L. Massignon, *Les saints musulmans enterrés à Bagdad*, in *Opera minora*, ed. Y. Moubarac, Beirut, iii, 100-1).

Sāmarrā, the fourth of the 'atabāt, contains the tombs of the tenth and eleventh Imāms, 'Alī al-Naḳī (d. 254/868) and Ḥasan al-'Askarī (d. 260/873), as well as the cistern (*sardāb*) where the twelfth Imām, Muḥammad al-Mahdī, entered the state of occultation (*ghayba*) in 260/873 and where too he is destined to reappear at the beginning of his renewed manifestation at the end of time.

The 'atabāt play a role of great importance in the life of Shī'ī Islam, functioning almost as a secondary *kibla*. They are above all places of pilgrimage (*ḥajarat*), visited by countless Shī'īs from Iran, the Indian sub-continent and elsewhere. Pilgrimage to the 'atabāt consists primarily of circumambulating the sacred tombs while reading a series of traditional prayers (*ḥayāt-nāma*) and fervently caressing the golden grills enclosing the tombs; one may also seek the intercession of the Imāms or make to them a vow (*nadhir*). Karbalā', which contains the tombs not only of Husayn but also of his half-brother, 'Abbās, and his son, 'Alī Akbar, is in particular much frequented by pilgrims, who after their return home may prefix the title "Karbalā'ī" to their names. The soil of Karbalā', having been moistened with the blood of Husayn, is deemed to possess special properties; from it is generally fashioned the clay disc (*muhṛ*) on which the Shī'a place their foreheads when prostrating in prayer. When diluted in water, the soil also yields a beverage (*āb-i turbat*) thought to have theurgical and curative properties; the sick, the dying, and women in labour are caused to imbibe it, and it is lightly sprinkled over the face and lips of the dead (H. Massé, *Croyances et coutumes persanes*, Paris 1938, i, 38, 96; B.A. Donaldson, *The wild rue*, London 1938, 205). The dust accumulating on the grill around the tomb of Husayn is also highly re-

garded; it is carefully collected for its curative properties (Donaldson, *op. cit.*, 67), and is sometimes used in India as a lining for tombs (Hollister, *op. cit.*, 155). Burial at the 'atabāt is considered highly desirable, again with a marked preference being shown for Karbalā'; corpses are often transported for burial from Iran and India to the 'atabāt, where vast cemeteries have sprung up, particularly at Najaf and Karbalā'. Traditionally numerous pious Shī'īs have also gone to spend their last years in the 'atabāt as "neighbours" (*muḥajwīrūn*) to the Imāms.

The 'atabāt have also occupied an important place in the intellectual and theological life of Shī'ism, the *madrasas* situated there drawing scholars and students from every region of Shī'ī population; Najaf, frequently entitled Dār al-'Ilm, is the chief centre of learning today in the Shī'ī world. In the 12th/18th century, after the Afghān sack of Isfahān, many Iranian Shī'ī scholars took refuge in the 'atabāt, and it was there—above all in Karbalā'—in the last quarter of the century that the long-standing controversy between the Akhbārī and Uṣūlī schools of *fiqh* was settled in favour of the latter. Although centres of religious learning revived in Iran in the Qājār period, the 'atabāt continued to exert their attraction, and most leading scholars either resided and taught there, or studied for a time before returning to Iran. When in the late 19th and early 20th centuries an important segment of the Iranian 'ulamā' clashed with the Qājār monarchy and supported the constitutional movement, the 'atabāt—particularly Najaf—came to function as an important base of clerical operations beyond the reach of the Iranian state. The role of three great constitutionalist *muḍṭahids* resident in Najaf—'Abd Allāh Māzandarānī, Muḥammad Kāzim Khurāsānī and Mirzā Ḥusayn Khālīlī Tihirānī—deserves particular mention (see Abdul-Hadi Ha'iri, *Shi'ism and constitutionalism in Iran: a study of the role played by the clerical residents of Iraq in Iranian politics*, Leiden 1977). *Mutatis mutandis*, Najaf has fulfilled a similar function in recent years, following the exile there in 1963 of Ayat Allāh Khomeynī. The Shī'ī 'ulamā' resident in the 'atabāt have also exerted influence on the 20th century history of Irāk; they played, for example, a directive role in attempts to thwart the imposition of a British mandate on the country ('Abd Allāh Fahd al-Nafīsī, *Dawar al-Shi'a fi tafaawwur al-'Irāk al-siyāsī al-hadīth*, Beirut 1973, 80 ff.).

Finally, mention may be made of the fact that the 'atabāt are of interest not only to the Ithnā 'Asharī Shī'a, but also to the adherents of various branches of Ismā'īlism; although they hardly ever make the *ḥajj*, they frequently perform pilgrimage to Najaf and Karbalā' (Hollister, *op. cit.*, 289, 391) and it is probable that a number of Nizārī Imāms of the post-Mongol period are buried in Najaf (W. Ivanow, *Tombs of some Persian Ismā'īlī Imams*, in *JBRAS*, xiv (1938), 49-52). The Bektāshīs, who in many ways may be considered a crypto-Shī'ī sect, also used to maintain *tekkes* in Najaf, Karbalā' and Kāzimayn (al-'Azzawī, *op. cit.*, iv, 152-3; Murat Sertoğlu, *Bektāshik*, Istanbul 1969, 319).

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(H. ALGAR)

ATAÇ, NŪR ALLĀH, modern Turkish NURULLAH ATAÇ (1898-1957), prominent Turkish essayist and literary critic, the guiding spirit of the Turkish contemporary linguistic and literary renewal for two decades (1935-55). Born in Istanbul, the son of Mehmed ‘Aṭā, civil servant and writer (1856-1919), better known as the translator of J. von Hammer’s *GOR* (from the French version), Atač signed his writings as Nūr Allāh ‘Aṭā until the introduction of family names in 1934, when he changed ‘Aṭā into Atač and later dropped Nūr Allāh altogether. Of his various pen-names, the most frequently used one was Kavafoğlu. Atač’s education was irregular. He attended various schools (including Galatasaray for four years and then the Faculty of Letters), without finishing either. Although he spent some time in Switzerland during the First World War, his thorough knowledge of the French language and literature was, like all his accomplishments, mainly self-acquired. Atač made his living as a teacher, translator and constant contributor to a great number of newspapers and periodicals. He taught French literature and French in various schools of Istanbul, Ankara and the provinces, and served as a translator in government departments including the office of the President of the Republic. He died in Ankara on 17 May 1957.

Atač started his literary career in 1921 with poems, critical reviews and theatrical criticism in the famous fortnightly *Dergāh*, to which all the leading writers of the time and many young talents were contributors. At this period he was particularly interested in the theatre and wrote theatre reviews mainly in the daily *Akşam* (see Metin And, *Ataç tiyatrosu*, Istanbul 1973). Later he concentrated on literary criticism, and closely following the day-to-day developments of the literary scene, wrote articles of criticism untiringly in more than sixty newspapers and periodicals, particularly in *Akşam*, *Akşam*, *Hakimiyet-i milliyet*, *Milliyet*, *Varlık*, *Yeni adam*, *Tan*, *Son posta*, *Haber*, *Tercüme*, *Ülkü*, *Türk dili*, *Cumhuriyet*, *Pazar postası*, *Dünya*, and most frequently of all, *Ulus* (see Konur Ertop, *Ataç bibliyografyası*, in *Ataç*, ed. *Türk Dil Kurumu*, Ankara 1962). Atač developed the essay, a much-neglected field in Turkish literature, into an independent *genre* of which he became a recognised master, and had many followers. He wrote thousands of essays on literature, classical and modern, on cultural change and problems of culture in general, on individual writers, etc. with a very personal, natural, concise and unadorned style. In the early 1940s he espoused the language reform movement and gave it great support and impetus, increasing its prestige in literary circles. It is no exaggeration to say that he became the greatest master of the nascent contemporary Turkish prose, and his style was taken as the model by many young writers. This prose was to supersede that of the pre-1930 masters like R. Kh. Karay, Reşhād Nūrī Güntekin [q.v.] and others. Although Atač’s authority as a literary critic is controversial because he chose a subjective and impressionistic approach to criticism

according to his own temperament and personal taste, it is unanimously accepted that it is his sharp flair as a critic which discovered and launched many young talents on to the literary scene (e.g. Orhan Veli Kanık, F.H. Dağlarca, etc.). Restless, impatient, aggressive by temperament and equipped with a piercing mind and armed with “methodical doubt”, Atač waged an unrelenting war against fanaticism, intolerance, sentimentality, “poetical” artificiality, clichés and ready-made thoughts and formulae. He was a conscious extremist in language reform and believed that only the “self-sacrifice” of some extremists would nullify the harm caused by the ultra-conservatives. Atač studied 15th century prose works, particularly Merdžümeke Ahmed’s masterly translation of Kay Kā’ūs’s *Kābūs-nāma* [see KAY KĀ’ŪS b. İSKANDAR] and used them as the model for a new style. He experimented successfully with a new syntax which included inversion (*devrik tümce*), which naturally exists in spoken Turkish and which was frequently used in early Turkish writings before the syntax of the written Turkish was “frozen”. Atač coined a number of neologisms, some of which survived and were incorporated into the language (for a list of Atač’s neologisms, see *Ataçın sözcükleri*, ed. *Türk Dil Kurumu*, Ankara 1963). Atač left several thousand essays and articles, some of which (mostly his post-1940 writings) have been published in book form in 10 volumes: *Günlerin getirdiği* (1946), *Karalama defteri* (1952), *Sözden söze* (1952), *Ararken* (1954), *Diyeğim* (1954), *Söz arasında* (1957), *Okuruma mektuplar* (1958), *Günce* (1960), *Prospero ile Caliban* (1961), *Söylensiler*, 2 vols. (1964) Atač’s diaries covering the years 1953-7 have been published in two volumes as *Günce*, Ankara 1972.

Atač also made perfect examples of literary translation in Turkish. He translated more than 50 literary works from ancient Greek, Latin and Russian authors (via French), and in particular, directly from French, the most famous of which being his translation of Stendhal’s *Le rouge et le noir* rendered as *Kırmızı ve siyah* (1941), second edition as *Kızıl ile kara* (1946).

Bibliography: Tahir Alangu, *Ataç’a saygı*, Ankara 1959; Konur Ertop, Introduction to his complete works published by *Varlık*: *Günlerin getirdiği-karalama defteri*, Istanbul 1967, 5-69; Asım Bezirci, *Nurullah Ataç, eleştirisi anlayışı ve yazıları*, Istanbul 1968; Mehmed Salihoglu, *Ataç’la gelen*; *Türk Dil Kurumu* (ed.), *Ölümünün 10. yıldönümünde Ataç’ı anış*, Ankara 1968. (FAHİR İZ)

ATALĪK, Turkic title which existed in Central Asia in the post-Mongol period, with the same original meaning as the title *atabeg* [see ATABAK].

In the *ulus* of Djuči (the Golden Horde) and its immediate successors, as in the *khānates* of Kazan and Kırım and the *ulus* of Shiban (Ak Orda), as well as in the Čaghatāyid state in Moghōlistān, the *atalik* was, in the first place, a guardian and tutor of a young prince and, in this capacity, an actual governor of his appanage. The sovereign himself (*khān* or *sultān*) also had an *atalik* who was his close counsellor and confidant, often playing the role of the first minister. The *ataliks* were nominated from among the Turkic tribal nobility, the senior begs (*amirs*). It seems that, according to Turkic nomadic custom, a ruler should always have an *atalik*; it was a kind of control over his conduct exercised by the tribal aristocracy. Tīmūrid and Shāybanīd sources often also use, instead of the term *atalik* and in the same meaning, the term *atakā*, or *ātākā* (most probably,

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a contracted form from *ata-ākā*, or *atabeg-ākā*, *atalik-ākā*, where *ākā* is "the elder brother", which was also a usual form of polite address in Eastern Turkic, added to proper names and titles). The post of *ataka* (*atalik*) was entrusted often to a *kökältäsh* "foster-brother" (also *ämildäsh*); these persons were brought up together with the princes of the ruling dynasty, which created a special relationship (*kökältäsh*) between the two sides (see *Tawārikh-i guzida-i nuṣrat-nāma*, ed. by A.M. Akramov, Tashkent 1967, facsimile 270, lines 4250-4, and 272; Russian tr. from the *Shaybānī-nāma* by Binā'i, in *Materiali po istorii kazakhskikh khanstv XV-XVIII vekov*, Alma-Ata 1969, 98, 100; V.V. Vel'yaminov-Zernov, *Issledovaniye o Kasimovskikh tsaryakh i tsarevichakh*, pt. 2, St. Petersburg 1864, 438; V.V. Bartol'd, *Sochineniya*, ii/2, 212; G. Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente in Neupersischen*, ii, 9 (No. 419), 481 (No. 343), iv, 402-3, with further references).

In the Uzbek *khānates* of Central Asia, the meaning of the title *atalik* was gradually transformed. In *Bukhārā*, till the beginning of the 18th century, "the great *atalik*" (*atalik-i buzurg*) was the senior *amīr* and the first minister (hence his epithets '*umdat al-umara'*' and *wizārat-panāh*). In the *Ashtar-khānīd* period, he often appears in historical sources together with the *dīwān-begi* [q.v. below], who was the second figure in the government. He could be at the same time governor of a province; *atalik* Yalangtush Biy, who was *hākim* of Samarqand in the first half of the 17th century and became famous by his building activity, was a semi-independent ruler. There was also, besides him, an *atalik* of the *khān's* heir residing in *Balkh* with the same functions in his respective region. In the reign of 'Ubayd Allāh *Khān* (1114-23/1702-11), the *kosh-begi* [q.v.] became the head of the civil administration in *Bukhārā*, he being an official of mean origin—probably as an attempt of the *khān* at cutting down the influence of the Uzbek aristocracy. But the importance of the *atalik* did not diminish; already earlier, at the end of the 17th century, the *atalik* in *Balkh* became independent ruler of this province, and in the middle of the 18th century Muḥammad Raḥīm *Atalik* of the Mangit [q.v.] tribe founded a new ruling dynasty in *Bukhārā*, having killed the last *khān* of the *Ashtarkhānīds*. Muḥammad Raḥīm was proclaimed *khān* in 1170/1756; his uncle and successor Dāniyāl Biy (1172-99/1758-85) preferred to remain *atalik*, enthroning puppet *khāns* of Čingizid origin, but his son *Shāh Murād* eliminated these *khāns* and proclaimed himself *amīr*, which later remained in *Bukhārā* the title of the Mangit rulers par excellence. In the administrative manual *Madīma' al-arkām* compiled under *Shāh Murād* in 1212/1798, the post of *atalik* is defined as that of senior *amīr*, who was charged specifically with oversight of the irrigation of the Zarafshān valley from Samarqand to Karakul, and, at the same time, was the *mīrāb* of the main city canal of *Bukhārā*, Rūd-i Shahr, as well as *dārūgha* [q.v.] of the *rabad* of *Bukhārā* (see facsimile in *Pis'mennyye pamyatniki Vostoka 1968*, Moscow 1970, 50-1; cf. A.A. Semenov, in *Sovetskoye vostokovedeniye*, v [1948], 144-7). But already in the first half of the 19th century, the *atalik* became a purely honorary rank (the highest in the hierarchy of 15 ranks in *Bukhārā*) given very rarely. In 1820 a semi-independent governor of *Hiṣār*, father-in-law of the *amīr*, had this rank (see G. Meyendorff, *Voyage d'Orenburg à Boukhara, fait en 1820*, Paris 1826, 259; cf. V. L. Vyatkin, in *Izvestiya Sredneaziatskogo otdela Russkogo geografi-*

českogo obščestva, xviii [1928], 20); in 1840 the *atalik* was also a father-in-law of the *amīr*, a ruler of *Shahrisabz* (see N. Khanikov, *Opisaniye Bukharskogo khanstva*, St. Petersburg 1843, 185). Under the last two *amīrs*, only the governor of *Hiṣār* (who had also the title *kosh-begi*) was given the rank of *atalik*.

In the *Khānate* of *Khīwa*, *atalik* was originally also a guardian and counsellor of the *khān* and of princes (*sultāns*) who ruled in their appanages. Abu 'l-Ghāzī [q.v.] in his *Shadjara-yi Turk* (ed. Desmaisons, text, 252, tr. 269) says about an *atalik* (in the middle of the 16th century) that he was "the mouth, tongue and will" (*aghāzī, tili wa ikhtiyārī*) of his *sultān*. Russian sources of the 17th century compare the *ataliks* in *Khīwa* with the Russian boyars (see *Materiali po istorii Uzbekskoy, Tadzhikskoy i Turkmenskoy SSR*, Moscow-Leningrad 1931, 266). According to Mu'nis [q.v.] (*Firdaws al-ikbāl*, MS. of the Leningrad Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, C-571, f. 65b), Abu 'l-Ghāzī *Khān*, reorganising the administration of the *khānate*, established posts of four *ataliks*, who were members of the *khān's* council of 34 '*amaldārs*. Later they were called "the great *atalik*" (*ulugh atalik*, cf. *ibid.*, ff. 112a, 118b); they represented four tribal groups (*tupā*) into which all *Kh*ārizmian Uzbeks were divided: Uyghur and Nayman, Kungrat and Kiyat, Mangit and Nukuz, Kangli and Kīpčak. One of the "great *ataliks*" was the *atalik* of the *khān* (see *ibid.*, ff. 69b, 101b). In the first half of the 18th century, the *atalik* of the *khān* was a most powerful figure in *Khīwa*, but from the 1740s onwards he was pushed somewhat into the background by another dignitary, the *ināq* [q.v. below]. It is not clear whether in the time of Abu 'l-Ghāzī there existed only the four *ataliks* mentioned by Mu'nis; but in the middle of the 18th century there was quite a number of them. In 1740 a letter to the inhabitants of *Khīwa* sent by the *Khīwan* dignitaries from the camp of Nādir Shāh was signed by eleven *ataliks* (see *Geograficheskoye izvestiya*, 1850, 546-7). Apparently, already at that time, as in the 19th century, the title *atalik* was given also to the chiefs of the Uzbek tribes; such an *atalik* was senior *biy* in his tribe, and his title was usually hereditary, though it had to be confirmed by the *khān*. In the 19th century this title was granted also, as a purely honorary distinction, to some Turkmen tribal chiefs (see Yu. Bregel', in *Problemy vostokovedeniya*, 1960, No. 1, 171; cf. idem, *Khorezmskiye turkmeni v XIX veke*, Moscow 1961, 129). In 1859 this title was introduced also for the chiefs of the Karakalpak tribes (see Yu. Bregel', *Dokumenti arkhiva khivinskikh khanov po istorii i etnografii karakalpakov*, Moscow 1967, 58). The number of the "great *ataliks*" increased before 1873 from four to eight (see A.L. Kuhn's papers in the Archives of the Leningrad Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, file 1/13, 105-6). As distinct from the other tribal chiefs, they were considered among the *umarā-yi 'azām*. The *atalik* of the *khān*, who in the 19th century always belonged to the *khān's* tribe, the Kungrat [q.v.] and was mostly a relative of the *khān*, was considered as the senior *amīr* in the *khānate*; in the first half of the 19th century he still exercised some influence as the *khān's* counsellor, but later this post lost its importance.

Less is known about the role of *ataliks* in the *Khānate* of *Khokand* [q.v.]. The ruler of *Farghāna* and the founder of the Ming dynasty of this *khānate*, Shāhrukh Biy (early 18th century) received the title *atalik* from the *khān* of *Bukhārā* (see V.P. Nalivkin, *Histoire du khanat de Khokand*, Paris 1889,



68). In the 19th century, governors of large provinces (such as Tashkent and Khujand) also sometimes had this title; they could be not only Uzbeks: Kanāʿat Shāh Atalik, the governor of Tashkent in 1850s and early 1860s, was a Tadjik. Apparently, the *atalik* in the Khānate of Khokand, as well as in Bukhārā of the same period, was considered rather an honorary rank than an official post.

In Eastern Turkestan under the Čaghatāyids in the 16th and 17th centuries, the title *atalik* preserved its original meaning. The governors of provinces (princes of the ruling house), the *khān*'s heir and the *khān* himself had their *ataliks*, who were always senior Turkic *beks*. The *atalik* of the *khān* was at the same time the governor (*hākim*) of Yarkand, and that of the heir the governor of Aksu or Khotan (see Shāh Mahmūd Čurās, *Tārīkh*, ed. by O.F. Akimushkin, Moscow 1976, text 30, 52, 64 et *passim*). The ruler of the last independent Muslim state in Eastern Turkestan, Yaʿkub Bek [q.v.], styled himself Atalik Ghāzī; apparently he received the title of *atalik* on being sent from Khokand to Kāshghar as a counsellor and guardian of Buzurg Khʿādja.

Bibliography: In addition to the works mentioned in the text, see V.V. Bartol'd, *Soñineniya*, ii/2, 390, 394; A.A. Semenov, in *Materiali po istorii tadžikov i uzbekov Sredney Azii*, ii, Stalinabad 1954, 61; H. Howorth, *The history of the Mongols*, ii, 869-70; G. Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente in Neupersischen*, ii, 69-71 (No. 490); M.F. Köprülü, *IA*, art. *Ata*, at the end.

(Yu. BREGEL)

ATAY, FALİH RİFKİ, Turkish writer, journalist and politician (1894-1971). He was born in Istanbul, the son of Khalil Hilmi, an uncompromising traditionalist and *imām* of a mosque at Djibali on the Golden Horn. He was educated at Merdjan high school, where his teacher, the poet Djelāl Sāhīr, encouraged him to publish his early poems, and at the Faculty of Letters. His elder brother, a progressive officer, provided him with all the advanced literature from Nāmīk Kemāl to Tewfik Fikret [q.v.]. Fālih Rifki began his career as a journalist in 1912 in Husayn Džahid's [q.v.] *Tanin*, the organ of the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP), where he wrote once a week his *Istanbul mektübları* ("Istanbul Letters.") These and his later articles in the same paper during the Balkan War were full of emotional, patriotic and anti-reactionary spirit. After serving briefly in the chancery of the Sublime Porte, he was appointed to the Private Secretariat of Tal'at Pasha [q.v.], then Minister of the Interior, whom he accompanied on his trip to Bucharest, whence he sent his first travel notes, a *genre* in which he would later excel. He was at the same time contributing to various periodicals, particularly *Shehbāl*. At the outbreak of the First World War he was called up as a reserve officer and accompanied Djemāl Pasha [q.v.], the Commander of the Fourth Army in Syria, as his adjutant and private secretary. When Djemāl Pasha returned to Istanbul as Minister of the Navy, he appointed him deputy-director of his secretariat which he combined with instructor at the naval N.C.O.s' school. When at the end of the War the CUP leaders fled the country, Fālih Rifki founded, with three of his friends, the daily *Akshām*, becoming known as a staunch defender of the Nationalist movement in Anatolia (1918-22) versus the journalists who backed the collaborationist Istanbul government. In the autumn of 1922 he left for Izmir, which had just been liberated on 9 September, to meet

Muṣṭafā Kemāl Pasha, who had invited him together with other prominent journalists. Muṣṭafā Kemāl told them that "the real battle is beginning now" and urged them to enter political life. Elected deputy for Bolu in 1923, Fālih Rifki became the leader writer of the daily semi-official *Hākimiyyet-i milliye* (later re-named *Ulus*) founded by Muṣṭafā Kemāl. He remained in Parliament for 27 years until the defeat of the Republican People's Party in the general elections of 14 May 1950, when he moved to Istanbul and wrote a weekly column in *Cumhuriyet* until he founded his own daily *Dünya*, which he published until his death in Istanbul on 20 March 1971.

Essentially a journalist and always concerned with the "topical", Atay had literary talents far beyond those of a routine journalist. He excelled in the essay, sketches, travel notes and autobiographical writing. An anti-traditionalist and a dedicated Kemalist, he devoted all his writing career to defend and support the reforms achieved by the Republican régime. He fought relentlessly and uncompromisingly for the survival of a modern, progressive and secular Turkey. No matter what he wrote about, the lesson which he drew remained the same: No going back.

A great master of modern Turkish prose, he used, like R. Kh. Karay and 'Ömer Seyf el-Din [q.v.] the spoken Turkish of ordinary people and wrote in a concise, but vivid, colourful and very personal style, carefully avoiding all artificialities of the earlier generations of writers. Except for certain doubts towards the end of his life, Atay was a great supporter of the language reform movement, revived by government support in the 1930s, and his handling of the reformed language became the model for young writers until the appearance of Nūr Allāh Atač [q.v. above], the linguistic and literary "guru" of the generations between the 1940s and late 50s. It is perhaps because of this fascinating style that his readers are seldom worried about the lack of depth in some of his writings, which brilliantly observe, describe and report, but do this without much sophistication. Atay is the author of more than thirty works, but the great bulk of his essays and articles published in newspapers and periodicals have not yet been published in book form. His major works are: (1) *Ateş ve güneş* (1918) and *Şeytindağı* (1932), the two published in one volume as *Şeytindağı* (1970), impressions of the First World War in Palestine and Syria which are powerful sketches of the end of the Ottoman Empire; *Denizarın* (1931), *Yeni Rusya* (1931), *Taymis kıyıları* (1934), *Tuna kıyıları* (1934), *Hind* (1944) are evocative travel notes on respectively Brazil, Soviet Russia, England, the Balkans and India; *Gezerek gördüklerimiz* (1970), selections from travel notes; *Çankaya* (in two vols., 1961, revised one volume edition, 1969) is the most important and comprehensive of Atay's many books on Atatürk and his achievements. It has powerful sketches of Atatürk and interesting character-studies of the many people of his time. The second edition has been substantially altered in places and anti-İnönü passages have been borrowed from Y.K. Karaosmanoğlu's political memoirs (*Politikada 45 yıl*, 1968) and introduced here to discredit the former Commander of the Western Front during the War of Liberation, both writers having broken with İsmet İnönü, for political reasons, towards the end of their lives; *Bayveren inkılapçı* (1954), a monograph on 'Alī Su'āvī (1839-78), the controversial writer and revolutionary.



Bibliography: Baki Süha Ediboğlu, *Fahîr Rıfka Atay konuşuyor*, İstanbul 1945; B. Necatigil, *Edebiyatımızda isimler sözlüğü*, İstanbul 1975, s.v.; Tahir Alangu, *100 ünlü Türk eseri*, ii, İstanbul 1974, 1124-31.

(FAHİR İZ)

ATHĀTH (A.), furniture. The Arabic language lacks terms adequate to express the concept of furniture. Taking into account the mutual overlapping of the notions of "furniture", "table-ware", "carpets", "household objects" and "utensils", Arabic frequently has recourse to approximative terms and to broader categories (combinations of two expressions, for example (*fāsh* = carpets, bedding and furniture; *āla* = crockery and household objects; *fāsh* and *āla* may be used in combination; *adāt* = utensils etc.; *athāth* = literally, belongings, various household objects and (especially in modern Arabic) furniture; *fāsh* and *athāth* may be used in combination; *malāt* = personal property, domestic items, etc.).

In the mediaeval Muslim home, life was conducted relatively close to the ground. Meals were served to the diners in a kind of "serving-dish" with or without legs (the receptacle being separable from its support or not, as the case might be) which was laid on a carpet on the floor. The diners did not have individual plates but served themselves directly from the dish placed on a low table (*khawān*, *mā'ida*, *daysak*, *fāthūr*, *mudawwara*, *muḥawwal*, *mu'tasāmāt*, *simāl*, the majority of these terms indicating a very small round table; some, like *simāl*, a low oblong table) each of them sitting on a "seat" adapted to the appropriate height (a cushion [*wisāda*, *mīrfaka*, *tuk'a*, *miswara*, *numruk*, and even *mikhadda* which was originally a pillow], a pair of cushions super-imposed, a cushion folded in two, the carpet itself, etc.). The table was removed from the room as soon as the meal was completed.

It is understandable that such scenes should have misled western travellers and even some orientalist who described the interior of the Muslim household as being "empty", "uninhabitable", etc., without considering that the dimensions of furniture are frequently adapted to the way of life, to the manner of sitting, and to taste. However it would be incorrect to suppose that all mediaeval Arabic furniture was low. Carpenters and other craftsmen constructed trestles and benches of a fair height for various purposes outside the private house; they also made chairs with legs of wood or metal [see *KURSĪ*] and throne-like seats (*sarīr*, *takht*), but such seating arrangements were not used at meal-times. A high stool was somewhat exceptional in the Middle Ages and it focussed attention on the person seated there (a prince, the head of the family, sometimes an ordinary individual) in relation to the others present.

The hierarchy of heights in sitting (on a throne, on a high stool, on two superimposed cushions, on one cushion folded in two, on a single ordinary cushion, on the carpet itself, on the ground, this last position indicating humiliation, humility or mourning) only reflects the categories and class-distinctions of etiquette. Another aspect of the stratification of classes is reflected in the range of materials and qualities: beds with legs, a sign of luxury, beds without frames, and lower down the scale the *martaba*, a good-quality mattress stuffed with down, simple mattresses laid on the ground and serving as a bed at night, simple mattresses, mats and carpets for sleeping on, piles of rags and scraps of clothing for the same purpose (only the poorest slept on the ground); cushions and pillows stuffed and covered

with choice materials, silk for example, and at the other end of the scale, rags or simply a stone serving as pillow for a poor man.

The very high "western style" thrones such as those appearing in Umayyad iconography, seem to have been copied from Byzantine models and do not reflect true conditions in the court (see V. Strika, in *AIUON* xiv/2 (1964), 729-59; but cf. O. Grabar, in *Studies in memory of Gaston Wiet*, Jerusalem 1977, especially 53-6, who puts into perspective the remarkable development of etiquette already taking place in the Umayyad court). According to mediaeval texts, another kind of throne, a long sofa for reclining, was quite widely known in the courts of the Umayyads, of the 'Abbāsids and of local princes (such as the *lkhshīdids*). The sovereign could invite a friend to sit beside him, on the same *sarīr* (hence quite a long seat); he could alternatively recline on it. The overlapping of the concepts mattress-seat-throne-bed (for example, from the Persian; *takht* can mean any of the following: board, seat, throne, sofa, bed, calculating tablet, chest or box) did not prevent the evolution of ceremonial and the differentiation of functions (a seat or a throne for public or solemn audience, or for private audience, feasts etc.) from establishing or re-establishing in usage thrones and narrow seats (of Persian manufacture, for example) and long and more elaborate thrones. Towards the end of the 3rd/9th and the beginning of the 4th/10th centuries, the use of the bed with frame (for reclining and sleeping) became fashionable in high society and among the bourgeoisie. The belief of certain orientalist that the bed did not exist in the mediaeval Muslim world is only partially correct: unsprung mattresses were more common (even in documents from the Cairo Geniza, many mattresses are to be found serving as relatively inexpensive beds; among the dowries of young brides there is mention of a very small number of beds with frames, extremely expensive, and between these two categories is the *martaba*, which would correspond in function with the divan-bed of the present day).

To return to the subject of tables: *mā'ida*, *khawān* and *sufra* are synonymous: they refer to the small eastern "table", the first two to a solid "table" (the attempts on the part of mediaeval philologists to differentiate between them were quite arbitrary) while the third (and sometimes also *naḥ*, as well as *mā'ida*, exclusively in the context of the Qur'ān and its commentaries and in certain passages in the literature of *ḥadīth*) was applied to a skin stretched out on the ground and serving, not only among the early Bedouins, but also in circles of sedentary Arabic civilisation, various functions in the home and in the country (in dialect, *sufra* is an ordinary table and *sufraḍī* is a waiter in a restaurant or a café). This is one of the characteristic cases which raises the question whether the continuity of sedentary habits (from the Persians, Byzantines, from the ancient Syrian and Egyptian stocks, etc.) was an exclusive characteristic of daily life in the mediaeval Muslim world, in the sense that it is reflected in the use of furniture, and if there was not here a minimal contribution on the part of the Bedouin element, betrayed in the spread of ancestral customs through the disappearance of the high furniture of the Byzantine metropolis in favour of the low furniture which existed in Iranian civilisation and in certain local Aramaeo-Syrian and 'Irāqī centres, as is revealed by the mediaeval lexicographers and commentators (*tustkhawān* and *fāthūr*, for example). Nevertheless, specimens of wooden furniture from



the Middle Ages are available to us and we have ceramic objects designed to imitate them (supports sometimes containing cavities to accommodate jugs, resembling the supports-plus-shelves attested by the texts; some of these still exist today: *mīṣṣa* or *kursī-plus-ṣiniyya*, in various Muslim lands lying far apart from one another); iconography also shows a certain standardisation, in spite of regional styles, of way of life and of taste throughout the whole of the Muslim world (household objects, such as tables, being exported from one country to another).

The mediaeval Muslims made use of a whole range of chests, cases and boxes (*ṣundūk*, *ṭakht*, *kaṣṣara*, *muḥaddima*, *ṣafat*), as well as recesses and racks (*nifṣ*), but they had no cupboards as such.

The Mongols introduced the use of a higher type of square table, but the essential nature of the "oriental style" way of life has been preserved up to the very threshold of the modern age (Turkish and Persian miniatures attest this, *grosso modo*). Even in the 19th and early 20th centuries, travellers, writers and orientalisks (E. Lane for Egypt, Lortet for Syria, E. Jaussen for Palestine, for example) were still describing such a way of life; some elements (such as beds with frames) introduced from abroad, or under foreign influence, were still called *franjī* in certain semi-urban centres, at the beginning of the present century. The modern age has made fashionable the use of European style furniture and the original form of the "oriental" way of life, with its abundant taste and comfort, has tended to disappear.

Bibliography: J. Sadan, *Le mobilier au Proche-Orient médiéval*, Leiden 1976 (esp. the bibliographical index, 155-69). (J. SADAN)

ATHÜR, modern KAL'AT SHARKĀT, a large ancient mound on the west bank of the River Tigris in the *vilāyet* of Mawṣil, about 250 km. north of Baghdād and about 100 km. south of Mawṣil, in 35° 30' N and 45° 15' E. It is strategically placed on a spur of the Djabal Ḥamrīn and is identified with Ashur, one of the capital cities of ancient Assyria. In the middle of the 3rd millennium, it was occupied by migratory tribes coming either from the west or the south, and was venerated as the religious and sometime political centre of Assyria until it was captured by the Babylonians in 614 B.C. This battle devastated the city and it was not reoccupied as a city again. Ashur is the name not only of the place but also of the local deity, and it occurs in Akkadian, Aramaic and Greek sources. The site was known by the Turks under the name Toprak Kal'e, "Earth Citadel". The meaning of the element *sharkāt* in the Arabic name is not known, but it is probably to be explained as an independent proper name. It is not mentioned by Arab geographers; the earliest reference to it is in the 18th century, and it is the name used by later Western travellers.

The site was described by C.J. Rich, who visited it in March 1821, and it was subsequently investigated by J. Ross (1836), W. Ainsworth with E.L. Mitford, A.H. Layard and H. Rassam (1840), and again by Layard and Rassam (1847) on behalf of the British Museum, when an important statue of Shalmaneser III (858-825 B.C.) was found. In 1849, after excavations by J. Talbot, J. Oppert, E. Hincks and H.C. Rawlinson, an inscribed historical prism recording the history of the reign of Tiglath Pileser III (744-727 B.C.) was found, and two duplicate copies of this inscription were discovered by Rassam in 1853 in further British Museum excavations under the general supervision of Rawlinson. Several inscrip-

tions from the reign of Adad Nirari III (810-783 B.C.) were discovered by G. Smith in 1873. The most rigorous excavation of the site was conducted between 1903-13 by the Deutsche Orient Gesellschaft, first by R. Koldewy and then by W. Andrae and others, which followed the presentation of the site to Kaiser Wilhelm II by Sultan 'Abd al-Ḥamīd II.

To the north and east the site is naturally protected by the river and the escarpment, and the only necessary fortifications were buttressed walls. Sennacherib (704-681 B.C.) records the building of a semicircular sallyport tower of rusticated masonry which is probably the earliest of its kind. To the south and west it was more heavily fortified. After an early period of dependence upon the south during the Third Dynasty of Ur (2112-2004 B.C.), it begins a separate history. Evidence about life in Ashur for the earliest period comes from the documents of an Assyrian group of traders working in Anatolia at the ancient city of Kanesh, modern Kültepe, in Turkey, but the earliest palace is that of Shamshi Adad I (1813-1781 B.C.), and spacious private houses with family vaults beneath the floors have been found in the north-western area. Much of the history of this period has to be reconstructed from an archive of the letters of Shamshi Adad which were discovered at Mari (modern Tell Ḥarīrī) in eastern Syria. He controlled Ashur after it had been subject to Naram Sin of Eshunna (modern Tell Asmar). Although he did not use Ashur as his capital city, preferring Shubat Enlil (modern Chagar Bazar), he did build there a temple to Enlil, the local god of Nippur (modern Niffar), and the one who traditionally named the king and entrusted to him the symbols of royal power.

During the period of Cassite domination in Mesopotamia, Puzur Ashur III (ca. 1490 B.C.), made a treaty with Burnaburiash I of Babylon, and in Ashur he records rebuilding part of the Ishtar temple and a section of the southern city wall. Building operations of this kind are often recorded on clay cones which were inserted between the courses of the new brickwork. Ashur Nadin Akhe II (1402-1393 B.C.) secured Egyptian support for his country and received gifts of gold from the Pharaoh.

Official lists of the Assyrian kings have been found and these are an essential source for establishing a framework of the classical history of the site. They often contain more than fifty names and record the length of each reign. Other lists record the names of the temples there, but only a few of the 34 mentioned have actually been identified. The architectural features of these early buildings are similar to those of Old Babylonian buildings, but the lengthening of the sanctuary on its main axis and the positioning of an altar in a deep recess are distinctively Assyrian features.

The traditional founder of the Assyrian empire was Ashur Uballiṭ (1365-1330). At the beginning of his reign he was subject to Tushratta of Mitanni, but in 1350, with the help of Suppiluliumas, the Hittite king, he was able to attack and annexe the Mitanni areas in northeast Mesopotamia. Ashur Uballiṭ called himself *šamu rabu*, the great king, equal in status to the Pharaoh, and was a severe threat to the Babylonians. Two of his letters to Akhnaten have been preserved in the famous archive from Tell al-Amarna, Egypt (see Knudtzon (1915), nos. 15-16). He called his country *mat Aššur*, the Land of Ashur, while the older name of Subartu was used by the Babylonians, possibly in a deprecatory sense. Even so, Assyrian royal inscriptions



are composed in the Babylonian dialect of Akkadian because, presumably, such language had a traditional air of refinement. His son Enlil Nirari (1329-1320 B.C.) fought against Babylon, and Arik Din Ili (1319-1308 B.C.) harassed the Akhlamu, the Semitic tribes to the west. Adad Nirari I (1307-1275 B.C.), by his battles with the Cassites and the Mitanni, was eventually able to unite Mesopotamia into an empire, but the territory he gained was later eroded because of the rise of the Hittites and the unsatisfactory defences against the tribes to the east.

Shalmaneser I (1274-1245 B.C.) records building a new royal city in the north at Kalkhu (modern Birs Nimrūd) and his son Tukulti Ninurta I (1244-1208 B.C.), also built a new residence but much nearer, just to the north-east, which he named Kar Tukulti Ninurta, "the Quay of Tukulti Ninurta" (modern Tulūl 'Akr). He records having captured Marduk god of Babylon, and a figure of primary importance in Babylonian mythology who was later to be assimilated into Assyrian versions of religious texts. Despite these alternative capitals, Ashur was still used as a political centre from time to time, yet it gradually became primarily a religious centre. By the 10th century B.C. it was overshadowed by Kalkhu and Nineveh, and the later kings chose these northern sites as capitals from which to administer their empire.

The city was attacked and devastated by the Babylonian ruler Nabopolassar (625-605 B.C.) in 614 B.C. two years before he destroyed Nineveh and brought the Assyrian empire to an end. Afterwards, there is only scanty documentation from which to reconstruct the history of this important site. Under the Babylonians, it was probably only sparsely inhabited, for Cyrus the Great, when he conquered Babylon in 539 B.C., claims: "To the sacred cities on the other side of the Tigris as far as Ashur . . . , the sanctuaries of which have been ruins for a long time, I returned the images which used to live therein and established for them permanent sanctuaries" (from the *Cyrus Cylinder*, the basic historical source for the Persian conquest of Babylon). The name occurs again in the Old Persian text of the *Behistun Inscription* but the only other inscriptional evidence comes from Aramaic documents from the site; these used to be dated to the Parthian period, and taken as evidence that the names of the old Assyrian gods survived in the community until the 3rd century A.D., but they are now said to come from the 7th century B.C. As a geographical name *Athūrā* may refer simply to the town but in Greek sources it is clear that *Ἀτουρία* refers to the whole northern area. The site seems definitely to have declined in importance under the Sāsānids, and *Athūr* in Syriac indicates simply a parish which continued until the late Middle Ages.

The Arab geographers refer to *Athūr* (sometimes written *Akūr*); it is, however, defined by them not as modern Kal'at Sharkāt but as an earlier name for Mawṣil, and also as the name of the province which was later called al-Djazīra [q.v.]. The ruin associated with the name is described as near to al-Salāmiyya, 4 km. N.W. of Nimrūd. They also make the observation that al-Djazīra, which practically coincides in area with Assyria, is a name derived from *Athūr*. Although it is clear that a ruin was still known at this site, the name *Athūr* has been transferred erroneously to the ruin near al-Salāmiyya; this transposition was influenced by the fact that there were two famous capitals of Assyria in the north and is similar to the case of Baghdad, which travellers of

the Middle Ages until Pietro della Valle (1616-17) considered to be the site of ancient Babylon. According to Layard (1853), 165, the hill in the corner of the ruins of Nimrūd was still called "Tell *Athūr*".

It is surprising that there appears to be no mention of the name *Sharkāt* before the narratives of European travellers. Rich (1821) mentions it, and it is described more fully by Layard (1849), 3, who says "We entered Mosul on 10th April 1846. During a short stay in that town we visited the great ruins which have been generally believed to be the remains of Nineveh. We rode also into the desert and explored the mound of Kalah Shergat, a vast ruin on the Tigris about fifty miles below its junction with the Zab". He did not identify it with Ashur; all he could say was, "A few fragments of pottery and inscribed bricks discovered after a careful search amongst the rubbish which had accumulated around the base of the great mound, served to prove that it owed its construction to the people who had founded the city of which Nimrod is the remains" (*loc. cit.*). But later, during the river trip from Mawṣil to Baghdad, he was told of a connection in folklore between the two names, based on the ancient dam in the river: "The Arab explained the connection between the dam and the city built by Athur, the lieutenant of Nimrod, the vast ruins of which were then before us, and its purpose as a causeway for the mighty hunter to cross to the opposite palace now represented by the mound of Hammam Ali." (*op. cit.*, 6). These traditions may still survive in local villages.

Today the site is situated on the edge of the rainfall zone, so that agriculture relies on artificial irrigation. Local inhabitants often rely on employment outside the village to supplement their income, and some of the men and boys have become particularly skilful assistants for archaeological excavations. Most of the settled population belong to the *Djubūr* tribe; although the *shaykh* of this branch lives at Kayyārā further up the valley, there is a mansion at *Sharkāt*, 8 km. north of the site, belonging to *Shaykh* Adjil al-Yawir of the *Shammar*. The population density of the area is 4.8 per sq. km., which reflects its relative poverty. *Sharkāt* is the headquarters of a *nāhiya*, the smallest administrative unit in 'Irāk.

Bibliography: For a general topographical description of the area, see Admiralty, Intelligence Division, *Geographical Handbook: Iraq and the Persian Gulf*, London 1944; R. Dussaud, *Topographie historique de la Syrie antique et médiévale*, Paris 1927 and G. Tchalenko, *Villages antiques de la Syrie du Nord*, Paris 1933. The site itself is fully described by E. Unger, in E. Ebeling and B. Meissner, *Reallexicon der Assyriologie*, Leipzig 1928, 170-96, but for an accurate historical assessment, more modern works should be consulted. See in general, I.E.S. Edwards *et alii* (eds.), *Cambridge Ancient History*, Cambridge 1973, Part ii, Ch. 1 (by J.R. Kupper), Ch. 2 (by M.S. Drower) and Ch. 5 (by C.J. Gadd), and more specifically D. Oates, *Studies in the ancient history of Northern Iraq*, London 1968.

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with H. Luhrs and H. Lucke); lx (1921); lxiii (1924); lxxi (1932, H.J. Lenzen); lxxii (1935) and lxxvi (1938). A series of monographs by Andrae and others have been published in the following volumes of *Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orientalgesellschaft*: x (1909); xxiii (1913); xxiv (1913); xxxix (1922); lvii (with H.J. Lenzen, 1933); lviii (1935); xlvii (1924); liii (1931).

In the same series, editions of the cuneiform texts discovered at the site have been published as follows: xvi (1911) and xxxvii (1922) by L. Messerschmidt and O. Schroeder; xxviii and xxiv (1915-23) by E. Ebeling; xxxv (1920) by Schroeder; lxiv (1954) and lxvi (1955) by C. Preusser; lxv (1954) and lxvii (1955) by A. Haller; lxii (1956) by F. Wetzel and others. The Aramaic ostraca and tablets were published originally by M.M. Lidzbarsky, also in the same series, xxxviii (1921), but the more recent edition by H. Donner and W. Rollig, *Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften*, 2nd ed., Wiesbaden 1969, Texts 233 and 234-6, should now be used.

The Arab geographers referring to the site are as follows: Ibn Rustih, 104, tr. Wiet, 115, equating Athūr with Mawṣil; and Yāqūt, i, 119, 16; 340, 5; 118, 18. For Dījazīrat Akūr, see *ibid.*, ii, 72, 13; 231, 9, which coincides with the Ikīm Athūr/Akūr, "the region of Ashur", mentioned only by al-Mukaddasī, 20, 3 (see also 27, 10, and 28, 7). For [Dījazīrat] Akūr as an older name for the Dījazīra, see also Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 86.

For the records of early travellers, see C.J. Rich, *Narrative of a residence in Koordistan*, London 1836, ii, 137 ff.; J. Ross, in *JRGS*, ix (1839), 451-3; W. Ainsworth with A.H. Layard and E.L. Mitford, in *JRGS*, xi (1842), 4-8; Layard, *Nineveh and its remains*, London 1849, ii, 45-63, 245, 581; *idem*, *Discoveries in the ruins of Nineveh and Babylon*, London 1853; V. Place, *Ninive et l'Assyrie*, Paris 1867-70; H. Rassam, *Asshur and the land of Nimrod*, New York 1897. (M.E.J. RICHARDSON)

ĀTISH, **KHWĀJĀ** HAYDAR 'ALĪ (d. 1263/1847), Urdu poet, was born in Faizabad (Faydābād [*q.v.*]) probably around 1191/1778, according to A.L. Siddīqī (see *Bibl.*, below). His ancestors are said to have originated in Baghdād, whence they came to Dihlī. His father moved from there to Faydābād and died during the poet's youth. As a result, Ātish's formal education was curtailed, though he supplemented it by avid reading. In early manhood, he led the life of a fop and a roué, and carried a sword. But his aptitude for poetry was noticed, and he was taken to Lucknow. There he was trained by the poet Shaykh Ghulām Hamadānī Muṣḥafī, and was soon recognised as a leading *ghazal* poet, along with his chief rival, Shaykh Imām Bakhs̄h Nāsikh. Such poetical rivalries were a familiar feature of Lucknow cultural and social life, but—as we see in the case of Ātish—they did not always involve personal animosity. Indeed, he ceased to write poetry after the death of his rival.

Modern critics regard Ātish as the greater poet of the two. Urdu *ghazal*, as he found it, tended to be rich in vocabulary and ornate in style, with similes, metaphors, and other rhetorical devices which were at times far-fetched and exaggerated. Ideas were largely stereotyped, with much concentration on the physical features of the beloved such as tresses (*zulf*) and face (*rukhsār*) as in Persian models. Ātish seems to have been an independent-minded eccentric

in his private life, and this is reflected in his poetry to some extent. He would not write poetry for patronage, though he accepted a small pension from the King of Oudh (Awadh [*q.v.*]). He spurned wealth, living like a dervish in a broken-down house. He was humble to the poor but haughty to the wealthy. In his verse, he was not a great innovator, but neither was he a slavish imitator of time-honoured poetical techniques. Thus while he did not radically change the form and style of *ghazal*, he frequently appears less artificial than his predecessors and contemporaries, writing in a more natural language nearer to everyday speech as used by the educated of Lucknow; perhaps his lack of formal education encouraged this tendency. He was criticised for using non-literary turns of phrase, and mis-spelling Arabic words—the latter perhaps deliberately, in the interests of rules of prosody, or to reflect actual pronunciation of these words in Urdu. In short, we at times sense spontaneity and even sincerity in his verse, and his literary language became accepted as a model. His poetical output of over 8,000 verses is practically entirely composed of *ghazals*.

Bibliography: Ātish's poetry was published originally in two *diwāns*—the first in 1845 in Lucknow under the poet's supervision; the second, which contains many of his best poems, was published in the same city after his death by his pupil, Mīr Dūst 'Alī K̄halīl in 1268/1851. Many editions of his collected poetry have since been published, for example the *Kullīyyāt* in Cawnpore 1871 and 1884. There is a useful introduction by Zāhir Aḥmad Siddīqī in *Kullīyyāt-i Ātish*, Allahabad 1972. Short critical accounts of the poetry will be found in Muḥammad Ḥusayn Āzād, *Āb-i ḥayāt*, 379-93 in the Lahore edition of 1950; Abu 'l-Layth Siddīqī, *Lakḥnāu kā dabistān-i-shā'irī*, Lahore 1955, 525-41; Muḥammad Sadiq, *History of Urdu literature*, London 1964, 138; and Ram Babu Saksena, *History of Urdu literature*, Allahabad 1927, 111-13; Further information may be found in Shaykh Ghulām Hamadānī Muṣḥafī, *Riyād al-fuṣahā*, Dihlī 1934, 4-9; Karīm al-Dīn and Fallon, *Tadhkira-i-shu'arā'-i-Hind*, Dihlī 1838, 354; Šafīr Balgrāmī, *Dihlī-i-khidr*, 2 vols., Ara, Bihar 1882, ii, 106 f.; K̄hādja 'Abd al-Ra'ūf 'Ishrat Lakḥnawī, *Ab-i bakā*, Lucknow 1918, 11-19, 170-7; *Memoirs of Delhi and Faizabad*, English tr. of Fayḍ Bakhs̄h, *Tārīkh-i-farah bakhs̄h*, Allahabad 1889, 266-302; and I'djāz Ḥusayn, *Kalām-i-Ātish*, Allahabad 1955; For a general picture of Lucknow cultural life in the first half of the 19th century, see Abdul Halim Sharar, tr. E.S. Harcourt and Fakhir Husain, *Lucknow: the last phase of an oriental culture*, London 1975.

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ATLANTIC [see AL-BAHR AL-MUḤĪT].

AVARICE [see BUKHL].

AVRAM CAMONDO [see CAMONDO].

AWRABA, a Berber tribe of Morocco. Ibn Khaldūn, *Ibar*, Fr. tr. de Slane, i, 286, provides all the information which we have on the early history of this tribe, which formed part of the sedentary Barānis [*q.v.*]. Certain of these appear to have been Christians. At the time of the Muslim conquest, they held the premier place among the North African Berber tribes because of their forcefulness and the bravery of their warriors. Ibn Khaldūn also gives us the names of the tribe's main branches and those



of the most outstanding chiefs whom they had before the Arabs' arrival. The celebrated Kusayla [q.v.], who was probably a Christian, is said to have been their *amīr*, as of all the Barānis. He rebelled, and was defeated and killed in 62/682, and it was after his death that the Awraba (or Awriba?) no longer directed the resistance against the invaders.

The tribe makes its real appearance in the history of Morocco by making *Shī'ī* doctrines triumphant there, even though these were contrary to the *Khāridjī* ones embraced by the Berbers in the preceding century. It was indeed under the protection of the Awraba chief, Abū Laylā Ishāk b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Hamīd, that the 'Alid fugitive Idrīs I [q.v.] established himself in 172/788 at Walīla, the ancient Roman town (the present Volubilis), situated in the little mountain massif of Zarhūn, north of Meknès.

These mountain folk called themselves descendants of the Awraba of the Aurès, driven out of the central Maghrib after Kusayla's death, as also were those elements of the Awraba to be found in the regions of the Zāb [q.v.] and the Ouarsenis [q.v.].

Like several of the northern Moroccan tribes, the Awraba professed Mu'tazilī doctrines; they were accordingly favourable to the 'Alids and regarded the nomination of an *imām* as a necessary obligation for the community. This is why Abū Laylā could without difficulty have himself proclaimed sovereign *imām* of his own tribe and of the neighbouring tribes (4 Ramaḍān 172/5 February 789) a few months after Idrīs's arrival in the Zarhūn. The Awraba then successfully took part in Idrīs I's work of Islamisation. Idrīs II showed his gratitude badly towards his father's benefactor, since he had him executed 20 years later, on the accusation of having relations with the Aghlabid ruler of al-Ḳayrawān, who recognised the authority of the hated 'Abbāsids, but this action was doubtless also from reasons of local politics.

At Idrīs II's death (213/828) and after the disastrous division of Morocco between his sons, troubles broke out within the principalities thereby established. The Awraba and the Berber coalition put an end to them (221/836) by giving allegiance to the nine-years old 'Alī b. Muḥammad, ruler of Fās, assuring tutelage over the kingdom till the young *imām*'s majority. 'Alī died after a peaceful reign of 13 years. New disputes now divided Morocco between rival factions, and finally, in 251/866, the Awraba recognised 'Alī's cousin, 'Alī b. 'Umar.

Awraba were still in contact with the principality of Nukūr [q.v.], and in mediaeval times, they were to be found in Algeria, at Niḳaws (N'gaous) and in the region of Bône. They never disappeared completely, and re-appear in the historical texts, e.g. under the Almohads; at first (559/1164) they espoused the cause of a rebel and were opposed to the Almohads, but then in 580/1184 rallied to them in order to go and fight in Spain. They appear further under the Marīnids, being specially mentioned in the texts concerning the meetings for the holy war in al-Andalus, and one of them commanded the renowned "volunteers for the faith". In 707/1308, some Awraba chiefs involved in the revolt of a pretender, were executed on the orders of the sultan Abū Thābit, and their bodies exposed in crucifixion on the encircling walls of Marrakesh.

At the present time, some of their former tribes (the Ladjāya, Mazyata and Raghīwa) are established on the banks of the Wādī Wargha, to the north of the Zarhūn.

Bibliography: al-Nāṣirī, *K. al-Istikṣā*, index; 'Abd Allāh Gannūn, *al-Umarā' Idrīs*, in *Mashāhīr riḍāl al-Maghrib*, No. 33; and see arts. BARĀNIS, BERBERS, IDRĪS I and II, IDRĪSIDS, KUSAYLA, WALĪLA.

(G. DEVERDUN)

Ā'YĀṢ, a component group of the Meccan clan of Umayya or 'Abd Shams, the term being a plural of the founder's name, a son of Umayya b. 'Abd Shams b. 'Abd Manāf b. Ḳuṣayy called al-ʾĪṣ or Abu ʾl-ʾĪṣ or al-ʾĀṣ(ī) or Abu ʾl-ʾĀṣ(ī) or 'Uways, these being given in the genealogical works as separate individuals, but doubtless in fact one person (on the two orthographies al-ʾĀṣ and al-ʾĀṣī, the former explicable as an apocopated *Ḥidjāzī* form, see K. Vollers, *Volksprache und Schriftsprache im alten Arabien*, Strassburg 1906, 139-40). The group formed a branch of the clan parallel to that of Harb b. Umayya, from whom descended Abū Sufyān, Mu'āwiya [q.v.] and the Sufyānids. Amongst the sons of al-ʾĀṣ, etc., were 'Alfān, father of the caliph 'Uthmān [q.v.]; al-Hakam, father of the caliph Marwān I [q.v.] and progenitor of the subsequent Marwānids; Sa'īd [q.v.], governor of Kūfa under 'Uthmān and of Medina under Mu'āwiya b. Abī Sufyān; and al-Mughīra, whose son Mu'āwiya was the mutilator of the Prophet's uncle Hamza b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib and the father of 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān's mother 'Ā'ishā.

Because of the strenuous hostility shown to the Prophet by al-ʾĀṣ (he was killed, a pagan, at Badr) and his son Mu'āwiya, and because of al-Hakam's ambiguous role in the first years of Islam (as the "accursed one" banished by the Prophet), the family was often regarded by later Islamic sources with especial rancour; Sa'īd b. al-ʾĀṣ, however, found some contemporary favour with the Hāshimī clan and the supporters of 'Alī, see Lammens, *Mo'āwīa I*, in *MFOB*, i (1906), 27-8.

Bibliography: see Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, *Ġamharat an-nasab*, i, Tab. 8, 9, ii, Register, 202; Zubayrī, *Nasab Ḳuraysh*, ed. Lévi-Provençal, 98-9; Ibn Durayd, *Ishṭikāk*, ed. Wüstenfeld, 45 ff., 103, ed. Cairo 1378/1958, 73 ff., 166; See also Umayya b. 'Abd Shams.

(C.E. BOSWORTH)

ĀYATULLĀH (ĀYAT ALLĀH, current orthography *Ayatollah*), a title with an hierarchical significance used by the Imāmī, Twelver *Shī'ī*s, and meaning literally "Miraculous sign (*āya* [q.v.]) of God". In order to understand its sense and its implications, one has to consider the recent evolution of certain institutions worked out by the Imāmī 'ulamā'.

Since the dominating attitude of Imāmism has been dictated by the doctrine that all political power—even if exercised by a *Shī'ī*—is illegitimate during the occultation of the Hidden Imām, it has only been comparatively late, from the Saḳawid period (907-1135/1501-1722) onwards, that political theories have taken shape and an hierarchy within the top ranks of the *muḍṭahids* [q.v.] has been formed. After their long disputes against the Akhbārīs [see AKHBĀRIYYA in Suppl.] and Sūfīs, the Uṣūlīs [q.v.] in the course of the 19th century elaborated the theory according to which at every given moment there could only be one unique *marḡa'a-i taklīd* [q.v.] "source of imitation" (see Algar [1969], 5-11, 34-6, 162-5, etc.; Binder, 124 ff.). This title of *marḡa'a-i taklīd* [q.v.] was subsequently applied retrospectively to numerous *muḍṭahids* (for lists of the *nā'ib-i 'āmm*s of the Hidden Imām going back to Muḥammad Kulaynī, d. 329/940, see Bagley [1972], 31; Fisher, 34-5; Hairī, 62-3). During the 1960s, several discussions took place



concerning the manner of selection and the functions of the *marjā'a-i taklīd*, at the very time when the Āyatullāh Burūdjirdī (d. 1961), recognised as the sole *marjā'a-i taklīd* by the mass of Imāmī Shī'īs, disappeared (Algar [1972], 242; for some reserves about this recognition, see Binder, 132). Drawn up by religious leaders and laymen, a collective work called *Bahthī dar bāra-yi marjā'īyyat va rūḥānīyyat*, dealing in particular with Imāmī institutions and on links with the political authority, appeared at Teheran in December 1962 (a brief analysis by Lambton, 121-35). After the disappearance of Burūdjirdī—whose attitude to politics had been one of quietism—the institution of the *marjā'īyyat* seems to have spread out widely (in 1976, there were six *marjā'a-i taklīd*s of first rank, including the Āyatullāh Ḳhumaynī; Fisher, 32). However, from 1963 onwards, a certain consensus seems to have grown up around the Āyatullāh Ḳhumaynī, the main religious opponent of the Pahlavī régime (Algar [1972], 243; but it also seems that the consensus over the *marjā'īyyat-i kull* of the Āyatullāh Muḥsin Ḥakīm Ṭabāṭabā'ī of Nadjaf (d. 1970) was at least partially realised in ca. 1966 (Bagley [1970], 78, n. 7; this āyatullāh enjoyed the favour of the Shah; see Algar [1972], 242-3).

From the time of the protest against the Tobacco Concession (1891-2), the *marjā'a-i taklīd*—who at that period resided in the holy places of 'Irāk, the 'Atabāt [q.v. in Suppl.]—often took the lead in the fight of opposition to Kādjar autocracy and to foreign domination. This association of the *muḏṭahids* with political opposition seems to have been clearer with the grant of the title āyatullāh. In practice, this *laqab* seems first of all to have designated the two great leaders of the constitutional revolution, the *sayyids* 'Abd Allāh Bihbahānī and Muḥammad Ṭabāṭabā'ī (*Lughat-nāma-yi Dihkhudā*, s.v. *Āyatullāh*). It has since been applied to numerous great *muḏṭahids* (sometimes retrospectively), independently, it appears, of their political attitudes. It tends to replace in current usage (but not in the actual hierarchy) certain titles such as that of *ḥudūdīyat al-Islām* which nowadays can mean any and every *ākhund* (this latter term tending, despite its pejorative character, to supplant that of *mullā*).

As with that of *marjā'a-i taklīd*, attribution of the title is above all a question of opinion. In effect, above the title of *muḏṭahid* the level of respect accorded and the religious chief's charisma depend on the consensus of the mass of faithful. The āyatullāh is placed at the top of the hierarchy, amongst the élite of the great *muḏṭahids*. At the summit of all is to be found the āyatullāh al-'uzmā (the "greatest miraculous sign of God"), the supreme *marjā'a-i taklīd* or *muḏṭahid*. This rank seems to have been first of all accorded to Burūdjirdī (Binder, 132). There seems also to be at Ḳum a limited sort of college which makes decisions about the title (*ibid.*, 134). This clearly reinforces the position of Ḳum, which has become the "symbolic capital" of Iran since the Āyatullāh Ḳhumaynī's return (the title *Imām* sometimes applied to him seems to be taken from 'Irākī usage).

Although they are sometimes of modest origin, the great majority of āyatullāhs are now *sayyids* (whereas the great 'ulamā' of the past were not always from this class). Marriages and alliances traditionally reinforce the strength of religious leadership (see Fischer, genealogical tables, 33-4). Whether he be *marjā'a-i taklīd* or not, the āyatullāh exercises a double role of manager within his sphere of activity. On the administrative level, he controls the levying

of various religious taxes, the direction of pious gifts and property in mortmain (*wakf* [q.v.], controlled by the state under the Pahlavī régime), the distribution of various grants and alms, the administration of centres of learning, etc.; on the intellectual and spiritual level, he is responsible for education. His influence on the social level is limited by his faithful followers: the students and those who bring their financial support to him (Fisher, 41).

The role and influence of the Iranian āyatullāhs are now very diverse. Their prerogatives have increased through the progressive installation of an Islamic Republic since the events of winter 1978-9. But, despite the abolition of the monarchy, they are inevitably subject to all the hazards of political power and to the pressures of antagonistic forces (secularism, communism, the growth of nationalisms, religious particularisms, etc.). There is at least one āyatullāh in each province and several in each main centre of religious teaching (*ḥawḍa-yi 'ilmī*). Thus there are 14 traditional *madrasas* at Ḳum directed by āyatullāhs, of whom some have attained the rank of *marjā'a-i taklīd* (Fisher, table, 23).

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(J. CALMARD)

'AYN AL-ḲUḌĀT AL-HAMADHĀNĪ, 'ABD ALLĀH B. ABĪ BAKR AL-MIYĀNADĪ, Shāfi'ī jurist and Šūfi martyr, born at Hamadhān in 492/1098. Born of a line of scholars, he studied Arabic grammar, theology, philosophy and law, and as an already precocious scholar, began writing his books at the age of 14. Also, at the approach of puberty, he became a convert to Šūfism. In 517/1123, at the age of 25, he seems to have met Ahmad al-Ghazālī, brother of the great theologian Muḥammad al-Ghazālī, who initiated him into Šūfi meditation and dancing, thus completing his spiritual conversion. Other masters of his were Muḥammad b. Hammūya and a certain Baraka.

His spiritual reputation soon gained him many disciples, and he spent all his time in oral and written teaching, sometimes going beyond the limits of his physical strength for this and having then to retire for two or three months for recuperation. His activities soon provoked the hostility of the orthodox theologians. Provoked by his teachings on the nature of sainthood and prophethood and on submission to the Šūfi *shaykh*, and objecting to his

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usage of Ṣūfī terminology which gave the impression that he himself laid claim to prophetic powers, they brought an accusation of heresy against him before the Saldjūk vizier in ‘Irāk, who imprisoned him in Baghdad. It was there that he wrote his apologia, the *Shakwā ‘l-gharīb*. Some months later he was set free and returned to Hamadhān, but shortly afterwards, at the time of the Saldjūk sultan Maḥmūd’s arrival (reigned 511-25/1118-31), he was executed in a barbarous manner during the night of 6-7 Djumādā II 526/6-7 May 1131 at the age of 33. His premature death seems to have prevented Hamadhānī from founding a Ṣūfī monastery, setting up a Ṣūfī group and designating a successor; nevertheless, his numerous works, written in a fine style, have always found an audience.

His published works include his *Shakwā ‘l-gharīb ‘an al-awtān ilā ‘ulamā’ al-buldān*, an apologia in Arabic (ed. and Fr. tr. Mohammed ben Abd-el-Jalil, in *JA* (1930), 1-76, 193-297; ed. ‘Affī ‘Usayrān, *Musannafāt-i ‘Ayn al-Ḳudāt al-Hamadhānī*, Tehran 1341/1962; Eng. tr. A.J. Arberry, *A Sufi martyr, the apologia of ‘Ain al-Qudāt al-Hamadhānī*, London 1969); *Risāla-yi Law‘ih*, on mystic love, in Persian, ed. Rahīm Farmanish, Tehran 1337/1958; *Żubdat al-hakā’ik*, in Arabic, ed. ‘Usayrān, in *op. cit.*; *Tamhīdāt or Żubdat al-hakā’ik fī kashf al-dakā’ik*, in Persian, ed. ‘Usayrān, in *op. cit.*, twice tr. into Turkish; *Nāmāhū or Maktūbāt, Makātīb*, letters, in Persian, ed. ‘Alinaḳī Munzawī and ‘Usayrān, 2 vols., Beirut and Tehran 1390/1971; *Risāla-yi yadzānshī-nāḳhāt*, ed. Bahman Karīmī, Tehran 1327/1948; and *Ahwāl u āthār*, ed. Farmanish, Tehran 1338/1959.

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(J.K. TEUBNER)

‘AYN AL-MULK MULTĀNĪ, official and military commander under the Dihlī sultans of India.

His actual name and early career are not known. Contemporary writers mention him by his honorific title, ‘Ayn al-Mulk, with the *nisba* Multānī because he hailed from Multān; the 9th/15th century chronicler Yahyā Sirhīndī calls him ‘Ayn al-Mulk-i Shihāb signifying that his father’s name was Shihāb. However, ‘Ayn al-Mulk Multānī started his career in the reign of Sultan ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Ḳhaldjī (695-715/1296-1316), and soon attained to an important position in the official hierarchy, showing excellence in both penmanship and military generalship. Amīr Ḳhusraw showers praises on him in his works, depicting him as a learned statesman in peace time and a veteran general on the battlefield. Diyā’ al-Dīn Baranī speaks of him as one who was wise in counsel, widely travelled, ripe in experience and much distinguished for his sagacity and successful tackling of complicated problems.

His first important assignment was his posting in Mālwa as the *muḳtā’* or governor of Dhār and Ujjāy in 704/1305. In Mālwa, he not only consolidated the sultan’s rule, but also subdued the recalcitrant *zamīndārs* of Central India. In 716/1316, he held the territory of Deogīrī (in modern Maharashtra), when he was recalled to Dihlī by Malik Nā’ib just after Sultan ‘Alā’ al-Dīn had died. En route he received another order from Dihlī directing him to proceed to Guḍjarāt, where rebels had captured the province. In compliance to Malik Nā’ib’s order, ‘Ayn al-Mulk turned aside, but had to halt in Čītōr as many fellow-nobles in the royal army refused to march after Malik Nā’ib had been killed

and the policy of the new ruler, Sultan Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Mubārak Shāh, was not known. After a few days, the new Sultan sent him and other nobles *farmāns* ordering them all to go to Guḍjarāt and establish peace and order there.

On arrival, ‘Ayn al-Mulk tried to solve the problem diplomatically. He wrote to the leaders of the rebellion that the murder of their leader Alp Ḳhān had already been avenged, as the culprit (Malik Nā’ib) was now dead, and for this reason they should not persist in rebellion. He also warned them of the serious consequences if they did not submit to the central authority. In response to his letter, many rebels joined his camp. Only Haydar and Zīrak fought against the royal army and they were easily routed. Having settled the affairs of Guḍjarāt, he then returned to Dihlī.

In 718/1318, he was sent to Deogīrī when Malik Yak Lakhī, the local *muḳtā’*, rose in rebellion. This time he was appointed as *wazīr*, with Malik Tādj al-Dīn, son of Ḳhādja ‘Atā’ as *Mushrif* and Muḍjīr al-Dīn Aburdja as military commandant. In 720/1320, he was present in Dihlī when Sultan Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Mubārak Shāh was killed by the allies of Ḳhusraw Ḳhān. Though ‘Ayn al-Mulk was not in alliance with Ḳhusraw Ḳhān, the latter honoured him with the title of ‘Alam Ḳhān in order to win him over to his side. Soon afterwards, Ghāzī Malik, the *muḳtā’* of Depālpur, organised a movement against Ḳhusraw Ḳhān aiming at revenge for the murder of Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Mubārak Shāh, persuading all the important nobles, including ‘Ayn al-Mulk, to help him against the regicide. ‘Ayn al-Mulk, afraid of Ḳhusraw Ḳhān’s agents, showed Malik Ghāzī’s letter to the usurper, and thus assured him of his own loyalty. Ghāzī Malik, anxious to win him over, again wrote a letter to him. This time ‘Ayn al-Mulk expressed his sympathy with Ghāzī Malik’s undertaking and promised not to participate in the battle against any party because he was in Dihlī, surrounded by the allies of Ḳhusraw, and could not take up arms against him. On achieving the throne, Ghāzī Malik, who assumed the title of Sultan Ghīyāth al-Dīn, and apparently retained ‘Ayn al-Mulk Multānī in his service.

According to ‘Iṣāmī, ‘Ayn al-Mulk joined Ulugh Ḳhān (later Sultan Muḥammad b. Tughluk) on the Warangal expedition of 722/1322. Since the siege of Warangal became prolonged and Ulugh Ḳhān insisted on capturing the citadel, the officers got tired and many of them mutinied, although ‘Ayn al-Mulk remained loyal. This was the last expedition that he had joined, for we do not hear of him afterwards.

Certain mediaeval as well as modern scholars have confused ‘Ayn al-Mulk Multānī with ‘Ayn al-Mulk Māhrū, who is the author of the famous work, *Inshā’-i Māhrū*. Māhrū was a noble of Muḥammad b. Tughluk’s and Firūz Shāh’s entourage. ‘Iṣāmī distinguishes ‘Ayn al-Mulk Multānī from Māhrū by calling the latter ‘Ayn al-Dīn. Diyā’ al-Dīn Baranī differentiates between them by making different statements about their qualities, stating that ‘Ayn al-Mulk Multānī could not only wield the sword successfully but was also adept in diplomacy and penmanship, while Māhrū had no experience of military generalship, since he belonged to the class of scribes and clerks. Shams al-Dīn Sirādj ‘Affī presents Māhrū as the creature of Muḥammad b. Tughluk. Further, most of the letters and documents contained in the *Inshā’-i Māhrū* were drafted in Firūz Shāh’s reign, and only a few belong to the time of Muḥammad b. Tughluk; there is no letter written by Māhrū during



the reigns of the latter's predecessors. In short, 'Ayn al-Mulk Multānī and 'Ayn al-Mulk Māhūr were two different persons belonging to different generations.

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(I.H. SIDDIQUI)

AYTĀKH AL-TURKĪ (d. 235/849), a Khazar military slave or *ghulam* [q.v.] who had been bought in 199/815 by the future caliph al-Mu'taṣim, and who played an important role in the reigns of his master, of al-Wāthiq and of al-Mutawakkil. At the opening of al-Wāthiq's caliphate, he was, with Ashnās, the "mainstay of the caliphate". After being commander of the guard in Sāmarrā, in 233/847 he was made governor of Egypt, but delegated his powers there to Harthama b. Naṣr (Ibn Taghribardī, *Nuḍūm*, ii, 265; al-Makrīzī, *Khitaṭ*, ed. Wiet, v, 136). It was he who, in this same year, seized and put to torture the vizier Ibn al-Zayyāt. At this time, he was combining the functions of *hājjib*, commander of the caliphal guard, intendant of the palace and director of the postal and intelligence system; but he laid these duties down in 234/848 in order to go on the Pilgrimage. When he returned, he was arrested by Ishāk b. Ibrāhīm b. Muṣ'ab, and he died of thirst in prison the following year. It is said that al-Mutawakkil confiscated from his house a million *dīnārs*.

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ĀZĀD, ABU 'L-KALĀM, reviver of Muslim thought in India and influential politician of the first half of the 20th century. Born in Mecca in 1888, he received in Calcutta, where his family settled in 1898, an austere and rigorously orthodox education. With great precocity he made his debut in the literary world at the age of fourteen with an article published in the Urdu language magazine *Makhzan*. At the age of sixteen he made the acquaintance of the remarkable poet Alfāḥ Ḥusayn Hālī [q.v.], on whom he made a strong impression, and shortly after he met Mawlānī Shibli Nu'mānī who immediately recognised his exceptional qualities and took him to Lucknow to teach him journalism, entrusting to him the editing of his journal *al-Nadwa*.

In July 1912 Abu 'l-Kalām Āzād published the first issue of his journal *al-Hilāl*, which very quickly earned him a vast audience, thanks to the original composition of the publication, to its articles dealing with subjects of the most burning relevance, and to the fiery and poetic style of the author. This enterprise was suspended by the British government at the start of the 1914-18 war, and Abu 'l-Kalām Āzād then launched, in 1915, another periodical, *al-Balagh*, which had only a short existence since the writer was expelled from Bengal in 1916. The texts published in *al-Hilāl* and *al-Balagh* have been collected in two volumes bearing the title *Maqālāt-i-Āzād*.

Abu 'l-Kalām Āzād continued and extended the work begun by Shibli with the object of encouraging the 'ulamā' to participate in the most modern developments of civilisation. As a theologian experienced in the disciplines of the most traditional religious thought, he provoked the 'ulamā' into an increasingly sharp awareness of social and political problems. In 1920 he rejoined the ranks of the Indian Congress Party and participated more or less overtly in the *Djam'iyat al-'ulamā'-i-Hind* [see DJAM'IVVA. India and Pakistan], an Indian association of Muslim theologians which showed itself always sympathetic to a political scheme of nationalistic tendency, with the object of driving the British colonial power from Indian territory. An ardent opponent of Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khān (1817-1898 [q.v.]) and of the movement which the latter launched in founding the university of 'Aligarh, Abu 'l-Kalām Āzād revived the pan-Islamic proposals of the great reformist Djamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī and exhorted the Muslims of India not to remain passive observers of the upheavals which were transforming the world, but to associate themselves with the struggle whose primary object was to free them from the foreign yoke, so that they could subsequently participate actively in the complex and fruitful changes which, in the modern era, contribute to the prosperous life of free nations. But was there not in this attitude a contradiction between pan-Islamism, ideally asserted, and nationalism as constantly practised in a context where, in the event, India, once independent, could not be other than a nation dominated by the Hindu community?

In the more strictly theological sphere, Abu 'l-Kalām Āzād expressed his opposition to Sir Sayyid in numerous articles in *al-Hilāl* and especially in the introduction to his celebrated work *Tarjūmān al-Kur'ān*, a project which he had conceived when he established himself at Rāncī after his expulsion from Bengal in 1916, but of which the first part was not published until 1931. According to Abu 'l-Kalām Āzād, the Kur'ān must be disencumbered of all artificial interpretations founded on a philosophy and a terminology more or less borrowed from the Greeks; it is necessary also to resist the temptation of wishing to consider the Holy Book only from the point of view of its conformity with newly-discovered scientific laws. If we wish to restore to the Kur'ān its original atmosphere, the exercise of *ijtihād* must become a vital experience, in the course of which each article of faith will be confronted by the abrasive forces of scepticism so that the individual will emerge from the process more positive in his belief and more enthusiastic in his actions.

When in 1947 the Indian sub-continent was divided to permit the creation of Pakistan, Abu 'l-Kalām Āzād chose to stay in India, and he became minister of National Education in the Central Government, a post which he held until his death in 1958.

Attention should also be drawn to two other important works by this author, who contributed much to the development of the Urdu language: *Tadhkira* (published in 1920), a selection of autobiographical memories, and especially *Ghubār-i-Khātir*, which has the form of a collection of letters addressed to a friend by Abu 'l-Kalām Āzād during his imprisonment in the fort of Ahmadnagar between 9 August 1942 and 15 June 1945. Finally, the work which the author wrote in English, *India wins freedom* (Calcutta 1959) constitutes a valuable document for the historian.

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(A. GUIMBRETIERE)

ĀZĀD, MUḤAMMAD HUSAYN (1830-1910), Urdu writer, was a leading exponent of "new" Urdu prose, and a pioneer of the reaction against the Persian tradition in Urdu poetry, with its emphasis on *ghazal* and its preoccupation with ornate, stylised language.

Born in Dīhlī, he was the son of one of the first leading journalists of north India. He was educated at Delhi College, and acquired a mastery of both Arabic and Persian. By 1854, he was editor of his father's newspaper, the *Dihlī Urdū Akhbār*. A love of poetry was fostered in him by the poet Dhawḳ (1789-1854), who was a friend of his father's. However, the Indian Mutiny of 1857 and its aftermath completely changed his life, and its effect probably never left him. His father was executed for treason by the British authorities, and he himself fled and became a wanderer. In 1864 he arrived in Lahore, where he was to reside for the remainder of his life. He obtained a minor post in the Panjab Ministry of Public Instruction. He twice visited Persia, and in 1865 he accompanied an Indian Government secret mission to Bukhārā, aimed at investigating Russian penetration of that region.

In his early years in Lahore, he quickly won the confidence of local British dignitaries, including Colonel Holroyd, Director of Public Instruction. He wrote several educational works, including a Persian course in two books, and, in Urdu, Volume ii of *Kiṣaṣ-i-Hind*, a three-volume series of Indian historical stories. Though designed for students, the latter book won the admiration of more mature readers, for its vivid style. In 1865 Dr. G.W. Leitner, Principal of Government College, founded the *Andjūmān-i Panjāb*, a literary society, and Āzād was appointed secretary in 1867. One project of the Society was to encourage the reform of Urdu poetry, and Āzād threw himself whole-heartedly into this. For nearly a year, monthly *mushā'aras* (poetical contests) were held, a set theme being specified in advance for each meeting. These themes, which included "the rainy season", "winter" and "patriotism", were chosen to discourage the use of antique poetical diction. Āzād opened the series with a lecture on the nature of poetic art, and wrote poems for the meetings. Nevertheless, even allowing for criticism based on prejudice or personal animosity, Āzād's poetry hardly enhanced his reputation; and it was not he, but Alṭāf Husayn Ḥālī, [q.v.] who also took part in the *mushā'aras*, who came to be recognised as the pioneer of the "new" poetry, both for his verse and his critical writings. Nevertheless, a reappraisal of Āzād's verse is overdue. It is uneven

in quality; but there is strength and drive behind a poem like *Ūlū 'l-azmā* (Resolution).

Āzād wrote some important prose works, which were better received than his verse, and indeed ultimately gained him recognition as a great—some would say the greatest—master of Urdu prose. Yet he was destined never to be free from some hostile, even carping, criticism. *Nayrang-i khayāl* (1880) is a collection of thirteen allegorical essays, translated—with minor changes and interpolations—from the English of Samuel Johnson, Addison and their contemporaries. *Sukhandān-i-Fārs*, based on his lectures on Persian language and literature, dates from 1872, but was not published until 1907. However, his fame rests chiefly on his long critical account of Urdu poetry, *Āb-i-hayāt* (1881). His last major work, *Darbār-i-akbarī* (1898), is a dazzling account of the court of the Mughal emperor Akbar [q.v.], but, despite its rich style, it is often described as a failure. Āzād's prose is imaginative and colourful, far removed from the straightforward style of Sir Sayyid Aḥmad Khān and Ḥālī. Muhammad Sadiq (*History of Urdu literature*, 300) says that it "recalls old patterns in its syntactical peculiarities and word-arrangement", and adds, perhaps with a little exaggeration, that its syntax seems Persian. Āzād was not directly involved in the 'Alīgarh Movement, but was highly respected by its leaders. Ḥālī wrote complimentary reviews of *Nayrang-i-khayāl* and *Āb-i-hayāt*.

The last twenty years of Āzād's life were marred by periods of mental illness bordering on insanity. Personal tragedies, and overwork—including his edition of Dhawḳ's *Divān*—have been blamed for this. He died in Lahore in 1910.

Bibliography: In addition to information given above, some of the many reprints of Āzād's works may be mentioned; thus for *Āb-i-hayāt*, Lahore 1950, Faizabad 1966. As for *Darbār-i-akbarī*, Muḥammad Ibrāhīm, editor of the Lahore edition of 1910, claims in his preface that his text is more complete and more in keeping with Āzād's intentions than the original (1898) edition of Mīr Mumtāz 'Alī. There is a Lucknow edition n.d., but ca. 1965. For *Nayrang-i-khayāl*, there is a Karachi edition of 1961. Aḡhā Muḥammad Bākīr has edited selected articles by Āzād (*Makālāt Mawlānā M.H. Āzād*, Lahore 1966). *Kiṣaṣ-i-Hind* was reprinted in Lahore (1961) and Karachi (1962). Selected letters have been published: *Maktūbāt-i-Āzād*, Lahore 1907, and *Makātīb-i-Āzād*, Lahore 1966. The collected poetry was published as *Nazm-i-Āzād*, Lahore 1910.

Among critical biographies, Muḥammad Sadiq's *Muhammad Husain Azad—his life and work*, Lahore 1965, is of prime importance. The same author's shorter account in his *History of Urdu literature*, London 1964, 288-302, includes a conveniently brief analysis of Āzād's prose style (297-301), with extracts. In Urdu, there is Dījāhān Bānū Begum's *Muhammad Husayn Āzād*, Hyderabad Deccan, 1940. Among detailed studies of *Āb-i-hayāt*, mention must be made of Riḳāwī Mas'ūd Hasan's *Āb-i-hayāt kā tankīd mutāla'a*, Lucknow 1953. Ḥālī's reviews of *Nayrang-i-khayāl* and *Āb-i-hayāt*, originally published in the 'Alīgarh University Gazette, are available in *Kulliyāt-i-nathr-i-Ḥālī*, Lahore 1968, ii, 176-83 and 184-94.

(J.A. HAYWOOD)

ĀZĀDĪ (پ.), freedom, synonymous with Arabic *hurriyya* [q.v.]. Deriving from the Avestan word *ā-zāta* and the Pahlavi word *āzāt* (noble), the word

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āzādī has as long a history as Persian literature itself. It was employed by Persian writers and poets such as Firdawsī, Farrukhī Sīstānī, Gurgānī, Rūmī, Khākhānī, Nāṣir-i Khusrāw, and Ṣāḥib Fāriyābī in a variety of meanings including, for instance, choice, separation, happiness, relaxation, thanksgiving, praise, deliverance, non-slavery, and so on (see Dihkhudā, art. *Āzādī*, in *Lughat-nāma*, ii/1, 86-7). In modern times, the idea of social and political liberty has also been expressed by the term *āzādī* (and sometimes by the term *ikhṭiyār*), the latter sense of which will be dealt with below in reference to the Iranian world.

From its very nature, the modern connotation of *āzādī* has been associated with the process of Western impact on Persian culture and therefore its history. Considering the fact that the activities of the British East India Company (from 1600) coincided with the mass migration of Persian writers and poets to India, plus the information brought to India by travellers such as Iṭṣām al-Dīn, who recorded his impression of Europe in 1767, it would be logical to conclude that the Persian emigrants to India were among the first eastern people to have been exposed to European new ideas. It seems, however, that no noticeable Western influence can be observed in the Persian writings of the 17th century. The earliest favourable, but brief, account known to us of Europe is that of Muḥammad 'Alī Hazīn (d. 1766), who wrote in 1732 that some of the European countries enjoyed laws, a better way of life, and more stable systems of government, and regretted not to have taken a trip to Europe, as was suggested to him by an English captain (Hazīn, *Ta'rikh-i Hazīn*, Tehran, 1953, 92-3, 110-11).

One of the earliest, and relatively detailed, accounts in the Persian language of European social and political institutions belongs to a Shūshī-tārī-born émigré of India, 'Abd al-Laṭīf Musawī Dījāzā'irī, who learnt about the new ideas which had developed among the newly-born middle class of Europe and had been imported to India. Writing in 1801, 'Abd al-Laṭīf dealt with modern topics such as freemasonry, equality, liberty and the function of the administration of justice in England. He also made reference to the British system of mixed government, i.e. the division of power among the king, the lords, and the subjects (*ra'āyā*), the latter being obviously considered as the proper-tied men who were entitled to elect and be elected.

For more detailed descriptions of modern ideas, including that of *āzādī*, one may look into the eyewitness accounts, the most widely quoted of which are those of Mīrzā Abū Ṭālib Isfahānī, son of another émigré to India, and Mīrzā Ṣāliḥ Shīrāzī of Iran. Both Abū Ṭālib, who travelled and lived in Europe from 1798 till 1803, and Mīrzā Ṣāliḥ, who studied in England from 1815 till 1819, wrote in detail about the type of liberty which then existed in England. Some differences, however, may be observed in their accounts: Abū Ṭālib seems more critical of the British system; he found, for instance, freedom of the press somewhat harmful, and refused to accept membership of freemasonry (cf. his *Masir-i Ṭālibī*, Tehran 1974, 152, 195-6). Mīrzā Ṣāliḥ, on the contrary, called England with admiration *vilāyat-i āzādī* (land of freedom), and joined freemasonry with great interest (*Safar-nāma-yi Mīrzā Ṣāliḥ Shīrāzī*, Tehran 1968, 189, 207, 374). As a matter of fact, most, if not all, of the Persians who went to Europe throughout the 19th century became freemasons, and learnt there to propagate the type of freedom which was understood by the masons and included

in their famous slogan of *liberté, égalité, fraternité* (Ismā'īl Rā'īn, *Farāmūshkhāna va Farāmāsūnī dar Iran*, i-iii, Tehran 1968; Maḥmūd Katīrā'ī, *Farāmāsūnī dar Iran*, Tehran 1968).

In Europe, such ideas as liberty, equality, laissez-faire and so on, were developed in the course of the struggles between the old feudal system and the newly-born capitalism, so that for the "Third Estate", liberty meant freedom from the yoke of feudalism and the freedom for private enterprise. Accordingly, this concept of liberty expressed could have had little meaning for the Persian audiences who were still experiencing their own type of "feudalism" at that time, and it must have appeared as an entertaining fiction.

One of the consequences of the development of capitalism in the West was the latter's need, among other things, of raw materials, cheap labour and profitable investments in other parts of the world. At the turn of the 19th century, Iran appeared to the then great powers, i.e. England, France and Russia, as important both strategically and economically. Since Iran found itself too weak to survive Western encroachments, the Persian government saw it as indispensable to take certain measures for strengthening of the country through modernisation, so that students such as Mīrzā Ṣāliḥ were dispatched to Europe to acquire modern sciences. Although the internal and external forces supporting the old régime of Iran were still strong, the process of modernisation did not come to a standstill. In addition to sending students abroad, there were several diplomatic missions to Europe during the reigns both of Faṭḥ 'Alī Shāh (1797-1834) and Muḥammad Shāh (1834-48). Missions such as those of Mīrzā Abū 'l-Ḥasan Ilṭī (England, 1814), Khusrāw Mīrzā (Russia, 1829), and Adjūdānbāshī (Austria, France, and England, 1834) helped the Iranian ruling circles to obtain more information about the European ideas and institutions. A number of memoirs, such as Khusrāw Mīrzā's, do indicate a misunderstanding by some of the Iranian diplomats of the idea of liberty. However, there appeared also intelligent accounts of parliamentary systems in European countries.

In the outset of Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh's reign (1848-96), a wide range of modernising measures were initiated by the Amīr Kabīr. In 1858 Mīrzā Dījā'far Khān Muṣṭafī al-Dawla formed his government, modelled roughly on European cabinet systems. Believing in Dījā'far Khān's progressive thought, Mīrzā Malkam, another modernist, wrote to him a long letter urging him to reform the system of government and to separate the powers. He declared the opinions of the Iranian people to be free, *āzād*. Shortly after the appearance of Malkam's letter, an anonymous author touched upon the necessity for free elections and freedom of the press (MS. Madjīlis library, Tehran No. 31856/4147, *Daftar-i Tanzīmāt*, in *Madjmu'a-yi āthār-i Mīrzā Malkam Khān*, Tehran 1948, 24-6). In the same year (1858), when an Italian nationalist, Orsini, attempted the life of Napoleon III, Farrukh Khān Amīn al-Dawla was on a diplomatic mission to Paris. He wrote not only of the French parliament, but he also described with favour the remarks made in a letter to the Emperor by Orsini on patriotism, liberty, and the freedom of Italy, for whose sake he had taken that action; Farrukh included a Persian translation of that letter in his memoirs (Ḥusayn b. 'Abd Allāh Sarābī, *Makḥzan al-wakāyī: Sharḥ-i ma'mūriyyat va musāfarat-i Farrukh Khān Amīn al-Dawla*, Tehran 1965, 354-86).



In 1866 an anonymous author wrote a treatise on social and political affairs, and paid special attention to the ideas of freedom and equality and their applicability to Islamic teachings. He classified "commendable freedom" (*ikhtiyār-i mamdūh*) into six types which included freedom of speech, assembly and publication (Ms. Maḍlis Library 137; for an account of this exceptionally interesting work, see Abdol Hossein Haeri, *Fihrist-i kutābhāna-yi Maḍlis-i shūrā-yi millī*, xxi, Tehran 1974, 135-8).

The last few decades of the 19th century witnessed a number of important changes from within and from without; constitutional movements took place in many European and some Asian countries; more efforts were made by powerful and industrially advanced nations to colonise other countries; and Anglo-Russian rivalries in Iran were intensified. These developments, together with other factors, exposed Iran to new ideas and predisposed towards the establishment of a new order involving a degree of political freedom for the subjects. The modernising measures undertaken by Mīrzā Husayn Khān Sipahsālār (d. 1881), and the appearance of newspapers such as *Irān*, *Wakāyī-i 'adliyya*, *Waṭan*, *Nizāmī*, *ʿIlmī*, and *Mīrīkh* in the 1870s, and the emergence of writers and social critics such as Mīrzā Fath ʿAlī Ākhūnd-zāda (d. 1878), Yūsuf Khān Mustashār al-Dawla Tabrizī (d. 1895) and Malkam Khān (d. 1908), may be studied against the background of those developments. The critics fought earnestly for the establishment of a free enterprise system and the destruction of the old social structure, and this involved agitation for a limited freedom of election, freedom of speech, etc. Some of the modernists like Malkam and Sipahsālār went as far as not only to advocate foreign investment in Iran, but also played an active role in encouraging it. They seem to have understood the concept of liberty as defined in Europe. Ākhūnd-zāda, for instance, propounded the view that no reconciliation is possible between liberty and Islam. He also saw freedom as preserved through freemasonry activities (Farīdūn Ādamīyyat, *Andīshahā-yi Mīrzā Fath ʿAlī Ākhūnd-zāda*, Tehran 1970, 148-9). Out of expediency, however, most of the writers gave their definition of liberty some Islamic colouring; they likened, for instance, freedom of speech with the Islamic concept of *al-amr bi'l-ma'rūf wa'l-nahy ʿan al-munkar* (Abdul-Hadi Hairi, *The idea of constitutionalism in Persian literature prior to the 1906 Revolution*, in *Akten des VII. Kongresses für Arabistik und Islamwissenschaft*, Göttingen, 1974, Göttingen 1976, 189-207).

At the same time, there appeared two more groups of intellectuals who also wrote about freedom. Writers such as Mumtaḥin al-Dawla (d. 1921), an experienced diplomat, and Mīrzā Husayn Khān Farāhānī, who visited Russia, Turkey, and the Hijāz from 1884-5, found *āzādī* to be quite harmful. In 1870, while sitting at the place reserved for the diplomatic corps in the British parliament, Mumtaḥin al-Dawla witnessed a serious attack waged by one of the members on the Queen and the institution of monarchy in Britain. At this point, Mumtaḥin envied the British members of parliament their freedom of speech, but did not believe that the Persians could have the same privilege in the near future; accordingly, he flatly discredited the Iranians' struggles for freedom during the Constitutional Revolution of 1906-11 (Mahdī Khān Mumtaḥin al-Dawla Shākāḳī, *Khātirāt-i Mumtaḥin al-Dawla*, Tehran 1974, 188-9, 210-11). To Farāhānī, freedom appeared to be a destructive element in history; he held that no system

could survive unless it was based on one-man rule (*Safar-nāma-yi Mīrzā Husayn Khān Farāhānī*, Tehran 1963, 139-46).

A third group of intellectuals, which also included some men from the first group, emerged in reaction to the intensification of foreign rivalries, the spread of governmental corruption and tyranny, and above all the concessions made to foreigners. The works of Hādījī Sayyāh (d. 1925), Zayn al-ʿAbidin Marāghaʾī (d. 1911), Mīrzā ʿAbd al-Rahīm Tabrizī Talibov (d. 1911), Mīrzā Ākā Khān Kirmānī (d. 1896), and some of the writings of Malkam and Afghānī (d. 1896), are the best representative expressions of the people's response to the existing political and economic situation in Iran. To Afghānī, freedom meant the replacement of the existing tyrannical régime by a benevolent government. Other writers especially Talibov, however, attached more meanings to the idea of freedom. The latter defined it in full details as involving the franchise and freedom of the press, assembly, and opinion. All of the men in this group opposed the existing "feudally" based social system and advocated a free enterprise system not dependent on foreign concessions, foreign goods, or foreign interventions.

It was during the same period that a number of reformist intellectuals, headed by Ahmad Dānish (d. 1897), also began to emerge in Bukhārā. Dānish's most important political and philosophical work *Navādir al-wakāyī* (written 1875-82), was devoted to the necessity of social reforms and freedom of the people from the tyranny of the then Bukharān Amīr. His disciples such as Shāhīn, Sawdā, Asīrī, ʿAynī, and many others followed his steps (Jiri Bečka, *Tajik literature from the 16th century to the present*, in J. Rypka et alii, *History of Iranian literature*, Dordrecht 1968, 485-605). In a later period we also see revolutionary pieces of poetry such as "Surūd-i Āzādī" by ʿAynī and "Bi Shāraf-i Inkilāb-i Bukhārā" by ʿAkkāsbāshī (Sadr al-Dīn ʿAynī, *Namūna-yi adabīyyāt-i Tāḍīk 300-1200 hidjri*, Moscow 1926).

This period also coincided with some measures of modernisation in Afghānistān. To the Afghāns, because of the Anglo-Russian rivalries throughout the 19th century, political *āzādī* simply came to mean the independence of their country from foreign encroachments, in connection with which a number of short-lived periodical papers such as *Kābul* (1867) and *Shams al-Nahār* (1875) came into being. The Afghāns' approach to the idea of freedom was best represented in their first important weekly paper, *Sirāḳī al-Akhbār-i Afghāniyya* (1911), where problems of modernisation and national independence were dealt with in a highly sophisticated manner. Its chief editor, Maḥmūd Tarzī, argued that "genuine national development and progress were possible only when a society enjoyed complete independence, sovereignty, and freedom" (Vartan Gregorian, *The emergence of modern Afghanistan*, Stanford 1969, 178). This type of argument about liberty was pursued by later papers such as *Amān-i Afghān*, *Itihād-i mashriki* and many others (Said Qassim Reshtia, *Journalism in Afghanistan*, in *Afghanistan*, ii (1948), 72-7).

In the course of the Persian Constitutional Revolution of 1905-11, the idea of freedom was approached by the factions involved in the Revolution in three different ways. One of the groups, influenced principally by Islamic teachings, was in favour of freedom, but a type of freedom consonant with Islam. Mīrzā Muḥammad Husayn Nāʾinī (d. 1936), for instance, defined freedom as an opposite to slavery,



but like Montesquieu (*De l'esprit des lois*, i, 1. iii, ch. viii) held that living under despotism was itself equal to slavery; therefore, freedom may be achieved only by the replacement of the existing tyrannical régime of Iran (Hairi, *Shī'ism and constitutionalism in Iran* [see *Bibl.*], 173-80, 218-19). The second group, to which belonged the Tabriz revolutionaries, had a better insight into European ideas, together with a close association with the Russian revolutionaries, so that they interpreted freedom in a more western sense. In their approach both groups emphasised particularly the downfall of despotic rule in Persia and the ending of foreign intervention as being integral parts of freedom. The third group, i.e. the supporters of the old régime, under the leadership of Shaykh Fadl Allāh Nūrī (d. 1909), opposed any principles of democracy, and especially the concepts of liberty and equality, which appeared to the Shaykh as detrimental to Islam (Abdul-Hadi Hairi, *Shaykh Fazl Allāh Nūrī's Refutation of the Idea of Constitutionalism*, to appear in *Middle East Studies*). The latter group even organised many mob demonstrations in which the people chanted: "We want no liberty; we want the Prophet's religion".

The Anglo-Russian agreements of 1907 and 1915, and the Anglo-Persian treaty of 1919 gave rise to a number of nationalist movements, such as those led by Kūčak Khān [q.v.], Khayabānī [q.v.], and Muḥammad Taqī Khān Pisyān. After the 1917 Russian Revolution, the Soviets withdrew the claims of the Tsars against Iran, so that freedom meant exclusively the abolition of the 1919 treaty and the freedom of Iran from any foreign intervention which could limit its independence. The newly-established Communist Party of Iran (1920), which co-operated with some of these movements, added a socialist colouring to the idea of freedom by propagating the idea of freedom of the peasants from the landowners through dividing up the latter's lands among the former.

Towards the end of the Qājār dynasty, a number of poets and writers, such as Mīrzāda 'Ishkī, Muḥammad Farrukhī Yazdī, Muḥammad Taqī Bahār and Abu 'l-Kāsim Lāhūtī, wrote very critically about the freedom of the Persian people both from internal tyranny and from external influences; some of them met an untoward fate. Under Rīdā Shāh's reign (1925-41) the term *āzādī* was used only in rare cases; for instance, the newspaper *Ittilā'āt* used *āzādī* in the sense of the freedom from the Qājār dynasty or from the movements and rebellions which had existed in Iran. In 1932 Rīdā Shāh outlawed the Communist Party, but the activities of some of the communists led by Dr. Taqī Arānī (d. 1939) continued. In their literature, e.g. in *Dunyā*, social and political concepts, including liberty, were defined from the socialist point of view. Some other intellectuals such as the woman poet, Parvīn I'tisāmī (d. 1941), wrote about freedom in a symbolic and subtle way, but their general message was the freedom from the existing situation.

The period following Rīdā Shāh's abdication (1941-53) witnessed a campaign for the nationalisation of the Anglo-Persian Oil Company. The new Communist party, now calling itself *hizb-i tūda-yi Irān* (founded in September 1941) held freedom to be the nationalisation of the oil. However, it also saw freedom in the establishment of better relations with the Soviet Union so that Iran might evolve a Communist government. To the nationalists, on the other hand, freedom depended not only on the nationalisation of the oil but also on the extinguishing of Russian and all other foreign influences in Iran. These ideological

conflicts culminated under Dr. Muḥammad Muḥaddīk's 28 month-rule, a period referred to by his supporters as *dawra-yi āzādī* ("the epoch of freedom"), during which for the first time popular involvement in politics was allowed to a certain extent and the activities of opposing political parties plus the campaigns of the press belonging to different political wings were some-what tolerated. This period came to an end in August 1953 when Muḥaddīk's government was overthrown by the army.

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DJAM'ITYYA, DJARIDA, HIZB and HUKUMA.

(ABDUL-HADĪ HAIRI)

'AZAFĪ, BANU'L-, family of notables prominent in the annals of medieval Ceuta (Sabta [q.v.]) and descended from a Ceutan *fakīh* by the name of Abu 'l-'Abbās Aḥmad b. *al-kādī* Abī 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Lakhmī, whose ancestor Muḥammad al-Lakhmī was known as Ibn Abī 'Azafa, whence "Azafī". There is no reason to suppose that the 'Azafids were descended from Magjasa Berbers, as some 8th/14th-century Ceutans alleged. A gratuitous (but not wholly unreasonable) assumption of more recent date is that the family was of Andalusian origin.

Abu 'l-'Abbās was born on 17 Ramaḍān 557/30 August 1162 and died on 7 Ramaḍān 633/16 May 1236. From all accounts he was a man of profound piety, and, throughout his adult life, he taught *ḥadīth* and *fikh* in the Great Mosque of Ceuta. It was on his initiative that the festival of the Prophet's nativity (*mawlid*; vulgar *mūlūd*, *mīlūd*) was introduced into the Maghrib, and it was undoubtedly his example that in after times inspired his son Abu 'l-Kāsim to adopt the custom of celebrating the *mawlid* as a public festival on a grand scale. At the time of his death, Abu 'l-'Abbās was writing and had possibly almost completed his *K. al-Durr al-munazzam fī mawlid al-Nabī 'l-mu'azzam*, the purpose of which was to promote his idea of celebrating the *mawlid* and putting an end to the celebration of non-Islamic festivals. The *Durr*, which is extant and has been carefully studied by F. de la Granja (see *Al-Andalus*, xxxiv (1969), 1-53) is ascribed by some to Abu 'l-Kāsim, who actually seems only to have put the finishing touches to a largely completed work. Abu 'l-'Abbās was also the author of a work entitled *Dī'amat al-yakīn fī zd'amat al-mullaḳīn*. By the time of his death in 1236 both he and his family must already have achieved a position of eminence in Ceuta, for not long before the loss of Seville to Ferdinand III (end of 1248) one of that city's most notable families, the Banū Khaldūn, anticipated the disaster by emigrating to Ceuta where they contracted matrimonial alliances with the sons and daughters of "al-'Azafī".

The First *Dawla*. For thirteen years after the death of Abu 'l-'Abbās, the history of the 'Azafid family is shrouded in obscurity. Not so the troubled history of their native Ceuta. The period was one of Almohad decline, Hafsid intervention in the Muslim West and spectacular Christian triumphs in Spain which cost Islam both Cordova and Seville, to say nothing of Valencia, Murcia, Jaén and Játiva. In 1243 the governor of Ceuta, a certain Abū 'Alī b. Khālās, withdrew his allegiance to the Almohad caliph and shortly afterwards acknowledged the sovereignty of the Hafsid Abū Zakariyyā'. After the death of Ibn Khālās, which more or less coincided with the fall of Seville, the Ceutans were in no mood to tolerate his successor, Ibn Shāhid, an ineffectual cousin of Abū Zakariyyā'. The Sevillian disaster loomed large in their preoccupations: their ships had fought on the Guadalquivir, and their harbours had witnessed a sizeable influx of Sevillian refugees—among them Shakkāf, the hated *kā'id* who had actually surrendered the keys of Seville to Ferdinand. There was, too, one aspect of Hafsid administration which this mercantile people deeply resented—the exactions of its customs officer, Ibn Abī Khālīd. Such was the position when news of Abū Zakariyyā's death reached Ceuta (29 Raddjab 647/7 November 1249 or, more probably, 27 Ramaḍān 647/3 January 1250).

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This was the signal for action. As the most widely respected notable, Abu ‘l-Kāsim al-‘Azafī was approached by Ceuta’s *kā’id al-baḥr*, Abū ‘l-Abbās Ḥadjībūn al-Randāhī, and persuaded to consent to the overthrow of the regime and, in the event of success, to assume leadership of the community. The plan, as executed by al-Randāhī, but not quite as envisaged by Abū ‘l-Kāsim, resulted in the decapitation of *Shakḳāf* and Ibn Abī *Khālīd*. Ibn *Shahīd* was deported, and the ‘Azafid, after assuming control, declared Ceuta’s allegiance to the Almohad Caliph al-Murtaḍā (reg. 646-65/1248-66), who duly appointed a governor. The Almohad governor’s stay was short: after only a few months in Ceuta, Abū ‘l-Kāsim expelled him and sent the caliph a letter of explanation which he accepted.

What arrangement followed is unclear. We are only told that in 654/1256-7 the ‘Azafid became absolute ruler of Ceuta, which he took over and administered with great application and total devotion to the interests of its inhabitants. What is certain is that, despite his *de facto* autonomy, he remained loyal to the tottering throne of al-Murtaḍā and even defended his interests when the occasion demanded.

Considering that Abū ‘l-Kāsim was, in his day, a key figure in the western Mediterranean, specific information on his life and rule is so sparse that most of what can be said of him must be deduced from his ascertainable policies. Born between 606/1209-10 and 609/1212-13, he was around forty when he came to power and seems to have had a maturity of judgment to match his years and such as to militate against rash ventures. His primary aim was to create and maintain a strong and prosperous Ceuta at a time when it was fast becoming not only a prime military objective for Castile, but also a target for ambitious Marīnids seeking control of Morocco. He therefore set about strengthening Ceuta’s defences and evidently profited from a truce with Castile against handsome tribute over two consecutive two-year periods (? 1251-5). At the same time he aimed at stabilising, conserving and developing Ceuta’s already extensive trans-Mediterranean trade, notably with Barcelona, Genoa and Marseille. Within about ten years, Ceuta seems to have gained real naval and economic strength. In 659/1261 her first real test came when the prospect of a Naṣrid Ceuta lured Ibn al-Aḥmar of Granada into launching a naval assault on the place—a venture that ended in disaster for Granada. As long as he lived, Abū ‘l-Kāsim remained keenly alive to the dangers threatening Islam in the West and always took whatever measures were necessary to combat them. Thus, in 662/1263-4 we find him co-operating with the Marīnids as they launch their first *djihad* in Spain. In the years immediately following, we find him endeavouring to achieve and maintain stability between Ceuta and the Atlantic coast and, to that end, bringing a weak and divided Tangier (665/1266-7) under his control. Then, at the end of 1274 or early in 1275 we see him apparently sacrificing his autonomy to the Marīnid Abū Yūsuf, but in fact skilfully extricating him from an alliance concluded with Aragon and potentially dangerous to Islam. In practice he sacrificed little: a yearly “gift” to the Marīnid assured him virtual independence. Thereafter he made common cause with the ruler in prosecuting the *djihad* in Spain. Abū ‘l-Kāsim died on 13 *Dhu ‘l-Hijja* 677/27 April 1279, leaving Ceuta rich and powerful at sea.

Abū ‘l-Kāsim was succeeded by his son Abū Ḥatīm Aḥmad, an unambitious and self-effacing

man, who was content to leave the administration of Ceuta to his elder brother Abū Ṭālib ‘Abd Allāh. Little is known of a third brother, Abū Muḥammad Kāsim, but he may have been a senior military officer, since he commanded a Ceutan expeditionary force in Spain in 1285. Abū Ṭālib carried his father’s policy of co-operation with the Marīnids a stage further by proclaiming all territory under ‘Azafid jurisdiction to be Marīnid and by abandoning the trappings of royal authority enjoyed by his father. He also actively participated in the *djihad*, and in July 1279 at the relief of Algeciras, then blockaded by Alfonso X, it was ‘Azafid ships that formed the backbone of the Marīnid fleet which utterly routed the Castilians. But gradually the certain rewards of peaceful trade, notably with the Crown of Aragon, began to have greater appeal than the uncertainties of the *djihad*. Marīnid setbacks in Spain in the 1290s and commitments in the Maghrib encouraged the ‘Azafids first to withhold their dues to Fez and then, in 1304, to rebel against the sultan Abū Ya’kūb, who, without Aragonese naval assistance, was powerless to impose his will. But ‘Azafid independence was short-lived: in May 1305 Naṣrid forces were enabled by a disaffected garrison commander to seize Ceuta. All members of the ‘Azafid family were deported to Granada, where they remained, royally treated by Muḥammad III until his deposition in March 1309.

The Second *Dawla*. In July 1309 Naṣrid Ceuta, following an internal rising, capitulated to the Marīnid Abū ‘l-Rabī’, who then allowed the ‘Azafids to return from Spain and settle in Fez. There Yahyā, a son of Abū Ṭālib, met and found favour with Abū Sa’īd ‘Uṭmān, the very prince who was to gain the throne on Abū ‘l-Rabī’s death (November 1310). In 710/1310-11 Yahyā was made governor of Ceuta and returned with the family to his native city. His brothers Abū Zayd ‘Abd al-Raḥmān and Abū ‘l-Ḥasan ‘Alī were appointed, respectively, *kā’id al-baḥr* and superintendent of the naval shipyard. However, the temporary success of the sultan’s rebel son Abū ‘Alī resulted in their recall to Fez late in 1314, and during their stay there the ageing Abū Ṭālib died. In 715/1315-16 Yahyā returned to Ceuta as Abū Sa’īd’s governor, leaving his son Muḥammad as a guarantee of his continuing allegiance to Fez, but accompanied by the rest of the family. Soon after, Abū Ḥatīm died and was survived by at least one son, Ibrāhīm.

Once back in Ceuta, Yahyā soon put himself at the head of a council of notables (*shūrā*) and, with the aid of a Marīnid pretender, succeeded both in retrieving his son and in proclaiming and maintaining Ceuta’s autonomy. In 719/1319, however, he chose to effect a reconciliation with Abū Sa’īd and to remit taxes in exchange for recognition as Marīnid governor. His motive in so doing was probably growing apprehension at the popularity, in Ceuta, of an ambitious Husaynid *sharīf* who bore him a personal grudge and was, at the same time, respected by Abū Sa’īd. When Yahyā died at some date in or after 722/1322-3, he was succeeded by his apparently ineffectual son, Abū ‘l-Kāsim Muḥammad, who governed under the tutelage of his cousin Muḥammad b. ‘Alī, admiral of the fleet (*kā’id al-asāṭīl*). Details of the situation that in due course culminated in the ‘Azafids’ downfall are unclear; we know only that their authority collapsed, that Abū Sa’īd marched on Ceuta in 728/1327-8, and that disaffected notables surrendered the ‘Azafids to him. The reasons for the ‘Azafids’ downfall are complex, but, as their enemy, the Husaynid *sharīf* Abū ‘l-Abbās Aḥmad,



soon emerged as president of Ceuta's *shūrā*, it is hard not to see in him one major cause of their undoing.

Circumstantial evidence suggests that the 'Azafids were all taken to Fez where they were usefully employed—under surveillance—in the administration. The Marīnids bore the family no ill will, and indeed Muḥammad b. 'Alī reappears as admiral of Abu 'l-Ḥasan's fleet which in 1340 almost annihilated the Castilian fleet off Algeciras. Ten years later he was still admiral of the fleet when he fell in action fighting the 'Abd al-Wādids [q.v.] in the Chélif plain.

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(J.D. LATHAM)

'AZAMIYYA (*tarīka*) [see ABU 'L-'AZĀ'IM].

AL-AZDĪ, *nisba* formed from the tribal name of Azd and borne by a family of Mālikite *kādīs* of Baghdād, who will be treated under IBN DIRHAM, the name of their ancestor.

AL-AZDĪ, ISMĀ'IL B. ISHĀK B. ISMĀ'IL B. HAMMĀD B. ZAYD, ABŪ ISHĀK AL-KĀDĪ (199-282/814-95), Mālikī *faqīh*, originally from Baṣra, who in 246/860 succeeded Sawwār b. 'Abd Allāh as *kādī* of Baghdād East. After having been removed from office in 255-6/869-70, he was restored to office, transferred to Baghdād West in 258/871-2 and then given charge of both halves of the city from 262/876 till his death; he was then supreme *kādī* without having the official title, although currently described as *kādī 'l-kudāt*. He was also sent as an envoy to the Ṣaffārid who had invaded the province of Ahwāz in 262/875-6.

This *kādī* was equally a specialist in the *Kur'ān*, *ḥadīth*, *fiqh* and *kalām* and knowledgeable about grammar and *adab*. He was very opposed to all innovation, refuting al-Shāfi'ī and Abū Ḥanīfa and spreading Mālikism through 'Irāk. He was the author of a considerable number of works: the *K. Ahkām al-Kur'ān*, *K. al-Kur'ān*, *K. Ma'ānī 'l-Kur'ān*, *K. al-Iḥdīdīdī bi 'l-Kur'ān*, *al-Mabsūt fī 'l-fiqh*, *K. al-Amwāl wa 'l-maghāzī*, *K. al-Shafī'a*, *K. al-Salāt 'ala 'l-nabī* (ms. Köprülü, 428), *al-Farā'id*, *K. al-Uṣūl*, *Shawāhid al-Muwatṭa'*, *K. al-Sunan*, five *Musnads*, *K. al-Shuf'a* and several refutations.

His works were known in Spain, probably thanks to his nephew Ahmad al-Duḥaym b. Khalīl (278-338/891-949), and are often cited (see Ibn al-Farādī, *BAH*, vii, No. 110; Ibn Khayr, *Fahrasta*, *BAH*, ix, 51-2, 148, 247-8, 303-4). In particular, his *K. Ahkām al-Kur'ān* (cited elsewhere only in the *Fihrist*, ed. Cairo, 57) was copied by Kāsim b. Aṣbagh [q.v.]; see Ch. Pellat, in *al-And.*, xix/1 (1954), 77.

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(CH. PELLAT)

AZOV, Sea of— [see BAHR MĀYUṬIS].

AZRŪ, Berber "stone", "pebble", and above all, "rock", the name of numerous villages in North Africa dominated by a rock or built at its

foot, on its slopes or on its summit. One of these in Morocco, in the middle of the ancient province of the Fazāz and lying at 1,200 m. height, has become a small town of 15,000 inhabitants. In 1901, the Marquis de Segonzac estimated the population at only 1,400 (woodcutters, including 200 Ayt Mūsā Jews), and in 1940 there were still only 3,500.

Azrū is well-placed at the junction of two great imperial highways, now modernised: Fās to Marrakesh, and Meknès to the Tafilālt, and has become an important market for livestock. Two further facts have contributed to its growth: firstly, in 1914 a French military post was set up there to control the great Berber confederation of the Banī Mgīld (who speak a Tamazight dialect and are of Ṣanhādja origin), and this made it an administrative centre; and secondly, in 1927 a "Berber" secondary college was founded there, confirming its demographic development and making it a lively and enduring cultural focus.

Azrū's strategic position has resulted in its frequent appearance on the pages of Moroccan history. In 534/1140 the Almohads, under the orders of the caliph 'Abd al-Mu'min and after a check which had scattered them, established themselves there firmly, and the *amīr* took a wife there, who was to be the mother of the prince 'Abd Allāh, the future governor of Bougie. In 674/1274, under the Marīnids, one of the natural uncles of sultan Ya'qūb rebelled against him and entrenched himself in the Azrū mountain; the ruler besieged him there, reduced him to submission and pardoned him. In 1074/1663-4 Mawḥay al-Sharīf came to encamp at Azrū. The '*ulamā*' and '*shurafā*' of Fās came to him there and proclaimed him ruler; but the prince prudently remained at Azrū for that summer. In 1093/1684 Mawḥay Ismā'īl journeyed in force into the Fazāz mountains in order to subjugate the Ayt Idrasen tribe who had been committing all sorts of depredations in the plain of the Sā'is. On his approach, the tribe fled towards the upper part of the valley of the Wādī Mulūya, and the sultan profited by their absence to build at Azrū a *kaṣaba* garrisoned by 1,000 cavalymen. Pushed back into the highlands, and cut off from their agricultural lands, the Ayt Idrasen sued for peace and obtained it in return for harsh conditions of *amān*. In 1226/1811 sultan Mawḥay Sulaymān, at the head of an army from all the provinces of the empire and of those Berbers who had remained faithful to him in his misfortunes, marched against the tribes of the Igerwān and the Ayt Yūst. His ill-led troops suffered a bloody and humiliating defeat before Azrū, and were only kept safe through the protection of the Ayt Idrasen, the foes of 1093/1684. The "Azrū affair" had widespread repercussions throughout Morocco, and deprived the sultan of all his prestige; he never recovered, and died soon after.

The *kaṣaba* of Mawḥay Ismā'īl is more or less in ruins today, but the modern town is developing rapidly, and is famous for its woollen carpets woven by a prosperous workers' co-operative. Thanks to the beauty of its location and to the magnificent cedar forests in the vicinity, Azrū has also become a flourishing tourist centre.

One should be careful not to confuse the above Azrū—as do the authors and interpolators of the *Kur'ās* and the *Dhakhira*—with the place of the same name which dominates Tafarsit, in the country of the Banī Tūzin in northern Morocco; it was here that, under the Marīnids, Ṭalḥa b. Yahyā took refuge and then left it after getting an authorisation to make the Pilgrimage to Mecca. See al-Bādīsī, *al-Maḥṣad*,

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Fr. tr. G.S. Colin, *Vie des saints du Rif*, in *AM*, xxvi (1926), 209 n. 4.

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(G. DEVERDUN)

BĀ ḤMĀD, Moroccan grand vizier whose real name was Aḥmad b. Mūsā b. Aḥmad al-Bukhārī. His grandfather was a black slave belonging to the sultan Mawlay Sulaymān (1206-38/1792-1823), whose *ḥāḍib* he had become [see *ḥāḍib* in Suppl.]. His father likewise became *ḥāḍib* to Sayyidī Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān (1276-90/1859-73), and then became grand vizier during the reign of Mawlay al-Ḥasan (1290-1311/1873-94); he enjoyed a miserable reputation, but his immense fortune allowed him to connect his name with the Bāhiya palace in Marrākush, whose building he undertook (inscription of 1283/1866-7, in G. Deverdun, *Inscriptions*, No. 206). He himself was said to be the offspring of a Spanish mother, and he had several children, amongst whom are mentioned Sa'īd, Idrīs—who both held important offices—and Aḥmad, called Bā Ḥmād. The latter was born in 1257/1841-2, and was first of all *ḥāḍib* to Mawlay Ismā'īl who was the *ḫalīfa* in Fās of his brother Mawlay al-Ḥasan. He then occupied the same office for that sultan. Since he had been responsible for the education of 'Abd al-'Azīz b. al-Ḥasan, he favoured the accession to the throne of that prince, then 14 years old (1894); he took the title of grand vizier and, leaving the young sultan to amuse himself with childish pleasures, exercised real power in the state with sufficient political astuteness and authority to prevent Morocco falling into anarchy. Bā Ḥmād, whose strong personality has left behind a lasting impression, constructed in Marrākush the reservoir of the Agdal which bears his name, undertook various public works in the towns, and above all, continued his father's work; he enlarged the Bāhiya, apparently without any preconceived plan, on the site of some 60 houses and he purchased 16 gardens to form its parkland. He died on 17 Muḥarram 1318/17 May 1900, and was buried in the royal mausoleum of Mawlay 'Alī al-Sharīf (poetic epitaph in Deverdun, *Inscriptions*, No. 176).

Bibliography: Ibn Zaydān, *Ithāf al-nās*, Rabat 1929 ff., i, 372-96, ii, 511, iv, 370-81; 'Abbās b. Ibrāhīm, *I'lām*, Fās 1926-39, ii, 209-10, 255-61; L. Arnaud, *Au temps des Mēhallas*, Casablanca 1951, 128; G. Deverdun, *Inscriptions arabes de Marrakech*, Rabat 1956; idem, *Marrakech des origines à 1912*, index. (Ed.)

BĀBĀ NŪR AL-DĪN RISHĪ, the son of Shaykh Sālār al-Dīn, an Indian holy man, was born in the village of Bīdjbhāra, 28 miles south-east of Śrīnagar, in about 779/1377. Although a Muslim, he has been called *riḡhī*, because he was more influenced by the ideas and practices of the Hindu Sadhus and Rishīs than by those of Muslim *Sūfīs* and saints. From the age of thirty, Nūr al-Dīn began to withdraw to caves for meditation and prayers. He finally renounced the world and its pleasures and left his wife and children. In his last days he subsisted only on one cup of milk, and towards the end

he took nothing except water, dying at the age of 63 in 842/1438. He is the patron saint of the Valley, and is greatly revered by its people. His sayings and mystical verses, like those of Lallā Ded, are sung and recited all over Kaṣhmīr. His tomb in Ārār, 20 miles south-west of Śrīnagar, attracts thousands of people, both Muslims and Hindus, every year.

The tendency to asceticism became more pronounced among the followers of Nūr al-Dīn Rishī, called Rishīs after him. They did not marry; they abstained from meat and subsisted on dry bread and wild fruits; and they lived away from human habitations, leading a life of piety, self-denial and simplicity. They moved from place to place, planting shady and fruit-bearing trees for the benefit of the people. According to Abu 'l-Faḍl, the Rishīs "were looked upon as the most respectable class in the Valley." But in recent years, owing to their worldliness and greed, respect for them has declined, except among the very ignorant.

Bibliography: Abu 'l-Faḍl, *Ā'in-i Akbarī*, ii, tr. Blochmann, Calcutta 1927; Ḥāḍijī Mu'īn al-Dīn Miskīn, *Ta'rikh-i Kabīr*, Amritsar 1322/1904; Mohibbul Hasan, *Kaṣhmīr under the Sultans*, Calcutta 1959. (MOHIBBUL HASAN)

BĀBŪNADJ (Babūnak), from Persian *bābūna*, is the common camomile, primarily *Anthemis nobilis* L. (Compositae), also called Roman camomile, but also *Matricaria chamomilla* L. (Comp.) and other varieties. The nomenclature is rather confused; it can indeed hardly be expected that the various kinds of the camomile were kept apart with precision. The term is derived from χαμαίμηλον ("apple of the earth") and was known to the Arabs partly in a transcribed form (*ḫamāmālūn*, and variants), partly as borrowed translation (*tuffāḥ al-ard*). The relatively clearest determination is perhaps offered by an anonymous pharmacobotanist of Spanish-Arabic origin (very probably Abū 'Abbās al-Nabātī b. al-Rūmiyya, 561-637/1166-1240): "There are three kinds of *al-bābūnadj*, the stalks, leaves and general form of which are similar to each other. The distinction between them is to be found in the colour of the blossom-leaves which enclose the yellow, situated in the middle of the blossoms, for the blossoms of these three kinds are yellow in the middle. In the white kind they are enclosed by small leaves which are white inside and outside, in the purple-coloured kind by small leaves which are blue inside and outside, and in the yellow kind by small leaves which are yellow inside and outside. The distinction between the white and the chrysanthemum (*al-ukhuwān*) lies in the scent, for the chrysanthemum assumes [extraneous] scents, and all these kinds have a pleasant scent" (Nuruosmaniye 3589, fols. 108b, 23-109a, 4). In general, *bābūnadj* corresponds to the *ἀνθεμὶς* of Dioscorides (*Materia medica*, ed. M. Wellmann, ii, Berlin 1906, 145-7 = lib. iii, 137), and appears therefore also transcribed as *anthāmis* (and variants). *Ukhuwān* just mentioned, which is uncommonly often equated with *bābūnadj*, is otherwise used by the Arabs to render the *παρθέنيον* (*barthāniyūn*, and variants) of Dioscorides (*op. cit.*, lib. iii, 138), by which we should probably understand the medical *Matricaria chamomilla*, still in use today. Ibn al-Baytār, on the other hand, says that the "white" kind of camomile described by Dioscorides and called *ukhuwān* by the Arabs, has been replaced by *bābūnadj* (*Djāmi'*, i, 73, 11-13 = Leclerc no. 220, at the beginning).

The blossoms of the camomile, which contain an



oil that checks inflammations, were used as a medicine for loosening spasms and for stimulating easily the peristaltic motion; infusions made from the blossoms ("camomile tea") were utilised externally for baths, compresses and rinses at inflammations of skin and mucous membranes, in both antiquity and in Islam in a manner similar to present practice.

Bibliography: For full information on camomile, see A. Dietrich, *Zum Drogenhandel im islamischen Ägypten*, Heidelberg 1954, 51-5, with bibliography. Further see *La "Materia medica" de Dioscorides*, ii (Arabic tr. Iṣṭifān b. Baṣīl), ed. Dubler and Terés, Tetuān 1952, 299 f.; *The medical formulary or Aqrābādīn of al-Kindī*, tr. M. Levey, Madison etc. 1966, no. 29; Bīrūnī, *Ṣaydala*, ed. H.M. Sa'īd, Karachi 1973, Arabic, 58-61, Eng. 38-40 (*ukhuwān*); Ḡhāfīkī, *Ḍjāmī*, Ms. Rabat, Bibl. Gén. k 155 i, fols. 83a-84a; Suwaydī, *Simāt*, Ms. Paris ar. 3004, fol. 34b; Ibn Bīklārīsh, *Musta'īnī*, Ms. Naples, Bibl. Naz. iii, F. 65, fol. 20b; Ibn al-Djazzār, *I'timād*, Ms. Ayasofya 3564, fol. 6a; Ḡhassānī, *Mu'tamad*, Beirut 1975, 12 f.; Rāzī, *Hāwī*, xx, Ḥaydarābād 1387, no. 1 (*ukhuwān*); Ibn Sīnā, *Kānūn*, Būlāk, i, 264 f.; Ibn Hubāl, *Mukhtārāt*, Ḥaydarābād 1362, ii, 35 f.; Dāwūd al-Anṭākī, *Tadhkirā*, Cairo 1371, i, 68 f.; Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab*, xi, Cairo 1935, 286-91 (important, *ukhuwān* in the *taṣbīḥāt* of Arabic poetry); H.G. Kircher, *Die "einfachen Heilmittel" aus dem "Handbuch der Chirurgie" des Ibn al-Quff*, Bonn 1967, no. 30; W. Schmucker, *Die pflanzliche und mineralische Materia medica im Firdaus al-hikma des 'Alī ibn Sahl Rabban al-Ṭabarī*, Bonn 1969, no. 93.

(A. DIETRICH)

BACTROMANCY [see ISTIKSĀM].**BADAJOZ** [see BAṬĀLYAWS].

BĀDGĪR (P.), literally "wind-catcher", the term used in Persia for the towers containing ventilation shafts and projecting high above the roofs of domestic houses. They are also erected over water-storage cisterns and over the mouths of mine-shafts in order to create ventilation through the tunnels below. In domestic houses, cooler air is forced down either to rooms at ground level or to cellars (the *zīr-i zamīn*), and it provides an early form of air conditioning. The towers are usually substantial, square-sectioned structures with rows of apertures in all four walls, and are divided internally by thin mud-brick or timber and mud-brick partitions and baffles; but not enough of the surviving *bādgīrs* (which are mainly situated on the central plateau of Persia, e.g. around Yazd, or in the south near the Gulf coastlands, and are now often falling into disrepair with the advent of modern methods for cooling air and water) have been examined scientifically to ascertain exactly how the difference in air pressure required to create a down-draught is achieved. See H. E. Wulff, *The traditional crafts of Persia*, Cambridge, Mass. 1966, 15, 106, and E. Beazley, *Some vernacular buildings of the Iranian plateau*, in *Iran, Jnal. of the British Inst. of Persian Studies*, xv (1977), 100-1 (both with illustrations). Marco Polo mentions the *bādgīrs* of Hormuz on the Persian Gulf coast as the only things which make life bearable there in summer, and other travellers, such as Pietro della Valle and Figueroa, have left good descriptions of them (see H. Yule, *The book of Ser Marco Polo the Venetian*, London 1871, ii, 383-4).

The wind-shaft or wind-catcher was equally known in the mediaeval Arab world and has con-

tinued in use to the present day. Indeed, it seems that such contrivances were known in the buildings of the Ancient Near East, such as those of Pharaonic Egypt and Babylon. In mediaeval Arabic, the device was known by the term *bādahandj* or *bādandj*, arabised from the alternative Persian term to *bādgīr*, *bād-handj* (see Dozy, *Supplément*, i, 47). Already in the early 'Abbāsīd palace of Ukḥaydīr in 'Irāk [see ARCHITECTURE I. (3)]. The 'Abbāsīd caliphate] we find square-sectioned ventilation shafts in the walls, and the word *bādgīr* appears in 'Irāk as *bādgīr*. It seems probable that 'Irāk formed the intermediate stage of the contrivance's spread westwards, in its new phase of life during Islamic times, to Syria and Egypt. The *bādahandj* was already a feature of the landscape in early Fāṭimid times, for the astronomer Ibn Yūnus (d. 399/1008-9) [q.v.] discusses the correct orientation of what was normally a single aperture at the top of the shaft, since the prevailing cooler wind in Egypt is from the north or north-west. 'Abd al-Laṭīf al-Baḡhdādī (d. 629/1231-2 [q.v.]) states that the large and ornate wind-shafts of his time cost up to 500 *dīnārs* to construct. The earliest surviving example from Cairo seems to be the shaft in the *kibla* wall of the mosque of al-Sāliḥ Ṭalā'ī (555/1160), see K.A.C. Creswell, *The Muslim architecture of Egypt*, Oxford 1952-9, i, 284-5. The *bādahandj* is mentioned in the *Thousand and one nights*, and the littérateur 'Alā' al-Dīn al-Ḡhuzūlī (d. 815/1412-3 [q.v.]) devotes a chapter of his anthology the *Maṭālī' al-budūr* to the *bādahandj* in poetry and literature (see F. Rosenthal, *Poetry and architecture: the Bādhān*, in *Jnal. of Arabic Literature*, viii [1978], 1-19). In modern Egypt, the usual term for the contrivance became *malkaf* "wind catcher", noted by Lane in his *Manners and customs of the modern Egyptians*, ch. xxiv, and still in use (see S. Spiro, *An Arabic-English dictionary of the colloquial Arabic of Egypt*, Cairo 1895, 544: "ventilator, air-shaft, wind-sail"); in domestic houses, the air-shaft usually led down to the public rooms of the *kā'a* or *mandara*, or else to another chamber used for sleeping (see A. Lézine, *La protection contre la chaleur dans l'architecture musulmane d'Égypte*, in *BEO*, xxiv [1971], 12-15).

Bibliography: In addition to references given in the article, see A. Badawy, *Architectural provision against heat in the Orient*, in *JNES*, xvii (1958), 125, 127-8 and Figs. 4, 6, 8; and see also KHAYṢĪ.

(C.E. BOSWORTH)

BĀDHĀM, BĀDHĀN, Persian governor in the Yemen towards the end of the Prophet Muḥammad's lifetime. A Persian presence had been established in the Yemen ca. 570 A.D. when there had taken place a Yemenī national reaction under the Ḥimyarī prince Abū Murra Sayf b. Dhī Yazan [see SAYF B. DHĪ YAZAN] against the Ethiopian-backed governor Masrūk b. Abraha. The Persian Emperor Khusrāw Anūshīrwān had sent troops to support Sayf b. Dhī Yazan, and eventually, a Persian garrison, with a military governor at its head, was set up in Ṣan'ā'. It was the progeny of these Persian officials and soldiers, who intermarried with the local Arab population, who became known as the Abnā' [q.v.].

The Arab sources recount the story of the Persian occupation of the Yemen and give the names of the succession of Persian governors, beginning with Wahrīz and his descendants and closing effectively with Bādhām, who seems himself to have been unconnected with Wahrīz's family (see al-Ṭabarī, i, 945-51; al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akḥbār al-tiwāl*, Cairo

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1960, 64; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, iii, 162-7 = ed. Pellat, §§ 1015-20; Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Beirut, i, 447-51).

Bādhām seems to have been governor in Ṣan'ā' during Muḥammad's Medinan period, and when Muslim control began to be extended towards South Arabia at a time just after Heraclius's defeat of the Sāsānids, the Persian community's position must have become increasingly isolated and vulnerable; by now, they can have been little more than one of several local groups contending for mastery in the Yemen. Bādhām and the Abnā' may accordingly have been inclined to receive Muḥammad's overture sympathetically, but whether this involved anything more than an acknowledgement of distant political suzerainty is uncertain. The sources record Bādhām's conversion to Islam under the year 10/631-2, together with that of other Abnā' leaders such as Fīrūz al-Daylamī and the Abnāwī scholar Wabḥ b. Munabbih [q.v.] (al-Ṭabarī, i, 1763; Ibn al-Athīr, ii, 304; Caetani, *Annali*, ii/1, 358, 369). Western scholars have, however, been suspicious of this story of the conversion of Bādhām and the Abnā', and Caetani described it as "a pious fiction of the Muslim traditionists, in order to give a flavour of orthodoxy to Bādhām's nominal submission to Islam" (*ibid.*, ii/1, 371). The first Ridda War in the Yemen, under 'Ayhala b. Ka'b, called al-Aswad or Dhū 'l-Khimār [see AL-ASWAD], now supervened. Bādhām died at this point; his son Shahr succeeded temporarily to some of his power in the Yemen in 11/632-3 (al-Ṭabarī, i, 1864), but was killed by al-Aswad. Muslim political authority was probably not imposed in the Yemen by Abū Bakr's generals till 12/633-4. In any case, these events marked the end of any degree of Persian control in the Yemen, though the Abnā' continued as a distinct social group well into the early Islamic period (cf. al-Sam'ānī, *Ansāb*, facs. ff. 17b-18a, ed. Hyderabad, i, 100-2).

Bibliography: In addition to the references given in the article, see Nöldeke-Ṭabarī, *Geschichte der Perser und Araber*, 220 ff.; Caetani, *Annali*, ii/1, 358, 369-71, 661-85; idem, *Chronographia islamica*, i, 113, 123; A. Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*, Copenhagen 1944, 368-70, 373; W. Montgomery Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, Oxford 1956, 118, 128-30. (C.E. BOSWORTH)

AL-BADHDH, a district and fortress of northern Ādharbāyḍjān, famous as being the headquarters of the Khurramī rebel Bābak [q.v.] in the first decades of the 3rd/9th century. The exact site is uncertain, but it must have lain in the modern Karadja-Dagh, older Maymad, the ancient Armenian region of Paytakaran, to the north of Ahar and south of the Araxes River, near Mount Haṣṭād-Sar, at some spot between the modern districts of Hārānd, Kalaybar and Garmādūz (V. Minorsky, *Studies in Caucasian history*, London 1953, 116 and Addenda et corrigenda slip). Bābak's fortress there was stormed by the caliphal general the Afshīn Haydar [q.v.] in 222/837 (Ṭabarī, iii, 1198 ff., tr. E. Marin, *The reign of al-Mu'tasim (833-842)*, New Haven 1951, 29 ff.). The only early Islamic geographer or traveller to give first-hand information about al-Badhdh is Abū Dulaf al-Khazrajī [q.v.], who travelled from Tiflis to Ardabīl via al-Badhdhayn (this ostensibly dual form reflecting an original Badhūn?), probably leaving the Araxes valley and going up the Kalaybar River. He speaks in his Second *Risāla* of a mine of red *Yamānī* alum there whose product was called *Badhdhī*; he also mentions that local traditions about

Bābak were still strong a century or more later, with Khurramī sympathisers in the area expecting the return of a Mahdī (*Abū-Dulaf Miṣ'ar ibn Muḥallil's travels in Iran (circa A.D. 950)*, ed. and tr. Minorsky, Cairo 1955, § 15, tr. 35-6, comm. 75). A later source mentioning al-Badhdh, Kazwīnī's *Āthār al-bilād*, Beirut 1380/1960, 511, repeats Abū Dulaf's information; and Yāqūt's entry, *Buldān*, i, 529, is laconic and uninformative.

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(C.E. BOSWORTH)

BADHL AL-KUBRĀ, songstress and *raūiya* in early 'Abbāsīd times, died before 227/842, probably in 224/839. She was born as a mulatto (*muwallada safrā'*) in Medina and brought up in Baṣra. Dja'far, a son of the caliph al-Hādī, acquired her and, after 18/809, she became a favoured *qārīya* of al-Amīn and gave birth to a son of his. Being a pupil of Ibn Dījāmī, Fulayḥ and Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī she preserved the "classical" *ḥiḍāzī* style of Arab music, preferring verses by *ḥiḍāzī* poets also for her own compositions. She was a good songstress and lutenist (*dārība*), a *zarīfa*, and was famous for having a repertoire of about 30,000 songs. For 'Alī b. Hishām she compiled a *Kitāb fi 'l-aghānī* which contained 12,000 song texts (without musical indications), and this became one of the sources of Abū 'l-Faraj al-Iṣbahānī (22 quotations). 'Alī b. Hishām rewarded her with 10,000 *ḍīnārs*, and when she died, she left a fortune, which was inherited by the descendants of 'Abd Allāh b. al-Amīn. Among her pupils were Danānīr and Mutayyam al-Haṣhimiyya.

Bibliography: *Aghānī*, xvii, 75-80 (see also indices); Shābushtī, *Diwān*, 28-9, 43; Nuwayrī, *Nihāya*, v, 85-8; H.G. Farmer, *History of Arabian music*, 134; K. al-Bustānī, *al-Nisā' al-'arabiyyāt*, Beirut 1964, 104-7; Kh. Mardam, *Djamharat al-mughannīn*, Damascus 1964, 148-50. (E. NEUBAUER)

AL-BADĪ' [see MARRĀKUSH].

BĀDIYA (A.) meant, in the Umayyad period, a residence in the countryside (whence the verb *tabbaddā*), an estate in the environs of a settlement or a rural landed property in the Syro-Jordanian steppeland.

For Musil, the *bādiya* was the successor to the summer encampment called by the old Syrian Bedouin name of *al-hūra*. At the opening of the 20th century, the sense was restricted by archaeologists to the desert castles. They went so far as to construct theories about the attraction of the Bedouin way of life for the Umayyads and about the conservatory role of the desert in upholding certain very persistent traditions stronger than those of the nascent Islam. Since the Umayyads were of urban Meccan origin, it is hardly necessary to look for an atavistic Bedouinism in order to explain their preferences for the *bādiyas*. The new masters of Syria replaced, in the towns as in the countryside, the old landholders, whose territories, abandoned at the time of the Islamic conquest, were part of the plunder distributed to the great men. It was said that they sought outside Damascus, their official capital, purer air, the freshness of summer nights, protection against epidemics and vast, open spaces for hunting; in fact, the Umayyads had a keen sense of the value of the land and the possibilities of financial return from fertile agricultural properties.

The agricultural development of Syria goes back well into Roman times. Exploitation of the soil developed in regions where the water supply was difficult, necessitating an elaborate system of irri-



gation and water conservation which could only be undertaken with state aid or the injection of private capital and which was not to survive the downfall of the Umayyads. One very often finds an adaptation of earlier Romano-Byzantine or Ghassānid installations as at Karyatayn, the Byzantine Nazala, at Kuṭayfa, Ptolemy's Atera, at the Roman station of Usays or at the classical and Byzantine centre of Bayt Rās [q.v.]. Alternatively, there were new buildings erected, as at the two Kaṣr al-Hayrs [q.v.] or at Kaṣr al-Hallābāt. These were not "desert palaces" so much as "palace-towns", to be considered as essentially Umayyad and constructed on the plan of the small forts inherited from the *castra* of the *limes*, which had themselves been replaced by the rural foundations of the Ghassānids. There is virtually no Umayyad construction which does not utilise classical structures or earlier foundations. No residence is to be found in the deep desert, and they are all built in a zone within the *limes* which had been cultivated and populated since Hellenistic times and had been protected against any possible occupation by Bedouins who might damage the crops. After harvest, the sheep-raising tribes were allowed to pasture their flocks on the cultivated lands, which then benefited from their dung.

The *bādiyas* are generally to be found where there is a water supply, either on a line of transhumance, thus permitting contacts with the Bedouin tribes, or else near some great artery of communication like the routes from Damascus and Boṣrā towards Taymā', the road from Damascus to Ḳarkisiyā [q.v.], and the route which runs along the cultivable margin of the *Hamad* from Ruṣāfa of al-Nu'mān as far as Taymā', passing through Tadmūr or Palmyra, Bakhra' [q.v.], Djabal Says [q.v. below] and Kaṣr Burku' [see BURKU' below]. Their construction along the communication routes permits one to attribute a function of *khāns* [q.v.] or caravanserais to them, in particular for certain constructions in the Wādī 'Araba listed by J. Sauvaget.

The Umayyads liked to stay to the south of Damascus, on the Ghassānid sites of Djābiya and Djillik [q.v.], and often spent the winter in the Jordan valley at al-Sinnabra or in the palaces built at Khirbat al-Minya and Khirbat al-Mafḍjar [q.v.]. Their movements around were often dictated by the need to visit agriculturally productive centres. They had a special liking for the region of the Balkā' [q.v.], where their residences among the mild oases are numerous around Mshattā [q.v.], an unfinished work of the caliph al-Walid II [q.v.], which marks the end of the architectural evolution of the *bādiyas*.

Bādiya can be a synonym of *kaṣr* [q.v.], when it is a question of a residence erected within a four-sided enclosure with dimensions recalling those of Roman small forts. The walls are provided with round towers, unknown in Roman and Byzantine fortifications. There is a central courtyard within on to which open rooms grouped in separate units and forming *bayts* and backed by blind external walls which keep the environment cool and increase the building's defensive potential. The disposition of internal arrangements is on the axes, and opposite the entrance gate flanked by monumental towers is an audience chamber usually basilical in plan with apse at the end of greater or lesser importance. On the floors above are lodging suites of rooms divided according to the same plan as those on the ground floor. These last are decorated with marble slabs, stucco work, frescoes and mosaics. In the immediate vicinity of

the princely residence there may well be a mosque and a bath, as at Djabal Says. Certain *bādiyas* were used as centres for hunting (*mutaṣayyad*), like Abā'ir or Kuṣayr 'Amra. A good picture of the architectural activities of the Umayyads in the *bādiya* is given by Abu 'l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī in his *K. al-Aghānī*.

Bibliography: *Aghānī*, Tables alphabétiques; H. Lammens, *La «Bādiya» et la «Hira» sous les Omayyades*, in *MFOB*, iv (1910), 91-112 = *Études sur la siècle des Omayyades*, Beirut 1930, 325-50; E. Herzfeld, *Mshattā, Hira und Bādiya*, in *Jahrb. der Preuss. Kunstsamm-lungen*, xlii (1921), 104-46; Jaussen and Savignac, *Les châteaux arabes de Qesir 'Amra, Harānah et Tūba*, Paris 1922; A. Musil, *Palmyrena*, New York 1928, Appx. ix, 277-89; A. Poidebard, *La trace de Rome dans le désert syrien*, Paris 1934; J. Sauvaget, *Remarques sur les monuments omayyades*, in *JĀ* (Jan.-March 1939), 1-59; H. Stern, *Notes sur les châteaux omayyades*, in *Ars Islamica*, xi-xii (1946), 72-97; O. Grabar, *Umayyad "palace" and the 'Abbasid "revolution"*, in *SI*, xviii (1962), 5-18; U. Monneret de Villard, *Introduzione allo studio dell' archeologia islamica*, ch. ix, *L'abitazione omayyade*, Venice 1966, 233-48; A. Miquel, *L'Islam et sa civilisation*, Paris 1968, 504; D. and J. Soudel, *La civilisation de l'Islam classique*, Paris 1968, 348-56; K.A.C. Creswell, *Early Muslim architecture*, i/2, Oxford 1969, 630.

(N. ELISSÉEFF)

BADR-I ČĀČĪ, fully BADR AL-DĪN MUḤAMMAD ČĀČĪ, poet of the 8th/14th century Dihlī Sultanate. A native of Čāč (Shāsh, Tashkent), he migrated to India and rose to favour at the court of Sulṭān Muḥammad b. Tughluq [q.v.], who conferred on him the style of *Fakhr al-Zamān*. His *kaṣā'id*, which contain references to a number of contemporary events, with the dates often expressed in chronograms, constitute an important source for a period which is notoriously obscure and controversial. It is all the more unfortunate, therefore, that his *Shāh-nāma*, an epic chronicle of Muḥammad's reign completed in 745/1344-5, has not survived: it was still extant in the late 10th/16th century, when the Mughal historian Badā'ūnī (*Muntakhab al-tawārīkh*, ed. M. Ahmad 'Alī, Calcutta 1864-9, 3 vols., *Bibl. Indica*, i, 241) describes it as a "treasure".

Bibliography: Badr-i Čāčī, *Kaṣā'id*, lith. ed. M. Hādī 'Alī, Kānpūr n.d., lith. ed. and comm. M. 'Uṭhmān Khān, Rāmpūr 1872-3, 2 vols.; extracts tr. in Elliot and Dowson, *History of India*, iii, 567-73; Rieu, *Catalogue of the Persian MSS. in the British Museum*, London 1879-83, iii, 1032.

(P. JACKSON)

BADR AL-MU'TADIDĪ, ABU 'L-NAḌĪM, commander-in-chief of the armies of the caliph al-Mu'tadid (279-89/892-902). He was the son of one of al-Mutawakkil's *mawālī*, whose name cannot be established with certainty (Khurr or Khayr?), and was first in service as an equerry to al-Muwaffak, gaining from that time the favour of the future caliph al-Mu'tadid, who, whilst still regent after al-Muwaffak's death (Safar 278/June 891), made him chief of police in Baghdad and then, after his accession, commander of all the forces. Badr led several expeditions into various regions (Fārs, al-Djazīra, 'Irāk, etc.) in order to re-establish the military situation which had been rendered insecure by the *Karāmīta* [q.v.]. At the same time, he played a political role of prime importance, for he became all-powerful, with a complete domination over the caliph, exercising a veto over everything. He gave

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one of his daughters in marriage to al-Mu'ṭaḍid's son, the future al-Muktadir, increasing his influence still further. He had the right to be addressed by his *kunya*, and the poets, and Abū Bakr al-Sūlī in particular, did not fail to include him in their eulogies of the caliph. It was because of his exceptional position that he acquired the name of "al-Mu'ṭaḍidī", distinguishing him moreover from several homonyms.

In 288/901 he pleaded in favour of al-Kāsim b. 'Ubayd Allāh [see SULAYMĀN B. WAḤB] who was made vizier thanks to his intervention, but who failed to show him much gratitude for it. In fact, Badr refused to take part in his machinations against the sons of al-Mu'ṭaḍid, so that al-Kāsim, fearing denunciation, took care immediately on the accession of al-Muktafi (289-95/902-8) to blacken Badr in the eyes of the new caliph and probably to profit also by the hostility towards Badr of certain other commanders. Badr fled to Wāsiṭ, but was invited to return to Baghdād under a guarantee of *amān*; in the course of his trip up the Tigris, he was attacked on the heights of al-Madā'in by al-Kāsim's agents, who cut off his head whilst he was at prayer and sent it to al-Muktafi (6 Ramaḍān 289/14 August 902). His body was left on the spot and was later carried away by his family for burial at Mecca. This murder was denounced by the poets and imputed to the caliph, who might have been expected to heave a sigh of relief at seeing the head of the once-powerful general whom he had at first honoured on accession, but who seems however to have reproached his vizier for it.

Bibliography: Tabari, iii, 2209-15 and index; Mas'ūdī, *Murūq*, viii, 114, 216 ff. = § 3242, 3360-6 and index; Hilāl al-Ṣābi', *Rusūm dār al-khilāfa*, 94; idem, *Wuzarā'*, *passim*; Tanūkhī, *Nishwār*, Cairo 1392/1972, i, 172, 316-17, v, 110, viii, 114; Ghars al-Ni'ma, *Hafawāt*, 206; Ibn al-Abbār, *Fiṭḥ al-kutāb*, Nos. 49, 50, 52; Ibn al-Aṭhīr, vii, 170-1, 357-9; Ibn al-Imād, *Shadharāt*, ii, 201; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Nuḡūm*, iii, 129; Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntazam*, vi, 34-6; Sourdell, *Vizirat*, index, and bibl. cited there. (CH. PELLAT)

BAGHR [see MĀRID].

BAHĀ' AL-DAWLA WA-ḌIYĀ' AL-MILLA, ABŪ NAṢR FĪRŪZ KHĀRSHĀDH b. 'AḌUD AL-DAWLA FANĀ-KHUSRAW, Būyid supreme *amīr*, who ruled in 'Irāk and then in southern Persia also from 379/989 to 403/1012 after 381/992 with the further honorific, granted by the caliph al-Kādir, of Ghīyāth al-Umma, and towards the end of his life, those of Kiwām al-Dawla and Ṣafī Amīr al-Mu'minīn). He was the third son, after Ṣamsām al-Dawla Marzubān and Sharaf al-Dawla Shīrīl, of the great *amīr* 'AḌud al-Dawla [q.v.], who had built up the Būyid confederation into the mightiest empire of its time in the Islamic east.

On 'AḌud al-Dawla's death in Shawwāl 372/March 983, Ṣamsām al-Dawla, as the eldest son, succeeded as *amīr al-umarā'*, but his succession was disputed by Sharaf al-Dawla, and internecine warfare followed, in which the young Bahā' al-Dawla was also involved. Finally, in Ramaḍān 376/January 387 Ṣamsām al-Dawla's position in Baghdād became parlous; he submitted to Sharaf al-Dawla, who now became the supreme *amīr*, and was partially blinded and imprisoned at Sirāf. However, Sharaf al-Dawla died in Djumādā II 379/September 989, and Bahā' al-Dawla, whom Sharaf al-Dawla had nominated before his death as his successor, assumed power in Baghdād as *amīr al-umarā'* at the age of 19. He thus began a reign of 23 years, long by Būyid stand-

ards. This reign falls into two roughly equal parts, the first filled with warfare against rivals like his uncle Fakhr al-Dawla 'Alī of Ray and Ḍībāl and Ṣamsām al-Dawla, now escaped from incarceration, until by ca. 1000 he had consolidated his power in Fārs and Kirmān and was able to make Shīrāz, his father's old capital, the centre of his own dominions for the rest of his lifetime, acknowledged by all the Būyid princes as supreme *amīr*.

At the outset of his reign, Bahā' al-Dawla recognised Ṣamsām al-Dawla in Shīrāz as an equal ruler controlling Fārs, Kirmān and 'Umān. In 381/991 he deposed the 'Abbāsīd caliph al-Tā'i [q.v.] in favour of his cousin al-Kādir [q.v.], whom he hoped to find more tractable; this proved in fact the case, and the new caliph agreed subsequently in 383/994 to become betrothed to Bahā' al-Dawla's own daughter, though she died before the marriage could take place. The *amīr* also secured from the caliph at this time a fresh grant of titles; and it is from this year that the ancient Iranian title *Shāhanshāh*, used unofficially by his father, appears on his coins (cf. W. Madelung, *The assumption of the title Shāhanshāh by the Būyids and "The reign of the Daylam (Dawlat al-Daylam)"*, in *JNES*, xxviii [1969], 174-5). Bahā' al-Dawla now had to defend 'Irāk and Ahwāz against the ambitions of Fakhr al-Dawla (who, urged on by his vizier the Ṣāhib Ismā'īl b. 'Abbād [see IBN 'AB-BĀD], had on 'AḌud al-Dawla's death himself assumed the title of *Shāhanshāh* and the implied headship of the Būyid family), and northern 'Irāk against various local Arab and Kurdish chiefs. Ṣamsām al-Dawla, after his escape, took advantage of unrest in 'Irāk and of Bahā' al-Dawla's preoccupation with internal strife in Baghdād—the divisions of the Sunnī and Shī'i populace and of the Turkish and Daylamī elements in the Būyid army—and seized Ahwāz and Baṣra. Bahā' al-Dawla secured the alliance of the ruler of the Baṭīḥa, Muḥammad ḥib al-Dawla 'Alī b. Naṣr, and of the Kurdish prince Badr b. Ḥasanūya [see ḤASANAWAYH]. Even so, his vizier and general Abū 'Alī b. Ismā'īl al-Muwaffāk could make little headway against Ṣamsām al-Dawla's skilful commander Abū 'Alī al-Ḥasan b. Ustādh-Hurmuz. After several oscillations in the fortunes of war, Ṣamsām al-Dawla was in 388/998 assassinated near Iṣfahān by Abū Naṣr Shāh-Fīrūz, a son of 'AḌud al-Dawla's cousin and former rival 'Izz al-Dawla Bakhtiyār. Abū 'Alī b. Ustādh-Hurmuz now came over to Bahā' al-Dawla's side with the remnants of Ṣamsām al-Dawla's Daylamī troops. Once Abū Naṣr Shāh-Fīrūz had been killed in Kirmān, Bahā' al-Dawla was sole master of the southern provinces of Persia, Fārs and Kirmān, and of their dependency 'Umān. Two years later, his implacable enemy Fakhr al-Dawla died, and his successors in Ray and Hamadhān, the young and inexperienced Madjd al-Dawla Rustam and Shams al-Dawla Abū Tāhir respectively, acknowledged Bahā' al-Dawla's supreme overlordship, as coins minted at Ray from 400/1009-10 and at Hamadhān from 401/1010-11 attest.

Bahā' al-Dawla now moved his capital from 'Irāk to Shīrāz, captured from the temporary control of the sons of 'Izz al-Dawla, and never returned from it to Baghdād. The move eastwards showed that he regarded southern Persia as the heartland of the Būyid dominions, and except for the brief occupation in 390-1/1000-1 of Kirmān by the Ṣaffārid Tāhir b. Khālaf, the Persian lands remained generally peaceful. But the relinquishing of Baghdād as capital meant a distinct relaxation



of control in 'Irāk, which was henceforth entrusted to governors (for much of this period, until his death in 401/1010-11, to the 'Amīd al-Ḍiyyūsh Abū 'Alī b. Ustādh-Hurmuz) at a time when powerful enemies were rearing their heads there. Bahā' al-Dawla's departure for Fārs allowed the caliph al-Kādir to enjoy more freedom of action and tentatively to assert his authority, especially over the protection of Sunnī interests against Shī'ī policies of the Būyid amīr [see AL-KĀDIR BI'LLĀH for details]. Above all, the confused situation in 'Irāk after 'Aḍud al-Dawla's death and the squabbling of his sons in Fārs over control of the empire had allowed local Arab potentates in 'Irāk to extend their power at Būyid expense, so that direct Būyid authority was to be for much of Bahā' al-Dawla's reign confined to Baghdād and Wāsiṭ and their immediate vicinities. In northern 'Irāk there were the 'Ukaylids [q.v.] of Mawṣil; Bahā' al-Dawla sent against the amīr Abū 'l-Dhawwād Muḥammad several expeditions, but could not entirely quash his power, and after Abū 'l-Dhawwād's death in 386/996, his nephew Kīrwāsh b. al-Mukallad (after 391/1001) carried on the struggle. In central 'Irāk, the Asadī amīr 'Alī b. Mazyad was ever ready to stir up the Bedouins of the Khafāḍja and Muntafik groups [q.v.] against Būyid rule, whilst in the south of the country a rebel called Abū 'l-'Abbās b. Wāṣil in 393/1003 seized Baṣra and invaded Ahwāz, having driven out from the Baṭiḥa Muḥadhḍib al-Dawla. In 396/1006 a coalition of Badr b. Ḥasanūya's Kurds and Ibn Wāṣil's forces were able to besiege Baghdād, but the capital was saved by Ibn Wāṣil's being captured and then executed (397/1006). An attempt was made to conciliate the Arab amīrs of 'Irāk, so that the 'Ukaylid Kīrwāsh b. al-Mukallad was in 396/1005-6 awarded the *lakab* of Mu'tamid al-Dawla and the Mazyadid 'Alī in 397/1007 that of Sanad al-Dawla. Also, the new governor for Bahā' al-Dawla in Baghdād after 401/1010, Fakhr al-Mulk Muḥammad b. 'Alī, defeated the 'Ukaylids, drove off the Khafāḍja and managed to make peace with the Kurds, who in fact ceased to be such a threat to the Būyid position in 'Irāk after Badr's murder in 405/1014-15.

In Ḍjumādā II 403/December 1012 Bahā' al-Dawla died at Arradjān, probably en route for Baghdād. His corpse was taken to Baghdād and then, like that of his father, interred near the grave of the Imām 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib at Naḍjaḥ near Kūfa. It appears that during his lifetime, Bahā' al-Dawla's (eldest?) son Abū Maṣṣūr had been the *walī al-'ahd*, for his name, with the title of *amīr al-umara'*, appears on an inscription at Persepolis dated 392/1002, but this son had died in 398/1008. Hence just before his death, he had nominated his 19-year old son Sulṭān al-Dawla Abū Shudjā' as supreme amīr; the latter after his accession appointed his brothers Ḍjalāl al-Dawla and Kīwām al-Dawla as governors in Baṣra and Kirmān respectively. The ensuing struggles amongst Bahā' al-Dawla's sons, combined with the ambitions of the Arab amīrs in 'Irāk and distant pressure from the Ghaznawids and then the Salḍūks in the east, were soon to destroy the precarious unity of the Būyid empire inherited by Bahā' al-Dawla from his father.

It is not easy to form a clear picture of Bahā' al-Dawla's character and personality, and he suffers in the sources by comparison with his father. They describe him as tyrannical to his entourage, avid for gold and niggardly over its disbursement, but these vices were not unfamiliar among other members of

the Būyid family, and were in large part a reflex of the recurrent financial crises of the later Būyids and their desperate search for money and for fresh *ikṭā'* land with which to pay their troops.

Concerning his cultural interests, little is known specifically, and the first half of his reign was in any case largely taken up with warfare. The historian and philosopher Miskawayh [q.v.] served as a secretary in his administration, and despite the absence of mention of outstanding poets in his circle at Shīrāz (Tha'ālībī in his *Tatimmat al-Yatima*, ed. Eghbal, i, 16-18, 26-30, mentions only two poets of note, Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥusayn al-Mughallis and Abū Sa'd 'Alī al-Hamadḥānī), there is reason to suppose that Bahā' al-Dawla continued the tradition of patronage of Arabic learning established by 'Aḍud al-Dawla before him. Certainly, Ṣamsām al-Dawla had as his vizier for two years Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad, Ibn Sa'dān [q.v. below], whose circle of scholars is known to us through the works of Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī, and Sharaf al-Dawla was the patron of the distinguished astronomer Abū Sahl al-Kāhī [q.v.]. Abū Naṣr Shāpūr b. Ardashīr (d. 416/1025 [see SĀBŪR b. ARDASHĪR in EI]), who served Bahā' al-Dawla as vizier on several brief occasions during the first part of his amirate, seems to have been a scholar of outstanding calibre, considered by Tha'ālībī as worthy of a separate section in his anthology because of the amount of poetry dedicated to him by such figures as Abū 'l-Faraj al-Babbaghā, Ibn Lu'lu' and Abū 'l-'Alā' al-Ma'arrī (*Yatimat al-dahr*, ed. Damascus, ii, 290-7, ed. Cairo 1375-7/1956-8, iii, 129-36); whilst the governor for Bahā' al-Dawla in Baghdād (and subsequently for his successor Sulṭān al-Dawla) Fakhr al-Mulk was the patron of the poet Miḥyār al-Daylamī [q.v.] and of the mathematician of Baghdād Abū Bakr Muḥammad al-Karadī [q.v.; the *nisba* to be corrected thus from the "al-Karkhī" frequently found in western sources], the latter dedicating to the governor his treatise on algebra *al-Kitāb al-Fakhrī fī 'l-ḍjabr wa 'l-mukābala*.

Bibliography: Miskawayh's chronicle stops short of Bahā' al-Dawla's reign, but much detailed historical material is to be found in the *Ḍhayl* of Abū Shudjā' al-Rūdhrawārī (up to 389/999) and in the surviving fragment of Hilāl al-Ṣābi's *Ta'rīkh* covering 389-93/999-1003 (both sources forming vol. iii of Margoliouth and Amedroz's *Eclipse of the Abbasid caliphate*, tr. vol. vi, the latter source being utilised by H.F. Amedroz for his study *Three years of Buwāhid rule in Baghdad, A.H. 389-393*, in *JRAS* [1901], 501-36, 749-86). These specifically Būyid sources can be filled out and supplemented by the general chronicles of Ibn al-Aṭṭār, ix, Ibn al-Djawzī, vii, and Sibī Ibn al-Djawzī, the latter two especially important for events in Baghdād and 'Irāk.

Of secondary literature, there are connected accounts of Bahā' al-Dawla's amirate and of the cultural life of the period in Mafizullah Kabir, *The Buwāhid dynasty of Baghdad (334/946-447/1055)*, Calcutta 1964, 77-91, 179 ff.; in H. Busse, *Chalif und Grosskönig, die Buyiden im Iraq (945-1055)*, Beirut-Wiesbaden 1969, 67 ff. and index; and in idem, ch. *Iran under the Būyids*, in *Camb. hist. of Iran*, iv, ed. R.N. Frye, Cambridge 1975, 289-96; The extensive bibliography in Busse's book expands and brings up-to-date that of the article BUWAYHIDS [q.v.].

(C.E. BOSWORTH)

BAḤRIYYA. I. The navy of the Arabs up to 1250. Although Near Eastern writers in mediaeval



times did not address themselves specifically to the subject of *bahriyya*, references to seafaring activities made by Arab, Byzantine, southern and western European chroniclers, geographers and travellers, as well as pertinent details found in the Arabic papyri and the Geniza documents, provide a considerable body of information concerning the rise and fall of the Arab navy.

The naval requirements of the Arabs were dictated by the necessity of defending their Mediterranean territories—stretching from Cilicia and Syria in the East to the Spanish Levante seaboard in the West—and of protecting their shipping, as well as by their offensive operations against Christian enemies in the Mediterranean. Until the appearance of aggressive Italian fleets and the coming of the Crusaders, Muslim sea power, along with that of the Byzantines, constituted the dominant factor in mediaeval Mediterranean naval history.

The organisation and command structure of the *bahriyya* were affected by the policy and strategy of the caliphate. In the beginning of the 2nd/8th century, the naval organisation involved several naval districts and distinct, self-controlled fleets. The naval districts, with their strategic ports (*thaghr*, pl. *thughūr* [q.v.]) and warships, remained under the jurisdiction of commanders appointed by the caliph and responsible for the supervision of the construction and equipment of the ships; for their safety in the winter bases; for the selection of the entire naval personnel; for gathering and analysing naval intelligence; and for giving operational orders. With the decline of the caliphate, the organisational logistic, and operational responsibility for the *bahriyya* rested with those dynamic régimes whose power was based on the coastal provinces, whether they enjoyed a sovereign status, as was the case of the Fātimids, or that of local dynasties, like the Aghlabids, the Ṭulūnids, the Ikhshīdids and the Ayyūbids [q.v.].

An essential feature of the *bahriyya* were the *dūr al-ṣinā'a* (sing. *dār al-ṣinā'a* [q.v.]). These naval installations served not only as operational bases, but also as shipyards, naval arsenals and as the manpower centres supplying sailors and combat personnel. The number and activity of these installations depended on the degree of concern for naval matters of individual régimes. The latter ensured the operations of the installations by raising taxes specifically earmarked for naval expenditure; by procuring raw materials needed for the construction and fitting of warships; and by conscripting the necessary manpower. The Muslim naval inventory involved a great diversity of combat and supportive vessels. In fact "the Muslim navy not only had a variety of names for a single type, but a single name for a variety of types" (A.M. Fahmy, *Muslim naval organization*, 137).

A fleet (*al-ustūl* [q.v.]) was commanded by the *rā'is al-ustūl* (commander of the fleet) selected from among the top naval officers (*al-kuwwād*), but the care of weapons and direction of naval action were discharged by the chief sailor (*kā'id al-nawātiya*). The crews of the warships were made up of sailors (*nūti*, pl. *nawātiya*); oarsmen (*kadhdhāf*); craftsmen and workmen (*dhawu 'l-ṣinā'a wa 'l-miḥan*); as well as of the fighting men, such as the naphtha throwers (*al-naḥḥātūn*) and the marines. The actual fighting involved both the bombardment with combustible projectiles, and the subsequent ramming, boarding and hand-to-hand combat of the marines. The latter were employed also for landing raids.

The early history of the *bahriyya* was highlighted by the raids against Cyprus in 28/649 and 33/655; by the victory over a Byzantine armada in the Battle of the Masts (*Dhāt al-Ṣawārī* [q.v. in Suppl.]) in 34/655; and by the two sieges of Constantinople in 54-69/763-9 and 98-9/717-18), during which the Muslim fleets attempted to blockade maritime access to the imperial capital, and supported logistically the Arab land forces. In that period Muslim squadrons raided Sicily in 32-3/652 and 46/666-7, temporarily occupied Rhodes in 52/672 or 53/673 and Arwād (Cyzikus) in 54/673, and raided Crete in 55/674. In the first half of the 3rd/9th century, the position of the *bahriyya* was enhanced by the reassertion of Muslim influence over Cyprus [see *ḲUBRUS*] and the conquest of Crete [see *IKRĪTIS*]; both these strategic islands facilitated offensive operations against Byzantine possessions. Regular Muslim fleets were stationed at Alexandria, Rosetta, Damietta, 'Akkā, Tyre, Sidon and Ṭarsūs. In the Western Mediterranean, the navy of the Aghlabids engaged in relentless attacks against Sicily [see *ṢIKILIYYA*] and the southern and western shores of Italy from the naval base of Tunis.

The pursuit of ambitious political goals in Egypt and Syria by Aḥmad b. Ṭulūn (254-70/868-84) entailed both an expansion of naval installations, especially those of 'Akkā, and the strengthening of naval squadrons. His example was emulated by Muḥammad b. Tughdj al-Ikhshīd (323-34/935-46); but neither the fleet of the Ṭulūnids nor that of the Ikhshīdids proved to be very effective. The former was annihilated in 293/905 by a small 'Abbāsīd fleet, the latter was unable to support Crete and Cyprus against the resurgent Byzantine navy. On the other hand, in 291/902 the Muslim *bahriyya* achieved a great success when Aghlabid naval forces conquered Sicily.

Following the Byzantine re-conquest of Crete (350/961) and Cyprus (352/963), the difficult task of upholding the prestige of the *bahriyya* was taken over by the Fātimids. Having inherited strong naval traditions from the Aghlabids, the Fātimids undertook a major expansion of the fleet. Their powerful naval squadrons proved instrumental in contesting supremacy in the western Mediterranean. Malta, Sardinia, Corsica, the Balearic and other islands were attacked. In 324-5/934-5 a Fātimid fleet harried the southern coast of France, took Genoa, and coasted along Calabria, carrying off slaves and other booty. In 344/955 another Fātimid fleet raided the coasts of Umayyad Spain. In 358/969 a powerful Fātimid armada participated in the conquest of Egypt. Concerned with the offensive operations of the Byzantines, as well as with the need for preserving the unity of their realm, which stretched from North Africa to Syria, the Fātimids attached great importance to the status of their navy. They founded a "Department of the Holy War or of Maritime Constructions": (*Dīwān al-Djihad aw Dīwān al-'Amā'ir*). Ships were built in Alexandria, Damietta, at the island of Rawḍa, in Miṣr, and in the new dockyards of al-Maḥs, which alone is credited with producing 600 vessels. Availability of the services of the Syrian *thughūr*, such as Tyre and Tripoli, extended the operational capacity of the Fātimid fleet in the eastern Mediterranean.

In the 5th/11th century the power of the *bahriyya* began to decline. The North African provinces slipped away from the Fātimids. The fleets of the Italian mercantile republics asserted their preponderance in the western Mediterranean and began



to raid with virtual impunity the Algerian and Tunisian shores. The dynamic Normans conquered Sicily and Southern Italy, and then began preparing for expansionist moves in Eastern Mediterranean. In the first half of the 6th/12th century, the victories of the Crusaders were facilitated by the decline of Fātimid naval forces, and resulted in the loss of all Islamic coastal towns with the exception of 'Askalān. After the surrender of that fortress in 548/1153, the coast of Egypt became an easy target for Norman, Italian and Byzantine squadrons.

An attempt to challenge the Christian naval power was made by Ṣalāh al-Dīn (567-89/1171-93), the supplanter of the Fātimids. He increased the salaries of the sailors, re-fortified Egyptian naval bases, and created a special office of the fleet (*diwān al-uṣūl*), to which several branches of Egyptian revenue contributed. In 574-5/1179 his fleet counted 80 vessels, of which 60 were galleys and 20 transports. Although the revitalised navy achieved some success during Ṣalāh al-Dīn's struggle against the Crusaders (including an effective counter-attack in Dhu 'l-Hijja 578/February 1183 against a daring Frankish penetration of the hitherto immune Red Sea waters), it proved impotent to prevent the movement of Christian fleets bringing new hosts of European warriors eager to fight against the Muslim conquerors of Jerusalem. The Third Crusade (585-7/1189-91) did not recover the Holy City, but it delivered a mortal blow to the Egyptian navy, whose squadrons tried suicidally to support the garrison of 'Akkā blockaded by a tremendous concentration of European fleets. According to al-Makrizī (766-845/1364-1442), "After the death of Ṣalāh al-Dīn the affairs of the fleet were given little attention... Service in the navy was considered to be a disgrace to such an extent that to call at an Egyptian 'You sailor!' was treated as an insult. What a change from the days when the names of the sailors were invoked in the prayers of the people, and from the times when these very sailors had been called the soldiers of God, waging the Holy War against the foes of Allāh!"

Bibliography: A.M. 'Abbādī, *Ta'rikh al-bahriyya al-islamiyya fi Misr wa 'l-Shām*, Cairo 1972; M. Canard, *Les expéditions des Arabes contre Constantinople dans l'histoire et dans la légende*, in *JA*, ccviii (1926), 61-121; A.S. Ehrenkreutz, *The place of Saladin in the naval history of the Mediterranean Sea in the Middle Ages*, in *JAOS*, lxxv (1955), 100-16; E. Eickhoff, *Seekrieg und Seepolitik zwischen Islam und Abendland (650-1040)*, Saarbrücken 1954; A.M. Fahmy, *Muslim naval organization in the Eastern Mediterranean, from the seventh to the tenth century A.D.*, 1966; W. Hoenerbach, *Araber und Mittelmeer, Anfänge und Probleme arabischer Seegeschichte*, in *Zeki Velidi Togan Armağanı*, Istanbul 1950-5, 379-96; Dī. Khānī, *Ta'rikh al-bahriyya al-misriyya*, Cairo 1948; S. Māhir, *al-Bahriyya fi Misr al-islamiyya*, Cairo 1967; A. Lewis, *Naval power and trade in the Mediterranean A.D. 500-1100*, 1951; al-Makrizī, *al-Mawā'iz wa 'l-i'tibār*, Paris 1853, ii, 194; L.-R. Menager, *Amiratus-Ἀμυράτος, l'Émirat et les origines de l'Amirauté (XI-XIII^e siècles)*, 1960; Kudāma b. Dja'far, *Nuskhāt 'ahd bi-wilāyat thaghr al-bahr*, in M. Hamidullah, *Muslim conduct of state*, Karachi 1953, 319-21; M.A. Shaban, *Islamic history, A.D. 600-750 (A.H. 132)*, Cambridge 1971; M. Talbi, *L'Émirat aghlabide*, Paris 1966, 384-524.

(A.S. EHRENKREUTZ)

II, III [See Vol. I, 945 ff.].

BAKHĪT AL-MUṬĪ'Ī AL-ḤANAFĪ, MUHAMMAD, *muftī* of Egypt from 1914 until 1921. He was born in the village of al-Muṭī'a in the province of Asyūt on 10 Muharram 1271/24 September 1854. After completion of his studies at al-Azhar in 1292/1875, he remained attached to that institution as a teacher until 1297/1880, when he was appointed *kādī* of al-Kalyūbiyya province. This was the beginning of his career in the judiciary, in which he served as provincial judge in various resorts, as *kādī* of Alexandria, as *kādī* of Cairo, and in a number of other high positions such as the office of Inspector and the office of *muftī* in the Ministry of Justice, prior to his appointment as *muftī* of Egypt on 21 December 1914. In the course of his career he was involved, either directly or indirectly, in notable events of the day, such as the intrigues against reform in al-Azhar, as sponsored by Muḥammad 'Abduh (cf. Aḥmad Shafīk, *Mudhakkirātī fī nisf kam*, Cairo 1936, ii, part 2, 35), the complications surrounding the marriage of 'Alī Yūsuf (*ibid.*, 61), and the events of 1921, preceeding Egyptian independence (cf. Shafīk, iii, 275 ff.). He was a member of al-Rābi'a al-Sharqiyya [*q.v.*], but resigned from this association in 1925 in protest to the efforts of some of its members to bring about the annulment of the intended trial of 'Alī 'Abd al-Rāzīk (cf. Aḥmad Shafīk, *A'mālī ba'd mudhakkirātī*, Cairo 1941, 183 f.). The latter's *Islām wa-uṣūl al-hukm* was severely criticised by Muḥammad Bakhīt in his *Hakikat al-Islām wa-uṣūl al-hukm*, Cairo 1344/1925-6. This book, as well as publications with suggestive titles such as *al-Murhafāt 'l-yamāniyya fī 'unuk man kāla bi-bullān al-waḳf 'alā 'l-dhuriyya*, Cairo 1344/1925-6; *Irshād al-kārī wa 'l-sāmī ilā anna al-talāk idhā lam yudīf ilā al-mar'a ghayr wākī*, Cairo 1348/1929-30; *Hudūd al-Allāh 'alā khalīqatīhi, fī bayān hakikat al-Kur'ān wa-hikam kitābatīhi*, Cairo 1932, reflect Muḥammad Bakhīt's active intellectual involvement with the various issues of his time, such as the disputes pertaining to the translation of the Kur'ān, the position of women, and the campaign for abolition of the *waḳf ahlī*. Other publications such as his *Tanbīh al-'uḳūl al-insāniyya limā fī āyāt al-Kur'ān min al-'ulūm al-kawniyya wa 'l-'um-rāniyya*, Cairo 1344/1925-6; *Tawfiq al-Rahmān li-tawfiq bayn mā kālahu 'ulamā' al-hay'a wa-bayn mā dī'ā fī ahādīth al-sahīha wa-āyāt al-Kur'ān*, Cairo 1341/1922-3; and *Ḍawāb al-shāfi fī ibāhat al-taṣwīr al-fūṭūghrāfi*, Cairo n.d.; and *Risāla fī Ahkām kīrā'at al-fūṭūghrāfi*, Cairo 1324/1906-7, show his concern with problems arising out of the confrontation of Islam with the results of Western science and technology. Muḥammad Bakhīt died on 20 Raddjāb 1354/18 October 1935.

Bibliography: For biographies, see Zakī Fahmī, *Safwat al-'aṣr fī ta'rikh rusūm mashāhīr riḍāl Misr*, Cairo 1326/1908-9, 501 ff.; Ilyās Zakhūrā, *Mir'āt al-'aṣr fī ta'rikh rusūm akābir riḍāl bi-Misr*, Cairo 1916, ii, 467; Sulaymān al-Zayyātī, *Kanz al-ḍawhar fī ta'rikh al-Azhar*, Cairo n.d., 172 ff.; and the weekly *al-Islām* (Cairo; ed. Amīn 'Abd al-Rahmān), iv (1935), 30, 38 f. (an obituary containing biographical data).

(F. DE JONG)

BAKĪ B'LLĀH, **KH**ADJA, *Sūfi* saint of Muslim India, born in Kābul in 971/1563-4. His father, Kādī 'Abd al-Salam Khaldjī Samarkandī, was a scholarly *Sūfi*, and his mother a descendant of Shaykh 'Ubayd Allāh Ahrār (d. 896/1491), the distinguished saint of the Naqshbandī order. [see AHRĀR, **KH**ADJA, above]. He completed his early

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education and then studied the religious sciences under the guidance of Mawlānā Šādiq Halwā'i, who had stayed in Kābul at the persuasion of Mīrzā Hakīm in 978/1570-1 on his way back from the Hīdjāz to Samarqand. After some time, he accompanied Halwā'i to Transoxiana, and there he outshone other students of his in Islamic theology. As he was inclined towards piety and Šūfism, he visited the famous Šūfis and developed a desire for spiritual perfection. Hence he turned to India and wandered about here and there in the Pandjāb, spending nights in vigil and performing mystical exercises, to the point that his health was adversely affected.

Having spent sometime in the Pandjāb and Kāshmīr, Bākī bi'llāh again went to Transoxiana in 1000/1592 in search of a spiritual guide. In Samarqand, he became the disciple of the Naqshbandī saint Mawlānā Kh'ādjaḡī, who acquainted him with the teachings and philosophy of his order. He adopted the teachings of Shaykh Ahrār and returned to India towards 1007/1599, settling down in Dihlī as a founder of the Naqshbandī order there and gathering a number of disciples, including some of the leading grandees and scholars. Shaykh Farīd Bukhārī, one of Akbar's prominent nobles, also became his disciple, and met all the expenses of his *khānkāh* in Dihlī. As regards his teachings, he emphasised the importance of right faith, strict adherence to the Islamic *Shari'a*, constant meditation and the service of man; to him, this was the essence of Šūfism, and no importance was attached to other mystic experiences. He considered Ibn al-'Arabī's philosophy of *waḥdat al-wuḍūd* ("unity of being") as a narrow lane, while 'Alā' al-Dawla Simnānī's concept of *waḥdat al-shuhūd* he declared to be a wider road.

Bākī bi'llāh died in 1011/1603 leaving a number of distinguished disciples to further his work. It was largely due to him that the Naqshbandī order subsequently gained popularity in India and became one of the important orders there, making an impact on the religious life of the Indian Muslims which can be felt even today.

Bibliography: Aḥmad Sirhindī, *Maktūbāt-i Rabbānī*, i, ed. Mawlānā Yār Muḥammad Djādid Badakhshī, Kānpur 1877; Shaykh 'Abd al-Hakḡ Muḥaddith, *Akhbār al-akhyār*, Dihlī 1914; Aḥar 'Abbās Rizvī, *Muslim revivalist movements in India in the 16th and 17th centuries*, Lucknow 1965; Muḥammad Ḥāshim Badakhshānī, *Zubdat al-makāmāt*, Lucknow 1885. (I.H. SIDDIQUI)

BAKR B. AL-NATTĀH, ABU 'L-WĀ'IL, minor poet of Baṣra, who belonged to the tribe of Bakr b. Wā'il and who eulogised Rabī'a; but it is not known for certain whether he was descended from Ḥanīfa b. Luḡaym or from his brother 'Idjl (Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, Tab. 141), so that he is sometimes given the *nisba* of Ḥanāfī and sometimes that of 'Idjlī. He spent part of his life in Baghdād, and according to information given in the *Aghānī* (xix, 38), he is even said to have received for some time a stipend from the *diwān* of al-Rashīd. However, he seems to have led a fairly restless life in search of patrons, being avid for rewards. He is moreover made into a *su'lūk*, a brigand of the highways, because he boasted of using his sword in order to earn his living; but the only relevant episode here mentioned in the sources is an attack by the hordes of Abū Dulaf al-Kāsim b. 'Isā al-'Idjlī (d. 225/840 [q.v.]) after the latter had remarked to Ibn al-Nattāh that he was always boasting of his bravery but never

put it to the test. For the rest, his relations with Abū Dulaf are unclear; according to one tradition, he was recruited into his army and received a stipend until the end of his life, whilst another tradition describes him as coming every year to the master of al-Karadj asking for money to buy an estate allegedly adjacent to his own existing one. Whatever the truth, he eulogised his benefactor, above all in a fine *kaṣīda* of 90 verses which has been preserved by Ibn al-Mu'tazz. Abū Dulaf's brother, Ma'kil b. 'Isā, interceded on his behalf for the prince to pardon Ibn al-Nattāh's indiscretions, which led to similar eulogies on Ma'kil and an elegy on his death. Ibn al-Nattāh also mourned the death of Mālik b. 'Alī al-Khuzā'i, at whose side he had fought in campaigns against the Khāridjīs of the district of Hulwān. He is also found in Kirmān, where he received a regular stipend, and at the side of Mālik b. Tawḡ [see AL-RAHBA], to whom he dedicated some pangeyrics. However, the chronology of all these events is far from certain, and it is most unlikely that he could have praised the latter person (who died in 260/874), at least if he himself died in 192/808, which an allusion to his loss in the *Diwān* of Abū 'l-Atāhiya (ed. Beirut 1964, 105, rhyme *-ātā, metre sarī'*) seems to support.

The critics recognised that he handled with talent the various poetical genres, though at the same time criticising him for certain exaggerations on occasion. His eulogies and elegies remain within the Bedouin tradition, but several poems in which he hymns a *djāriya* called Durra have a more modernist form; it was because these were set to music that Bakr b. al-Nattāh merited a notice in the *Aghānī*. Out of his total poetic production, which ran to a hundred or so leaves (*Fihrist*, 232), Aḥmad b. Abī Ṭāhir Tayfur made a selection (*Iḡthiyār shi'r Bakr b. al-Nattāh*) which Yāqūt cites (*Udabā'*, iii, 92).

Bibliography: Djāhīz, *Ḥayawān*, iii, 196, iv, 232; Ibn Kutayba, *Uyūn*, index; Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, 561-2, 708-9, 853; Ibn al-Mu'tazz, *Tabakāt*, 99-103; Abū Tammām, *Ḥamāsa*, ii, 88-9; Kāfī, *Amālī*, i, 227; Bakrī, *Simt al-la'ālī*, 520; Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, vii, 140 = § 2824; Aghānī, xix, 36-52; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, *ʿIkd*, ed. Cairo 1940, i, 275; Tawḡidī, *Imtā'*, iii, 50; Marzubānī, *Muwashshah*, 298; 'Askarī, *Sinā'atayn*, index; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, in the notice no. 511; Ibn Shākir, *Fawāit*, no. 62; Ibn Rashīk, *Umda*, ii, 53, 145; Khaṭīb Baghdādī, *Tārīkh*, vii, 90; Husrī, *Zahr al-adāb*, 596, 966-7, 1017; Nuwayrī, *Nihāya*, ii, 18; J.E. Bencheikh, *Les voies d'une création*, Sorbonne thesis 1971 (unpublished), index; Wāḥḥābī, *Marāḡij*, iii, 114-5; Bustānī, *DM*, iv, 105-6; Ziriklī, *A'lām*, ii, 46.

(CH. PELLAT)

AL-BAKRĪ, MUḤAMMAD TAWFIK B. 'ALĪ B. MUḤAMMAD, Egyptian religious dignitary. He was born in Cairo on 27 Djumādā II 1287/24 August 1870, and was appointed *nakīb al-ashraf* [q.v.], *shaykh mashāyikh al-turuk al-šūfiyya* (head of the *tarīkas* [q.v.]), and head of al-Bakriyya [q.v.] in January 1892 in succession to his deceased brother 'Abd al-Bākī, obtaining life-membership of the *maḡlis shūrā al-kawānīn* (Legislative Council) and of the *qam'iyya al-'umūmiyya* (General Assembly) in that very same year. During the period in which he held the office of *shaykh mashāyikh al-turuk al-šūfiyya*, various regulations for the *Sūfi* orders in Egypt were introduced. These regulations, which were in force until 1976, allowed him to re-establish the authority over the orders to which the head of al-Bakriyya had been legally entitled since 1812, and

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which had declined dramatically under his predecessor 'Abd al-Bākī.

As *naḳīb al-aṣhrāf*, he was forced to abdicate in January 1895 by the Khedive 'Abbās Ḥilmī, who must have aimed at curbing al-Bakrī's aspirations to political significance, as was suggested by Māhir Ḥasan Fahmī (92 ff.; see bibliography). Following this event, relations between al-Bakrī and the Khedive grew progressively worse when the latter sought to mobilise Ottoman support in his attempts to assert his position over Lord Cromer, the British proconsul. This was totally unacceptable to al-Bakrī, since it ran counter to the unadulterated Egyptian nationalism which he advocated. In consequence, he showed himself to be aggressively antagonistic to 'Abbās Ḥilmī's policy, to a degree which brought him close to being faced with legal prosecution for *lèse-majesté* (cf. Ahmad Shafīk, *Mudhakkirātī fī nisf kam*, Cairo 1936, ii/1, 248 f.; Muhammad Husayn, *al-Ittiḏāhāt al-waṭaniyya fī 'l-adab al-mu'āṣir*, Cairo 1954, i, 94). When the Khedive changed his policy and turned to the Egyptian nationalists in his effort to achieve freedom from British tutelage, relations improved considerably, and in early 1903 Muhammad Tawfīk was again installed as *naḳīb al-aṣhrāf*, in succession to 'Alī al-Biblāwī [q.v.], who had been appointed *Shaykh* of al-Azhar. Concomitant to and as the result of this *rap-prochement* between the Khedive 'Abbās Ḥilmī and Muhammad Tawfīk, the latter became gradually more implicated in the Khedive's policy, notably in his efforts aimed at the deposition of the *muftī* of Egypt, Muhammad 'Abduh, who was a protégé of Cromer's, when the Khedive called upon him for mediation on various occasions (cf. Shafīk, *Mudhakkirātī*, ii/1, 348, ii/2, 34 ff., 95 f.; Fahmī, 103 ff.). On the political scene he manifested himself, moreover, as an advocate of parliamentary government, for which he campaigned in the Legislative Council as well as in the Press. He was committed to pan-Islamism, and was actively involved in the movement when he presided over the preliminary meetings for the foundation of the Universal Islamic Congress (*al-Mu'tamar al-Islāmī al-'Ammā*), proposed by Ismā'īl Gasprinsky [q.v.], held in the palace of the Bakrīs in Cairo at the end of 1907. From the latter year onwards, relations between al-Bakrī and the Khedive again become strained when Eldon Gorst, who had succeeded Cromer to the proconsulate at the beginning of that year, managed to win 'Abbās Ḥilmī away from the nationalists and obtained his support for British policies. This caused the relationship between al-Bakrī and the Khedive to deteriorate into one of the mutual distrust and hostility, which must have contributed to the severe paranoia which forced al-Bakrī to abdicate at the end of 1911. In 1912, he left Egypt for Beirut, where he was confined to a mental hospital until early 1928 when he returned. He died in Cairo in August 1932.

In addition to Muhammad Tawfīk al-Bakrī's significance for the *Sūfī* orders in Egypt, which have been under the lasting impact of an administration which was at least partially designed by him and which was instituted under his auspices, he is also notable for his literary activities. He founded a short-lived predecessor of the Academy of the Arabic Language, he compiled an anthology of *raḏīaz* poetry (*Arāḏīz al-'Arab*, Cairo 1313/1895-6)—about which it was rumoured that it had not been compiled by him at all but by Ahmad b. Amin al-Shinkīṭī (cf. *al-Mukṭataf*, xix (Cairo 1895),

930 ff.; xx, 44 ff.)—and he published a selection from the works of eight poets from the 'Abbāsīd period (*Fuḥūl al-balāgha*, Cairo 1313/1895-6), in addition to a collection of poems and *makāmas* in the style of al-Ḥarīrī written by himself (*Ṣahāriḏj al-lu'lu'*, Cairo 1907). A selection from this work was published by 'Uthmān Shākīr under the title *al-Lu'lu' fī 'l-adab*, Cairo 1927). As a poet, he is considered as one of the last representatives of the classical tradition.

Bibliography: The most extensive biography is Māhir Ḥasan Fahmī, *Muhammad Tawfīk al-Bakrī*, Cairo 1967, referred to in the article. It contains amongst others a lengthy discussion of his publishing activities and of his literary output, and gives further references. An autobiography is to be found in his *Bayt al-Siddīk*, Cairo 1323/1905, 11 ff. For a discussion of the nature of his authority over the *Sūfī* orders in Egypt, and of the impact of the regulations introduced under his auspices and of his political activities, see F. de Jong, *Al-Mashāyikh al-Bakriyya and the transformation of their authority in 19th century Egypt*, in A. Dietrich (ed.), *Akten des vii. Kongresses für Arabistik und Islamwissenschaft*, Göttingen 1976, 224 ff.; and idem, *Turuq and turuq-linked institutions in 19th century Egypt*, Leiden 1978, ch. v, where additional references may be found.

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BALANCE [see MINTAKAT AL-BURŪḌ; MĪZĀN].

AL-BALATĪ, ABU 'L-FATH 'UTHMĀN b. 'ISĀ B. MAṢŪR b. MUHAMMAD, TĀḌĪ AL-DĪN, grammarian, poet and *adīb*, originally from the town of Balad on the Tigris, which also had the name of Balat (see Yāqūt, i, 721), whence his *nisba* of al-Balatī, sometimes given in the diminutive form of al-Bulayṭī. Abu 'l-Fath went first of all to teach in Syria, and then, when Saladin assumed power in Egypt (567/1171), he migrated to Cairo where the new sultan allotted to him a fixed stipend and appointed him to teach grammar and the Qur'ān in one of the mosques of the town. He remained there till his death on 19 Ṣafar 599/7 November 1202; his corpse was not discovered till three days after his death because the people of Cairo were preoccupied by the famine then raging and were unconcerned with each other.

Thanks to 'Imād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī (519-97/1125-1201 [q.v.]), who knew him personally, and to a *sharīf* called Abū Dja'far al-Idrīsī (apparently not to be confused with the famous geographer) who had been his pupil and who was in contact with Yāqūt (d. 626/1129), we possess a very detailed physical description of this scholar and information on his habits. He was tall, corpulent, with a lofty forehead, a long beard and a ruddy complexion; he was very susceptible to cold, always wrapped himself up, took a thousand precautions when he went to the *ḥammām* and hardly went outside in winter. He had the reputation of being extremely learned in all the literary fields, but his personal conduct left something to be desired; he apparently sought the company of dissolute persons and sometimes got drunk.

The examples which have been preserved from his poetry show that it was of traditional type, and some poems show a special aptitude for verbal pyrotechnics in the vein of his time (all through one *kaṣīda*, a differing word in each verse which could be read equally well in the three grammatical cases; a rhyme in *-ūnū* which exhausts the lexicon's possibilities; a schema *maf'ala* arbitrarily constructed; etc.). Nevertheless, he also wrote a long poem in

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praise of al-Kāḍī al-Fāḍil [q.v.], in which Saladin's secretary is placed above al-Djāhiz, Ibn 'Abbād and Ibn al-'Amīd, as well as a *muwaṣṣaḥ* whose *khawḍja* is not however in accordance with the rules, since it is in literary Arabic.

Al-Balatī is, in addition to his poetry, the author of various works: a *Kutāb al-'Arūd al-kabīr*, a *K. al-'Arūd al-ṣaghīr*, a *K. al-'Izāt al-mukizāt*, a *K. al-Nayyir*, a *K. Akhbār al-Mutanabbī*, a *K. al-Mustazād 'ala 'l-mustadjād min fā'alat al-adjwād*, a *K. 'Im ashkāl al-khatt*, a *K. al-Taḥīf wa 'l-tahīf* and a *K. Ta'līl al-'ibādāt*.

Bibliography: Yāqūt, *Udabā'*, xii, 141-67; idem, *Buldān*, i, 721, ii, 735; 'Imād al-Dīn, *Khariḍat al-kaṣr*, *Kism shu'arā' al-Shām*, ii, 383; Kutubī, *Fawāt*, ii, no. 279; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Lisān al-Mizān*, iv, 150-1; Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 323-4; Hādījī Khalīfa, ed. Istanbul, *passim*; Brockelmann, S I, 530; Bustānī, *DM*, V, 24-5; M.Z. Enani, *Le muwaṣṣaḥ en Orient*, Sorbonne thesis 1973 (unpublished), 90-1.

(CH. PELLAT)

BALBAN, **GHIYĀTH** AL-DĪN ULUGH KHĀN, the most prominent of the slave Sultans of Dihlī, was originally a Turkish slave of the Ilbarī clan. A member of the famous corps of Forty Slaves or *Chihilgānī* raised by Sulṭān Ilutmish, Balban rose, by dint of sheer merit and ability, to be the minister and deputy (*nā'ib-i mamlakat*) of the ascetic king Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd Shāh (644-64/1246-65), to whom he had given his daughter in marriage. As *de facto* ruler during Maḥmūd's reign, he checked the forces of disintegration and infused vigour into the administration. The experience which he earned during his deputyship stood him in good stead when he inaugurated his own reign in 664/1266 as **GHIYĀTH** al-Dīn Balban, following the death of the childless Maḥmūd. Many and varied were the problems which beset Balban as he set to administer the country ruined by internal anarchy and threatened with foreign invasion. The treacherous manoeuvrings of the Turkish nobility, the growing intensity of the Hindu resistance and the mounting menace of the Mongol inroads, combined to create a situation which called for realistic approach, coupled with a will to take bold action.

As a typical oriental monarch, he advocated the theory of the divine right of the king and rigidly insisted on the observance of court ceremonial. For refractory nobles, he thought the assassin's dagger or poison to be the only remedy and he got rid of most of them by a liberal use of both. With firm determination and concentrated drive, he brought the Mewati insurgents to their knees and suppressed the uprising of the Hindus of the Dōāb. For repelling the Mongol marauders, he put his able and trusted son Muḥammad Khān in command of an elaborate defence arrangement along the north-western frontiers, and as a result, the advance of the Mongols was effectively halted. At home, the army was reorganised, an efficient espionage system perfected and art and literature liberally patronised. The celebrated Amīr Khusrāw [q.v.] was one of the literary luminaries of his court. As a result of this vigorous administration, perfect peace and prosperity prevailed over his kingdom, except for an insurrection in distant Bengal. After persistent flouting of the king's will by the governor of that province, Toghril Khān, Balban had to take personal charge of a strong military expedition which resulted in the rebellious governor being caught and slain. His adherents were taken by the Sulṭān to Lakhnawī [q.v.] where they were publicly punished by impalement. This

exemplary chastisement was also intended to be served as a stern warning to his son Bughrā Khān, whom he appointed governor of Bengal before returning to Dihlī.

Balban's beloved son Prince Muḥammad, whom he had designated his heir, was killed early in 685/1286 in a fierce engagement with the Mongols. This bereavement eventually brought about his own death a year later in 686/1287; this sounded the death-knell of the Slave-King dynasty, for the Khaldjīs took over the reins of the Dihlī sultanate only three years later.

Bibliography: Diyā al-Dīn Baranī, *Ta'rikh-i Firuz Shāhī*, Calcutta 1860-6; Shams-i Sirādj 'Afīf, *Ta'rikh-i Firuz Shāhī*, Calcutta 1888-9; Elliott and Dowson, *History of India*, iii.; Sir Wolseley Haig, *Cambridge history of India*, iii, Cambridge 1928; A.B.M. Ḥabībullah, *Foundation of Muslim rule in India*, Lahore 1945; A.L. Srivastava, *The sultanate of Delhi*, Agra 1953; P. Hardy, *Historians of medieval India*, London 1960, index; G. Hambly, *Who were the Chihilgānī, the forty slaves of Sulṭān Shams al-Dīn Ilutmish of Delhi?*, in *Iran, Jnal. of the British Inst. of Persian Studies*, x (1972), 57-62; Muḥammad 'Azīz Ahmad, *Political history and institutions of the early Turkish empire of Delhi (1206-1290)*, Indian edition, Delhi 1972.

(ABDUS SUBHAN)

SIDĪ BALLĀ, **ABŪ MUḤAMMAD** 'ABD ALLĀH IBN 'AZZŪZ AL-KURASHĪ AL-SHĀDHILĪ AL-MARRĀKUSHĪ, a cobbler of Marrakesh to whom thaumaturgic gifts were attributed and who died in an odour of sanctity in 1204/1789. His tomb, situated in his own residence at Bāb Aylān, has been continuously visited because of its reputation of curing the sick. Although he had not received a very advanced education, Ibn 'Azzūz nevertheless succeeded in leaving behind an abundant body of works, dealing mainly with mysticism and the occult sciences, but also with medicine. However, his works display hardly any originality, and none of them has interested a publisher despite the success in Morocco of his *Dhahāb al-kusūf wa-nafy al-zulmāt fī 'ilm al-tibb wa 'l-fabā'ir wa 'l-hikma*, a popular collection of therapeutic formulae (see L. Leclerc, *La chirurgie d'Abulcasis*, Paris 1861, ii, 307-8; H.P.J. Renaud, in *Initiation au Maroc*, Paris 1945, 183-4); his *Kashf al-rumūz* concerning medicinal plants is equally well-known. Out of his three works on mysticism, the *Tanbīh al-tilmīdh al-muhtādī* is perhaps the most original since it endeavours to reconcile the *sharī'a* with the *ḥakika* [q.v.]. Finally, in the field of the occult sciences, his *Lubāb al-hikma fī 'ilm al-hurūf wa-'ilm al-asmā' al-ilāhiyya*, of which at least one manuscript survives, is a treatise on practical magic and divinatory magic.

Bibliography: On the manuscripts of Sidī Ballā's works, see Brockelmann, S II, 704, 713; M. Lakhdar, *Vie littéraire*, 253-6; see also Ibn Sūda, *Dalīl Mu'arrikh al-Maghrib al-Akṣā*, Casablanca 1960, ii, 446, 449; 'A. Gannūn, *al-Nubūgh al-Maghribī*, Beirut 1961, i, 304-5, 310.

(Ed.)

BALYŪNASH, also **B.NYŪN.SH** (in Leo Africanus *Vignones*, in Marmol *Valdeviñones*), Portuguese Bulhões, Spanish Bullones, site of a once-important *karya* 8 km. W.N.W. of Ceuta, beneath Sierra Bullones (Djabal Mūsā). Its name is from the Spanish Romance *bunyólex* "vineyards", not Bū or Benī Yūnus/-ash, etc. Surrounded on land by mountains, Balyūnash lies in a small valley dropping sharply to a creek in a bay set in a narrow part

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of the Straits of Gibraltar. Bérard thought it the home of the Homeric Calypso's cave. Its Roman precursor has been named as Exilissa.

In Islam the area's history may well have begun with Mūsā b. Nuṣayr [q.v.], who is said to have crossed to Algeciras in 93/712 from what became Marsā Mūsā, later within the orbit of Balyūnash. Lévi-Provençal (*Hist. Esp. mus.*, ii, 260) associates the emergence of Balyūnash proper with a palace built among gardens by Ibn Abī 'Amir (Almanzor) and protected by a fortress on the shore. In the 5th/11th century Balyūnash was certainly known to the geographer al-Bakrī as a large, fertile and populous place. Thereafter its importance grew with that of Ceuta. In 1342 it witnessed a battle between ships from a Marinid-Naṣrid fleet and vessels from a Castilian fleet covering Alfonso XI as he besieged Algeciras. The heyday of Balyūnash—lauded as an Eden by poets from the 6th/12th century onwards—apparently came with the 8th/14th century. Details of its buildings, water resources, the range of its horticulture, arboriculture, etc. have been left by al-Anṣārī, a native of the area until 1415 when the Portuguese occupation of Ceuta brought about its desertion. In 1418 Balyūnash was briefly the estate of one João Pereira, a Portuguese courtier from Ceuta.

Mediaeval Ceuta, a relatively barren, isolated and arid peninsula, can be seen as the *raison d'être* of Balyūnash. A resort for princes and the rich, who had fortified villas there, the latter was certainly a rich source of fresh food and above all flowing water, which, in Marinid times at least, must have been fed directly to Ceuta as indeed it is today. Ruins still to be seen there bear marks of Andalusian architectural and artistic influence.

Bibliography: L. Torres Balbás, *Las ruinas de Belyuneš, in Tamuda*, v (1957), 275-96 (contains translation of al-Anṣārī's description, for Arabic text of which see *Hespéris*, xii (1931), *Tetuán* (1959), and ed. A. Ben Mansour, Rabat 1969; see also J. Vallvé's tr. in *Al-Andalus*, xxvii (1962); B. Pavón Maldonado, *Arte hispanomusulmán en Ceuta*, in *Cuadernos de la Alhambra*, vi (1970), 69-107 plus plates; G. Ayache, *Belounech et le destin de Ceuta*, in *Hespéris-Tamuda*, xiii (1972), 5-36; R. Ricard, *Études sur l'histoire des Portugais au Maroc, passim*; G.S. Colin, *Étymologies magribines*, in *Hespéris* (1926), 59 f. (on the name).

(J.D. LATHAM)

BĀNĪDĪRIDS or ABŪ DĀWŪDIDS, a minor dynasty, probably of Iranian but conceivably of Turkish origin, which ruled in Tukhārīstān and Badakhshān, sc. in what is now Afghan Turkestan, with a possible parallel branch in Khuttal, sc. in what is now the Tadzhik SSR, during the later 3rd/9th and early 4th/10th centuries.

The genealogy and history of the Bānīdīrīds are very imperfectly known, despite the attempts of J. Marquart, in his *Erānsahr*, 300-2, and R. Vasmer, in his *Beiträge zur muhammedanischen Münzkunde*, I. *Die Münzen der Abū Dāwūdiden*, in *Numismatische Zeitschr.*, N.F. xviii (1925), 49-62, to elucidate them through the sparse historical references and the meagre numismatic evidence. It seems that they sprang from one Bānīdīr, a contemporary of the early 'Abbāsīd caliphs al-Manṣūr and al-Mahdī, who had connections with Farghāna, and his son Hāshim (d. 243/857-8) was ruler of the mountain districts of Wakhs and Halāward on the upper Oxus. But the first member of the family known with any certainty is Dāwūd b. al-'Abbās, who was

governor of Balkh from 233/847-8 onwards, being still there when the Saffārid Ya'kūb b. al-Layth captured the city temporarily in 258/872. Dāwūd fled to Samarkand in Sāmānid territory (sc. to refuge with his suzerains ?) but returned to Balkh shortly afterwards and died there in 259/873 (Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*, 77-8). It was probably this Dāwūd (thus according to Vasmer, *op. cit.*, 50, *pace* Marquart), and not the Dāwūd b. Abī Dāwūd of the Khuttal local rulers (see below), who at one point in his career made a raid south of the Hindu Kush against the local ruler Firūz b. Kabk, who was probably from the family of Zunbils of Zābulistān (Ibn Khurrādādhbih, 180; cf. Mas'ūdi, *Murūj*, viii, 42, 127-8).

Dāwūd b. al-'Abbās's kinsman (? nephew) Abū Dāwūd Muḥammad b. Aḥmad ruled in Balkh from 260/874 onwards, after having already controlled Andarāba and Pandjīr in Badakhshān, the latter place important for its silver mines; during the years 259-61/873-5 Ya'kūb b. al-Layth took over Pandjīr and minted coins there, but in 261/875 Abū Dāwūd Muḥammad was once more able to issue his own coins from there (Vasmer, *Über die Münzen der Saffāriden und ihrer Gegner in Fārs und Hūrāsān*, in *Num. Zeitschr.*, N.F. xxiii (1930), 133-4). If the information of the local historian of Bukhārā Narshakhī is correct, Abū Dāwūd Muḥammad was still ruling in Balkh in 285/898 or 286/899, when 'Amr b. al-Layth summoned him, together with the Farīghunīd amīr of Gūzgān and the Sāmānid Ismā'īl b. Aḥmad, to obedience (*Tārīkh-i Bukhārā*, tr. Frye, *The history of Bukhara*, 87, cf. Vasmer, *Beiträge*, 54-5).

A parallel line of governors ruled north of the Oxus in Khuttal at this time [see KHUTTALĀN], and Ibn Khurrādādhbih, *loc. cit.*, describes the ruler of Khuttal in ca. 272/885-6, al-Hārith b. Asad, as the kinsman of Dāwūd b. al-'Abbās, governor of Balkh; on the evidence of certain extant coins of his, he was still ruling in 293/906-7. Nevertheless, Vasmer thought that the appellation of al-Hārith b. Asad's line to the main stock of the Bānīdīrīds was dubious. These Khuttal princelings minted coins in the early 4th/10th century, and the rebellious governor of Khurāsān Abū 'Alī Āghānī in 336/947 received help from the amīr Aḥmad b. Dja'far, whom Vasmer, however, attached to the direct offspring of Abū Dāwūd Muḥammad b. Aḥmad (*Beiträge*, 59 ff.), cf. Gardīzī, *Ẓayn al-akhbār*, ed. Nāzim, 36, ed. 'Abd al-Hayy Habībī, 157, and Barthold, *Turkestan*, 248. We do not know how long the power of these putative Bānīdīrīds in Khuttal lasted, although there was certainly a line of local rulers in Khuttal during the early Ghaznavid period, and a sister of Maḥmūd of Ghazna, the Hurra-yi Khuttalī of Bayhakī, was possibly married to one of these rulers, cf. Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids, their empire in Afghanistan and eastern Iran*, 138, 237, and idem, *The later Ghaznavids, splendour and decay. The dynasty in Afghanistan and northern India 1040-1186*, Edinburgh 1977, 148.

Bibliography: Given in the article. Vasmer, *Beiträge*, 53, has a conjectural genealogical table, followed by Zambaur in his *Manuel*, 202, 204.

(C.E. BOSWORTH)

BARBER [see ĀLEBĪ; HALLĀK, in Suppl.].

BARDALLA, ABŪ 'ABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD AL-'ARABĪ B. AḤMAD AL-ANDALUSĪ, prominent Moroccan *kādī* in the reign of Mawlay Ismā'īl [q.v.]. Born in Fās on 2 Djumādā II 1042/15 December 1632, he died there on 15 Radjab 1133/12 May 1721



and was interred outside Bāb Gīsa (al-Djīsa) on the left, or Karawīyyīn, bank of the Wādī Fās.

Mainly because of its non-Arabic origin, "Bardalla" is vocalised differently in the Arabic sources, and, in some, one encounters corrupt forms such as in Bin Dalla. Understandably, we find inconsistencies in European spellings (Bordola, Bordala, Berdella, etc.). This last form most nearly represents the pronunciation of the family name as found in 20th century Fās, and it closely accords with the only two forms which—on the basis of scrutiny of manuscripts and inquiry from informed local sources—can be considered acceptable, viz. Bardalla, Burdalla. The Andalusian origin of Muḥammad al-'Arabī's family suggests that the etymology is to be sought in a Romance diminutive in *-ello* of an epithet corresponding to, say, the modern Castilian *pardo* "brown", "dusky". Such a name is quite probable (see *FILĀHA*, vol. iii, 901, col. 2, and cf. N.gh.rāl.h < Negrello, and on *-uh* > *a* (*lā' marbūṭa*), cf. also Ibn Sīda [q.v.] < Ibn Sīduh).

A respected jurist and teacher, Muḥammad al-'Arabī seems to have been a popular and influential religious leader. During the first half of the 17th century and the first half of the 18th, notably between 1088/1677 and 1118/1706-7, we see him, against the background of the mosque of al-Karawīyyīn [q.v.], serving in various religious capacities—*muftī*, superintendent of religious endowments (*nāzir al-awḳāf/ahbās*), *khaṭīb* and *imām*, and, last but not least, *kādī* of Fās (*kādī 'l-djāmā'a*). In this last office his career was somewhat erratic because of dismissals and reinstatements by the sultan. Thus from 1088/December 1677, when he replaced one Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Madīdjāstī, he had at least five or six separate terms of office. His initial troubles seem to have stemmed from the attempts of al-Madīdjāstī to cling to office and his later ones from the effects of local politics and rivalries. In 1116/1704 he was denounced to Mawlāy Ismā'īl for performing the *ṣalāt* over his dead rebel son, Mawlāy Muḥammad al-'Ālim, but the sultan's wrath can have done him little harm, for we find him leading the Eclipse Prayer at al-Karawīyyīn in 1118/1706. A man of evident integrity, he is described in one source as "the last just *kādī* of Fez".

Bibliography: In addition to Lévi-Provençal, *Chorfa*, 306 (see references in n. 1), 309, 312, 403, see the new edition and English translation, by Norman Cigar, of al-Kādīrī's *Nashr al-mathānī* (= part I of a D. Phil. thesis, Oxford 1976 (details in *Bulletin of the British Society for Middle Eastern Studies*, 3 (1976), 43 f.)), i (tr.), 23 and n. 8, 26, 29, 30 f., 35, 46, 54 f.; ii, 94, etc.; Mawlāy Sulaymān, *K. 'Ināyat ūlī 'l-madīd bi-dhikr ūl al-Fāsī b. al-Dhadd*, Fās 1347, 27, 26, 40, etc.; al-Nāṣirī, *K. al-Istīksā'*, vii, Casablanca 1957, 54, 91, 106, 107, 113; In Ibn Sīda, *Dalīl mu'arrikh al-Maghrib al-Akṣā* there are references to parts of two works preserved in the private library of Muḥammad b. Aḥmad Bardalla in Fās, one dealing with the early 'Alawids, the other treating of the *ṣulahā* of Fās, but they seem to be the work of Muḥammad al-'Arabī's son despite the index reference (*Dalīl*, Casablanca 1960, 1965, i, 42 (no. 69), 145 (no. 525), ii, 608 (index), cf. ii, 441 (no. 2034)). (J.D. LATHAM)

BĀRHA SAYYIDS (Bārha from the Hindī numeral *bārha* "twelve"), the name applied from Akbar's reign onwards to those in possession of a certain group of twelve villages in the Dō'āb (Muzaffarnagar district, U.P.).

After the establishment of the Īkhānīd Mongol kingdom in Persia and 'Irāk in ca. 656/1258, many Sayyid families migrated to India and obtained grants of villages in the area extending from the Pandjāb to Bihār. Some of them were endowed with qualities of leadership and not only exercised effective control over their own villages, but rallied the support of the neighbouring village leaders, generally Hindus. The authenticity of their claims to be Sayyids was always suspect, but their chivalry and heroic achievements made them indispensable to the Dihlī *sultāns*. The ancestor of the Bārha Sayyids, Abu 'l-Farah, left his original home in Wāṣīṭ [q.v.], in 'Irāk, with his twelve sons at the end of the 7th/13th or in the 8th/14th century, and migrated to India, where he obtained four villages in Sirhind [q.v.]. By the 10th/16th century some of Abu 'l-Farah's descendants had taken over the Bārha villages in Muzaffarnagar. In the reign of Akbar, the Bārha Sayyids occupied a place of distinction, and nine of them held *manṣabs* [q.v.] ranging from 2,000 to 250, the total family *manṣab* being 8,550, a very high position in the Mughal hierarchy. Naturally, with the Bārha villages as a nucleus, the Sayyids owned extensive *ḥājīrs* [q.v.] in the region. Their pride in their Indian birth greatly appealed to the local Hindu leaders, who helped them to raise the strong contingents they led in the Mughal imperial wars. Occupying a distinguished place in the vanguard, like many Rājput warriors, they preferred to fight as footsoldiers.

By the reign of Awrangzīb, although ostensibly they maintained their traditional loyalty, they were impelled by ambition to join in the scramble for political power. For example, Sayyid Hasan 'Alī (afterwards 'Abd Allāh Ḳuṭb al-Mulk) and his younger brother Husayn 'Alī, known as the Sayyid brothers, by helping Farrukh-Siyar [q.v.] succeed to the throne in 1124/1712, obtained for themselves the highest civil and military positions in the government of their puppet emperor. They abolished the *ḥijz* and tried to conciliate the Rājputs; but by giving too much administrative power to their favourite, Lāla Ratan Čand, a Vaishya, they dislocated the entire administrative machinery. Finally, in 9 Djumādā II 1131/29 April 1719, they deposed and strangled Farrukh-Siyar. They then raised four puppet rulers to the throne, one after the other. However, early in the reign of the fourth puppet emperor, Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad Shāh [q.v.], they and their supporters were defeated by an opposition party under the leadership of Nizām al-Mulk [q.v.]. On 6 Dhu 'l-Hijdja 1132/9 October 1720, Husayn 'Alī was assassinated, and, on 14 Muḥarram 1133/15 November 1720, 'Abd Allāh was defeated near Āgra, taken captive and killed in his Dihlī prison on 1 Muḥarram 1135/12 October 1722.

The Bārha Sayyids were Shī'īs, and many Sunnī Sayyid families, such as that of Shāh Walī Allāh Dihlawī [q.v.], who lived in their neighbourhood, exerted themselves to ensure that the Bārha Sayyids did not recover their political power.

Bibliography: Besides the works cited in *BAHĀDUR SHĀH I, DĪJĀNDĀR SHĀH and FARRUKH-SIYAR*, see Munawwar 'Alī Khān (ed.), *Istīṣāl-i Sādāt-i Bārha*, India Office Ms. 4002; H. Blochmann (tr.) and D.C. Phillot (ed.), *Ā'in-i Akbarī*, Calcutta 1939, i; Shāh Walī Allāh, *Maktūbāt-i Shāh Walī Allāh*, Raḍā Library, Rāmpūr (U.P.), *Sulūk Fārsī* no. 604; S.A.A. Rizvi, *Religious and intellectual history of the Muslims in Akbar's reign*, Delhi 1975.

(S.A.A. Rizvi)



BĀRIZ, **DJABAL**, a mountainous and, in early Islamic times, apparently wooded region of the Kirmān province in Iran, described by the mediaeval historians and geographers as the haunt of predatory peoples like the Kūfīs or Kūfš and the Balūc [see BALŪCISTĀN, KIRMĀN and KUFŠ]. It is the steep-sided granite chain running in a NW-SE direction from the mountain massif of central Kirmān (sc. the massif which culminates in such peaks as the Kūh-i Hazār and the Kūh-i Lālazār), to the south of the towns of Bam [q.v.] and Fahradj; the geographers count it as amongst the *garmsirāt* or warm regions [see KĪSILĀK] of Kirmān province. The Djabal Bāriz rises to 12,450 feet, and the *Hudūd al-ʿālam* states that it possessed mines of lead, copper and lodestone.

The actual name appears variously in the sources as Bāriz, Bāridjān, etc., the modern form being Kūh-i Bāričī, and appears to be old. Herodotus mentions Περτικάντιοι who paid tribute to Darius and supplied infantry for Xerxes' army (cf. Marquart, *Erānšahr*, 31), and Tabarī, i, 894, says that Khusrav Anūshirwān re-established Sāsānid control over the people of al-Bāriz after the anarchy of Kubādī's last years. Until the early ʿAbbāsīd period, the Djabal Bāriz remained a stronghold of Zoroastrianism. The Kūfīs or "mountaineers" of the region resisted the attempts of Ya'kūb b. Layth to assert Šaffārid control over Kirmān, and it was probably only after this time (sc. the later 3rd/9th century) that Islam began to penetrate there. The geographers of the following century describe the people of the mountain as savage robbers and brigands, whom the punitive expeditions of Ya'kūb b. Layth, the Būyids Mu'izz al-Dawla and ʿAḍud al-Dawla, and the Saldjūk Kāwurd b. Čaghri Beg quelled only temporarily (see C.E. Bosworth, *The Kūfichis or Qufs in Persian history, in Iran. Jnl. of the British Institute of Persian Studies*, xiv (1976), 9-17). Only two villages, Kaftar and Dihak, are mentioned as market centres for the mountain. The Djabal Bāriz long remained an inaccessible place, and Sir Percy Sykes describes it as still being a haunt of thieves when he was British Consul in Kirmān (*A fifth journey in Persia, in Geogr. Jnl.*, xxviii (1906), 433).

Bibliography: In addition to the references given in the article, see Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm, *Tārīkh-i Saldjūkiyān-i Kirmān*, ed. M. Bastānī-Pārizī, Tehran 1964, 6, n. 1; *Hudūd al-ʿālam*, tr. Minorsky, 65, 125; Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 316-17; *Admiralty handbook, Persia*, London 1945, 88, 95, 98, 106, 391; For European travellers in the region, see A. Gabriel, *Die Erforschung Persiens*, Vienna 1952. (C.E. BOSWORTH)

AL-BARKĪ, *nisba* of a Shīʿī family of which one member, Abū Djaʿfar Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Khālīd b. ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī, enjoys a considerable renown in Imāmī circles. When the ancestor of the family, Muḥammad b. ʿAlī, was imprisoned and put to death by Yūsuf b. ʿUmar al-Thakāfi (governor of ʿIrāq from 120/738 to 126/744 [q.v.]) following the suppression of the revolt of Zayd b. ʿAlī (122/740 [q.v.]), his son ʿAbd al-Raḥmān escaped and established himself at Barka, in the region of Kumm, whence the ethnic name al-Barkī, to which there is sometimes added, for the purpose of avoiding confusion, the name al-Kummī (Yāqūt, *Buldān*, i, 572, s.v. "Barka", gives the *nisba* precisely, but in the Egyptian edition of his *Muʿdjam al-udabāʾ*, iv, 132, al-Barkī becomes al-Rakḳī). ʿAbd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad was accompanied by his

son Khālīd, who was still a child; the son of this last, Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad (correcting Yāqūt, *Udabāʾ*, loc. cit.), would appear to be the first member of this family to participate in the transmission of Shīʿī tradition. A supporter of ʿAlī al-Riḍā (d. 203/818 [q.v.]) and of his son Muḥammad al-Djāwād (d. 219/834) whom he certainly visited, he was the author, (if we are to believe Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, Cairo ed. 309-10; cf. al-Tūsī, *Fihrist*, 153) of a number of works, sc. the *Kitāb al-Awāʾi*, *K. al-Tabʾira*, *K. al-Riḍāl* (on transmitters of traditions ascribed to ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib) and the *K. al-Mahāsīn*, which poses an interesting problem of composition and attribution. If we are to judge by the details supplied by Ibn al-Nadīm this *K. al-Mahāsīn* would be a collection of "books" (*kutub*), that is, of chapters constituting a sort of encyclopaedia of knowledge which a good Shīʿī would be obliged to possess in order to conform to tradition: Kurʾān, history, geography, ethics, divination from dreams, etc. However, Ibn al-Nadīm, who probably did not have the opportunity to examine all these *kutub*, numbers about eighty of them and adds that the son of Muḥammad, Abū Djaʿfar Aḥmad, composed three works of his own: the *K. al-Ihtidāʾī* (a subject already dealt with by the preceding), *K. al-Safar* and *K. al-Buldān*, "more developed than that of his father."

Now the author of the *Fihrist* is, curiously, the only one to attribute a first version of the *K. al-Mahāsīn* to Muḥammad b. Khālīd. Yāqūt totally ignores this individual, whom he mentions neither in the *Muʿdjam al-buldān*, nor in the section of the *Muʿdjam al-udabāʾ* (iv, 132-6) devoted exclusively to Aḥmad b. Muḥammad and probably incomplete; basing himself, without admitting it, on the *Fihrist* of al-Tūsī (20-2), he lists a total of ninety-six titles, not specifying that they constitute the *K. al-Mahāsīn* mentioned above, but giving the impression all the same that the number of these *kutub* is variable and asserting that he has personal knowledge of those that he enumerates; he judges this Barkī "worthy of credence, reliable" (*thika*), although he reproaches him for relying on feeble transmitters (*duʿafāʾ*) and for taking as a basis *hadīths* transmitted directly by representatives of the second generation (*marāṣil*).

The same reproach is directed at him—and in the same terms—by Shīʿī writers who describe how he was temporarily expelled from Kumm because of the defects of his methods; these authors ignore too the father of Aḥmad; they declare that this last was very wise and learned, composed verse and had many disciples (although the ones that they mention by name mostly belong to a later period); they make him an associate of Muḥammad al-Djāwād (which would seem hard to accept) or of ʿAlī al-Hādī (d. 254/868) and a contemporary of al-Muʿtaṣim (218-27/833-42); they make no mention of his successors; and they suggest that he died in 274/887-8 or in 280/893-4.

The articles which the Shīʿī *najāliyyūn* devote to him are conveniently reproduced by Muḥsin al-Amīn al-ʿAmilī in his *Aṣyān al-Shīʿa* (ix, 266) and most completely by al-Sayyid Muḥammad Šādiḳ Baḥr al-ʿUlūm, who was responsible for the second edition of the *Kitāb al-Mahāsīn* (Nadjaḥ 1384/1964, two volumes bound in one; the first edition, by Djaʿfāl al-Dīn al-Husaynī, Tehran 1370 (?) remained inaccessible to the author of the present article).

It must in fact be said that this celebrated *K. al-Mahāsīn*, which appears to have enjoyed great influence over a long period, has not survived in an



integral form, although it has not totally disappeared, and eleven of its "books" have been preserved: (1) *al-Aṣḥkāl wa 'l-ḥarā'in* (11 *bābs*); (2) *Thāwāb al-a'māl* (123 *bābs*); (3) *Ikāb al-a'māl* (70 *bābs*); (4) *al-Safwa wa 'l-nūr wa 'l-raḥma* (47 *bābs*); (5) *Maṣābīḥ al-ḡulam* (49 *bābs*); (6) *al-'Ilal* (1 *bab*); (7) *al-Safar* (39 *bābs*); (8) *al-Ma'ākil* (136 *bābs*); (9) *al-Mā'* (20 *bābs*); (10) *al-Manāfi'* (6 *bābs*); (11) *al-Marāfiḥ* (16 *bābs*). These titles almost all appear, in the same form, in the ancient lists, where there is also reference to *kitābs* derived from *bābs* in the published chapters. So we possess one-sixth or one-seventh of the original work, which is essentially a collection of *ḥadīths* attributed to the Prophet and to the *Ahl al-Bayt*, in particular to al-Husayn b. 'Alī b. Abī Tālib, simply classified and reproduced without any interference on the part of the compiler. To judge by what has survived, the collection constituted a sort of *muṣannaḥ* of a particular type grouping together all the traditional elements that the Imāmī considered to be essential, both in matters relating to the faith and in questions of everyday life. All the same, a certain lack of order dominates the classification of traditions, so for example we find *ḥadīths* concerning bread in the chapter devoted to water (no. 9), whereas we would expect to find them in the preceding chapter (*al-Ma'ākil*), which is extensive and contains references to a long list of foodstuffs. The titles enumerated in the lists give the impression that the author did not neglect literary formation, poetry and other cultural fields, which makes the more regrettable the loss of so many chapters, no doubt considered less indispensable by posterity. It is probable that the *kitābs* formed independent fascicules, which would explain both how they could be so easily lost and why authors cannot agree either on their number or their order.

A comparison between Ibn al-Nadīm's list and all the others might perhaps allow an insight into the respective roles of the father and of the son in the compilation of the *Kitāb al-Maḥāsīn*, but this would be a hazardous enterprise and ultimately of doubtful benefit. In other respects, the presentation of these lists is such that it is impossible to see clearly whether Muḥammad or his son wrote works that were not included in the composition of the *K. al-Maḥāsīn*; it is however possible that one or the other left biographies of *riḍwāl*, and al-Mas'ūdī (*Murūdj*, i, 12 = § 8) mentions among the sources, attributing it to Aḥmad, a *Kitāb al-Tabyān* which no doubt had a historical or a hiero-historical character.

Bibliography: (in addition to references in the article): Khaṭīb Baghdādī, *Ta'rikh*, v, 4; Kummī, *Ta'rikh-i Kum*, 277; Ibn Ḥajjar, *Lisān al-Mizān*, i, 262; Shī'ī authors (including those whose notices are given in the introd. of the *K. al-Maḥāsīn*): Nadjāshī, *Riḍwāl*, 55; Nūrī, *Mustadrak al-wasā'il*, iii, 552; Karbalā'ī, *Muntahā 'l-makāl*, lith. 1302, 41, 42; Mīrzā Muḥ. Astarābādī, *Manḥaj al-makāl*, lith. Tehran 1307; Māmakānī, *Tankīḥ al-makāl*, 82-4; Khānsārī, *Rawḍāt al-djannāt*, lith. Tehran 1306, 13; Modern biographers: Kahhālā, ii, 97; Ziriklī, i 195; see also F. Rosenthal, *A history of Muslim historiography*², 501.

(CH. PELLAT)

BARŞAWMĀ AL-ZĀMIR, IŞHĀK, famous flute player in early 'Abbāsid times, died after 188/804. He was a dark-coloured *muwallad* of humble origin, son of a "Nabataean" woman from Kūfa. Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī brought him to Baghdād, gave him an education in "Arab music" (*al-ghinā' al-'arabī*) and introduced him to Hārūn al-Rashīd. He accompanied

the singers in the concerts at court, belonging first to the second class (*tabaka*) of court musicians, and later on was promoted by the caliph to the first class. Işhāk al-Mawṣilī knew "nobody being more competent in their profession than four persons: al-Aṣma'ī as an expert in poetry, al-Kisā'ī in grammar, Maṣṣūr Zalzal as a lute player and Barşawmā as a flautist".

Bibliography: Aghānī³, v, 176, 227, 241, 255, vi, 164-5, 297, 303, 304, xix, 294, xx, 358; Djāhiz, *Ḥayawān*, vi, 17; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, *Ikḍ*, vi, Cairo 1949, 31-2, 37; Pseudo-Djāhiz, *Tādj*, 39, 41; Ibn al-Kifṭī, *Inbāḥ al-nuwa't*, ii, 272-73; H.G. Farmer, *History of Arabian music*, 94, 116.

(E. NEUBAUER)

BASBĀS is the fennel (*Foeniculum vulgare*), belonging to the family of umbellal plants. The term *bisbās*, used in the Maghrib for fennel, indicates in the Eastern countries the red seed-shell of the nutmeg (*Myristica fragrans*), known as Macis, while the term *basbāsa*, not to be confused with the two other terms, indicates only nutmeg in the entire Arab world. The most often used synonym of *basbās* is *rāziyānādj*, borrowed from the Persian. The complete nomenclature, also taken from other oriental languages, has been brought together by I. Löw, *Die Flora der Juden*, iii, 460-5. The Greek term μάραθ(ρ)ov is found as *mārathūn* (and variants) in the Arabic medical inventories. Like in Dioscorides, this term indicates the garden fennel (*basbās bustānī*), *Anethum foeniculum*, while *ιππομάραθον* (*ibbūmārathūn*, and variants, strictly speaking "horse fennel"), which is mostly mentioned in connection with the garden fennel, apparently stands for the wild fennel. The term *basbās djabālī*, likewise used for the latter, is confusing, for the "mountain fennel" (*Seseli*) does not belong to the genus *Foeniculum*. Other kinds mentioned cannot as yet be determined.

The volatile oil extracted from the fruits of the fennel has a strongly fragrant scent and a bitter, camphor-like smell. It loosens phlegm and was, in the form of fennel-tea or fennel-honey, used, as it is now, against coughs and flatulence. A decoction of the flower stalk was considered to be a diuretic and to further menstruation; mixed with wine it was used as a medicament against snake bites, while the pressed juice is praised as an ophthalmic remedy. The leaves and fruits were added to food as a spice. Aṣma'ī counts them among the precious spices (*Nabāt*, ed. Ghunaym, Cairo 1392/1972, 13 ff.). Abū Ḥanīfa al-Dīnawarī praises their aroma, remarks that the plant thrives on wild soil and proves both observations with verses (*Nabāt. The Book of Plants*, ed. B. Lewin, 59 f.). Fennel has been used as spice from Old Egyptian times until today. Ibn al-'Awwām consecrates a special chapter to the cultivation of the fennel (*Kitāb al-Filāḥa*, tr. Clément-Mullet, ii, Paris 1866, 250 f.). Curious is the assertion of Nuwayrī (*Nihāya*, xi, 82), that vipers and snakes, when leaving their holes in spring, rub their eyes at the fennel shrub in order to be able to see again; the same is mentioned repeatedly by Kazwīnī (see Wiedemann, *Aufsätze zur arab. Wissenschaftsgeschichte*, ii, 336, 386).

Bibliography: Dioscorides, *Materia medica*, ed. Wellmann, ii, Berlin 1906, 81 f. (= lib. iii, 70, 71); *La "Materia medica" de Dioscorides*, ii (Arabic tr.) ed. Dubler and Terès, Tetuán 1952, 271; *The medical formulary or Aqrābādīn of al-Kindī*, tr. M. Levey, Madison etc. 1966, 242; Suwaydī, *Simāt*, Ms. Paris ar. 3004, fols. 49a, 256a; Ibn Bīklārīsh, *Musta'inī*, Ms. Naples, Bibl.



Naz. iii, F. 65, fol. 82b; Ibn al-Djazzār, *ʿItmād*, Ms. Ayasofya 3564, fol. 58a-b; Maimonides, *Šarḥ asmāʾ al-ʿuḳḳār*, ed. Meyerhof, no. 351; Anonymous [Abu ʿl-ʿAbbās al-Nabātī b. al-Rūmiyya?], Ms. Nuruosmaniye 3589, fol. 102a-b; Ibn al-Bayṭār, *Djāmiʿ*, Būlāḳ 1291, i, 93, ii, 134 f., tr. Leclerc, nos. 286, 1019; Ghassānī, *Muʿtamad*, ed. M. al-Sakḳāʾ, Beirut 1975, 23 f. and 182-4; *Die pharmakolog. Grundsätze des Abu Mansur ... Harawi*, tr. A. Achundow, Halle 1893, 167, 210; *Tuhfat al-ahbāb*, ed. Renaud and Colin, Paris 1934, no. 358; Rāzī, *Hawī*, xx, Ḥaydarābād 1387, 535-9 (no. 378); Ibn Sīnā, *Kānūn*, Būlāḳ, i, 277, and 429 f.; Ibn Hubal, *Mukhtārāt*, Ḥaydarābād 1362, ii, 178; Dāwūd al-Antākī, *Tadhkira*, Cairo 1371, i, 74 f., 165; H.G. Kircher, *Die "einfachen Heilmittel" aus dem "Handbuch der Chirurgie" des Ibn al-Quff*, Bonn 1967, no. 34; W. Schmucker, *Die pflanzliche und mineralische Materia medica im Firdaus al-hikma des ʿAlī ibn Sahl Rabban at-Tabarī*, Bonn 1969, no. 318; F.A. Flückiger, *Pharmakognosie des Pflanzenreiches*, Berlin 1891, 948-50. (A. DIETRICH)

BASHKARD, **BASHĀKARD**, Europeanised form **BASHKARDIA**, a region of south-eastern Iran, falling administratively today within the 8th *ustān* or province of Kirmān and in the *shahristān* or district of *Djiruft*, of which it comprises one of the nine constituent rural areas (*dihistānḥā*), see *Farhang-i djuḡhrāfiyā-yi Irān*, viii, Tehran 1332/1953, 49. It is the mountainous hinterland of western Makrān, lying to the east of Mīnāb near the Straits of Hormuz and bounded on the north by the southern fringes of the *Djāz-Muryān* depression; the peaks of the Māriz range within it rise to just over 7,000 feet. The whole region has been, and still is, extremely remote and inaccessible, and only in recent decades has a measure of control from Tehran been extended over a people formerly much given to raiding and brigandage. The main settlement is at Angohrān, but the population is everywhere sparse; the *Admiralty handbook, Persia*, London 1945, mentions 100 reeds huts at Angohrān, and a total population for Bashkardia of an estimated 8,000 families; the *Farhang*, loc. cit., mentions 108 settlements (*ābādī*), with a population of ca. 6,700.

The people of Bashkardia are ethnically Iranian and *Shīʿī* in *madhhab*; at least until very recently, the social structure there included a slave element, both negroid and native Iranian. It was first speculated by Tomaschek that the modern Bashkardis could be the descendants of the mediaeval Islamic *Kūfīs* or *Kuḷs*, the predatory people of Kirmān and Makrān provinces often linked in the sources with the *Balūč* [see *BALŪ-CISTĀN* and *KUḶS*]; for a discussion of this, see C.E. Bosworth, *The Kūfichs or Quḷs in Persian history*, in *Iran. Jnl. of the British Institute of Persian Studies*, xiv (1976), 9 ff. The actual name *Bashkard* (*Bashākard* is a form apparently exhibiting a pseudo-Arabic broken plural) is unattested till the mid-19th century, when the first Europeans, Col. E. Mockler and E.A. Floyer, visited the region; Dr. I. Gershevitch, who stayed in Bashkardia for some months in 1956, has nevertheless suggested that the name might derive from the dominant Persian tribe, to which the Achaemenids themselves belonged, of the *Pasargadae*, located by Ptolemy in Carmania (= Kirmān). The *Bashkardī* language is very aberrant from New Persian, and exists in two forms, a northern and a southern group of dialects. It contains certain old Iranian words not surviving elsewhere, e.g. the hardwood

djog or *djakh*, identifiable with the O. Pers. *yakā*-wood used in the construction of Darius's palace at Susa, see Gershevitch, *Sissoo at Susa* (O. Pers. *yakā* = *Dalbergia Sissoo Roxb.*), in *BSOAS*, xix (1957), 317-20, xx (1958), 174.

Bibliography: The main items in the exiguous bibliography of Bashkardia are given by Bosworth in *art. cit.*, 11, n. 13; of special note are the works of Floyer and A. Gabriel, and most recently, of Gershevitch, *Travels in Bashkardia*, in *Jnl. of the Royal Central Asian Society*, xli (1959), 213-24, and F. Balsan, *Étrange Baloutchistan*, Paris 1969; Linguistic material was collected by Gershevitch, but has not yet been published in *toto*; for sections of it so far accessible in print, see Bosworth, *art. cit.*, 13, n. 20.

(C.E. BOSWORTH)

BASHKUT, **DJEWĀD FEHMĪ**, modern Turkish CEVAT FEHMİ BAŞKUT, Turkish playwright and journalist (1905-71). He was born in Edirne and educated at an Istanbul high school, choosing journalism as his career when he was still a very young man. He began to write plays in the early 1940s and became very popular. Of his 23 plays, most of which were performed in the city theatre (*Şehir tiyatrosu*) of Istanbul, the best known are *Küçük şehir* ("Little town") 1946; *Paydos* ("Break") 1949; *Harput'ta bir Amerikalı* ("An American in Harput") 1956; and *Buzlar çözülmeyen* ("Before the thaw") 1964. His plays are sentimental and unsophisticated renderings of human dramas and comic situations, with an edifying approach. He writes in an easy style at times tending to be somewhat literary and pedantic.

Bibliography: Metin And, *Ellinci yılın Türk tiyatrosu*, Istanbul 1973, 438 and index; Behçet Necatigil, *Edebiyatımızda isimler sözlüğü*, 1975, s.v.

(FAHİR İZ)

BASQUES [see **BASHKUNISHI**].

BATRIYYA or **BUTRIYYA**, the pejorative designation for a group of moderate *Shīʿīs* in the time of Muḥammad al-Bākir (d. 117/735) and for the moderate wing of the early Zaydiyya [*q.v.*] who did not repudiate the caliphates of Abū Bakr and ʿUmar. Their position was opposed to the more radical *Shīʿī* stand of the *Djārūdiyya* [*q.v.*], who considered ʿAlī the only legitimate immediate successor of the Prophet. The name is most often derived in the sources from the nickname *al-Abtar* of Kathīr al-Nawwāʾ and explained as referring to their "mutilating" (*batt*), either of the legitimate rights of the family of the Prophet, or of the recitation of the *bas-mala* in the prayer which they performed only with a subdued voice, or of the caliphate of ʿUthmān, which they repudiated for the last six years of his reign. The first of these explanations is clearly the most plausible one and points to an origin of the name in internal *Shīʿī* controversy.

Imāmī sources name the *Kūfāns* Kathīr al-Nawwāʾ, Sālim b. Abī Ḥafṣa (d. 137/754-5), al-Ḥakam b. ʿUṭayba (d. 112/730 or 115/733), Salama b. Kuhayl (d. 122/740), and Abū ʿl-Mikdād Thābit al-Ḥaddād as the chiefs of the Batriyya in the time of Muḥammad al-Bākir, and describe them as not recognising his full rank as *imām* and sole authority in religion and as criticising him for ambiguities in his teaching. ʿUmar b. Riyāh, who at first recognised the imāmate of al-Bākir, later also renounced him and joined the Batriyya after he had found al-Bākir contradicting a previous statement and proffering *taḳīyya* as an excuse.

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Though only a few of the leaders of the Batriyya are expressly mentioned as participants in the rising of Zayd b. 'Alī in 122/740, it may be assumed that the early Batriyya generally inclined towards supporting him, as his attitude toward the first caliphs was close to their own. The Zaydī Batriyya held that 'Alī was the most excellent of men after the Prophet, but admitted the legitimacy of the imāmates of Abū Bakr and 'Umar, since 'Alī had voluntarily pledged allegiance to them. Concerning 'Uthmān, they either abstained from judgment or renounced him for the last six years of his reign. Unlike the Djarūdiyya, they did not ascribe a superior knowledge in religious matters to the descendants of 'Alī, but accepted the *ḥadīth* transmitted in the Muslim community and admitted the use of individual reasoning (*idjtiḥād, ra'y*) in order to close gaps in the *Shari'a*. Thus they did not adopt the specifically Shī'ī theses in various points of the ritual and law and belonged to the traditionalist school of Kūfa in their *fikh* doctrine. A leader of the Batriyya in the revolts of Zayd and of Ibrāhīm b. 'Abd Allāh (145/762-3) was the traditionist and *faqīh* Hārūn b. Sa'īd al-'Idjlī, whose supporters, known as the 'Idjliyya, were probably recruited from among his tribesmen. Equally prominent among the Zaydī Batriyya was the traditionist and theologian al-Ḥasan b. Šāliḥ b. Ḥayy [q.v.] (d. ca. 168/784-5), who supported the candidacy of Zayd's son 'Isā to the imāmate and concealed him from the 'Abbāsīd authorities. 'Isā b. Zayd, in spite of his preference of the Shī'ī position in some ritual matters (see L. Vecchia Vaglieri, *Divagazioni su due Rivolte Alidi*, in *A Francesco Gabrieli*, Rome 1964, 328 ff.), generally inclined to Batrī views. A son of al-Ḥasan b. Šāliḥ b. Ḥayy led a group of Kūfan Batriyya in the revolt of Yahyā b. 'Abd Allāh in the mountains of Daylamān [see DAYLAM] (ca. 176/792), but was soon alienated by Yahyā, who, espousing strictly Shī'ī ritual, disapproved of some of his practices. Also to be counted among the chiefs of the Batriyya is the *kalām* theologian Sulaymān b. Djarīr al-Rakkī [q.v.], although his supporters were often mentioned as a group separate from the Batriyya. He participated in the debate about the imāmate in the circle of the Barmakids, and a community of his followers survived in 'Anāt for some decades. In the 3rd/9th century, the Batriyya quickly disintegrated as the Kūfan traditionalist school was absorbed in Sunnism, while within the Zaydiyya, the Djarūdi views concerning the imāmate prevailed and Zaydī *fikh* was elaborated on the basis of the doctrine of the family of the Prophet.

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(W. MADELUNG)

AL-BATTĪ [see ABU 'L-ḤASAN AL-BATTĪ, in Suppl.].

BAWRAK (*būrak*) is natron, sesqui-carbonate of soda, a compound of various salts containing mainly sodium carbonate (soda). Derived from the Persian *būra*, the term does not indicate borax in the modern sense (Natrium biboracicum), but has given its name to it. The Arabic lexicographers know the *bawrak mā'i*, b. *ḡabālī*, b. *armanī*, b. *miṣrī* (= *natrūn*), b. *al-sāgha* ("borax of the goldsmiths", Chrysocolla), b. *al-khabbāzīn* (or: *al-khubz*) and b. *ifrīkī*. Since unbiased elucidations of these terms are almost completely lacking, this enumeration is almost valueless. Al-Khwārazmī (*Maḳātil*, ed. van Vloten, 260) mentions, furthermore, the *bawrak zarāwandī* and also the *tinkār* which is made artificially; both are known as tincal until today. Further information about the nomenclature, also in other languages, is given in Moattar, *Ismā'il Gorgānī* (see *Bibl.*). In his cosmography, Dimashkī distinguishes between *bawrak* and *tinkār*; he says that both have a natural and an artificial kind and that both kinds of the latter were used in melting and purifying minerals (Wiedemann, *Aufsätze zur arab. Wissenschaftsgeschichte*, i, 713). The fact that there existed a class of borax-traders (*bawrakī*) indicates that trade in these various sodium compounds required specialised knowledge. This trade was apparently lucrative: Ibn Hawkal, 346 (tr. Kramers-Wiet, ii, 339) mentions a borate (*milḥ al-bawrak*) which was delivered from Lake Van to the bakers in 'Irāk and Mesopotamia (*bawrak al-khabbāzīn*, see above); this denomination comes from the bakers who used to coat the bread with borate dissolved in water before putting it into the furnace, in order to give it a prettier and more shiny appearance. The particularly valuable *bawrak al-sāgha* (see above) was exported with great profit from Kabudhān to 'Irāk and Syria.

The books on mineralogy mention the numerous find-spots and kinds of *bawrak*. Like salt it is found either as a liquid in water or as a solid on the surface of the soil. It is white, grey or red, and causes all kinds of solid substances to melt. *Natrūn*, a kind of *bawrak*, cleanses the body and beautifies the skin; it is also used in chemistry as a reagent against impurities (J. Ruska, *Das Steinbuch des Aristoteles*, Heidelberg 1912, Arab. text 118, tr. 173).

In antiquity *bawrak* (*natrūn*) was known as *νίτρον*, which is different from our saltpetre (Nitrum). At that time, as in Islamic times and nowadays, it was gained from lakes which have no discharge, in which it was left behind as a gleaming crust as a result of evaporation. According to Ḡhassānī and Ibn al-Kuff (see *Bibl.*), *natrūn* is "Armenian borax", but they also say that the best *natrūn* comes from the Egyptian saltlakes. It was widely used in therapeutics, especially to treat skin-diseases like itching, scaly eruptions, scabies, pimples and boils, and also to cleanse fresh wounds. Dissolved in wine, honey or water, it purifies dirty and purulent sores. Taken internally, it has a loosening effect, softens the bowel motions and dispels flatulence. In al-Kindī's collection of prescriptions, it is an ingredient of various tooth-powders. Spread on the eyes, it removes the so-called hard white spot (*bayād al-'ayn al-ghalīz*); however, especially in the treatment of the eyes, quackery took possession of this substance (according to Djabbarī, *al-Mukhtār fī kashf al-asrār*, cf. Wiedemann, *Aufsätze*, i, 765 ff.).

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426 f.; *The medical formulary or Aqrābādīn of al-Kindī*, tr. M. Levey, Madison etc. 1966, 248; Bīrūnī, *Saydala*, ed. H.M. Sa'īd, Karachi 1973, Arab. 102 f., and 363, tr. 79, 322; Ibn Bīklārīsh, *Musta'inī*, Ms. Naples, Bibl. Naz., iii, F. 65, fol. 25b.; Maïmonides, *Sharḥ asmā' al-ṭibbīyāt*, ed. Meyerhof, no. 51; Ibn al-Baytār, *Qhāmī*, Būlak 1291, i, 125-7, tr. Leclerc, no. 381, with many quotations from sources.; Ghassānī, *Ma'tamad*, Beirut 1975, 41 f.; F. Moattar, *Ismā'īl Gorgānī und seine Bedeutung für die iranische Heilkunde insbesondere Pharmazie*, Marburg 1971, 299 f. (no. 135); *Die pharmakolog. Grundsätze des Abu Mansur . . . Harawī*, tr. A. Achundow, Halle 1893, 162 f., 316; *Tuhfat al-ahbāb*, ed. Renaud and Colin, Paris 1934, no. 92; Rāzī, *Hāwī*, xx, Haydarābād 1387, 134-7; Ibn Sīnā, *Kānūn*, i, Būlak, 267 f.; Dāwūd al-Anṭākī, *Tadhkīra*, Cairo 1371, i, 87 f.; *El Libro Agregā de Serapiom*, ed. G. Ineichen, ii, Venice 1966, 77; H.G. Kircher, *Die "einfachen Heilmittel" aus dem "Handbuch der Chirurgie" des Ibn al-Quff*, Bonn 1967, no. 39; W. Schmucker, *Die pflanzliche und mineralische Materia medica im Firdaus al-hikma des 'Alī ibn Sahl Rabban al-Tabarī*, Bonn 1969, no. 153; M. Berthelot, *La chimie au moyen-âge*, i-iii, 1893 (new impression 1967), with many references (see Indices).

(A. DIETRICH)

BAY'AT AL-RIDWĀN, the name given to an oath exacted by the Prophet from some of his followers during the Median period.

During the expedition to al-Hudaybiya [q.v.] in Dhū l-Ḳa'da of the year 6 (March 628), a report reached Muḥammad that the Meccans had killed 'Uthmān b. 'Affān, who had gone into Mecca to negotiate a truce. Muḥammad realised that he would lose face unless 'Uthmān's death was avenged, and summoned the members of the expedition to take an oath of allegiance to himself. There are different versions of the content of the oath. Some held it was a pledge not to flee; others that it was a pledge "to the death" (*'alā 'l-mawt*); and one man (Sīnān) is said to have pledged himself to do "what was in Muḥammad's mind" (*'alā mā fī nafsihi*). To fight the Meccans would have been very dangerous since the Muslims, as pilgrims, were lightly armed, and this was doubtless why Muḥammad asked for the pledge and why it is described as a pledge "not to flee" or "to the death". If the third version is correct, it indicates a formal increase in Muḥammad's autocratic power, which is known to have been increasing informally about this period. One man, al-Djadd b. Kays, refused to take the oath and appears to have shortly afterwards been deposed by Muḥammad from being chief of the Anṣārī clan of Salima. The incident is mentioned in Kurān, xlviii, 18: "God was well pleased (*radīya*) with the believers when they pledged themselves to you under the tree." From this is derived the name *Bay'at al-riḍwān* which may be translated "the pledge of good pleasure" or "the pledge which pleased (God)". It is also known as "the pledge of the tree", and those who made the pledge here were later honoured as the *Ashāb al-shajara*, "the men of the tree". It has been suggested that the tree might have been a sacred one in pre-Islamic times. At a later period, there was a mosque on the spot (Bukhārī, iii, 113 = *Maghāzī*, 35; Wellhausen, *Reste*², 104).

Bibliography: Ibn Hishām, ed. Wüstenfeld, 746; al-Wakīdī, ed. Marsden Jones, ii, 603 f.; W. Montgomery Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*,

Oxford 1956, 50 f., 234; A.J. Wensinck, etc. *Concordance*, s.v. *bāya'a*, *bay'a*, *shajara*, etc.

(W. MONTGOMERY WATT)

BAYHAQĪ SAYYIDS, a religio-political group active in the political life of early Islamic Kashmīr. The Bayhaqī Sayyids migrated to Kashmīr from Dihlī in the time of Sulṭān Sikandar (791-816/1389-1413), and played a very important part in the social and political life of the Valley until its conquest by the Mughals in 996/1588. Owing to their descent from Prophet Muḥammad, through his daughter Fāṭima, they were treated with great respect by the Sulṭāns, who gave them *ḍi'agīrs* and high offices and entered into matrimonial relations with them. At first they were unpopular and aroused both the anger and jealousy of the Kashmīrī nobles, because, conscious of their high birth, they behaved arrogantly and joined those elements who were critical of Hindū practices and ceremonies and wanted the enforcement of the *Shari'a* and the Islamic way of life. But gradually they began to identify themselves with the aims and aspirations of the Kashmīrīs, who, thereupon, accepted them as their leaders on account of the abilities they displayed as soldiers and administrators.

The chronicles give such exaggerated accounts of the exploits of the Bayhaqī Sayyids in Kashmīr that it is difficult to disengage fact from fiction. The first Bayhaqī Sayyid, however, about whom any reliable evidence exists was Sayyid Muḥammad, who gave his daughter, Tādj Khātūn, in marriage to Sulṭān Zayn al-'Abidīn (823-74/1420-70); and later his grandson, Sayyid Hasan, was married to the Sulṭān's daughter. On the death of Zayn al-'Abidīn's son and successor Haydar Shāh (874-6/1470-72), Hasan Shāh, who succeeded him, made Sayyid Hasan his *Wazīr*; and since Sayyid Hasan succeeded in setting up Muḥammad Shāh, Hasan Shāh's minor son, as Sulṭān in 889/1484, he continued as *Wazīr*. But his arrogance and his opposition to Hindū customs and practices aroused the anger of the Kashmīr nobles, who plotted against him, and early one morning they entered the fort of Nawshahr in Srinagar, where they were holding court, and killed him and his thirteen followers. His two sons, Sayyid Hāshim and Sayyid Muḥammad, who were not in the fort at the time, carried on the struggle against the enemies of their father, but they were defeated and exiled from the country along with their followers. But after two years the Sayyids were recalled, and under the leadership of Sayyid Muḥammad, they once again became active in the struggle for the throne between Muḥammad Shāh and Fath Shāh, intriguing with and making alliances with different groups as suited their interests. In the end, Sayyid Muḥammad succeeded in 898/1493 in becoming *Wazīr* of Muḥammad Shāh, but in 910/1505 he was defeated and killed by his rivals. This, however, did not demoralise the Sayyids. Instead, when Mīrzā Haydar Dughlāt established his power in Kashmīr (948-58/1541-51), Sayyid Ibrāhīm, the son of Sayyid Muḥammad, joined the Kashmīr nobles in overthrowing him.

Under the Ćak Sulṭāns also, the Bayhaqī Sayyids continued to play an important part. 'Alī Shāh Ćak (978-86/1570-78) appointed Sayyid Mubārak the son of Sayyid Ibrāhīm as *Wazīr*, and took his advice on all important matters. But on Alī Shāh's death, Sayyid Mubārak set aside the latter's son Yūsuf Shāh on grounds of incompetence and declared himself Sulṭān (986/1578). Yet, after a few months he was overthrown by the nobles, who were

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denied by him any share in the government. In spite of this, he joined Ya'kūb Shāh, Yūsuf Shāh's son and successor, in the struggle against the Mughal armies sent by the Emperor Akbar to conquer Kashmīr. Finding resistance to the Mughals fruitless, he submitted to the Mughal commander Kāsim Khān Mīr Bahr on 27 Dhū 'l-Hijjdja 994/9 December 1586, and was sent to Āgra. Akbar wanted Sayyid Mubārak to accompany Yūsuf Khān Rīdwi, who was ordered by him to proceed to Kashmīr to relieve Kāsim Khān. But Sayyid Mubārak refused; so he was imprisoned and sent to Bengal. His son, Abu 'l-Ma'ālī, also fought side by side with Ya'kūb Shāh against the Mughals, but he was taken prisoner. This was the end of the significant role which the Bayhakī Sayyids had played for over 150 years of Kashmīr history.

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BAYRAK [see 'ALAM].

AL-BAZDAWĪ [see AL-NASAFĪ].

BEDOUINS [see BADW].

BEERSHEBA [see BĪR AL-SAB'].]

BEHZĀD. [see BIHZĀD].

BEKAA. [see BIKĀ'].]

BELOMANCY [see ISTIKSĀM].

BELUCHISTAN. [see BALŪCISTĀN].

BENĪ MELLĀL, formerly Kaṣaba Benī Mellāl (from the name of the tribe living around it), or sometimes Kaṣaba B. Kush, a town of Morocco roughly equidistant from Casablanca, Marrakesh and Fās. It lies on one of the slopes of the Dīr [q.v. in Suppl.], at an altitude of 620 m./1,980 feet, in this piedmont region between the Middle Atlas and the wide, historic plain of the Tādla, of which it has recently become the official chef-lieu.

The town is built around the fortress or *kaṣaba* built towards 1099/1688 by Mawlay Ismā'il, restored in the 19th century by Mawlay Sulaymān and since once again restored. The Vauclisian spring of Asardūn to the south of the town leads one to think that Benī Mellāl, like all the other centres of the Dīr, e.g. Aghmāt, Damnat [q.v.], etc., goes back to ancient times, but no traces of prehistoric life have as yet been discovered there. It is possible that Benī Mellāl is Ḥiṣn Daī, the little capital which Yahyā b. Idrīs inherited in the 3rd/9th century at the time of the division of his father's kingdom. It is mentioned by the Arab geographers as a fortress and an important market centre. In 534/1140 or 535/1141 it was occupied by the Almohads.

The demographic explosion of the town has been remarkable. In 1918 it had an estimated 3,000 inhabitants; now it has 60,000, and the increase between the 1952 and 1960 censuses has been 81%. This undoubtedly stems from its administrative role today, one of the results of agricultural development of the great alluvial plain of the Tādla or else of the very important hydraulic reservoir works and irrigations improvements made over the last 30 years. Benī Mellāl's importance has grown still further from its role as a market centre for provisions of the Berber tribes in the Middle Atlas valleys, and also those of the central Grand Atlas (especially the Wādī Tadghat). A very lively fair is held in the town centre every week, where curious coverlets of thin rugs (*hanbal*) in gaudy and evanescent shades of colour are sold, and are much appreciated.

Superb gardens, rich olive-groves and flourishing orchards of mulberry trees, oranges and pome-

granates, extend as far as the scarp out of which gush six abundant and pure springs of water. In the midst of this oasis is the *zāwiya* of Sīdī Aḥmad b. Kāsim, whose minaret is attributed to the great Almoravid Yūsuf b. Tashfīn (it is more probable that it was the work of his grandson Tashfīn, who passed through Benī Mellāl before going on to die in Orania). The town has now become a centre for tourist excursions into the mountains, and has promise of a great future.

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BESTIARY [see ḤAYAWĀN].

THE BEYOND [see ĀKHĪRA].

AL-BIBLĀWĪ, 'ALĪ B. MUḤAMMAD, 26th *shaykh* of al-Azhar. He was born in the village of Biblāw near Dayrūt in Upper Egypt in Radjab 1251/November 1835. After a period of study and teaching at al-Azhar [q.v.], he was employed at the Khedivial Library and became its Director (*nāzir*) for a short period in 1881 and 1882. In the wake of the 'Urābī insurrection in 1882, he was removed from this office, to which he had been appointed thanks to the help of his friend Maḥmūd Sāmī al-Bārūdī [q.v.], one of the insurrection's principal protagonists. Subsequently he held the office of *khaṭīb*, and from 2 Šafar 1311/14 August 1893 onwards the office of *shaykh khidma* of the Ḥusayn mosque in Cairo. In addition to the latter office he was appointed *naṭīb al-ashraf* [q.v.] on 6 Shawwāl 1312/1 April 1895, following the abdication of the former *naṭīb*, Muḥammad Tawfīk al-Bakrī [q.v.]. During his term of office, which was to last until the end of 1320/March 1902, a set of regulations was promulgated, the so-called *lā'ihat nikābat al-ashraf* (cf. *al-Wakā'ī' al-Misriyya*, 17 June 1895, no. 67), which made the incumbent to this office virtually an official within the Ministry of *Wakf* and a subordinate to its *nāzir*. His appointment as *shaykh* of al-Azhar on 2 Dhū 'l-Hijjdja 1320/1 March 1903 in succession to Salīm al-Bishrī, who had been deposed because of his efforts to frustrate implementation of the reforms provided for in the law of 20 Muharram 1314/1 July 1896, was the result of a compromise between the Khedive and his ministers, who had originally favoured other candidates. Only two years later, on 9 Muharram 1323/15 March 1905, he found himself compelled to resign when his inability to deal with the obstruction of his efforts to implement reforms had reduced his authority to a unacceptably low level. He died shortly afterwards on 30 December 1905.

Bibliography: Biographies may be found in Aḥmad Taymūr, *Tarāḍim a'yān al-kam al-thālith 'ashar wa-awā'il al-rābi' 'ashar*, Cairo 1940, 81-5; and Maḥmūd b. 'Alī al-Biblāwī, *al-Ta'rikh al-Husaynī*, Cairo 1324, 57 ff.; The biographies by Khayr al-Dīn al-Ziriklī, *al-A'lām*, v, 171 f., and by Muḥammad Zakī Muḍjāhid, *al-A'lām al-sharḥiyya*, Cairo 1950, ii, 140, are mainly based upon Taymūr's. For additional data see 'Abd al-Muta'al al-Ša'īdī, *Ta'rikh al-iṣlāh fi 'l-Azhar wa-safahāt min al-dīhād fi 'l-iṣlāh*, Cairo n.d., 67 f.; and Aḥmad Shafīk, *Mudhakkirātī fī nisf kam*,



Cairo 1936, ii, part 1, 214; part 2, 65 f.; *A'māl Maḍjīs Idārat al-Azhar min ibtidā' ta'sīsihi sana 1312 ilā ghāyat sana 1322*, Cairo 1323/1905-6, 119 ff. gives an overview of the controversies and disturbances which occurred in al-Azhar during al-Biblāwī's term of office and the way in which he dealt with these. His *al-Anwār al-husayniyya 'alā risālat al-musalsil al-amīriyya*, Cairo 1305/1887-8, was a text studied at al-Azhar; cf. *al-Azhar fī 12 'ām*, Cairo n.d. (1965).

(F. DE JONG)

BIBLIOMANCY [see KUR'Ā].

BIGHĀ', the Kur'ānic term (XXIV, 33) for prostitution. "Prostitute" is rendered by *baghiyy* (pl. *baghiyā*), *mūmis* (pl. *-āt*, *mayāmis/mayāmīs*, *mawāmis/mawāmīs*), *āhira* (pl. *awāhir*), *zāniya* (pl. *zawānī*). etc.; a more vulgar term, although we have here a euphemism, is *kahba* (pl. *kihāb*), which the lexicographers attach to the verb *kahaba* "to cough", explaining that professional prostitutes used to cough in order to attract clients.

Although M. Gaudet-Demombynes (*Mahomet*, Paris 1969, 48) saw in the legend of Isāf and Nā'ila [q.v.] the "reminiscence of sacred prostitution", no such custom seems to have existed amongst the pagan Arabs; T. Fahd considers moreover that the legend in question is edifying in its aim and "has as its intention putting pilgrims on guard against sacred prostitution as it was practised in the Syrian temples". However, it is quite possible that vestiges of pagan ceremonies continued sporadically in islamised regions, in particular, amongst certain Berber tribes.

In any case, pre-Islamic Arabia certainly was familiar with the world's oldest profession which was, at least in the larger centres of population, carried on by free women, spinsters, widows or divorced women, reduced by misery to trafficking in their own bodies, but mainly by slaves "working" for their masters. These women were recognisable, as elsewhere, by the banners which they flew at the doors of their dwellings; they accepted all comers as clients; if they produced a child, the latter was entrusted to the official responsibility of the man whom the physiognomists (*kāfa* [see KIVĀFA]) designated as the father, the latter not having the right to refuse. These items of information are given, on the authority of 'Ā'isha, by al-Bukhārī (*Ṣaḥīḥ*, K. *al-Nikāḥ*, bāb 36, vii, 19-20; tr. O. Houdas, *Les traditions islamiques*, iii, 565-6), who mentions the preceding usages as one of the three forms of *nikāḥ* forbidden by the Prophet, the two others being the *istibdā'* and a kind of polyandry. *Istibdā'* consisted of a man who feared that he himself could not sire a robust offspring placing his wife in the hands of a better progenitor. In the *nikāḥ al-raḥt*, the woman in question takes a group of husbands (less than ten) and, if she has a child, attributes the paternity to one of this group, who is unable to refuse it. Al-Bukhārī does not in this passage cite temporary marriage, *mu'ā* [q.v.], which was likewise prohibited. In his K. *al-Bukhālā'* (ed. Ḥādjirī, 112, tr. Pellat, 179), al-Djāhīz uses the expression *zawḍ nahārī* "husband by day", the sense of which is hard to determine, but may allude to a very fleeting type of temporary marriage.

A form of more or less disguised prostitution was always the fate of the lower level of singing girls [see KAYNA] attached to haunts of pleasure and taverns (it should be noted that the modern Arabic term for "brothel", *mākhūr*, comes from Persian *māy-khūr* "wine-drinker"). It was indeed a tavern-

keeper (*khammār*) who is said to have procured for Abū Sufyān the woman who was to give birth to Ziyād b. Abīhi; the traditions concerning the recognition of the latter's collateral affiliation (*istihāk*) by Mu'āwiya reveal the existence in al-Ṭā'if of a quarter of the courtesans (*ḥarat al-baghāyā*) inhabited in particular by slave girls belonging to the famous "physician of the Arabs", al-Ḥārith b. Kalada [q.v. below], to whom they had to pay a tax (see e.g. al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, v, 21 ff. = §§ 1778 ff.), as was the usual practice for slaves working on their own account or employed by third parties. The Medinan 'Abd Allāh b. Ubayy [q.v.] is also said to have practised this same form of exploitation, this being allegedly the origin (see the Kur'ān commentaries on xxiv, 33; al-Ṭabarī, *Tafsīr*, xviii, 132-4, al-Kurṭubī, *Tafsīr*, xii, 254-5, etc.) of the verse condemning this practice: "And do not constrain your maidservants (*fatayāt*) to prostitution (*bighā'*), if they wish to live in reputable marriage (*taḥaṣṣun*), in order that you may seek the chance gains of this present life; if anyone compels them thus [he will bear the sole responsibility for it], for God, who is merciful and compassionate, will pardon them after compulsion has been laid upon them". Thus the Kur'ān does not expressly condemn prostitution, and is content to forbid any woman being compelled to practise it.

For his part, the Prophet must certainly have spoken about the prostitutes, examples of whom he must have seen in Mecca and Medina (see Wensinck, *Concordances*, s.v. *baghiyy*, i, 204), but the most significant *ḥadīth* seems to be the one in which he forbids payment for the services (if the word *mahr* is correctly interpreted here) of the prostitute and the gains (*kasb*) from prostitution (al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, K. *al-Ṭalāk*, bāb 51; tr. Houdas, iii, 642). It was a roundabout way of prohibiting what was considered as a dishonourable activity, but one in the end adjudged by posterity as a necessary evil.

In practice, despite pious persons who inveighed from time to time against an institution which was regarded as incompatible with Muslim ethics, prostitution has always flourished in Muslim lands, keeping itself, under necessity, discreet, as in Fās, where at certain periods the police authorities suppressed it severely, shaving the heads of women thus misbehaving, parading them through the streets of the town and then expelling them, and insisting on their being buried in a special part of the cemetery (R. Le Tourneau, *Fès avant le Protectorat*, Casablanca 1949, 580). This seems to have been a special case, and the severity does not always seem to have been completely successful. Although travellers and historians are sparing of details, there are pieces of information testifying to the existence of more or less free-lance prostitutes as well as the existence of brothels in the various Islamic cities. Thus al-Mukaddasī (*Aḥsan al-takāsīm*, 407) saw a brothel at Sūs, near the mosque, whilst Leo Africanus speaks of taverns at Fās with whores residing in them (tr. Épaulard, 191) and prostitution at Tunis (385). According to al-Kiftī (*Hukamā'*, ed. Lippert, 298), the *muḥtasib* of Latakia put up for the successful bidders a ring which they had to show if they were met at night with one of the women.

Indeed, at all times prostitution was not merely tolerated but even recognised officially and very often was subject to a tax payable to the public treasury. At Fās, the headman of the quarter had the task of supervising the courtesans and of prevent-



ing disorders, but in general, it was the *muhtasib* who fulfilled this function (see P. Chalmers, *El "señor del zoco" en España*, Madrid 1973, index, s.v. prostitutas). However, the manuals of *hisba* do not mention the existence of a precise regulatory scheme, and Ibn 'Abdūn, for instance, is content to forbid the denizens of places of public resort to show themselves bareheaded outside the house (E. Lévi-Provençal, *Trois traités hispaniques de hisba*, Cairo 1955; idem, *Séville musulmane*, Paris 1947, § 168). In al-Andalus, the tax imposed on them was curiously called *kharāḍī* ("land tax" [q.v.]) and the brothels called *dār al-kharāḍī* (or *dār al-banāt*), whilst the prostitutes themselves were called *kharāḍīyyāt* (Ibn Bassām, *Dhakhira*, i/1, 207, where the text should be corrected) or even *kharāḍīyāt* (Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. Mus.*, iii, 445-6). It is further known that 'Aḍud al-Dawla [q.v.] imposed a tax on the whores of Fārs (al-Mukaddasī, 441) and that the Fātimids did likewise in Egypt (al-Makrīzī, *Akhṭat*, i, 89).

As in many other lands, various categories of women might be distinguished. At the bottom of the scale were the somewhat wretched women who hired rooms in caravanserais by the town gates or near the centre, and in addition to the rent, paid a due to the keeper of the caravanserai; but there were also procurers who brought them clients, mainly strangers visiting the town; peasants, seasonal workers, soldiers, etc. Some of these women certainly sank to the level of the rogues and vagabonds whose various activities have been described by C.E. Bosworth in his *The mediaeval Islamic underworld* (Leiden 1976, 2 vols.). At a higher level, brothels proper catered for a more affluent clientele. As in pre-Islamic al-Ṭā'if, special quarters were reserved for prostitution, which the authorities were thereby more easily able to control. This system has remained down to our own time, and a visit to these localities, which are sometimes picturesque, may even be recommended to tourists, male and female, by guides and travel agents; this is especially the case in regard to Bousbir (< Prosper) at Casablanca and the street of "dancing girls" of the Ouled Nail at Bou Saada (Algeria).

The practice of early marriage among the Muslims, who can take four legitimate wives and as many concubines as they can afford to keep, ought in the natural course of things to have set bounds to venal love-making. However, many young men from the modest levels of society were unable to find their sexual initiation otherwise than by recourse to prostitutes, and legal marriage entailed financial burdens which men from the masses of people were not always in a position to undertake, especially if they had to migrate away from their original home. Furthermore, the Qur'anic prohibition could always be easily circumvented by procurers and procuresses lured on by the prospect of gain, whilst the easy facilities for husbands in regard to the repudiation of their wives [see ṬALĀK] threw on to the streets women who did not always have the possibility of returning to their families.

Bibliography: There does not seem to have been produced any monograph on prostitution in mediaeval Islam. In the list of writings of Abu 'l-'Anbas al-Ṣaymarī [q.v. above] a *K. Nauādir al-kuwāḍ* (?) and a *K. al-Rāha, wa-manāfi' al-ḥiyāda*, which may possibly have dealt with pimps, are to be found, but these have not survived. In addition to sources cited in the article, see A. Mez, *Renaissance*, Eng. tr. 361-4; A. Maza-

héri, *La vie quotidienne des Musulmans au moyen âge*, Paris 1947, 64-5; R. Le Tourneau, *Fès avant le Protectorat*, Casablanca 1949, 557-9 and index; al-Markaz al-ḳawmī li 'l-buḥūth al-idjtimā'iyya, *al-Bighā' fi 'l-Kāhira*, Cairo 1961; a fairly well-developed study by a sociologist is that of A. Bouhdiba, *La sexualité en Islam*, Paris 1975, 228-39 and the bibl. cited there. On male prostitution, see *LIWĀT*. (Ed.)

BIHBHĀNĪ, ĀKĀ SAYYID MUḤAMMAD BĀKIR, *Shī'ī mudjtahid* and proponent of the *Uṣūlī* [q.v.] *madhhab*, often entitled *Wahīd-i Biḥbihānī* or *Muḥakkik-i Biḥbihānī*, and commonly regarded by his *Shī'ī* contemporaries as the "renewer" (*mudjaddid*) of the 12th *Hijrī* century. He was born in Iṣfahān some time between the years 1116/1704-5 and 1118/1706-7. After a brief period spent in Biḥbihān, he was taken to Karbalā' by his father, Mullā Muḥammad Akmal, whose principal student he became, while studying also under Sayyid Sadr al-Dīn Kumṡī. Mullā Muḥammad Akmal had studied under Mullā Muḥammad Bākir Madjilī, the great divine who had dominated Iranian *Shī'ism* in the late 11th/17th century, and had also married his niece. The young Biḥbihānī, who came to exercise a similar dominant role at the end of the 12th/18th century, was thus both spiritually and genealogically related to Madjilī. It is related that after completing his studies in Karbalā', Biḥbihānī intended to leave the city, but was dissuaded from doing so by the appearance of the *Imām* Husayn to him in a dream, instructing him to stay (Muḥammad Bākir *Khānsārī*, *Rawḍat al-djannāt fī aḥwāl al-'ulamā' wa 'l-sādāt*, Tehran 1304/1887, 122). In obedience to the dream, he stayed on, and engaged in fierce controversy with adherents of the *Akhbārī* school of *fiḥh*, which at that time was predominant in Karbalā' as well as the other 'atabāt [see *AKHBĀRIYYA* above]. The controversy between the *Akhbārīs* and the *Uṣūlīs*, centering on various questions of *uṣūl al-fīḥh* and particularly on the permissibility of *idjtihād*, was an ancient one, but had become particularly acute in the late Ṣafawid period and the middle part of the 12th/18th century. Before the appearance of Biḥbihānī, the *Akhbārīs* were so assured in their dominance of the 'atabāt that anyone carrying with him books of *Uṣūlī fiḥh* was obliged to cover them up for fear of provoking attack. By the end of his life, however, Biḥbihānī had been able almost completely to uproot *Akhbārī* influence from the 'atabāt and to establish the *Uṣūlī* position as normative for all of the Twelver *Shī'a*. He accomplished this change partly by debate, polemic and the composition of written refutations of the *Akhbārī* school, the most important of which was *Kitāb al-idjtihād wa 'l-akhbār*. Hardly less effective was the demonstration of the prerogatives of *mudjtahid* that he provided. One of his pupils, *Shaykh Dja'far Nadjafī* (d. 1227/1812), records that he was constantly accompanied by a number of armed men who would immediately execute any judgement that he passed. The example that he thus gave was to be followed by numerous Iranian 'ulamā' of the *Kādjār* period. Another target of Biḥbihānī's hostility was the *Ni'matallāhī* *Sūfī* order; such was the enmity that he nurtured for them that he gained the title of *ṣūfikush* (*Sūfī-killer*). He died in 1206/1791-2 or 1208/1793-4, and was buried near the tomb of the *Imām* Husayn in Karbalā'. Biḥbihānī is credited with more than sixty works; the titles of twenty of them are listed in Muḥammad 'Alī Mudarris, *Rayḥānat al-adab*, new ed., Tabriz n.d., i, 52, and a further fourteen



titles are preserved in autograph in the library of Bihbihānī's descendants in Kirmānshāh (see Muḥsin al-Amīn, *Āyān al-shī'a*, Beirut 1378/1959, xlv, 96). It is said that his writings on *uṣūl al-fikh* were compiled into a single work by one of his pupils, Sayyid Maḥdī Kaẓwīnī. The number of his pupils was very large; among the most influential we may mention his sons, Ākā Muḥammad 'Alī, who settled in Kirmānshāh and inherited his father's violent hatred of the Ṣūfīs, and Ākā 'Abd al-Ḥusayn; *Shaykh* Dī'a'far Naḍjafī, author of a number of important works on *Uṣūlī fikh*; and three *mudjtahids* who dominated the life of Iṣfahān in the first quarter of the 19th century—*Hādīj* Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Kalbāsī, Sayyid Muḥammad Bākīr Shafī'i, and Sayyid Maḥdī Baḥr al-'Ulūm. But his influence extended far beyond the generation of *mudjtahids* he trained; through his theoretical vindication of the *Uṣūlī* position and his practical demonstration of the function of *mudjtahid*, he was in effect the ancestor of all those *mudjtahids* who have sought since his time to assert a guiding role in Iranian society.

Bibliography: Muḥammad b. Sulaymān Tunukābunī, *Kiṣaṣ al-'ulamā'*, Tehran 1304/1887, 147-8; Muḥammad Bākīr *Kh*ānsārī, *Rawḍāt al-ḡannāt* 123; 'Abbās b. Muḥammad Ridā Kumṡī, *Hadīyat al-aḥbāb*, Naḍjaf 1349/1930, 100; Mīrzā Muḥammad 'Alī Mudarris, *Rayḡanat al-adab*, i, 51-2; Muḥammad 'Alī Bidābādī, *Makārim al-aḥḥār dar aḥwāl-i riḡāl-i dawra-yi kāḡjār*, Iṣfahān 1337/1958, i, 220-5; Muḥsin al-Amīn, *Āyān al-shī'a*, xlv, 94-6; Muḥammad Ḥīrz al-Dīn, *Ma'ārif al-riḡāl fī tarāḡīm al-'ulamā' wa 'l-udabā'*, Naḍjaf 1384/1964, i, 121-3; H. Algar, *Religion and state in Iran, 1785-1906: the role of the Ulama in the Qajar period*, Berkeley & Los Angeles 1969, 34-6; 'Alī Dawwānī, *Ustād-i kull Ākā Muḥammad Bākīr Bihbihānī b. Muḥammad Akmal ma'rūf ba Wahīd-i Bihbihānī*, Kumṡ n.d.; H. Algar, *Religious forces in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, in Cambridge history of Iran*, vii, ch. xiv (forthcoming).

(H. ALGAR)

BIHRANGĪ, ŠAMAD, Persian prosewriter (1939-68). Bihrangī's birth in a lower-class, Turkish-speaking family in Tabrīz and his eleven-years' employment as a primary schoolteacher in rural Ādharbāyḡjān are attested in the greater part of his *fīrṡ* writings. These, both fictional and non-fictional, largely deal with village life in his native province and with the specific problems of a cultural minority region. His concern for the plight of Ādharbāyḡjānī peasant youth prompted a series of educational essays, as well as some twenty children's stories, the chief foundation of his present fame. Notable for their "ideological" content rather than for strictly literary merits, Bihrangī's children's stories no longer recommend the conventional virtues of obedience, cleanliness and modesty, but aim at imparting "a correct view of the dark, bitter realities of adult society". Accordingly, his stories picture the needy, powerless village children, their search for freedom and their revolt against ignorant parents, local landlords or urban aristocracy. The political commitment felt in most of these stories contributed to Bihrangī's considerable popularity among the dissident intelligentsia; at the same time, it gave rise to an increasingly restrictive censorship of his writings by the Iranian authorities and to a vast wave of rumours at his sudden death in September 1968, reportedly a drowning accident. More explicit views on society and literature are present in Bih-

rangī's essays, notably the insistence on straightforward, firmly committed writing and contempt for the "defeatist pseudo-intellectualism" of westernised Tehran. The tenets of his educational criticism are roughly similar to those earlier voiced by the author Āl-i Aḥmad [*q.v.* above], both a schoolteacher and a writer like himself; rejecting the unquestioned adoption of American teaching methods and finding the current textbooks inapplicable in a classroom with Azeri Turkish-speaking pupils, Bihrangī designed an alternative "textbook for village children": the completed but yet unpublished *Alif-bā barā-yi kūdakān-i rūstā'ī*.

Bibliography: The greater part of Bihrangī's writings first appeared in newspapers and periodicals under various pseudonyms, such as Šād, Kārānkūsh, Bihrang, Bābak, etc. Thirteen of his children's stories were posthumously collected in *Madjmū'a-yi kiṣṣahā*, Tabrīz 1348 sh., which also contains a chapter on *Adabiyāt-i kūdakān* (originally published as part of a review-article in *Rahnamā-yi Kūlāb* xi (1347-53 sh.), 48-5), outlining the author's conception of children's literature. Not included in this volume are his most successful story, the internationally awarded *Māhī-yi siyāh-i kūcūlū*, separately published in Tehran 1347 sh., and the collection *Talkhūn wa čand kiṣṣa-i diḡar*, Tehran 1349 sh. A number of his educational essays appeared as *Kand-u-kāw dar masā'il-i tarbiyātī-yi Irān*, Tabrīz 1344 sh., while other articles on various subjects were posthumously edited as *Madjmū'a-yi makālahā*, Tabrīz 1348 sh.; this collection contains several chapters on Ādharbāyḡjānī culture and language, including the four articles listed in Afšār's *Index iranicus* ii, Tehran 1348 sh., 84, 415. An anthology of translated folktales was separately edited in collaboration with B. Dihkānī: *Afsānahāyi Ādharbāyḡjān*, i: Tabrīz 1344 sh., ii: Tehran 1347 sh. Finally, Bihrangī prepared some Persian translations from modern Turkish poetry and prose.

A valuable secondary source is the special Bihrangī issue of *Āraš*, ii/5 (Ādhar 1347 sh.); for additional information, cf. 'A.A. Darwīshiyān's short monograph *Šamad ḡāwīdāna šud*, Tehran 1352 sh.² and G.R. Sabri-Tabrizi, *Human values . . .*, in *Correspondance d'Orient*, xi (1970), 411-8. Bihrangī's political role as a "totally involved revolutionary artist" is stressed by Th. Ricks in *The little black fish and other modern stories*, Washington, D.C. 1976, 95-126; his folklore studies are passingly mentioned by L.P. Elwell-Sutton in *Iran and Islam, in memory of the late Vladimir Minorsky*, Edinburgh 1971, 253-4; Of the children's stories, a German translation has appeared in B. Nirumand ed., *Feuer unterm Pfauenthron*, Berlin 1974, 19-35; English translations include two different renderings of *Māhī-yi siyāh . . .* in *The Literary Review*, xviii/1 (Rutherford, N.J. 1974), 69-84, and in *The little black fish . . .*, *op. cit.*, 1-19. For other translated stories, cf. M.C. Hillmann, ed., *Major voices in contemporary Persian literature*, and M.A. Jazayeri, ed., *Literature East and West*.

(G.J.J. DE VRIES)

BINN, a term of the Druze religion. In this, the Binn were conceived of as one of a number of earlier races or sects whose names are also mentioned in the Druze writings, such as the Rimm and the Ṭimm. The Binn were said to have been a group of inhabitants of Hadjar in the Yemen who believed in the message of *Šaṭnīl*, the incarnation of Hamza



in the Age of Adam. According to the Druzes, the city was originally called Šurna (meaning "Miracle" according to Hamza), and Šaṭnīl came there from India. He called on the people to renounce polytheism and worship al-Ḥākim bi-Amr Allāh [q.v.] as their sole deity. Those who accepted his message he commanded to "be separate" (*yabīnūn*) from the polytheists; as a consequence they were known as al-Binn. This etymology is clearly unsatisfactory, and it is possible that a Persian origin should be sought for this term.

One of the Druze *dāʿīs*, al-Ḥārith b. Tirmāh of Iṣfahān refused to obey Šaṭnīl, and was expelled from the number of the *dāʿīs*, being dubbed "Iblīs". He became the *imām* of the polytheists in Šurna (the *ḡinn* in the Druze account). When one of the Binn met another, he would say: "Flee from (*uḥḡir*) Iblīs and his party!". As a result, Šurna acquired the name of Ḥaḡjar.

Bibliography: H. Guys, *Théogonie des Druzes*, Paris 1863, 35 and n. 70, 104; C.F. Seybold, *Die Drusenschrift: Kitāb Alnoqāʾ waldawān. Das Buch der Punkte und Kreise*, Kirchhain 1902, 71; Muḥammad Kāmil Ḥusayn, *Tāʾīfat al-Durūz*, Cairo 1962, 116; D.R.W. Bryer, *The Origins of the Druze Religion*, in *Isl.*, liii (1976), 8.

(R.Y. EBIED and M.J.L. YOUNG)

BISĀT (A.), pls. *busūṭ*/busut, *absiṭa*, which implies the general meaning of extensiveness (thus in *Kurʾān*, LXXI, 18), is a generic term for carpet, more specifically, one of fairly large dimensions. Any kind of carpet with a pile is called a *ṭinfisa*; if it is decorated with multicoloured bands, a *zarbiyya* (*zurbīyya*, *zurbiyya*, pl. *zarābī*; cf. *Kurʾān*, LXXXVIII, 16); if it is decorated with a relief design, a *maḥfūra*; whilst a prayer carpet is called a *saḡḡiyyāda* (modern Turkish *seccade*), and the collective *saḡḡiyyād* is sometimes used as a generic term (on the numerous Arabic terms, see W.H. Worrell, *On certain Arabic terms for "rug"*, in *Ars Islamica*, i (1934), 219-22, ii (1935), 65-8). The word *kilīm*, applied to a woollen rug generally long and narrow in shape, is often taken to be of Turkish origin (see e.g. Lokotsch, No. 1176), but seems rather to be Iranian (Persian *gilīm*). Sumak, not far from Bakū, and the districts of Verne and Sile in the southern Caucasus, have given their name to a type of flatwoven carpets. The etymology of *kālī* (vars. *ghālī*, *khālī*, modern Turkish *halī*) is unclear; Yākūt, *Bulḡān*, iv, 20, remarks that the carpets (*busuṭ*) called *kālī* are manufactured at Kālīkalā (= Erzerum [q.v.]), but since this word was difficult to pronounce, the *nisba* has been shortened. Although this particular term is generally considered to be Turkish in origin, it is unattested in ancient Turkish texts; it is, however, used by Gardīzī [q.v.] and may therefore be of Iranian origin (detailed study in Doerfer, No. 1405).

(Ed.)

I. CARPETS OF THE CENTRAL AND EASTERN ISLAMIC LANDS

1. Technique

For the manufacture of oriental carpets, sheep's wool, cotton, silk, goat-hair and camel-hair are used, which are prepared, spun and partly wound. The foundation consists of warp-threads (Fr.: *chaîne*, Ger.: *Kette*) stretched the length of the loom, and weft-threads (Fr.: *trame*, Ger.: *Schüsse*) run in horizontally. For knotted carpets which form the bulk of the products, one or several weft rows are inserted between knot rows, the latter forming the pile. In Turkey, the Caucasus and the regions of

northwestern Persia inhabited by the Kurds, the Turkish or Gördes knot (so called after the Turkish town of Gördes [q.v.]), has been commonly used. But whilst the Persian or Senneh-knot (so-called after the Persian town of Senneh, today called Sanandaj [q.v.]) is commonly associated with Persia, India and Turkestan, the Gördes knot is also found in Persian rugs and the commonly-accepted geographical demarcation must be treated with reserve (for diagrams of these two knots see *Id.*, v/1, 137). Kilims, and Sumak, Verne and Sile rugs are flat woven, with no pile. Until aniline and chromate dyes were introduced in the eighties of the 19th century, only natural dyes were used (see C.E.C. Tattersall, *Notes on carpet-knotting and weaving*, Victoria and Albert Museum, 1961; A.N. Landreau and W.R. Pickering, *From the Bosphorus to Samarkand, flat-woven rugs*, The Textile Museum, Washington 1969).

2. History

a. Early Stages

The oldest known knotted carpet was discovered in 1949 in the tomb of a local prince in Pazyryk, in the Altai Mountains. By means of other finds in the tomb, it may be dated to the 4th century B.C. There are as yet no indications as to the place of its manufacture, but the suggestion of its manufacture in Achaemenid Persia has been put forward. Its technique (3,600 Turkish knots to the square decimetre) and its design, in Achaemenid style, are of a remarkable perfection; it is one of, and the most important of, the three extant pieces of evidence for a highly-developed art of knotting of this early date. It shows in a developed form the composition of a central field surrounded by borders, which consist of a wide main border and several subsidiary or guard borders, characteristic of all oriental carpets.

Very small fragments of carpets, conjecturally dated between the 3rd and 6th centuries A.D., were discovered by Sir Aurel Stein during his Turfan expeditions (at Lop Nor). These, however, are not knotted carpets but napped fabrics, in which the pile is produced by the wefts, introduced first as loops and later split (see A. Stein, *Ruins of desert Cathay*, London 1912, 380, plate 116, 4). The "Spanish knot", on the other hand, always tied around a single warp, is used in a fragment discovered by Le Coq in Kucha during the fourth Turfan expedition, the earliest possible date of which is the 5th-6th century (see F. Sarre, *Ein frühes Knüpfteppich-Fragment aus chinesisches-Turkestan*, in *Berliner Museen* (1920-1), 110). The piece is too small and the design too faint to permit any conclusions about the carpets of this period. The many small fragments of knotted carpets from Fustāt can hardly be dated (see M.S. Dimand, *An early cut-pile rug from Egypt*, in *Metropolitan Museum Studies*, iv (1933), 151 ff.; S.Y. Rudenko, *The world's oldest knotted carpets and fabrics*, Moscow 1968 (in Russian); R.B. Serjeant, *Material for a history of Islamic textiles up to the Mongol conquest*, in *Ars Islamica*, ix (1942), 54 and xv-xvi (1951), 29).

b. Turkey

Konya carpets.

The development of oriental knotted carpets can be traced to a certain extent only from the 7th/13th century onwards. The oldest coherent group comes from Anatolia. In 1907 F.R. Martin discovered three large and several small fragments in the



'Alā' al-Dīn mosque at Konya, to which were given the generic name "Konya carpets". Shortly afterwards, smaller fragments of the same type were found in the Eşrefoğlu mosque at Beyşehir. The date of the enlargement of the 'Alā' al-Dīn mosque, 1218-20, provides a date *post quem* for these carpets, but they do not necessarily belong to the 7th/13th century. Their designs and technical execution are simple and the knots are not very close. Where they survive, the borders with their heavy Kūfic character or large stars predominate over the inner motifs, which have small, all-over, repeat patterns. See F.R. Martin, *A history of oriental carpets before 1800*, i, 113, ii, plate xxx; K. Erdmann, *Siebenhundert Jahre Orientteppich*, Herford 1966, 117; R.M. Riefstahl, *Primitive rugs of the "Konya" type in the mosque of Beyşehir*, in *The Art Bulletin*, xiii/2 (1931), 16 ff.; E. Kühnel, *Islamic art and architecture*, London 1966, 94 and Pl. 37; and Pl. I.

Anatolian animal carpets.

The styles of Anatolian carpets of the 8th/14th and 9th/15th centuries are attested by reproductions in Italian paintings of the period. They are characterised by a series of square or octagonal motifs filled with stylised animals. The best known fragment of such a carpet, which is in the Islamic Museum of Berlin, shows on a yellow ground two octagons, set in squares, in which are found a dragon and a phoenix, the pair borrowed from Chinese mythology (Kühnel, *Islamic art* . . ., 109-10 and pl. 42b). A fresco of Domenico di Bartolo, dated between 1440 and 1444, shows a carpet with a corresponding motif treated in an almost similar way. Another carpet from a church in Marby, preserved in the Statens Historiska Museet in Stockholm, is closely connected in design, technique and colouring with the Berlin fragment. See C.J. Lamm, *The Marby rug and some fragments of carpets found in Egypt*, in *Svenska Orientsällskapets Årsbok*, 1937, 51 ff.; K. Erdmann, *Der Türkische Teppich des 15. Jahrhunderts*, Istanbul n.d. [1957]; R. Ettinghausen, *New light on early animal carpets*, in *Aus der Welt der islamischen Kunst, Festschrift E. Kühnel*, Berlin 1959, 93; and Pl. II.

"Holbein" and "Lotto" carpets.

On the portrait of the merchant Gisze, painted by Hans Holbein the Younger in 1532 and kept in the Picture Gallery of the Staatlichen Museen, Berlin, can be seen a carpet that serves as tablecloth. It represents a further group of Anatolian carpets which appear frequently on paintings from the middle of the 15th century until the end of the 16th century; these are characterised as "small-patterned Holbein carpets", and a fair number of them have survived. Their design, too, is based on squares with inset octagons in vertical and horizontal rows. The octagons are formed by bands knotted several times and the corners of the squares are filled by stylised arabesque leaves, which, joined together, merge into diamond-shaped linking motifs. Variety of colours within the squares of some specimens produces a kind of chessboard effect. In the details, these carpets correspond with the so-called large partitioned Holbein-carpet, the pattern of which is limited to a few broad, clearly separated motifs which are ranged only lengthwise. The decoration of the borders is mostly based on Kūfic characters. In the earlier designs the vertical strokes which have been directed to the edging of the carpet are

clearly recognisable. Later on they develop into a twined band without definite orientation. Red, with brownish shades, blue, yellow, white and green are dominant. The large-partitioned Holbein-carpet is believed to have been made in Bergama, the small partitioned ones in Uşak. See Pls. III, IV.

The fourth type of early Ottoman carpets is also localised in Uşak. These are the so-called Lotto-carpet, because they appear among others, on the paintings by the Italian painter Lorenzo Lotto. They are also called "carpets with arabesque tendrils", since all specimens of this group show a red foundation covered with a yellow net of tendrils, arabesque leaves and palmettes. As is the case with the small patterned Holbein-carpet, their arrangement is basically determined by a system of octagons set in squares, while the fillings of the spandrels form also diamond-shaped figures. More often than the Kūfic-borders, those of the Lotto-carpet are made up of undulating tendrils, multifoiled lozenges and later on, alternating cloud bands. See Pl. V.

Medallion and Star Uşaks.

In the 11th/17th century the early Ottoman patterns are replaced by Persian-influenced arrangements of motifs which characterise the Medallion and Star-Uşaks. The centre of the Medallion-Uşak is usually marked by a pointed oval-shaped medallion with a flamboyant outline and a floral inner-design. Lengthwise on both sides shield-shaped pendants are attached to the medallion. In the corners of the field quadrants of a differently shaped medallion appear. The composition can be understood as being a part of a system of staggered rows of medallions. Examples showing greater parts of the pattern prove this. The usually red ground colour between the medallions is traversed with entangled, angularly drawn tendrils. The Star-Uşak, with staggered star-shaped medallions, connected by lozenges, is a variant of the Medallion-Uşak. Both types occur frequently on Dutch 17th century paintings. Like the Lotto-carpet, the Uşaks were manufactured in coarse, misconstrued versions far into the 18th and 19th century (see K. Erdmann, *Weniger bekannte Uşak-Muster*, in *Kunst des Orients*, iv, 79 ff.; and Pls. VI, VII).

"Bird" and "Tschintamani" carpets.

Uşak-carpet with a white ground both in field and border are rare. Two simple patterns can here be distinguished: the "Tschintamani" and the "Bird" motifs. The first, in all-over repeat, consists of two parallel undulating lines and three balls arranged in a triangle over them. This motif is undoubtedly of Far Eastern origin. From the 15th century onwards it is known as a pattern for clothing in Persian and Turkish miniatures, and from the 16th century it was popular on Turkish textile fabrics. The "Bird"-motif consists of horizontal and vertical running stripes crossing each other, and is composed of rosettes and leaves, the form of which superficially looks like birds. Both patterns have often been copied in the 20th century.

Transylvanian carpets.

An important group of small-sized Anatolian carpets from the 17th to 19th centuries, showing analogy with the Uşak-carpet, are the Transylvanian carpets, so-called because they have survived in great number in the churches of Transylvania. Besides some smaller versions of the Lotto-, Bird- and Tschintamani-patterns, they are mainly prayer-



rugs, the inner-fields of which are arch-shaped to represent the *mihṛāb*, often in connection with one or more pairs of columns. They form a link with the Turkish prayer rugs of the 18th and 19th centuries from Gordes, Ladik and Milas (see E. Schmutzler, *Altorientalische Teppiche in Siebenbürgen*, Leipzig 1933; J. de Vegh and Ch. Layer, *Tapis turcs provenant des églises et collections de Transylvanie*, Paris 1925; M. Mostafa, *Turkish prayer rugs*, Cairo 1953; Turkish Rugs, *The Washington Hajji Baba*, The Textile Museum, Washington 1968).

c. Egypt

Mamlūk, Ottoman and Chess-board carpets.

Fifteenth-century Mamlūk Egypt saw the origin of clearly recognisable carpets with a kaleidoscopic design, consisting of stars, rectangles and triangles, filled with small leaves, shrubs and cypresses. Their wool is soft and glossy, and the colours normally range between cherry-red, vivid green and bright blue. The many-sided star-like ornaments and the arrangement of the motifs towards the centre show a stylistic connection with the inlaid metal-work, the wood and the leather fabrics and the book-illuminations of the Mamlūk period. Only a few large-sized Mamlūk carpets have survived, among which one with a silk pile counts as one of the most beautiful carpets in the world (Vienna, Museum für Angewandte Kunst). More numerous are small specimens with a medallion that takes up the entire width of the carpet, to the upper side and bottom of which a tightly patterned rectangular field is attached. An essential distinction between the Mamlūk and the Anatolian carpets lies in the fact that the former are characterised by groups of patterns and not by regular repeat patterns from which, within a constant internal relation as far as size is concerned, variable formats can be chosen. In the borders rosettes usually alternate with oblong cartouches. European and Oriental sources mention Cairo as an important centre of the knotting industry at least from 1474 onwards.

After Egypt was conquered by the Ottomans in 1517, the Mamlūk carpets were replaced by carpets manufactured in the Ottoman court-style. Their luxuriant floral decoration presents a sharp contrast to the geometrical patterns of the Mamlūk carpets. The palmettes and rosettes, the feathered lanceolate leaves and the naturalistically treated tulips, pinks and hyacinths are also to be found on the contemporary textiles and on pottery and tiles of Iznik. It would therefore seem obvious to deduce that the carpets also were manufactured in Turkey. However, in their fineness, technique and colour-scheme, they differ completely from the rest of the Anatolian carpets, but match to a considerable extent the Mamlūk carpets. It is therefore plausible that they were manufactured in the Cairene workshops after models made by Ottoman artists. This theory is supported by some hybrid types, *i.e.* Mamlūk carpets with elements of Ottoman carpets, and vice versa. The products of the Cairene workshops were of a special quality, as may be seen from the fact that Murād III in 1585 summoned eleven master carpet-makers together with their materials from Cairo to Istanbul. It is as yet unknown whether they carried out there a special order or established a local weaving-industry. Among the Ottoman carpets are some prayer rugs. Ewliyā Celebi mentions the use of Egyptian prayer rugs in Anatolia in the middle of the 17th century. See Pls. VIII, IX.

The chess-board carpets hold an intermediate

position between the Mamlūk and the Anatolian carpets. Their basic motifs are clearly Mamlūk in character: a star with eight rays on which small cypresses, blossoms and rosettes are radially directed, stands in a hexagon or octagon which is itself placed in a square. The way in which this motif is dealt with, the use of various-sized sections of the pattern, the coarse wool, and the weft (which is always red) point however at Anatolia. The colours are restricted to bright blue, vivid green and red, and thus come near to the Mamlūk carpets. Moreover, these chessboard carpets have the Persian knot in common with the Mamlūk and Ottoman carpets. As their place of origin E. Kühnel proposed the area around Adana in Anatolia; Rhodes and Damascus have also been suggested. They can be considered to have originated between the middle of the 10th/16th and the end of the 11th/17th centuries (see E. Kühnel and L. Bellinger, *Cairene rugs and others technically related, 15th-17th cent.*, Washington 1957; K. Erdmann, *Kairener Teppiche*, i, *Europäische und islamische Quellen des 15.-18. Jh.*, in *Ars Islamica*, v (1938), 179; idem, *Mamluken- und Osmanenteppiche*, in *Ars Islamica*, vii (1940), 55; idem, *Neuere Untersuchungen zur Frage der Kairener Teppiche*, in *Ars Orientalis*, iv (1961), 65).

d. Persia

α. Tīmūrid carpets.

The oldest Persian carpets which have been preserved date from the first half of the 10th/16th century. They represent culminating points of the art of carpet knotting which are inconceivable without earlier stages. Tīmūrid miniatures of the 9th/15th century represent indeed with great accuracy various genres of carpets. Roughly, two basic types can be distinguished. First a small-pattern group with geometrical design, consisting of repeating squares, stars and crosses, hexagons, octagons or circles. They resemble contemporary tile-patterns. The motifs are framed by bright, small bands which interlace into stars or crosses and in between into knots. The central field is monochrome or is divided in chess-board style with contrasting colours. In the borders a Kūfic-like writing stands out from a dark background. The relation to the small-patterned Holbein carpets is unmistakable.

This type is replaced by arabesque and flower patterns towards the end of the 9th/15th century. The finest specimens are to be found in the miniatures of the painter Bihzād [*q.v.*]. He belonged to the school of Herāt and was in 1522 entrusted with the direction of the library of Shāh Ismā'il I in Tabriz. A direct influence on the royal carpet manufactories is thus possible. In this new style with arabesque-patterns, construed lines cross the field—symmetrical to both axes—and outline semi-circles, circles, multi-foils, cartouches and ellipses. These forms intersect, creating segments which are emphasised by their colour and by their arabesque tendrils decoration. There are also carpets in which medallions are arranged over arabesques, and others with a simple decoration of scrolls on a monochrome ground. Instead of the stiff Kūfic borders, elegantly twisted tendrils are used. These general principles and individual motifs form the bases of the Safawid carpets of the 10th/16th and 11th/17th centuries (see A. Briggs, *Timurid carpets*, in *Ars Islamica*, vii, 20, and xi-xii, 146).

β. Safawid carpets.

Dating. Four carpets with a date inserted and some



documents provide the basis for dating the carpets which were manufactured in the 10th/16th and 11th/17th centuries under the Ṣafawids: (1) the carpet with the hunting scene, designed by *Ghiyāth al-Dīn Dīāmī* and now in the Museo Poldi Pezzoli, Milan, with the date 929/1522, occasionally also read 949/1542; (2) the famous Ardabil carpet by *Maḥsūd Kāshānī*, dated 946/1539-40, manufactured together with one or even two others for the tomb mosque of *Shaykh Ṣaffī*; then, after a gap of more than 100 years, (3) a "vase" carpet in the museum of Sarajevo, 1067/1656, by *Ustād Mu'min b. Kutb al-Dīn Māhānī*; and finally (4) a silk carpet by *Ni'mat Allāh Dīawshakānī*, dated 1082/1671, from the mausoleum of *Shāh 'Abbās II* in *Ḳum*. Other inscriptions are of a literary character.

A group of silk carpets with larger fields, executed with gold and silver threads, the so-called "Polish"-carpets, represent the style prevalent around 1600 and in the first half of the 17th century (Pl. XV). With the aid of documentary evidence they can be dated as follows. In 1601 the Polish king *Sigismund Vasa III* ordered such a carpet in *Kāshān*. In 1603 and 1621 *Shāh 'Abbās I* had five specimens sent as gifts accompanying an embassy to the Signoria of Venice. Besides, contemporary reports of European travellers contain many references to these carpets. European paintings, which contribute to the dating of Anatolian carpets, are of no help in this respect as far as the Persian carpets are concerned. Only the "Herāt" carpets occur frequently on Dutch paintings of the 17th century. The Ṣafawid miniatures show that at the beginning of the 10th/16th century the basic types of carpets had been developed. The reproductions are, however, not sufficiently differentiated for conclusions to be drawn from the schools of painting about periods of their origin and localisation. Dates are to a high degree determined by stylistic aspects, the quality of the design and realisation and the shape and various degrees of development of the singular forms being weighed one against another. The margin for a subjective judgment remains thus relatively large.

Localisation. Because of their patterns and technical singularities, the Ṣafawid carpets, with some exceptions, can be divided into clearly discernible groups. It is however difficult to see the relations of these groups with the historically-established knotting centres. Undoubtedly the successive capitals *Tabrīz* (from 1502), *Kazwīn* (from 1548) and *Isfahān* (from 1596-7) had their court weaving manufactories. It is possible that the early Ṣafawid carpets came into being in *Tabrīz* under the influence of *Bihzād*. It is surprising that no attempts have been made to localise carpets at *Kazwīn*. The work-shops of *Isfahān* are sufficiently documented. *Jean-Baptiste Tavernier* describes even their exact locality in the *Maydān* area. The manufacturing of silk so-called "Polish carpets" and woollen carpets is proved to have taken place in *Isfahān*. Apparently *Kāshān* was known before *Isfahān* for its silk weaving. *Pedro Teixeira* mentions already in 1604 carpets from *Kāshān* with gold and silk, beautiful brocades and velvets, and the fame of the town was evident in 1601 when King *Sigismund Vasa III* ordered from there silk carpets, worked with gold. So late as 1670 *Chevalier Chardin* calls *Kāshān* the centre of the silk-industry. See Pl. XIV.

The woollen carpets, however, cannot be classified since they are only very summarily dealt with in travellers' accounts. In his appraisal of the quality of Persian carpets, *Pedro Teixeira*, who left Goa in

1604 and travelled to Europe through Persia, puts those from *Yazd* in the first place, those from *Kirmān*—further characterised in 1684-5 by *Engelbert Kaempfer* as carpets with animal patterns made from the best wool—in the second place, and those from *Khūrāsān* in the third. *Thadäus Krusinski* mentions the provinces of *Shīrwān*, *Qarabāgh*, *Gīlān*, the towns of *Kāshān*, *Kirmān*, *Mashhad*, *Astarābād* and the capital *Isfahān* as localities in which court weaving manufactories were erected under *Shāh 'Abbās I*. *Tabrīz* was important during the 16th century, but in the 17th century it is hardly mentioned any more. Indications of the regions of origin, like north-western Persia (*Tabrīz*), southern Persia (*Kirmān*) and eastern Persia (*Herāt* etc.), which have become quite current in the literature on oriental carpets, represent rather a description of a particular type than a concrete localisation. The discovery of oriental sources like town chronicles, descriptions of weaving manufactories or patterns for designs, might clear up this problem.

Compartment rugs. The "Compartment rugs" of the Ṣafawids are derived from the carpets with arabesque pattern of the *Timūrid* period. The early specimens resemble their painted examples so closely that one is tempted to give them an earlier date. A Compartment rug in the Metropolitan Museum, New York, and its companion in the *Musée historique des tissus*, Lyons, thus belong entirely to the *Timūrid* tradition; the net-like pattern consisting of eight-lobed rosettes surrounded by shield-shaped motifs formed by interlaced bands and the East Asian motifs which fill these fields, such as the dragon, the phoenix and cloud bands as well as the arabesque tendrils in the background and the vertical arranged cartouches of the borders can easily be connected with *Timūrid* miniatures. If dated to the beginning of the Ṣafawid period, both carpets could have been manufactured in *Tabrīz*. To this pair of carpets belong some later variants with a raised medallion, establishing the transition to the medallion carpets of North-West Persia, and other variations with shields and quatre-foils in alternating rows. The overlapping fields, found in the carpets in *Bihzād's* miniatures, are seen again on several 17th century "Polish" carpets.

Carpets with hunting scenes and animals. The influence of miniature-painting is most evident on the carpets with hunting scenes and animals. Except for a few carpets with figures arranged asymmetrically, the scenes are adjusted symmetrically on the background, both in horizontal and vertical directions. An arrangement of medallions is put above this, usually with one medallion in the centre and quarters of medallions in the corners of the field. The hunters, on foot or horseback, attack lions, leopards, gazelles, deer and hares with spears, swords and arrows. Together with a great variety of birds, these animals appear also on the carpets with only animals, on which fights between deer or bull and lion, or between the *ch'i lin* or Chinese unicorn and dragon are in the foreground. The "Chelsea" carpet of the Victoria and Albert Museum, London (pl. X), with its net of medallions connected by diagonally arranged pointed ovals, holds a middle position between the Compartment rugs and the traditional carpets with medallions and animals. An upward and downward string of arabesque leaves divides the border in interlocking parts of contrasting colours. As "reciprocal pinnacle border", it was, in a simpler form, very popular on the later Ṣafawid carpets. Among the carpets which are close to the miniatures,



two large, silk carpets with hunting scenes, in Vienna and Boston (see below), are conspicuous. To these are closely connected some silk woven carpets and about 12 woollen carpets (the so-called "Sanguszko" group).

Carpets with figures flourished in the 10th/16th century under Shāh Tahmāsp I. Apart from the mastery of the designs, their technical realisation is exemplary. They are an expression of court luxury. Such carpets were undoubtedly manufactured in Tabriz, but the stylistic and technical differences point to other weaving centres as well. Under Shāh 'Abbās I carpets with figures lose their importance, so that the few specimens of the 11th/17th century are mere offshoots of the 10th/16th century carpets.

North-west Persian Medallion-carpet. Together with a series of medallion carpets with figures, a restricted group of carpets which have in common a medallion on a background that is filled with tendrils is localised in north-western Persia, including Tabriz. The most conspicuous specimen is the Ardabil carpet, according to its inscription dated 946/1539-40. A star-shaped medallion, with corresponding quarter medallions in the corners of the field, appears above a fourfold symmetrical double system consisting of elegant spiral tendrils (see Rexford Stead, *The Ardabil carpets*, J. Paul Getty Museum, California 1974). More characteristic is a simpler class of carpets with medallions on a continuous, somewhat clumsily designed pattern of scrolls with small repeat. Here too the medallions are star-shaped and, as in the case with all medallion carpets of the 10th/16th century, they clearly stand out from the pattern of the background. Often secondary designs are added of a vertical cartouche and a shield-pendant, mostly to be found lengthwise on both sides. Border patterns consist of alternating cartouches and rosettes or a continuous, mirrored repeat of short, interlaced arabesque tendrils. Particularly striking in these carpets is their relatively long format. See Pl. XI.

Herāt carpets. The Herāt carpets normally have no medallion. They are characterised by a variety of large palmettes with flamboyant contours, which cover the points where most delicate spiral scrolls split and touch the symmetrical axes. The colour of the field is almost always purple, that of the borders dark green or deep blue. On the specimens of the 10th/16th century the spiral scrolls are tightly connected. The design is dense, with many bizarre cloud bands and often intermingled with animals and scenes of animal fights. The rich use of East Asiatic motifs has led scholars to localise these carpets in eastern Persia; it is indeed proved that high-quality carpets were manufactured in Khurāsān and its capital Herāt.

In a later type, the arrangement of tendrils is looser and wider, the cloud bands are less frequent and more clumsy, and animals are completely absent. The pattern is determined by palmettes and long, often two-coloured lanceolate leaves, also simplified. The details and borders show parallels with the "Polish" carpets, and therefore this type of Herāt carpets too can be dated to the 11th/17th century. It is as yet undetermined whether these are identical with the woollen carpets manufactured in Isfahan. Such "Herāt" carpets were exported to India and there imitated. It is difficult to distinguish between Persian and Indian workmanship. So far unambiguous criteria are lacking (see below). These carpets are the only type of classical Persian carpets which appear frequently on European paintings, especially the Dutch genre-paintings of the 17th century. These

"Herāt" carpets were evidently a valuable commodity to Europeans, for they have been preserved in great quantity mainly in Portugal and Holland, countries which through their East India Companies had close commercial relations with Persia and India. See Pl. XII.

"Vase" carpets. In contrast with the medallion and "Herāt" carpets, the "vase" carpets have mostly a rising pattern which is mirrored only with respect to the longitudinal axis. The direction is determined by blossoming shrubs and, on many of these carpets, by receptacles which have the form of vases of Chinese porcelain, filled with flowers, from which the name of this group of carpets is derived. Typical is the division of the field by means of oval lozenges. Three groups of lozenges, pushed one against the other, are mostly intersected. They arise from undulating pairs of tendrils which touch each other and retreat behind magnificent flowers. The lozenges may however also be outlined clearly by tendrils or broad lanceolate leaves and be filled up with various colours. Occasionally, the arrangement of lozenges is absent and there remain entangled rows of flower-vases or shrubs arranged in a staggered pattern. Sometimes also patterns of arabesques occur, intermingled with shrubs and in connection with medallions. Striking are the wealth of colours, especially conspicuous in large-sized rosettes and palmettes, and the combination of these stylised flowers with naturalistic bushes. The borders are relatively small and the inner or outer guards are often lacking.

Opinions differ about the date of the "vase" carpets. Some fragments with very luxuriant décor and vivid lineation recall stylistically the best "Polish" carpets, with which they can be dated to the beginning of the 17th century. It is still under discussion whether the pieces of the main group, which are designed in a clearer and stiffer way, originated before or after these fragments. Some are of later date, as is shown by the impoverishment of the pattern. More difficult is the decision about others, which are rich in details notwithstanding the rather simple pattern. The "vase" carpet of the museum of Sarajevo, dated 1656, is not typical. Its extraordinary well-executed design and the fact that figurative motifs are in general lacking, favours the opinion that most of the "vase" carpets originated in the 11th/17th century. Southern Persia (Kirmān) is regarded as the region of their manufacture (see K. Erdmann, review of *A survey of Persian art*, in *Ars Islamica*, viii, 174 ff.). See Pl. XIII.

Garden carpets. Safawid gardens with their geometrical division by rectilinear canals, as e.g. Hazār Djarīb near Isfahān, and the garden at Ashraf, laid out by Shāh 'Abbās I in 1612, are reflected in the garden carpets. With their canals and basins with fish and ducks, bordered by trees and bushes in which birds and other creatures frolic, these carpets represent "portable gardens" which are accessible all year round. The earliest specimen is probably a garden carpet in the Jaipur Museum. According to an inscription on the back, this "foreign carpet" arrived at the palace in Jaipur on 29 August 1632, probably by order or as a gift. Apart from this one, only two other garden-carpet from the Safawid period have survived. The type lives on in a later, restricted group which can be distinguished from its Safawid predecessors by the schematic outline of the details, although the general principle remains the same. They may have been manufactured in north-western Persia from the second half of the 18th century until sometime in the 19th century (see M.S. Dimand,



A Persian garden carpet in the Jaipur Museum, in Ars Islamica, vii (1940), 93; and Pl. XVI, no. 17).

“Portuguese” carpets. The ten to fifteen “Portuguese” carpets all go back to the same model and form thus the most coherent group. They owe their name to the representations of sailing ships with European-dressed persons on board and a man who emerges from the water among fishes and sea monsters. The representation is repeated four times in the corners, and recalls the ornamental motifs on European maps. One of the interpretations of that scene is that it depicts the arrival of Portuguese ambassadors in the Persian Gulf. From the combination of oriental and European motifs it was further concluded that these carpets were intended for Portuguese in Goa. The rest of the filling of the fields is also unusual. It consists of a lozenge-shaped middle field with four small, pointed oval medallions and irregularly notched and feathered outline, surrounded by concentric interlacing stripes of various colours. In the earlier specimens these stripes are vivid and irregularly forked, in the later ones they are rectilinear, parallel and regular. While there is no doubt about dating them to the 17th century, their place of origin still remains uncertain. Formerly these carpets were considered to have originated in southern or central Persia, but now some scholars have proposed India. Neither hypothesis is supported by convincing proofs (see C.G. Ellis, *The Portuguese carpets of Gujarat, in Islamic art in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, ed. R. Ettinghausen, New York 1973, 267).

Silk carpets. The change in style which the Ṣafawid carpets underwent between the 10th/16th and the 11th/17th centuries, is especially recognisable in the silk carpets. The most famous and largest carpet of this kind is the so-called Vienna hunting carpet which was in the possession of the Austrian imperial house and is now in the Museum für angewandte Kunst in Vienna. The use of silk for pile, warp and weft produces a very fine texture and gives the possibility for an extremely precise design. So it is not only because of its costly material that this carpet heads the figurative medallion carpets oriented towards the miniature painting and dating from the period of Shāh Tahmāsp. Its size of 6.93 × 3.23 m. corresponds with that of the large, woollen, knotted carpets. Many details are executed in gold and silver brocade. It is said to have originated from Tabriz or, more probably, from Kāshān, known for its silk industry. A silk hunting carpet from the collection of Baron M. de Rothschild, which can be compared with the Vienna carpet, is now in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston. Some thirteen small-sized silk carpets, which K. Erdmann called the “small silk carpets of Kāshān” (*Siebenhundert Jahre Orientteppiche*, 143), are related to these two. Apart from four carpets with animals and animal fights in a rising, symmetrical arrangement, they also represent the type of the early medallion carpets. Representations of persons and peris are lacking. They return on some woven silk carpets, also mostly of small size, which fit in stylistically with the figurative woollen carpets of the “Sanguszko” group, and among which a fragmentary hunting carpet in the Residenzmuseum at Munich stands out. Because of its size, theme and quality of delineation it is directly related to the Viennese hunting carpet. It must, however, be taken into account that the technique of a woven carpet does not permit the elegant lineation of a knotted one. All these woven carpets have pointed oval medallions with transverse cartouches, borders with alternating cartouches and quatrefoils. In comparison

with the knotted silk carpets the use of gold and silver brocade on large fields is new, and not only with respect to the emphasising of details. If the making of the Vienna hunting carpet, which undoubtedly figures at the beginning of the development, is dated to about the middle of the 16th century, then the “small silk carpets of Kāshān”, the figurative woven carpets and the woollen carpets of the “Sanguszko”-group present the style of the second half of the 16th century.

Contrasting with the new figurative woven carpets, there is a large group of woven carpets with purely floral decor, in which a coarsening of the lineation is recognisable. In two of these carpets—one completely preserved in the Residenzmuseum in Munich (Pl. XI) and the lengthwise half of another in the Textile Museum in Washington—the arms of the Polish king Sigismund Vasa III have been woven. As is known from documents, the king ordered in 1601 silk carpets worked with gold from Kāshān. In a bill of 12 September 1602 pairs of carpets are mentioned, together with the sum of five crowns for the weaving of the royal arms. In 1642 an undefined number of carpets came as dowry into the possession of the Elector Philip William of the Palatinate by his marriage to princess Anna Catherina Constanza, a daughter of Sigismund III. Among these carpets were undoubtedly not only the woven carpets with the arms but certainly also the other woven carpets and the “Polish” carpets, now in the Residenzmuseum. The carpets with the arms thus illustrate the style of woven carpets about 1600. They form the starting point for a chronological order of the floral woven carpets, which with their latest specimens may reach as far as the second half of the 17th century. In the shape of their medallions, however, they remain related to the early Ṣafawid carpets.

The view that carpets with figurative representations were no more in fashion in the 17th century is confirmed by the knotted silk carpets, the large fields of which are brocaded with gold and silver threads, and the manufacturing of which flourished under Shāh ‘Abbās I. At first these carpets were thought to be of Polish origin and therefore were called “Polish carpets”. The group includes now about 230 specimens, which came into the possession of European courts or churches as gifts of ambassadors or on order. They were however not only intended for export but were also in Persia a sign of wealth and luxury, and bear witness to the court taste in the beginning of the 17th century. Since these “representation” carpets, in contrast to the woollen carpets, evoked again and again the admiration of European travellers, they form rich source material, much more so than any other kind of Ṣafawid carpets. And thus it can also be ascertained that the main group was produced in the court manufactory in the *Maydān* area of Iṣfahān. In the “Polish” carpets the relaxation of the 16th century rules for the form of the carpets is unmistakable. This is shown by the shifting from lines to fields, which finds expression in the abandoning of the monochrome foundation and in the loss of the clear delineation of the medallions against the background. Characteristic is further a luxuriant, merely floral décor.

Production in great quantities brought about a rationalisation of the design, as can easily be shown from the many specimens known. This kind of production necessitated also economy in the material, as may be seen from the preference for smaller sizes



and above all from the use of cotton besides silk in the weft.

The patterns can be reduced to about a dozen basic systems, mostly present in the few large-sized carpets. Variety is brought about by a difference in choice of various details, by different medallions and borders and by variations of colours. Apparently these carpets were preferably knotted in pairs, because until today 25 exact pairs are known, harmonising even in the borders and the division of colours. Continuing the tradition of Kāshān, where the earliest of these carpets may have originated, the uniform style of the "Polish" carpets was probably developed in Iṣfahān at the beginning of the 17th century, after the court was transferred there in 1005/1596-7. The "Polish" carpets, characterised by an obvious negligence in the discipline of the drawing, may date from the second half of the 17th century. The destruction of the Ṣafawid dynasty by the Afghāns in 1722 put an end to the manufacture of brocade textile (see K. Erdmann, *Persische Wirkteppiche der Ṣafawidenzeit*, in *Pantheon* (1932), 227; F. Spuhler, *Der figurale Kaschan-Wirkteppich aus den Sgn. des regierenden Fürsten von Liechtenstein*, in *Kunst des Orients*, v/1 (1968), 55; T. Mankowski, *Note on the cost of Kashan carpets at the beginning of the 17th century*, in *Bull. of the American Inst. for Persian Art and Archaeology*, iv (1936), 152; M.S. Dimand, *Loan exhibition of Persian rugs of the so-called Polish type*, Metropolitan Museum New York 1930; F. Spuhler, *Ein neuerworbener "Polenteppich" des Museums für Islamische Kunst*, in *Berliner Museen*, N.F., xx/1, 27; idem, *Seidene Repräsentationsteppiche der mittleren bis späten Ṣafawidenzeit*, inaugural thesis, Berlin 1968, to be published by Faber and Faber, London).

γ. 18th and 19th Centuries

The few carpets from the 18th century abandon to a great extent the tradition of the two preceding centuries. Simpler repeated patterns with plant motifs like trees, shrubs, forked leaves, palmettes and rosettes are preferred. In the 19th century production revives. The old centres of Tabrīz, Iṣfahān, Kāshān, Kirmān and Khurāsān with Herāt gain new importance with mostly large carpets. In Tabrīz and Kāshān small-sized silk carpets are knotted too, also as prayer rugs. The arrangement of the medallions on a monochrome or small-patterned background is preferred. A typical design of the 19th century is the "Herātī" pattern, spread all over Persia. The main element of its repeat is a lozenge with four lanceolate leaves which run parallel to the sides and a rosette in the centre. The *boteh* or almondstone pattern is equally popular. The figural carpets have their origin in the hunting and animal carpets of the 10th/16th century and came mainly from Tehran and Kirmān. Elements of the classical pattern are geometrised and distorted. Peculiarity and liveliness cannot be denied to the products of the 19th century. This is especially true for the carpets from the surroundings of the town of Bidjār, which are, moreover, of outstanding quality. Characteristic is an extremely fine carpet, dated 1209/1794 (formerly in the McMullan collection, now in the Metropolitan Museum, New York), which in colouration and structure belongs to the Bidjār carpets and for the drawing of which a pattern of a "vase" carpet was used. A series of later Bidjārs can be connected to this one.

In contrast with the preceding centuries, there have been preserved from the 19th century not only

carpets from the manufactories, but also carpets that were made by tribes and villages for their personal use, and village products of cottage industries, marketed in the larger towns. They are usually small-sized. Their charm lies in their originality. To these belong carpets from the towns of Hamadān, Saruḡ, Bidjār, Herīz, Senneh and Kirmānshāh and from the Kurdish tribes in the neighbourhood. Some of the patterns of the Bakhtiyāris living to the west of Iṣfahān are based on the Iṣfahān-style. The Kāshkā'ī nomads around Shīrāz use both purely geometrical forms and flowers and animals (see A.C. Edwards, *The Persian carpet*, London 1953) (see further on tribal carpets, Section iii below).

e. India

During the 16th and 17th centuries carpets sometimes of very high perfection were manufactured in the towns of Āgra, Lahore and Jaipur, evidently without any preceding Indian tradition in this field of handicraft. The stimuli surely came from Persia. Under the Mughal Akbar I (1556-1605), a strong tendency towards Ṣafawid taste was developing. This led to the summoning of Persian artists and craftsmen and affected all the artistic activities under Akbar's successors Djahāngīr, Shāh Djahān and Awrangzīb until about 1700. Between 1625 and 1630 European influences too made themselves felt. In the present state of research it is not possible to establish a chronology of the Indian carpets of the Mughal period. It is plausible that the separate groups did not replace one another but existed contemporaneously. Some fragments with grotesque animal patterns which are rooted in Indian mythology are to be placed at the beginning of the development and dated perhaps as early as the 16th century. The miniatures in the *Akbar-nāma* of Abu 'l-Faḍl [q.v.], dated 1602-5, give us an idea of the carpets ca. 1600. With their oval medallions, scrolls and cloud-bands, they correspond to the Persian carpets of the 16th century, so that the actual origin remains obscure. In the same way the Indian carpets of the later "Herāt" type cannot with certainty be separated from their Persian predecessors. A group with pattern of scrolls stands out more clearly; it is characterised by lanceolate leaves at the ends of the scrolls, formed by leaves of blossoms which overlap like scales. This group is represented by a carpet which was ordered in Lahore and presented in 1634 by Mr. Robert Bell, now in the possession of the Girdlers' Company of the City of London. Also authentically Indian is a carpet with scenes of animal fights, carrying the arms of the Fremlin family (now in the Victoria and Albert Museum in London), which helps to distinguish the Indian animal carpets from the Persian ones. R. Skelton has proved convincingly that a naturalistic flower style arises in miniature painting between 1620 and 1627, towards the end of the reign of Djahāngīr. This style, encouraged by the import of European botanical works, spread to carpets and textile fabrics and did not hesitate to employ plastic effects in its design, produced by gradations of colour. A carpet with rows of blossoming shrubs lies underneath Awrangzīb's throne on a portrait painted around 1660. A date *post quem* is thus available for quite a number of extant carpets of this kind, with cherry-red background and a fine arrangement of colours. Such a date is valid too for the extraordinarily tight-knotted prayer rugs with a central blossoming bush, standing out from a flat landscape. Apparently both types did not originate before the second quarter of



the 17th century and may have reached their peak of popularity about the middle of that century. Their differing quality indicates that they were manufactured in various centres. In the 18th and 19th centuries the Indian carpets seem to have been made only for export and are artistically without consequence (see R. Skelton, *A decorative motif in Mughal art, in Aspects of Indian Art, Papers presented in a symposium at the Los Angeles Country Museum of Art*, October 1970, Leiden 1972, 147; and Pls. XVI, XVII).

f. The Caucasus

The stylised, archaising representations of pairs of animals, dragons, trees, bushes, etc. on the Caucasian dragon and tree carpets caused F.R. Marquart in 1908, in the first chronology of Oriental carpets, to place these carpets at the beginning of the development and to date them to the 13th/14th centuries. This opinion however is contradicted by the evident influence the Šafawid carpets have had on these "dragon" carpets, as is shown by the floral motifs, animals and scenes of animal fights. These carpets got their name from the dragons which are mostly distorted until they are unrecognisable. The dragons are inserted into a rising lozenge-shaped design, made from diagonal stripes. This arrangement and the narrow borders point to a relation with the "vase" carpets. According to modern opinion, only a few of these carpets date back to the 17th century. Together with their Caucasian versions, most of them are derived from the 18th century tree-carpet and floral carpets with spiral tendrils and have their origin in the Shirwān/Karabāgh area. Some of the Caucasian carpets of the 17th and 18th centuries are of considerable size, which indicated that they were manufactured in urban manufactories. In accordance with the sense of decoration of the rural population, a profusion of bright patterns with large fields in lively colouration developed in the 19th century from the above-mentioned wealth of forms. With their geometrical design these small carpets and runners—there are no more large-sized carpets in this period—stand out clearly from the Persian carpets of the 19th century. The most important knotting centres were Kazak, Shirwān, Dāghistān, Karabāgh, Mūghān, Tālīsh, Gandja and Kuba (see A. Sakisian, *Nouveaux documents sur les tapis arméniens*, in *Syria*, xvii (1936), 177; M. Agaoglu, *Dragon rugs, a loan exhibition*, The Textile Museum Washington 1948; U. Schürmann, *Teppiche aus dem Kaukasus*, Brunswick n.d., Eng. tr. Grainge, Basingstoke 1974; Catalogues: *Kaukasische Teppiche*, Museum für Kunsthandwerk Frankfurt 1962; C.G. Ellis, *Caucasian carpets in the Textile Museum*, in *Forschungen zur Kunst Asiens*, in *Memoriam Kurt Erdmann*, Istanbul 1969, 194; and Pl. XVII, no. 20).

g. Spain

In a survey of knotted carpets as expressions of Islamic handicraft, the early Spanish carpets should also be mentioned. The so-called synagogue carpet of the Islamisches Museum, Berlin (I, 27), is probably the oldest and may belong to the 14th-15th centuries. They are often large-sized pieces in a style which prefigures the later "Holbein" carpets. The colours of the Spanish carpets are marked by stronger contrasts. The "Turkish" group may date from the 15th/16th centuries and is succeeded by works with Renaissance elements. Alcaraz, Letur, Cuenca and Valencia are known as knotting centres. The technical peculiarity of the Spanish carpets consists in the fact that the knot is always twisted about a warp

(see J. Ferrandis Torrès, *Exposición de alfombras antiguas españolas*, Madrid 1933; E. Kühnel, *Maurische Teppiche aus Alcaraz*, Pantheon 1930, 416; E. Kühnel and L. Bellingier, *Catalogue of Spanish rugs, 12th cent. to 19th cent.*, The Textile Museum, Washington 1953).

h. Turkestan

The varieties of the Turkoman productions are determined by the use that is made of them, especially as furnishing of the tent [see KHAYMA, iv, Central Asia]. Small carpets serve as floor-coverings, as curtains for the entrance, corresponding in format and design with a prayer rug, as tent-bands which border the upper edge of the round yurt. Various bags to store supplies, saddlebags and camel-ornaments are also knotted. They all have in common a deep-red to dark-purple ground and an all-over, geometric, repeat design in bright red, blue, white and (rarely) green and yellow. The way in which the *gül*, the star-shaped to octagonal leading motif which has the function of a tribal sign, is executed, may indicate the particular nomadic tribes: Tekke Turkomans, Yomuts, Čavdīrs (Tchodovs), Ersarīs and Sarīks, to whom can be linked the Balūč in the west and the Afghāns in the south. The way in which transposed rows of principal and subordinate *güls* are arranged, already existent on carpets to be seen on Tīmūrid miniatures and on "Holbein" carpets, suggests a long tradition in the knotting art. Since, however, any support for an accurate dating is lacking, one hesitates to date single specimens to the 18th century (see A. Bogolubow, *Tapis-series de l'Asie centrale faisant partie de la collection réunie par A. Bogolubow*, St. Petersburg 1908 (new edition: A.A. Bogolyubov, *Carpets of Central Asia*, ed. J.M.A. Thompson, London 1973); H. Clark, *Bokhara, Turkoman and Afghan rugs*, London 1922; A. Thacher, *Turkoman rugs*, New York 1940; U. Schürmann, *Zentral-Asiatische Teppiche*, Frankfurt 1969, Eng. tr., *Central Asian rugs*, London 1970; V.G. Moshkova, *Kovry narodov sredney Azii Konza 19-20 vv.*, Tashkent 1970, Ger. tr., *Die Teppiche der Völker Mittelasiens*, Hamburg 1974).

3. Public Collections of Oriental Carpets

Europe. The most important collections are in Vienna, Österreichisches Museum für angewandte Kunst; London, Victoria and Albert Museum; Istanbul, Türk ve İslām Eserler Müzesi; Berlin, Islamisches Museum, Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (East Berlin) and Museum für Islamische Kunst, Staatliche Museen, Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz (West Berlin). Also in Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum; Florence, Museo Bardini; Hamburg, Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe; Leningrad, Hermitage; Lisbon, Fondation Calouste Gulbenkian; Lyons, Musée Historique des Tissus; Milan, Museo Poldi Pezzoli; Munich, Residenzmuseum and Bayerisches Nationalmuseum; Paris, Musée des Arts Décoratifs.

U.S.A. The most important collections are in New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, and Washington, The Textile Museum. Also in Boston, Museum of Fine Arts; Cleveland, The Cleveland Museum of Arts; Detroit, The Detroit Institute of Arts; Los Angeles, County Museum; Philadelphia, Philadelphia Museum of Art; St. Louis, City Art Museum of St. Louis.

4. Bibliographies

The most extensive bibliography is in K. Erdmann, *Der orientalische Knüppteppich*, Tübingen 1955 (several



editions) arranged according to areas and within these chronologically by the year of publication (English tr. C.G. Ellis, *Oriental carpets*, London 1960, 2nd impression, Fishguard 1976); K.A.C. Creswell, *A bibliography of the architecture, arts and crafts of Islam to 1st Jan. 1960*, London 1961, Oxford 1973, 1139-1204, alphabetically arranged by authors (Supplement, Jan. 1960 to Jan. 1972, Cairo 1974 (329-37)); J.D. Pearson, *Index islamicus*; R. Ettinghausen art. *Kālī*, in *EI* Suppl.

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Exhibitions and Museum publications: *L'Art de l'Orient Islamique, Collection de la Fondation Calouste Gulbenkian*, Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, Lisbon 1963; *Meisterstücke orientalischer Knüpfkunst, Collection A. Danker*, Städtisches Museum Wiesbaden, 1966; *The Kevorkian Foundation collection of rare and magnificent oriental carpets, Special Loan Exhibition, a guide and catalogue*, by M.S. Dimand, Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York 1966; *Islamische Teppiche, The Joseph V. McMullan collection*, New York, Museum für Kunst-handwerk Frankfurt 1968, catalogue by U. Schürmann; *Alte Orient-Teppiche*, Museum für Kunst und Gewebe Hamburg 1970, ed. R. Hempel and M. Preysing; *Arts de l'Islam des origines à 1700*, Orangerie des Tuileries, Paris 1971; *Islamic carpets from the collection of Joseph V. McMullan*, Hayward Gallery, London 1972; M.S. Dimand and Jean Mailey, *Oriental rugs in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, New York 1973.

Private collections and handbooks: J.V. McMullan, *Islamic carpets*, New York 1965; M.H. Beattie, *Die orientalische Teppiche in der Sammlung Thyssen-Bornemisza*, Castagnola 1972; P.M. Campana, *Il tappeto orientale*, Milan 1962; G. Cohen, *Il fascino del tappeto orientale*, Milan 1968; R. Hubel, *Ullstein Teppichbuch*, Berlin, Frankfurt, Vienna 1965; K. Erdmann, *Siebenhundert Jahre Orientteppich*, Herford 1966 (Eng. tr. M.H. Beattie and H. Herzog, *Seven hundred years of oriental carpets*, London 1970).

(F. SPÜHLER)

ii. IN THE MUSLIM WEST

In the Muslim West, the term *bisāt*, pl. *busuṭ* is attested, notably by Ibn Khaldūn, *Mukaddima*, who uses it to describe the revenues paid every year by the Aghlabids to the 'Abbāsid caliphs; under the caliphate of al-Ma'mūn, there is mention of 120 carpets (*busuṭ*). It may thus be supposed that these were precious objects of real artistic value and one's natural inclination is to think of "the carpet on which the sovereign and his ministers are seated" (Dozy, *Suppl.* i, 85, col. 2). Unfortunately, nothing is known of these carpets which were presumably manufactured in the large cities, al-Qayrawān and its satellites 'Abbāsiyya or Raqqāda, in particular. Does the fact that these products were intended for the highest dignitaries permit us to suppose that, as early as this period, there was at least one *ṭirāz* [q.v.] in Ifriqiya? A workshop of this kind is attested

at Mahdiyya in the period of the Fāṭimid al-Manṣūr (*Ḍhawdhār*, tr. Canard, 75), and there is mention of the manufacture of carpets there. It would seem legitimate to suppose that, under the Aghlabids, there was the capacity for weaving luxury carpets (no doubt inspired by the carpets of the East) intended for the caliphs and for the most senior officials of the Muslim world.

The term *bisāt* is also employed by Yākūt (7th/13th century), who mentions *busuṭ* in the region of Tebessa and describes them as sumptuous, well-made and long-lasting. Should these carpets be seen as the ancestors of the lock-stitched carpets which, until recently, still constituted one of the principal items of tent furniture, especially in the region of Tebessa: the tribes of the Nememsha, the Harakta, the Mahadba and the Hamāma? The most ancient of these products, with strictly geometric decoration, appear to perpetuate the old local traditions such are still to be found in the Djebel Amour, as well as in the Moroccan Middle and High Atlas.

Bisāt is not at the present time employed in any part of North Africa, where various other Arabic words are used to designate these long, polychrome, woven fabrics: *ḳīṭf* or *ḳatīfa*, *matrah*, *frāsh*, *farrashīyya*, while in Morocco, Berber or Berberised words are also used (P. Ricard, *Corpus*); as for the carpets manufactured in the towns (al-Qayrawān, Guergour, Nedroma, Rabat, Mediouna), they are called *zarbiyya*, pl. *zrābī*, or *sadijdāda*, pl. *sadijdādāt*. These carpets are strongly influenced by the carpets of Anatolia and of old Andalusia.

The existence of *busuṭ* carpets in Muslim Spain is attested by various authors, in particular at Murcia. These products were much valued in the Orient (al-Makkārī, *Nafh al-tīb*, i, 123). Yākūt speaks of the *busuṭ* of Elche (Alsh) (i, 350); but the expression *waṭā'* is preferred when describing the carpets of Chinchilla or of Baza, the reputation of which extended as far as the Orient.

In the modern and contemporary period, the centres of traditional lock-stitch weaving in North Africa are distributed as follows:

(1) Carpets woven usually by men (*reggām*), generally within the tent:

Tunisia: the Hamāma, the Mahadba, the Durayd, the Ouled bou Ghanem tribes.

Algeria: the Nememsha, the Harakta, the Maadid, the Hodna tribes. See Pl. XVIII.

All these carpets are characterised by ancient, essentially geometric patterns, with compositions that vary little, and a colour scheme reduced to two or three shades, and by apparently more recent patterns inspired by the carpets of Anatolia, characterised by one or several central polygonal motifs (*mīhrāb*) framed by orthogonal fillets. The multiplication of *mīhrābs* permits the creation of carpets of large dimensions. They are all polychrome, red being the dominant background colour.

The carpets of the Djebel Amour (Algeria) have remained faithful to geometric décor and to ancient local compositions; there are only two dominant colours, red for the background and dark blue for the motifs (recently replaced by black). At the edges there are fringes woven with a polychrome geometric design. These carpets are comparable with certain Moroccan woven products of the Middle Atlas. See pl. XIX.

Morocco: carpets of the High Atlas: Haouz of Marrakesh, Ouled bou Sbaa, Ait Ouaozguet, etc.; carpets of the Middle Atlas: Zemmour, Zaian, Beni



M'tir, Beni Mguild, Ait Youssi, Marmoucha, Ait Saghrouchen, Beni Alaham, Beni Ouaraïn, etc.

All these carpets manufactured among Berber tribes are of geometric design and employ only a limited range of colours.

(2) Carpets of urban manufacture showing Anatolian influence (woven by women):

Tunisia: al-Ḳayrawān, Tunis, and various coastal cities where the influence of al-Ḳayrawān has been effective for about a century, there being sometimes local types with a fair degree of originality, (Bizerta in particular).

Algeria: Cuergour and Sétif (at this present time in the process of disappearing), Souf, Qal'a of the Banū Rached (influenced by Andalusian products).

Morocco: Rabat-Salé, Casablanca, Mediouna (also influenced by Andalusia).

All these carpets were, or still are, woven in the home, as a family business.

In the contemporary period, the manufacture of carpets, an export product, is tending to become an industry, especially in the major cities such as al-Ḳayrawān, Tunis, Tlemcen, Rabat-Salé, Casablanca, and also in the more modest towns such as Nabeul, Bizerta, Tebessa, Cherchel, etc.

Bibliography: Giacobetti, *Les tapis et tissages du Djebel Amour*, 1932; P. Ricard, *Corpus des tapis marocains*, 4 vols. 1923-24; L. Poinssot and J. Revault, *Tapis tunisiens*, 4 vols. 1937-57; L. Golvin, *Les arts populaires en Algérie*, 6 vols. 1950-6. (L. GOLVIN)

iii. TRIBAL RUGS

1. Nomenclature. Until the 1960s few writers on carpet history except, perhaps, A.C. Edwards (*The Persian carpet*, London 1975), distinguished between the output of cities, villages and tribal groups, and only in the past twenty-five years has the ancient life style of Central Asia's pastoral nomads attracted anthropologists, making it possible to isolate and study their artefacts.

The custom of marketing an area's rugs in the local town has obfuscated classification—for instance, Bergama has lent its name to rugs made by villagers and tribes in its hinterland, while Bukhara is still the popular label for the rugs of the Tekke Türkmén. Such misleading nomenclature, coined in the last century, is now being superseded by more precise classification. Similarly, confusing technical terms, with variants in different countries, are being replaced by clearer terminology, based on I. Emery's work (*The primary structure of fabrics*, Washington, D.C. 1966). In the past the words *carpet* and *rug* (and in French the word *tapis*) have been used synonymously, leading to difficulty in the study of documentary evidence. *Carpet* is now used to define a knotted article of some size, say, 300 by 240 cm. and upwards, while a *rug*, also of knotted pile, is smaller, measuring up to about 300 by 200 cm. Both words have been used to define flat-weave articles as well, and these are now named after their technique, for instance, *kilim* or *gelim*, which is tapestry-woven, and *sumak*, after *sumak* weft-wrapping. Only knotted pilework is discussed here.

2. Technique. There are a number of knots of which, as noted in Section i. 1 above, the two most common are the Gordes or Turkish knot and the Sennéh or Persian knot. Both are of known antiquity; the Pazyryk rug, dating from the 4th to 3rd century B.C., was made with the Turkish knot, while the Basadar fragments, possibly a century older,

show the Persian knot. Again, these terms have proved confusing. The second was named after Sennéh, in northwestern Iran, but in the area of modern Sanandadj the Turkish knot predominates. Consequently, although the so-called Turkish knot is the most commonly used in Turkey, both knots are found in Iran and both have been found in the same rug. Classification by knot only, therefore, should be regarded with caution. Each has different characteristics: the Turkish knot is symmetrical, the two tufts lying evenly on either side of the warps, and it is suited to a longer pile, while the Persian knot is asymmetrical, the tufts slanting to the left or right of the warps, and is favoured where clear definition of a complex pattern is required. Some scholars have now adopted the term *symmetrical* for the Turkish knot and *asymmetrical* for the Persian.

Description of designs is also prone to variation and many names have been arbitrarily coined by Europeans. A floor carpet can be described as follows: first, the central field and its ornament (some German writers, however, use the word *field* to define the motifs), while the borders are numbered starting from the inner one and specifying the main, or largest, border and the guards or narrow bands which divide them. This system may be adapted to describe saddle-bags, tent-bags and animal trappings.

In city workshops, fixed vertical looms make large pieces possible, and women knotters work from a cartoon under male supervision. Villagers use both vertical and horizontal looms, while among the tribes the latter is normal. The tribal loom (Pl. XX), evolved into streamlined simplicity, consists of wood warp beams, pegged into the ground. It is light, easily transported and flexible since it can be used to weave tapestry or, with the addition of a tripod supporting heddle rods, can be adapted for knotting or various compound weaves. It is necessarily small, and tension is difficult to control since it may be moved while a rug is being made. While cotton warps are favoured in cities and villages, tribal rugs until recently were knotted on wool warps, or a mixture of wool and goat hair, giving them their characteristic suppleness. Tribal wool is of fine quality, carefully selected and dyed. Vegetable dyes were retained longer by the tribes than by settled weavers, and a much-admired feature is the variations in tone, known as *abrash*, due to the dyeing of small batches of wool as required. Most of the dye plants like madder, weld and indigo are common, and it is the recipes which give colours their individuality.

The technique of knotting varies. In southern Iran knots are tied with the fingers and cut with a knife, while up in the north-west the wool is pulled through the warps with a hooked tool, at the other end of which is the cutting-blade. Having begun with up to 20 cm. of flat-weave, known as an "end", the weaver ties one, two or more rows of knots and between these inserts a row or two of plain-weave wefts, packing them down firmly with a carpet comb (Pl. XXI) to hold the knots in position. The cording at the sides is put in as the work progresses. Tribal weavers will use an old rug as a model and are free to improvise, especially on detail. The rug is finished with another "end" and the excess warps form the fringes. Clipping of the pile, requiring great skill, is done by tribeswomen as they go along, while in city workshops the knots are roughly slashed and the finished carpet, looking like an unkempt hedge, is clipped by a specialist. Tribal knotting varies from the coarse, shaggy pile of



Yürük rugs to the fine, velvety surface of Türkmen bags. Each has its own attraction, since the design is evolved to enhance the quality of the wool.

3. History. The carpet from Barrow 5 at Pazyryk (see S.I. Rudenko, *Naseleniya gomogo Altaya v Skifskoe Vremya*, Moscow-Leningrad 1953. Eng. tr. M.W. Thompson, *Frozen tombs of Siberia*, London 1970, 298-304) pushed back the beginnings of carpet history from the 6th century A.D. to the late 3rd century B.C. It is, however, a sophisticated piece, both in technique and design, arguing a long-developed tradition. It is unlikely that it was made by the Altai people, and it more plausibly reflects an eclectic taste for exotic imports. The Pazyryk burials, however, provide invaluable evidence of the life style of these Central Asian pastoral nomads, putative ancestors of later tribal groups, which was notable then, as now, for the major part played by textiles in their economy and cultural heritage. With their wealth based on their animals, and their sources of conflict pasture and water, they made seasonal migrations, as do the Bakhtiari, the Kashkai and Khamseh in Iran today. They produced a class of mounted warriors who revolutionised warfare for both the Romans and the Chinese, gave rise to innumerable legends and bred distrust and fear among urban dwellers. It is likely that the women undertook the spinning and weaving, and even today these activities are considered effeminate by tribesmen with the memory of an élite warrior caste (Pl. XX). It can be surmised that knotting originated among even earlier pastoral nomads living in a harsh winter climate who were naturally reluctant to slaughter their animals and, as an alternative to fleeces, evolved a warm, tufted fabric. K. Erdmann and others believed that knotting may have developed among Turkic peoples in West Turkestan, (Erdmann, *Der orientalische Knüpfteppiche*, Tübingen 1955, Eng. tr. C.G. Ellis, *Oriental carpets*, Fishguard 1976, 14-16) and it would seem likely that it arrived in Anatolia with the Saldjuk in the 11th century A.D., where it was established by the 13th century as is attested by the Saldjuk pieces from the mosque of 'Ala' al-Din in Konya (now in the Türk ve Islam Müzesi, Istanbul, illustr. in O. Aslanapa, *Turkish art and architecture*, London 1971). Also, Marco Polo, writing of his visit to Anatolia in 1271-2, says that the finest carpets in the world were made in Konya, Sivas and Kayseri, while Abu 'l-Fida, quoting Ibn Sa'id, who died in 1274, says that Aksaray's carpets were exported "to all countries", and Ibn Battuta in the 14th century mentions that Turkish carpets were widely exported. Since many tribes surviving into modern times claim Turkic descent, it is no surprise to find design elements which are traceable to Saldjuk pilework. The all-over geometricised repeat, found in the Konya pieces, is a characteristic of Türkmen floor rugs, while octagons, hooked medallions and eight-pointed stars, together with border motifs (always the most conservative element in rug design), like the angular scrolling stem, key fret and arrowhead, are ubiquitous in tribal rugs and village rugs from Turkey, the Caucasus and Iran. Some of the creatures which appear frequently on Akstafa, Kashkai and Khamseh rugs also have a long pedigree, for their distant ancestors appear in Italian paintings of the 13th to 15th centuries, copied from rugs imported to Italy from Asia Minor (for a detailed discussion of painting evidence see *Bibl.*) *The marriage of the Virgin*, painted in the early 14th century by Niccolo di Buonacorso, in the National Gallery, London,

shows a carpet with repeating octagons, each enclosing a large-tailed bird, precursor of the fantastic birds knotted into 19th century rugs from south-western Iran; while of surviving knotted examples, similar birds appear in one of the Konya fragments, and the Marby rug, of early 15th century date, now in the Statens Historiska Museet, Stockholm, has two octagons, each enclosing a pair of crested birds on either side of a stylised tree (see C.J. Lamm, *The Marby Rug and some other fragments of carpets found in Egypt* (see above section i. 2. 6. for full ref.).

Since they were subjected to continuous wear, very few tribal rugs of a pre-19th century date have survived (although notable exceptions are the Türkmen rugs in the Ethnographic Museum, Leningrad, unpublished in the West), making it impossible to write a coherent history. It can be inferred, however, that these ancient patterns persisted in spite of the revolutionary changes in 16th century Iran under royal patronage, emulated in Ottoman court workshops, where the influence of illuminators and bookbinders emphasised the centre of the carpet and introduced a large new repertoire of motifs. The village and tribal traditions seem to have developed independently of the cities but, although they were inevitably more conservative, there is evidence of borrowing and of organic growth; and 19th century rugs show considerable diversity in the treatment of old themes.

The 19th century, which saw the earliest European documentation of the Central Asian tribes, also marked a watershed, for the definition of the national frontiers of Iran, Russia and Afghanistan dealt a major blow to pastoral nomadism, and this century has seen wholesale settlement.

The ethnically most homogeneous tribal confederacy was the Türkmen, who retained their exclusivity until their territory on the Trans-Caspian steppes was split up in the 1880s. Modern study has demonstrated major shifts of influence within the confederacy, however, with tribes like the Salur and Sariik, powerful in the 17th and 18th centuries, being overtaken in the 19th by the Tekke and becoming extinct as tribal entities (see S. Azadi, *Türkmenische Teppiche*, exhibition cat., Hamburg, Eng. tr. 1970, *Turkoman carpets*, London 1975, 13-14 for detailed lists of tribes and *ta'ifehs*).

Türkmen pilework is justly famous for its hard, glossy wool, excellent vegetable dyes and fine knotting, normally using the asymmetrical or Persian knot (but see M.H. Beattie, in *The Turkoman of Iran* [see *Bibl.*], 38-41, for exceptions), and Türkmen rugs are unmistakable with their ground and borders of the same colour, always red, but varying from the clear tones of Salur and Tekke to the ox-blood of the Sariik and aubergine of the Yomut, and having in the central field an all-over repeat of *güls* which, when used as primary ornament, served as a tribal totem, *tamgha*, exclusive to the tribe which used it. Tekke floor rugs (Pl. XXII) have octagonal *güls* quartered by a lattice to enclose trifoliate forms identified by Moskova as birds (see Azadi, *op. cit.*, 20-41) and also of totemic significance, while the Yomut owned a number of *güls* including the *kepse*, based on plant forms, and the *dımak*, a hooked diamond enclosing birds (illustr. in Azadi, *op. cit.*, and U. Schurmann, *Central Asian carpets*, London 1969, pls. 15-25). It is known, however, that the Sariik and Tekke used older forms of the *gül* than those featuring in 19th century rugs, while secondary *güls* and border patterns pose complex



problems, since it is now suggested that these may be the ornaments originally belonging to another tribal group which was subjugated or absorbed. Moreover, a subjugated tribe, having lost its right to its primary ornament, possibly transferred it to small items like bags, while the victorious group might incorporate the weaker tribe's primary ornament in its own smaller pieces. Ersari rugs are unusual in showing strong outside influences and, in addition to classic Türkmen motifs, large central medallions are introduced to bags while floor rugs and prayer rugs may have floral patterns, treated semi-naturalistically and in a higher tonal key (illustr. in Azadi, *op. cit.*, pls. 7, 9, and 36, and Schurmann, *op. cit.*, pls. 41-56). As well as floor rugs, the Türkmen women used to knot many articles for their own use, including the tent-band, *yolami*, *bu*, *yup*, which encircled the tent lattice with the knotted pattern on a white plainweave ground facing inwards; the *engsi* or *ensi*, a handsome rug with a cruciform design which acted as a tent door; the *kapunik*, a fringed decoration hung over the inside doorway; and a variety of bags, from saddle-bags, *khordjin*, large storage bags, *čoval*, to smaller ones, *torba*, for specific purposes like storing bread, spindles, etc.. These articles performed the functions of storing the household equipment, transporting it on the migration and giving the interior of the round, felt-roofed tent an appearance of tapestry-hung splendour.

The finest knotting was reserved for covers, *tainaktsha*, for the much-valued horses, and the Yomut, who made the widest variety of articles and patterns, used to knot a set of trappings for the bridal camel, consisting of pentagonal flank hangings, *asmalik* (discussed in detail in R. Pinner and M. Franses, *Turkoman studies*, i, London 1979), frequently patterned with hooked stems or lozenges (Pl. XXIII), and matching knee-hangings, *diyah dizlik*, while the two bundles of tent-poles lashed to a camel when on the move would each have a bag-shaped cover, *uk bash*, fitted over their protruding ends.

Türkmen patterns have been influential, the two groups which have borrowed most substantially from them being the Afghān and the Balūč. Modern Afghān rugs are knotted in the towns of Pakistan. Old ones, however, made by tribes related to the Ersari in northern Afghānistān, had qualities of their own. With a medium high pile, using the asymmetrical or Persian knot, their central fields show an adaptation of the Tekke *gül*, without the lattice, although the squarish octagons are quartered and enclose trifoliate stems and leaves. They have more minor ornament than modern examples, and their colours, which include blues, yellows and browns on a red ground, are in a higher key. Borders include geometricised plant forms, also borrowed from the Türkmen, and angular ribbon. Commercial success has resulted in the standardisation of patterns and colours, and rugs are often chemically washed to produce the "golden Afghans" popular in the West.

A black-tented people, the Balūč nomadise in arid country now forming parts of Iran, Afghanistan and Pakistan. They utilise the good but undurable wool of their sheep and undyed camel hair for warps, wefts and knotting, the Turkish or symmetrical knot being more favoured, to produce a long, medium coarse pile. Distinctive features are the elaborately beautiful ends in a variety of flat-weaves, and a limited range of dark colours: blues, blackish browns, several reds and white. Their patterns reflect borrow-

ing from Türkmen, Caucasian and Afshār sources, absorbed and reproduced in a characteristic manner. Floor rugs show octagons and Yomut borders, or all-over floral repeats treated semi-naturalistically and resembling Ersari-Beshir rugs, this type being more commonly made in Iran. Their most typical product is the small prayer-rug with a stylised "Tree of Life" on an undyed camel hair ground.

Among the several tribes of Lur origin in western Iran, the Bakhtiyārī still migrate twice-yearly over difficult country in the Zagros mountains, in the proximity of other Lurs and of Mamassānī, Qashkā'ī and Khamseh. Few of the so-called "Bakhtiyārī" rugs are tribal pieces, but were made by villagers in the Cahār Mahall area, near Isfahān (see Edwards, *op. cit.*, 309-12, pls. 354-64). The Bakhtiyārī do very little weaving now, but still make a type of bag which is unique to them, the front and back of which are in flat-weave, usually *sumak* weft-wrapping with, along the bottom and up the sides, a strip of rather coarse, shaggy pile in the Turkish or symmetrical knot. This gives durability and is visually pleasing when the bags are stacked in the tent. Favourite motifs are 8-pointed stars in octagons, rosettes, the *z-boteh* and borders of scrolling stem, while the flat-weave areas share these motifs and often have animals as well. Sizes vary from a very large saddle-bag, *talīs*, and bedding-bag, *mafrash*, and storage bags which can be loaded on to pack animals, *rūkati*, to small, lavishly decorated bags, *namak-dān*, with narrow necks for pouring. Colours are rich dark reds, browns and blues, with white cotton in the flat-weave areas. These bags, hardly known in the West, are often bought by the Khamseh and Qashkā'ī and can be seen in their tents.

The Afshārs, another tribe of Turkic descent, are believed to have been deported from Adharbāy-djān to Kirmān province by Shāh Ismā'īl in the 16th century. Surrounded by Persian villagers, their tribal identity became blurred, so that it is difficult to distinguish a nomad from a village Afshār rug. Both knots are found. Old tribal pieces show a colour scheme of rich mid-blues, a clear red, yellow and ivory, and favour the diamond medallion layout, but the Persian *boteh* is often used as an all-over repeat, known as *dehadi*, and the chicken, *murghī*, found all over Fārs, is a favourite, while more naturalistic floral designs have been borrowed from Kirmān carpets. Borders, which are finely organised, range from rosettes, medallions and angular scrolling stem to Isfahānī floral ornament.

The tribal situation in Fārs province in southwestern Iran has long been a complex one, since it is nomad country *par excellence*, with the Zagros mountains and hill valleys in the north and warmer plains south of Shīrāz, so that the migration routes of a number of tribes have impinged on one another. The two largest tribal confederacies, the Qashkā'ī and the Khamseh, were founded for political reasons, the Qashkā'ī during the 18th century and the Khamseh in 1861-2. The major *tā'ifehs* of the Qashkā'ī are Turkic, with some Lurs, Afshārs and Persians, while the Khamseh consists of five tribes of Turkic, Persian and Arab stock. Some tribes-people, however, are settled in villages, while of other groups like the Bolvardi, small sections belong to the Qashkā'ī and the rest are villagers with no tribal allegiance. There has been wholesale borrowing of patterns and, since both knots are used, consequent difficulty in rug classification. The Qashkā'ī have a reputation for the finest rugs. Their most typical composition, three stepped or hooked medallions in



the central field, is shared by the *Khamseh* and other tribes, but in *Kashkai* pieces each medallion encloses a motif described as a crab or a stretched sheepskin but more likely a stylised plant form (Pl. XXIII). This simple scheme is garnished with detail: hooked octagons, rosettes, the Persian *boteh*, the Chinese knot and flower sprigs, as well as a menagerie of creatures like stylised peacocks, porcupines, gazelles, goats (Pl. XXIVa), hawks, chickens and bees, powdering the ground with a nice sense of space. Another type has repeating *botehs* all over the central field, a layout shared by the *Afshars*. Main borders include the calyx and scrolling stems of city carpets (Pl. XXIII), but the narrow guard bands often retain older forms like the oblique stripe and reciprocal diamond. Skilled dyeing, for which the *Shesh Boluki Reshkuli* and *Bullu* were renowned, produced a sharp, clear red, several blues, a rich, creamy yellow, apricot, and soft dark brown and green, skilfully juxtaposed against ivory. Rug patterns are repeated on saddlebags of fine workmanship (Pl. XXIVb), chickens are shown here drinking at a fountain. Tent bags are generally made in flat-weave, but the *Kashkai* have lavished sumptuous trappings on their horses, including saddle covers and horsecloths to cover the animals when they are tethered, which have knotted patterns on a plain-weave ground, while fringed chest and rump bands are still made, often embellished with blue beads against the Evil Eye.

Some attributions of designs to specific *qashqai* have been made (J. Allgrove, in *The Qashqai of Iran*, exhibition cat., Manchester 1976, 64-95, pls. 5-8, 37-46), but the ethnic complexity of all the *Fars* tribes and the eclectic nature of their patterns are barriers to precise classification.

The role of the tribeswomen who have always been responsible for the textile crafts extends into other areas for, since their rugs are the visual manifestation of tribal culture, the women have been the artists of the tribe and custodians of tribal traditions, a phenomenon unknown in the West; similarly, in this situation artists are not a specialist class, but have made for their own use artefacts both functional and of great beauty, bringing to mind Rudenko's comment concerning the *Pazyryk* textiles on the "astonishing skill and care lavished on the most trifling of articles". These are powerful reasons for studying tribal knotting in its own context.

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(J. ALLGROVE)

BITUMEN [see *KATRAN*].



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BİSÂT

PLATE I



1. Saldjûk. Konya carpet. Türk ve Islâm eserleri Müzesi, İstanbul, No. 685. Publ. by K. Erdmann, *Der orient. Knüpfteppich*, fig. 2.

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PLATE II

BISÂT



2. Carpet with "dragon-phoenix" pattern, Anatolia, 14th century, Islamisches Museum, East Berlin, No. 74.

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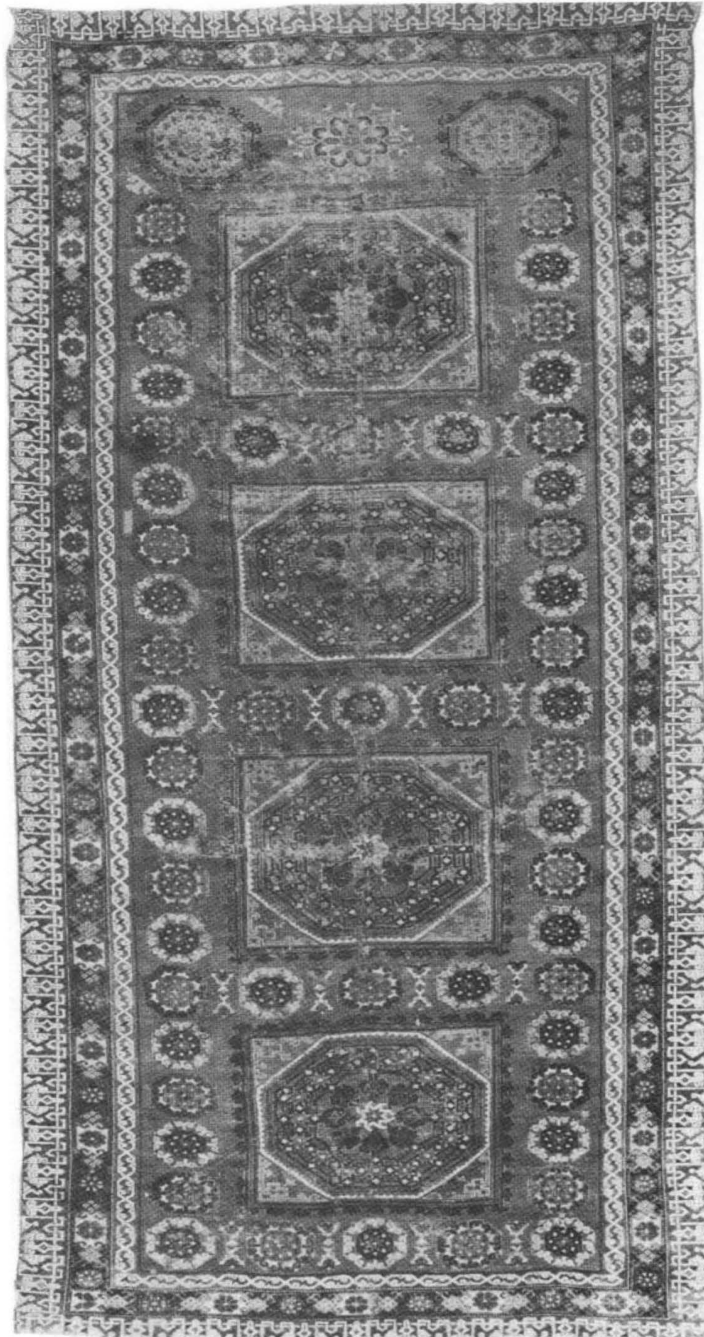


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BISÄT

PLATE III



3. Ottoman. "Holbein" carpet, large type. Museum für Isl. Kunst, Berlin, No. I, 5526.

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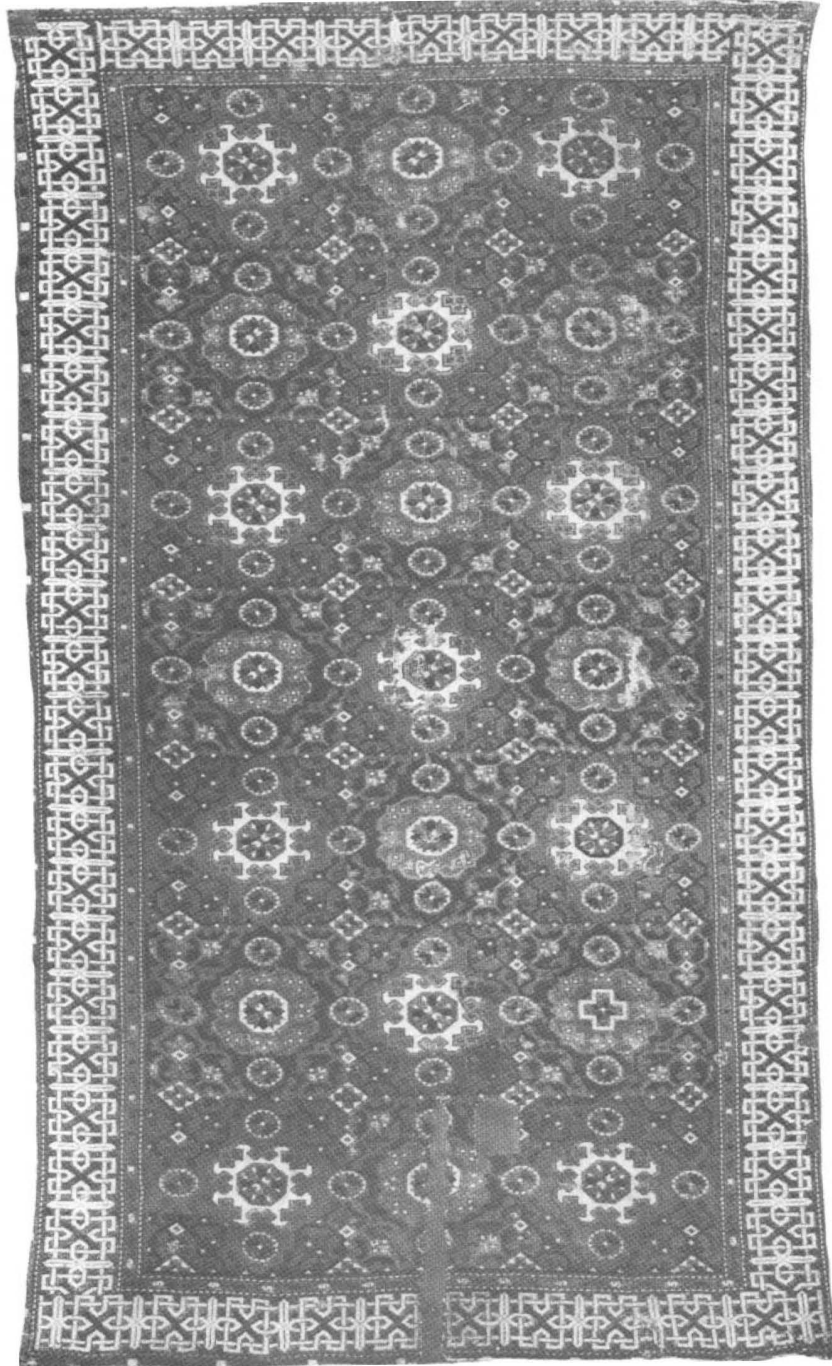


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PLATE IV

BISĀT



4. Ottoman. "Holbein" carpet, small type. Museum für Isl. Kunst, No. 82,894.

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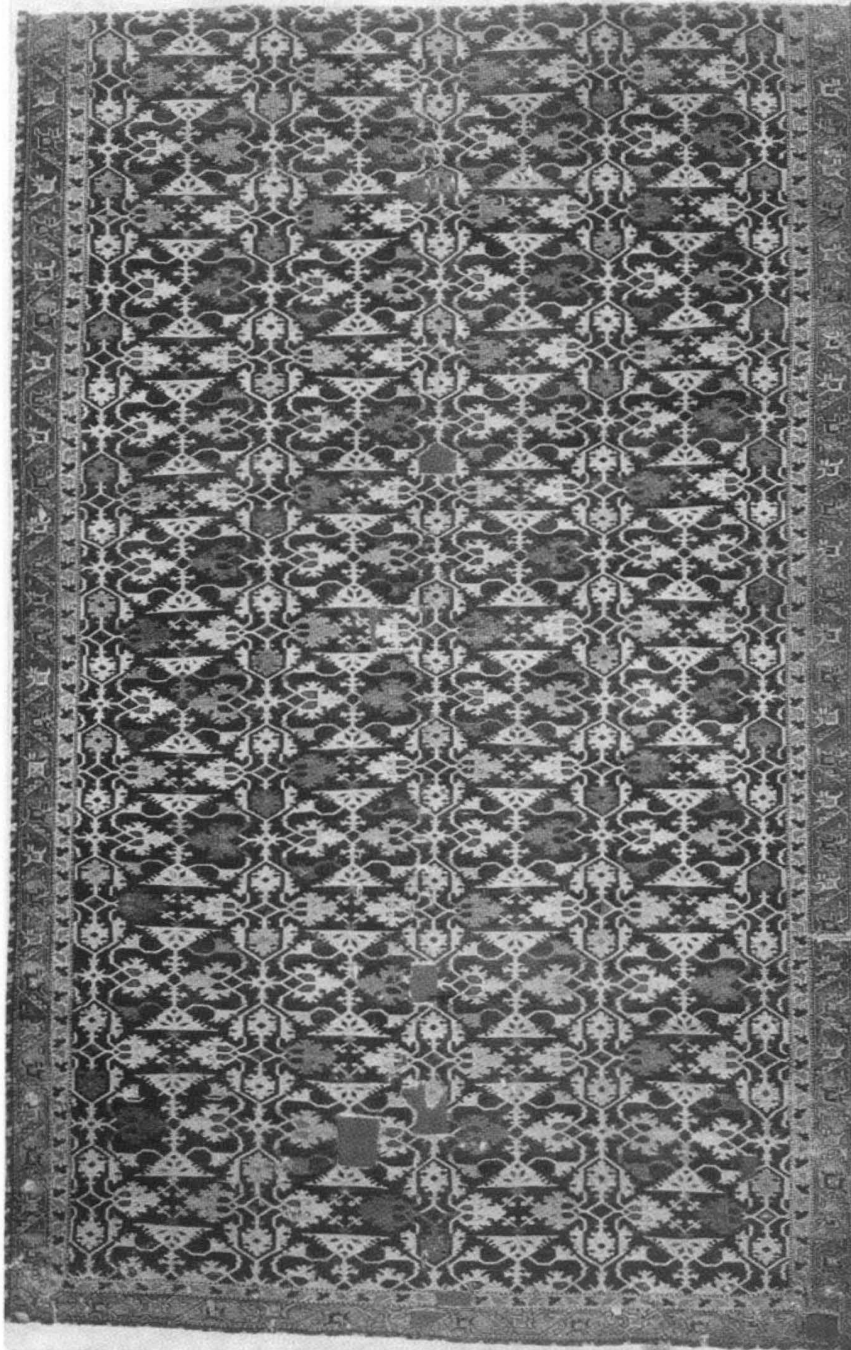


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PLATE V



5. Ottoman. Lotto carpet, Museum für Isl. Kunst, Berlin, No. 82,707.

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PLATE VI

BISÂT



6. Ottoman. Medallion pattern 'Ushāk carpet. Victoria and Albert Museum, London, No. T 71/1914. Publ. in *Guide to a collection of carpets*, V. and A. Museum, 1920, pl. XVI.

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BISĀT

PLATE VII



7. Ottoman. Star pattern 'Ushāk carpet. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Acc. No. 58.63. Gift of Joseph McMullan, 1958. Publ. by J.V. McMullan, *Islamic carpets*, 1965, No. 67.

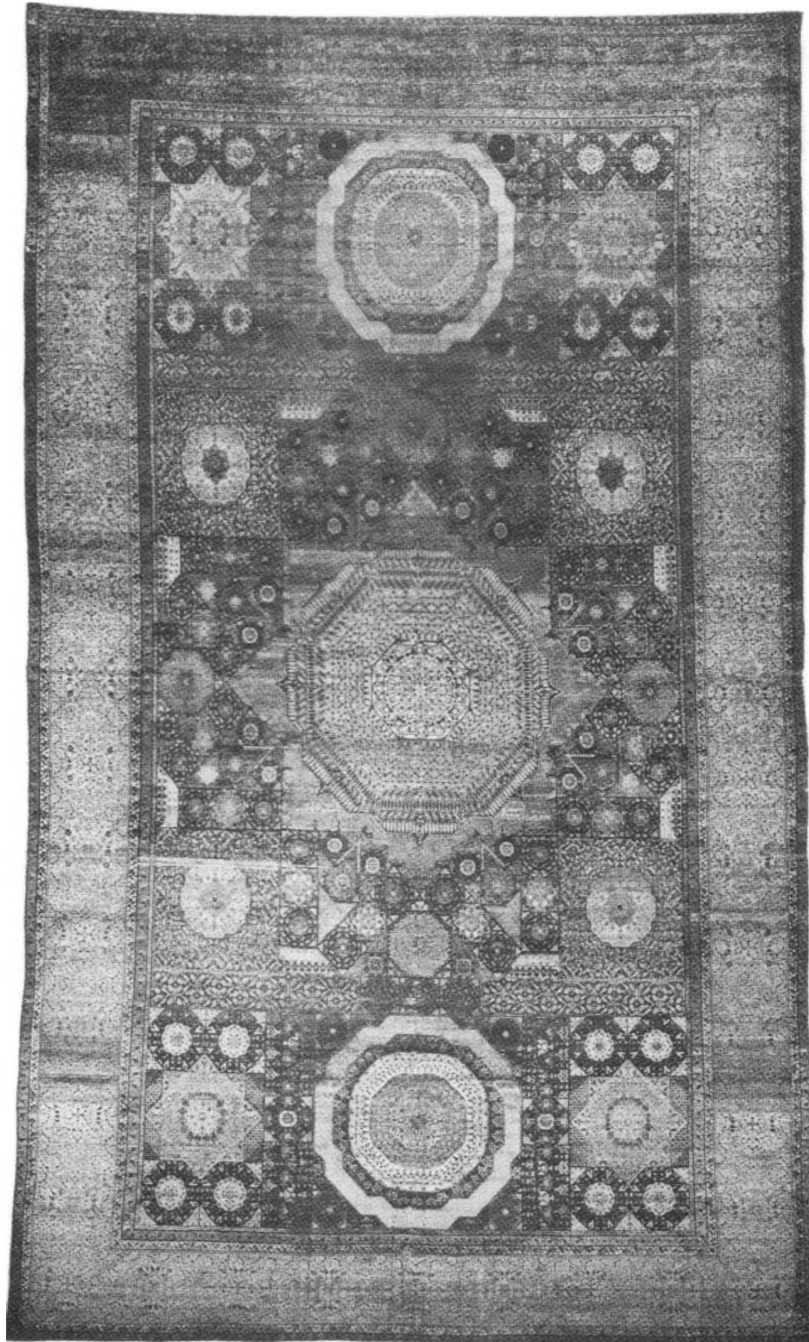
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PLATE VIII

BISĀT



8. Mamlūk. Silk carpet, Österreichisches Museum für angewandte Kunst, Vienna. Publ. by S. Troll, *Altorientalische Teppiche*, 1951, pl. 40.

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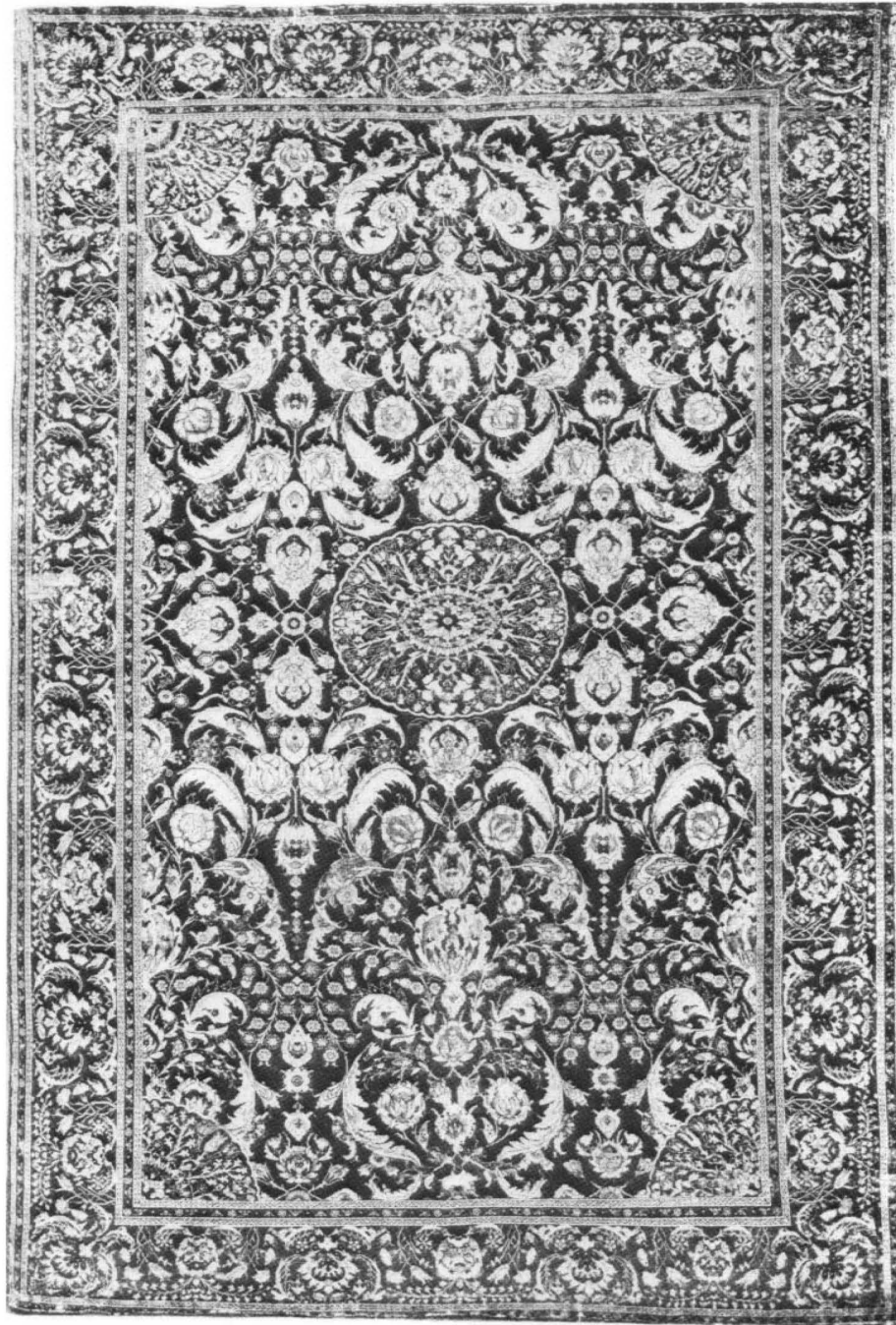


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PLATE IX



9. Ottoman. Collection de la Bibliothèque des Arts Décoratifs, No. 7861. Publ. in *Arts de l'Islam*, exposition août 1971, No. 5.

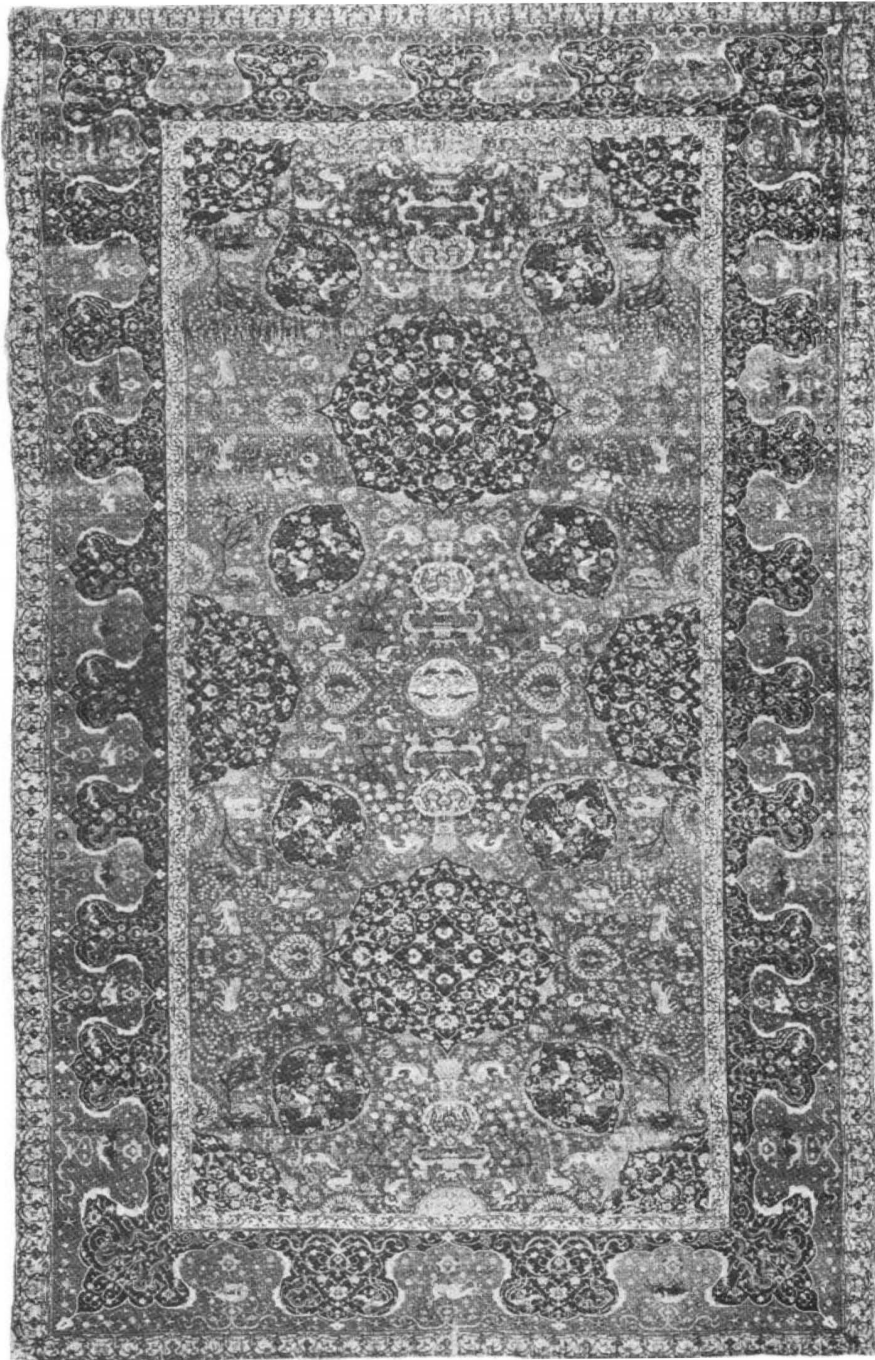
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PLATE X

BISÂT

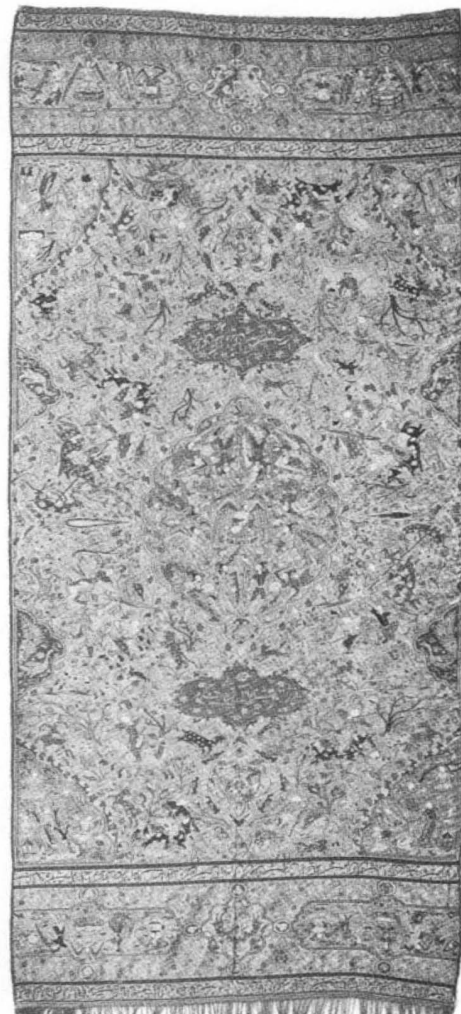


10. Şafawid. "Chelsea" carpet, V. and A. Museum, No. 589/1890.

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11. Şafawid. Medallion pattern carpet from north-western Persia. Museu Nacional de Arte antiga, Lisbon. Publ. in *L'Art de l'orient islamique*, 1963, No. 72 (Collection of the Gulbenkian Foundation).



12. Şafawid. Woven silk carpet (389 × 152 cm., fragment), Residenzmuseum, Munich. Publ. by K. Erdmann, *Siebenhundert Jahre Orientteppiche*, 1966, pl. 1, fig. 24 (complete view).



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PLATE XII

BISÂT



13. Şafawid. Herât carpet, Österreichisches Museum für angewandte Kunst. Publ. by Troll, *op. cit.*, No. 24.

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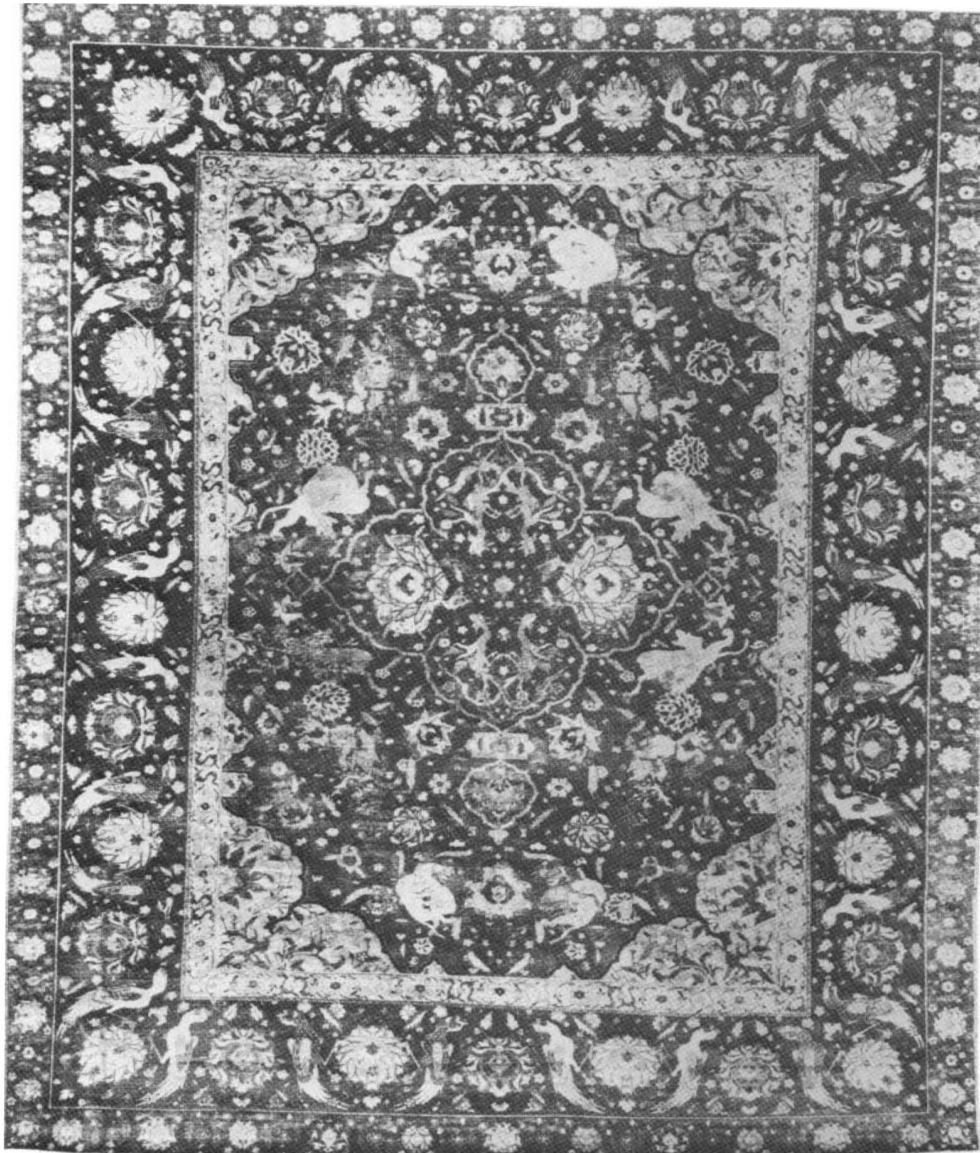
14. Šafawid. Carpet with "vase" pattern, V. and A. Museum (17' 1" × 10' 10"). Publ. by A.U. Pope, *A survey of Persian art*, pl. 1227.



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PLATE XIV

BISĀT



15. Kāshān. Silk carpet, Museu Nacional de Arte antiga. Publ. in *L'Art de l'orient islamique*, No. 70 (Collection of the Gulbenkian Foundation).

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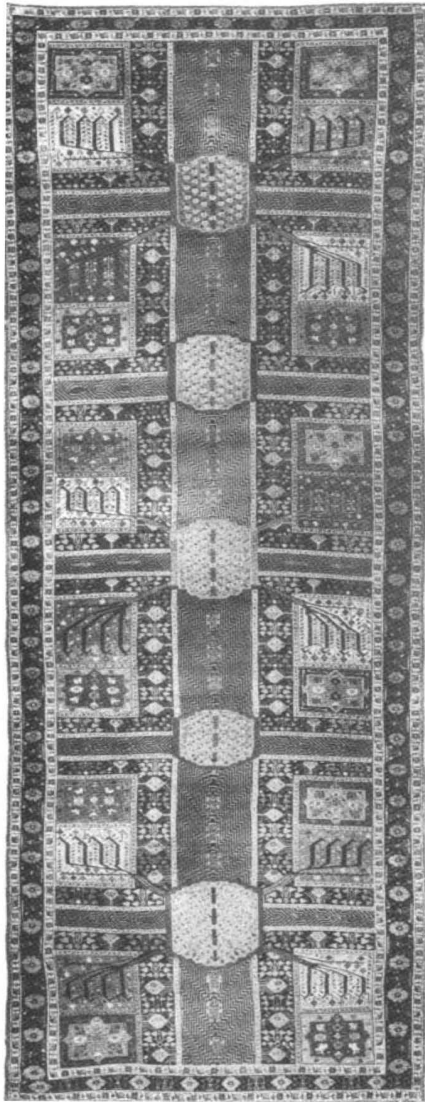
BISĀT

PLATE XV

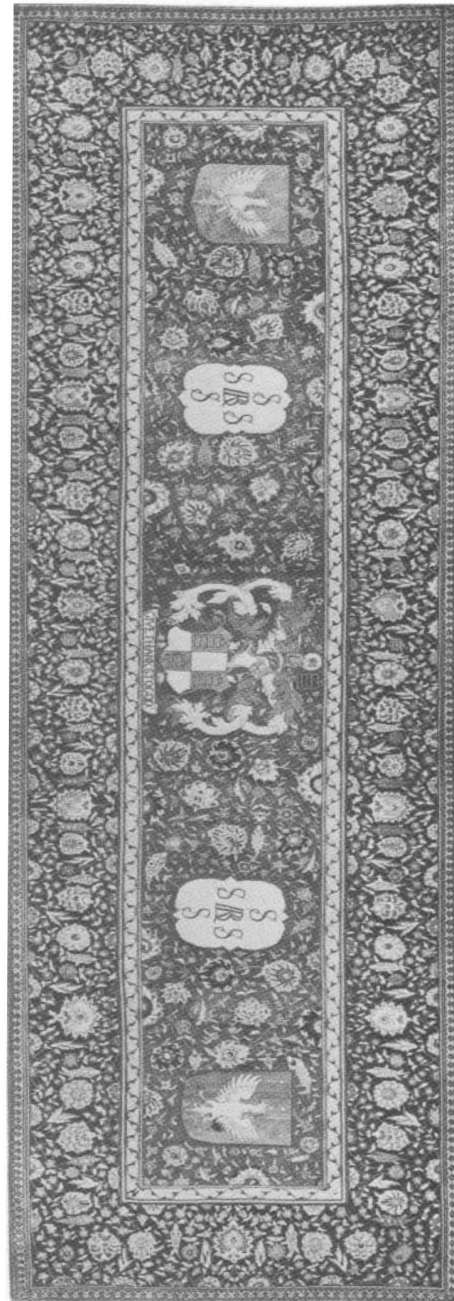


16. Şafawid. So-called "Polish" carpet, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Acc. No. 45.106. Gift of John D. Rockefeller Jr., 1945.

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17. Carpet with "garden" pattern, Museum für
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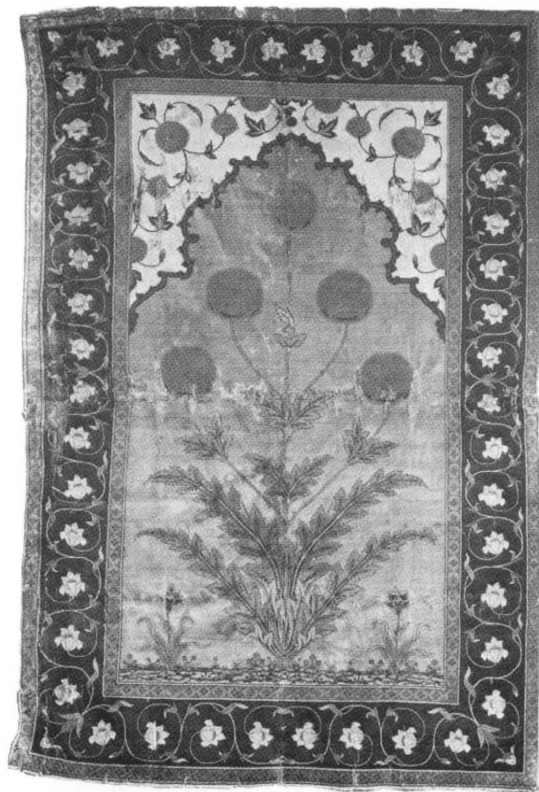


18. India. "Girdler" carpet, The Girdlers' Company,
London. Publ. by Kendrick-Tattersall,
Handwoven carpets, 1922, pl. 33.

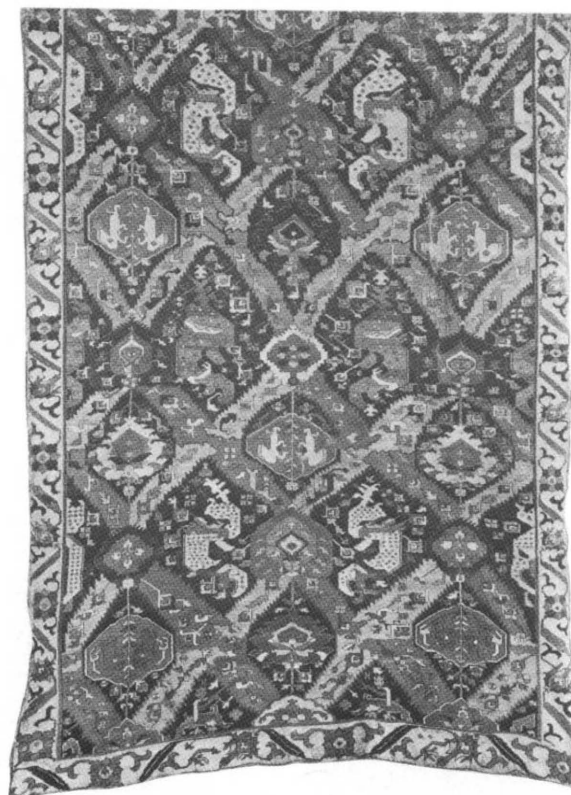


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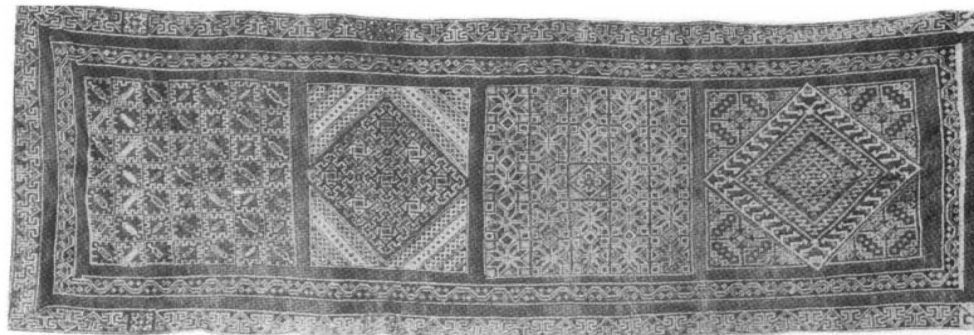
19. India. Mughal prayer rug. Collection of J. Pincket, Belgium.



20. Caucasus. Carpet with dragon design, Museum für Isl. Kunst, No. I. 2.

BISAT

PLATE XVII



21. Carpet of the Ḥarakta (Algeria).



22. Carpet from Guergour (Algeria).



23. Carpet of the Nememsha (Algeria).



24. Carpet of Djebel Amour (Algeria) (reverse).



25. Ḳashkāʾī tent with loom at Kh^wādjuh Djamakh, 1944 (Photo: Dr. O. Garrod).



26. Ḳashkāʾī woman spinning (Photo: P. Wallum).



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27. Carpet knotting at the Tribal Weaving School, Shīrāz
(Photo: J. Allgrove).



28. Packing down the wefts (Photo: P. Wallum).

BISAT

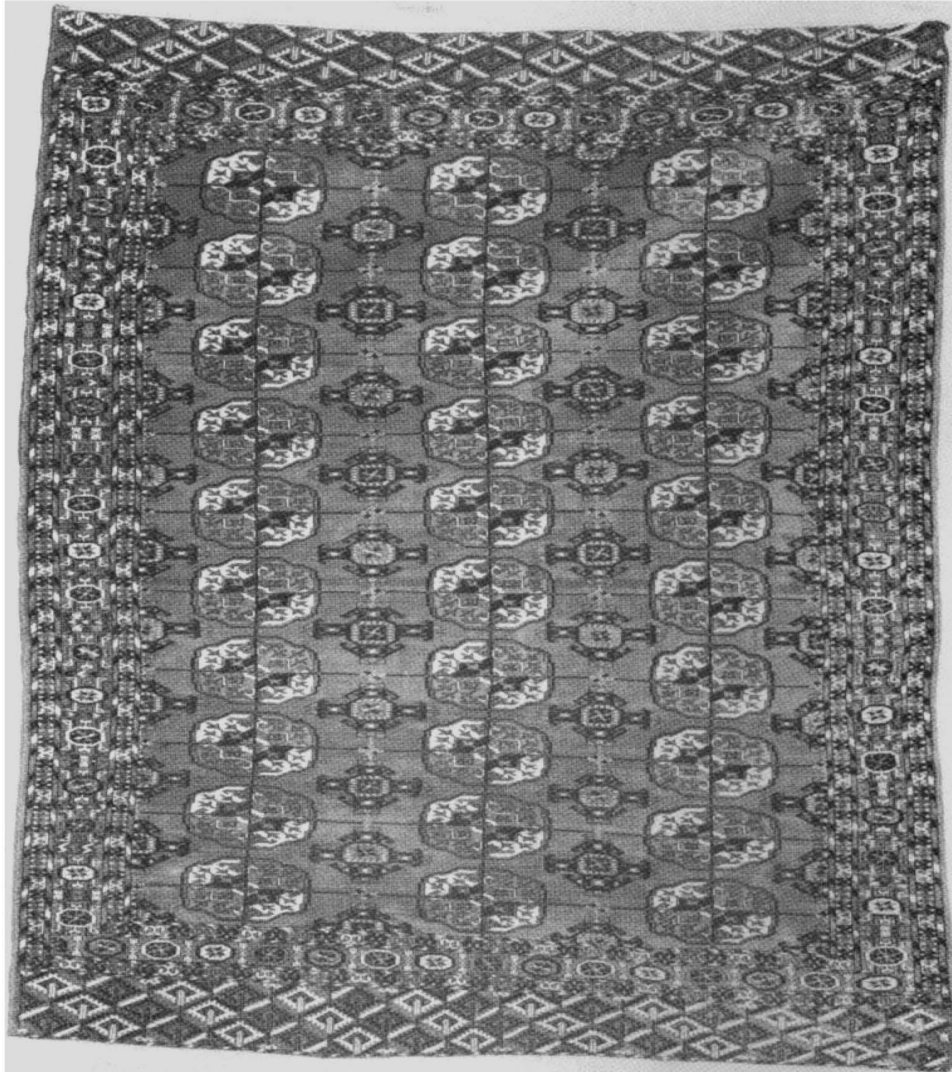
PLATE XXI



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PLATE XXII

BISĀT



29. Floor rug, Tekke Türkmen (Sotheby's, London).

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30. *Asmalik* (camel flank hanging), Yomut Türkmen (Whitworth Art Gallery, Manchester University).



31. Floor rug, *Kashkari*, Rahimli of the *Safi Khani Teyfeh* (Private collection).

BISAT

PLATE XXIII



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PLATE XXIV

BISĀT



32. a, b. Saddle-bag faces, *Kashkār* (David Black Oriental Carpets).

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BIYĀR, **AL-BIYĀR** (A. "wells, springs"), modern Biyârdjumand, a small town on the northern edges of the Great Desert, the Dasht-i Kavîr, of Persia. The mediaeval geographers describe it as being three days' journey from Bistām and 25 *farsakhs* from Dāmghān, and as falling administratively within the province of Kūmis [q.v.], although in Sāmānid times (4th/10th century) it seems to have been attached to Nishāpūr in Khurāsān. It was the terminus of an only-moderately frequented route across the northeastern corner of the desert to Turshîz in Kūhistān.

We have in Muḳaddasī, 356-7, 372, an especially detailed description of the town, considering its moderate size and importance, lying as it did off the great highway connecting western Persia with Khurāsān; this is explicable by the fact that Muḳaddasī's maternal grandfather had emigrated thence to Jerusalem. He mentions that Biyār had good cultivated fields and orchards, and grazing grounds for sheep and camels; the rather scanty water supply was carefully controlled in irrigation channels. There was an inner citadel approached through a single gateway, but there were three iron gates in the outer walls. There was no Friday mosque, and the inhabitants were all Hanafīs, strongly opposed to the Karrāmiyya [q.v.]; nevertheless, Muḳaddasī states elsewhere (365) that the Karrāmiyya had a *khānakāh* in Biyār. He further stresses the building skills of the Biyārīs, above all in the medium of mud brick. Politically it came within the Sāmānid dominions at this time, and coins in the name of the Sāmānid *amīrs* were minted there between 298/910-11 and 369/979-80; a coin is also extant of the Ghaznawids, from the year 426/1035, the eve of the passing of the provinces of Khurāsān and Kūmis into Saljūq hands (E. von Zambaur, *Die Münzprägungen des Islams, zeitlich und örtlich geordnet*, i, Wiesbaden 1968, 83). Yāqūt, *Buldān*, ed. Beirut i, 517, mentions several scholars produced by Biyār, amongst whom were some noted Hanafī ones. Mustawfī, *Nuḣḣat al-kulūb*, tr. Le Strange, 148, refers to the town's good cereals, but apart from these mentions we possess little information on the place.

A few European travellers, beginning with Forster towards the end of the 18th century, began to cross the northern edge of the Great Desert and to pass through Biyār, by now known as Biyârdjumand (the "Bearjemund" of Capt. C. Clerk, in *Jnal. of the Geographical Soc.*, xxxi (1861), 53). There were in Clerk's time some 200 houses there, with a good water supply from *kanāts* and gardens and fields; in the near-by hills, the Kūh-i Biyârdjumand, copper, galena and marble were obtained, cf. W. Tomaschek, *Zur historische Topographie von Persien. II. Die Wege durch die persische Wüste*, in *SBW AW*, Phil.-Hist. Cl., cviii (1885), 632-3. At the present day, Biyârdjumand is the chief-lieu of the *bakhs̄h* of the same name, in the *shāhrastān* of Shāhrūd, in the second *ustān* of Iran; its population is ca. 2,600, see Razmārā, *Farhang-i dīghrāfiyā'-yi Irān*, iii, 54.

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BIYĀKLĪ [see MEHMET PASHA].

BLAZON [see RANK].

BLESSING [see BARAKA].

BOAT [see SAFTNA].

BÖLÜKBASHÎ, Rîdā TEWFİK, modern Turkish orthography RİZA TEVFİK BÖLÜKBAŞI, Turkish poet and writer (1866-1949). He was born in D̄jir-i Muṣṭafā Pasha in Rumelia (Dimitrovgrad in present-day Bulgaria, formerly Čaribrod) while his father Khōdja Mehmed Tewfik Efendi, a civil servant and teacher, was *kāyimakām* there. His mother, a Circassian slave girl, died when Rîdā was eleven years old. His grandfather Ahmed Durmuş Bölükbashî was a guerilla leader from Debra in Albania who had fought against the Greeks during the rising in the Morea ([Feridun] Kandemir, *Kendi ağzından Rıza Tevfik* ("Rıza Tevfik from his own mouth"), Istanbul 1943, 94-7, 109). After attending various schools (including the Alliance Israélite school and Galatasaray) in Istanbul, he finished in the *nüşdiyye* (high school) of Gelibolu (Gallipoli), his family town, and entered the school of political science (*Mekteb-i Mülkiyye*), whence he was however expelled for political activities and insubordination. He switched to medicine, and after several temporary suspensions, graduated in 1899. He worked as government doctor at the Customs Office in Istanbul until the restoration of the Constitution in July 1908, when he joined political life. An enthusiastic member of the ruling Committee of Union and Progress (CUP) [see İTTİHÂD WE TERAKKÎ D̄EM'İYYETİ], he was elected deputy for Edirne, but soon broke with the CUP leaders and joined the opposition and became one of the leading figures of the Liberal Union [see HÜRRİYET WE İTİLÂF FİRKASI] (Refik Halid Karay, *Minelbab ilelmihrab*, Istanbul 1964, *passim*). He taught philosophy at the University of Istanbul and Turkish literature at the American Robert College. He served as Minister of Education in 1918 and was made president of the Council of State (*Shûrā-yi Devlet*) in 1919. As a member of the collaborationist Ottoman government, he signed the treaty of Sèvres (10 August 1920), which sealed his fate in the eyes of the Nationalists. Student protests forced him to give up his chair in the University (1921) and he fled the country following the Nationalist victory in Anatolia (September 1922). His name was later included in the list of the 150 undesirables [see YÜZELLİKLER]. After a brief stay in Egypt, he served for seven years in the government of *Amir* 'Abd Allāh (a former fellow-deputy in the Ottoman Parliament) in Jordan, spent a year in the USA and eventually settled in D̄jūniyya in Lebanon, where he lived with his wife in retirement until he returned to Turkey in 1943, five years after the general amnesty of 1938. He died in Istanbul on 31 December 1949. Although Rîdā Tewfik is known by the nickname *Feylesof* ("The Philosopher") on account of his numerous publications on philosophical topics (see below), which are mainly works of compilation (but which greatly contributed to the teaching of modern philosophy in Turkey), his real contribution to Turkish literature is as a poet. In the late 1890s a young poet, Mehmed Emin (Yurdakul) [q.v.], suddenly appeared on the literary scene and made a sensation by his use of spoken Turkish, syllabic metre and the use of popular subjects. He was greeted as a guide and innovator, but did not have any following as his poetry was uninspired, awkward in style and totally lacking in musical effect. In contrast, Rîdā Tewfik, who started his career in the same period by writing poems on the line of 'Abd al-Ḥakḥ Hāmid and Tewfik Fikret [q.v.] found, in the early 1900s, the

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key to a regeneration of Turkish poetry; he was able to capture the style, language and inner warmth of leading poets and popular mystic (dervish) poets without blindly imitating them, but re-creating their warm and lively atmosphere in a modern garb [see KARADİAOĞHLAN, KAYGHUSUZ ABDÂL and YÜNUS EMRE]. His success ushered in a new trend which was later moulded into a school by Dîyâ' (Ziya) Gökalp, that of the *Millî edebiyât* ("National literature"). Riḍâ Tewfîk did not abandon the 'arūd like most of his younger colleagues of the new school, but used it in parallel with the *hedîje*. His influence on succeeding generations of poets continued in the 1920s and early 1930s and his style began to date only with the appearance of Orkhan Velî (Orhan Veli) Kanık and Faḍîl Hüsni (Fazıl Hüsni) Dağlarca, who revolutionised all concepts in Turkish poetry.

Riḍâ Tewfîk Bölükbashî is the author of the following major works: *Abd al-Hakk Hâmid ve mülâhazât-î felsefiyyesi* ("A.H. and his philosophic reflections"), İstanbul 1329 rûmî/1913; *Felsefe dersleri* ("A course of philosophy"), i, İstanbul 1330 rûmî/1914; *Mufaṣṣal Kâmûs-î felsefe* ("A comprehensive dictionary of philosophy"), i, İstanbul 1330 rûmî/1914; *Étude sur la religion des Hoûroufîs*, in Cl. Huart, *Textes persans relatifs à la secte des Hoûroufîs*, Leiden 1909; *Serabı ömrüm* ("Mirage of my life"), Lefkose (Nicosia) 1934, 2nd ed. İstanbul 1949, (contains all his poems, except some political satires); *Ömer Hayyam ve rûbaileri*?, İstanbul 1945, Intro.

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(FAHİR İZ)

BOOTY [see FAY³, GHANĪMA].

BORNEO, a large island (area 292,000 sq. miles/755,000 km²) straddling the equator in the Indonesian archipelago, and mainly covered with tropical rain forest. The spinal range of mountains rises to 13,455 ft./4,100 m. in Mount Kinabalu in the northeastern tip of the island. Politically, the greater part of the island has since 1949 formed the Indonesian region of Kalimantan (a name which Indonesia also applies to the whole island); along the northern coast lie Sabah, the former British crown colony of British North Borneo and Sarawak, both of whom joined the Malaysian Federation in 1963, and the British-protected sultanate of Brunei [*q.v.* in Suppl.]. The following article deals only with the Indonesian part of the island; see also BORNEO in *EP*.

Indonesian Kalimantan is divided into four provinces (*daerah tingkat I*): Kalimantan Barat (Western Kalimantan, 157,066 sq. km., 2,019,936 inhabitants, capital: Pontianak), Kalimantan Tengah (Central Kalimantan, 156,552 sq. km., 699,589 inhabitants, capital: Palangka Raya), Kalimantan Selatan (Southern Kalimantan, 34,611 sq. km., 1,699,105 inhabitants, capital: Banjarmasin), and Kalimantan Timur (Eastern Kalimantan, 202,619 sq. km., 733,536 inhabitants, capital: Samarinda). South and Central Kalimantan originally formed one province, until on 23 May 1957, the area was divided because of the opposition of the Dayak people against the "Malays" (Muslims) in the southern parts.

1. *Earlier History*. In Sambas (north-western

Kalimantan), which had been a Buddhist cultural centre already in the 6th century A.D., a descendant of the sultan's family of Johore established a sultanate at the time of Brunei's conversion to Islam (between 1514 and 1521), and Malays began to settle in the area. Chinese workers were brought to work in the gold mines, but in 1770 they revolted and formed semi-independent "republics" (*kung si*). Islam had little influence on them, and only after 1965, when they were required to confess one of the acknowledged religions in Indonesia, did a few of them become Muslims. Sambas has remained a stronghold of Malay culture. The area of Lawei, an old Javanese colony, and Matan on the Pawan river, turned to Islam soon after the conversion of the sea ports in northern Java. Sukadana, having—like Sambas—experienced the influence of Buddhist Sri Vijaya, was islamised mainly by Malay and Arab traders from Palembang, which at that time (first half of 16th century) was under the rule of Demak. In 1608-9 Surabaya imposed its dominance, until in 1622 Sultan Agung of Mataram wiped out the influence of his main rival. Only in these areas of south-western Kalimantan Barat, did classical Javanese (*Kawi*) remain "the sultan's language", in Ketapang e.g. until this century, although in this place only a *panembahan* resided. The 18th century saw the rise of the sultanate of Pontianak, founded in 1771 by an Arab adventurer, Sharîf 'Abd al-Rahmân, the son of a Haḍramawî and a princess of Matan. Pontianak always stressed its Arabic background and claimed that its understanding of Islam was a notably pure one.

According to tradition, Demak initiated the spread of Islam in southern Kalimantan, seizing the opportunity for this when at the beginning of the 16th century a conflict occurred between two pretenders, Pangeran Samudra and Pangeran Tumenggung, in the course of which the former appealed to the help of Demak. This was granted, and Samudra became the founder of the Muslim sultanate of Banjarmasin, acknowledging the supremacy of Demak (1520). His successors ruled until 1860, when the Dutch colonial government abolished the sultanate after the revolt of Hidāyat, the legal heir to Sultan Adam (d. 1857). Like other revolts in 19th century Indonesia, his movement was inspired by the idea of *djihad*. At present, the area of the former sultanate is part of the province of South Kalimantan, with the *kabupaten* of Hulu Sungai (east of the Barito river) as one of the strongest Muslim areas on the island. In the earlier days of the sultanate, its ruler exercised his influence in most of the trading centres on the southern coast, like Sampit, Kota Waringin, etc., which became centres for the propagation of Islam among the neighbouring Dayak tribes; some of them, however, further withdrew to the interior. Although the impact of Javanese customs and manners was strong, the literary language was Malay, influenced by local idioms and Javanese. J.J. Ras emphasises that in spite of its particularities, even *basa Banjar* (Banjarese colloquial) should be counted among the numerous Malay dialects (*Hikajat Banjar*, 7-12). This explains also why the Banjarese Muslims and above all their 'ulamā', felt a special obligation to present themselves as authentic teachers of Malay Islam after the *bahasa Indonesia* was proclaimed the official medium of communication in the archipelago (1928). On the other hand, they distinctively separated themselves linguistically and, as a consequence, culturally, from the Dayak tribes, for whom the term "Malay" and "Muslim" became

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identical. Becoming a Muslim (= Malay) means for a Dayak to loose his social relationships. Only a few Dayak tribes became Muslims, e.g. the Bakumpai, a former sub-tribe of the Ngaju Dayak (Danandjaja, 139, in consent with Mallinckrodt).

In East Kalimantan, Pasir and Kutai [q.v.] saw the rise of colonies of Buginese traders and ship-builders from South Sulawesi, soon after their homeland had turned over to Islam (1605-11). According to tradition, the first teacher of Islam in Pasir was an Arab, while Makassarese preachers, among them the miraculous Tuan Tunggang Parangan, were active in Kutai. Like in South Sulawesi, Islam in Kutai seems to have been mixed with many animistic survivals and remained weak throughout the 18th century. The sultans had their *kraton* in Tenggarong, between Samarinda where most of the Buginese settled, and the Dayak area. Their story is told in the *Salasila Kutai*, written in Malay.

2. *Modern developments.* As the sultans both in East and West Kalimantan during the times of Dutch supremacy were relatively independent in their internal jurisdiction, Islamic law, more or less modified by the local customary (*adat*) law, played a significant role. Courts were closely attached to the palace. After independence, the Indonesian government tried to bring these "religious courts" under the authority of the local branches of the Ministry for Religious Affairs (Lev, *Islamic courts*, 78 f.). On the other hand, Islamic law has also influenced the *adat* law of the non-Muslim Dayaks.

Since the beginning of the century, Sambas, Pontianak and Banjarmasin have been caught up in Islamic modernist movements. The Malay periodical *al-Imām* (since 1906), partly inspired by Rashīd Riḍā's *al-Manār*, was distributed in Pontianak and Sambas. The "Serikat Islam", the oldest nationalist movement, held a congress in Kalimantan in 1923. In 1930, the traditionalist "Nahdlatul Ulama" established its first branches in Banjarmasin and Martapura, and South Kalimantan remained, besides East Java, a stronghold of this party until 1942. The modernist "Muhammadiyah" became active in 1927, its first branch being opened in Banjarmasin. *Muballighūn* or propagandists from Java and Minangkabau were sent there, some of them being former attendants of the "Thawalib" schools in West Sumatra. Their progress seems to have been slow; at the Muhammadiyah's national congress in 1929, no participant from Kalimantan was noted. In 1935, the movement had 29 branches on the island. It is active in *da'wa* or missionary and educational work by building schools, clinics, and distributing pamphlets and books, its activities reaching now the Hulu (up-river) areas and the border districts between West Kalimantan and Sarawak. In Banjarmasin, a government-related "Institut Agama Islam Negeri" (I.A.I.N.) has been established, whereas in Pontianak a branch of the *Fukultas Tarbiyah* of the I.A.I.N. Jakarta Ciputat is active. A branch of the same I.A.I.N.'s *Fakultas Ushuluddin*, now in Singkawang, is to be moved to Pontianak.

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BRAHMANS [see BARĀHIMA].

BRICK [see LABIN].

BRIGAND [see FALLĀK, KAZAK, LIŞŞ, TARİK].

BRUNEI, a sultanate on the northern coast of Kalimantan (Borneo [q.v.]), 5,765 sq. km. (2,226 sq. miles) in area with ca. 145,000 inhabitants. The capital is Bandar Seri Begawan (before 1970 called Bandar Brunei or Brunei Town), with ca. 45,000 inhabitants. Its principal landmark is the great Mesjid Omar Ali Saifuddin, built after World War II. Since the 6th century A.D., trade relations existed with China. Occasionally tribute was paid, not only to China but also to Buddhist Sri Vijaya (South Sumatra) and Majapahit (Java), where it was mentioned among other Bornean tributaries in ca. 1365. The *Shā'ir Awang Semaun*, probably the oldest legendary account of Brunei's history, narrates how the 14 sons of "sultan" Dewa Emas Kayangan, who was of celestial origin, founded the empire of Brunei. The youngest brother was the warrior Semaun, their leader Awang Alak Betatar. When the sultan of Johore sent his daughter to be married to the sultan of Sulu, she was abducted and married to Alak Betatar. The sultan of Johore finally agreed to this state of affairs and installed Alak Betatar as the first Muslim sultan of Brunei, bestowing on him the regalia of Johore (Brown, 134 f.). As Sultan Muhammad he is said to have reigned from 1405 to



1415. His successor Ahmad married his daughter to an Arab from al-Ṭā'if, and their son Sulaymān became the ancestor of the later sultans of Brunei.

There seems to have existed, however, a rival pagan kingdom besides the Muslim sultanate, which gave the impression, in 1514, to the Portuguese that Brunei was still heathen. When Antonio Pigafetta, an Italian member of Magellan's expedition, visited Brunei in 1521, he mentioned that the sultan (Bulkiyah I, the fifth of his dynasty) was waging heavy warfare against a rival pagan kingdom in the same harbour. Finally, Sultan Bulkiyah succeeded in safeguarding his supremacy and brought Brunei to the climax of its glory, ruling over most of "Borneo" (hence its name), the Sulu Islands and parts of Mindanao and Luzon. It was the Spaniards, however, who, since 1578, from their stronghold in Manila, successfully began to confine Brunei's strength to the northern coasts of Borneo, from where, in their turn, pirates intimidated the Spanish, and other, fleets. During the 19th century, the territory of Brunei was encircled decisively. In 1841 most of Sarawak was ceded to Sir James Brooke. In 1888, Brunei became a British protectorate. Later, in 1906, the sultan was granted the right to supervise matters which concern Religious (Islamic) and Customary Law (*adat-law*). In 1959, however, when a new constitution was introduced—the first written one in Brunei's history—his juridical functions were turned over to the courts. Nevertheless, his internal position was also strengthened considerably, as a number of rights of the former resident were transferred into his hands. Brunei became "an internally self-governing Islamic Sultanate under British protection". Only security and foreign affairs were still handled by the British, who from now on were represented by a High Commissioner.

New perspectives for Brunei's future opened when in May 1961, Tengku Abdul Rahman as the Prime Minister of the Malayan Federation, forwarded the plan for a new federation, Malaysia, which was to include, besides the Malayan Federation, Singapore, Sarawak, British North Borneo (now Sabah), and Brunei. At the beginning, Sultan Sir Omar Ali Saifuddin's attitude was a positive one, in the hope that he would be able to join the *collegium* of the nine Malayan sultans who were to elect the Yang Dipertuan Agung from among themselves as the nominal Head of State for a period of five years. In a memorandum, prepared by the Malaysia Consultative Committee in February 1962, it was further stated that Islam was to be the official religion in the Federation (Gullick, 64), another matter favourably received by Brunei with its outspoken Malay tradition, contrasting to the other North Bornean territories where Islam is followed only by minorities and where the Malays were not acknowledged as *bumi-putera* (indigenous).

But the sultan met with opposition from the "Party Ra'yat" (People's Party), led by Shaikh A.M. Azahari, which had gained 22 out of 23 possible seats when the Legislative Council of Brunei was elected in October 1962. Azahari himself had not run for a seat, and there is some doubt whether he is a Brunei citizen (Brown, 127); he is known to have fought against the Dutch in the Indonesian Independence War. On 6 December 1962, his followers staged a revolt, somewhat untimely, because Azahari at that time happened to be in Manila. His aim was to form a Negara Kalimantan Utara ("State of North Borneo"), including Sarawak, Brunei and Sabah, with the sultan as nominal ruler

and himself, Azahari, as Prime Minister. With British help, however, the revolt was soon suppressed, Azahari stayed in exile abroad, but the strong opposition of Indonesia and the Philippines against the formation of Malaysia, which probably inspired Azahari's policy, now came into the open. Finally, the sultan in July 1963 decided that Brunei should not join Malaysia, officially because of his dispute with Sarawak about the Limbang valley which nearly divides his territory into two enclaves; but problems about the distribution of the profit of Brunei's rich oil fields (exploited since 1929 by the British Shell Company) may also have affected the decision.

Since 1974, the question of Brunei's independence has become acute again. Sultan Sir Hassanal Bulkiyah, ruling since his father's abdication in 1967, is again opposed by Azahari who opts for a more democratic and completely independent Brunei (now without Sarawak and Sabah), with the sultan as the mere symbolic head of state. Azahari, still in exile, sees the future of Brunei based on a *Trisila* ("Three Pillars", obviously in distinction to Malaysia's and Indonesia's *Pancasila* or "Five Pillars") of (a) the Islamic Religion, (b) Nationalism, and (c) Democracy. The national colours he proposes are still those of the former "State of North Borneo", sc. red and white (like Singapore and Indonesia), with a green triangle symbolising Islam.

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BŪ 'AZZA [see ABŪ YA'AZZA].

BUBASHTRU (BOBASTRO), also spelt **BUB.ŠH.T.R.**, **BĀB.ŠH.T.R.** and, frequently from the 5th/11th century, **BASH.T.R.** or **BUSH.T.R.**, a mountain stronghold famed as the headquarters, first, of 'Umar b. Ḥafṣūn [q.v.], leader of Andalusian resistance, mainly south of Cordova, to the Umayyads from 267/880-1 until his death in 305/917, and, then, of his sons until 315/928. The precise location of Bobastro, often confused (as in *Et* i, 1250) with Barbastro (Barbashturu) in Huesca province, has proved a thorny problem. Erroneously identified by Dozy with Castillón, near Teba (Málaga province), it was believed by Simonet to be situated 6 km. east of Ardales in the Mesas of Villaverde (Málaga province). His view prevailed, and in the 1920s it was identified with a site excavated above the Hoyo de Chorro near the railway running from Cordova to Málaga via Bobadilla. This identification was accepted by Lévi-Provençal (*Hist. Esp. mus.* i, 303 n. 1), and it remains acceptable to some. It has, however, been challenged by J. Vallvé Bermejo, who, after meticulous examination of all available evidence, some of it new, has cogently argued that the facts of the Bobastro campaigns as reported by our sources point to a site much further to the south-east. This site, he submits, is to be sought not far from the present Cortijo de Auta in the Sierra del Rey, north of Ríogordo (Málaga province) and the name Bobastro to be seen in a toponym recorded in a 15th-century source, viz. Postuero, otherwise Corral del Encina (Repertimiento de Comares). The origin of the name—which survives in one form or another elsewhere in Spain—is very likely Iberian.

During the anti-Umayyad rebellion, Bobastro was frequently the scene of military activity, and



indeed it was there that the *amīr* al-Munḍhir died in 275/888 while pressing a siege. In 278/891 his successor ʿAbd Allāh tried to take the place, but failed. Subsequent attempts made by his sons Muṭarrif (280/894) and Abān (291/904 and 294/907) to attain the same objective also came to nothing. Not until 316/928 was Bobastro finally subdued after a decade of slow but sure policy pursued by ʿAbd al-Rahmān III. So far as we can glean, Bobastro thereafter remained an important Umayyad garrison until it fell to the Berbers who defeated Muḥammad II's troops on the banks of the Guadiaro in 400/1010. For the years 1039 and 1047 we have passing references to Bobastro under the Hammūdīd "party kings" of Málaga, and in 1147 we find it sheltering al-Mahdī's brothers after a rising in Seville against the Almohads who had just occupied the city. By the 7th/13th century the fortress was in ruins.

Bibliography: All the main references are contained in J. Vallvé Bermejo, *De Nuevo sobre Bobastro*, in *Al-Andalus*, xxx (1965), 139-74. Apart from a study of the boundaries of Rayya (roughly Málaga province), this monograph provides a good index of place-names. (J.D. LATHAM)

BUDŪḤ, an artificial talismanic word formed from the elements of the simple three-fold magic square

4	9	2
3	5	7
8	1	6

expressed in
Abjad by

ب	ط	د
ز	هـ	ج
و	ا	ح

Other groups of letters from that square are similarly, but not see generally, used, e.g. *باطح*, *واحد*, *زوح*, *بطد*, and together *باطح واحد زوح بطد*. From some, also, larger squares are built up, as a four-fold on *باطح واحد* and a six-fold on *باطح واحد زوح بطد*. In the older Arabic books on magic (e.g. *Shams al-maʿārif* of al-Būnī [q.v. in Suppl.], d. 622/1225) this formula plays a comparatively minor part; but after it was taken up by al-Ghazālī and cited in his *Munqidh min al-dalāl* (ed. Cairo 1303/1886, 46, 50, tr. W. Montgomery Watt, *The faith and practice of al-Ghazālī*, London 1953, 77, 79-80), as an inexplicable, but certain, assistance in cases of difficult labour, it came to be universally known as "the three-fold talisman, or seal, or table of al-Ghazālī" (*al-waṣf al-khātām, al-djādwal, al-muthallath li'l-Ghazālī*) and finally has become the foundation and starting point for the whole "Science of Letters" (*ʿilm al-hurūf*). Al-Ghazālī is said to have developed the formula, under divine inspiration (*ilhām*), from the combinations of letters *ح م ع س* which begin Sūras XIX and XLII of the Qurʾān, and which by themselves are also used as talismans (Reinaud, *Monuments musulmans*, ii, 236). For the process, see the *Mafātih al-ghayb* (ed. Cairo 1327/1909, 170 ff.) of Aḥmad Mūsā al-Zarkawī, a contemporary Egyptian magician, and on the subject in general, the sixth and seventh *Risālas* in that volume. Others trace the formula back to Adam, from whom it passed down to al-Ghazālī (cf. the *al-Ināya al-rabbāniya*, 44, and *al-Asrār al-rabbāniya*, 16 of Yūsuf Muḥammad al-Hindī, an early 20th century Egyptian writer on magic). In all this, al-Ghazālī's established reputation as a custodian of mystical knowledge and especially of the book *al-Djafī*, evidently played a

part (JAOS, xx, 113; Goldziher, *Le livre de Ibn Tūmert*, 15 ff.). Another suggested origin is the Arameo-Persian name of the planet and goddess Venus, *Bidukht* *بيدخت*, *بيدخت* G. Hoffmann,

Auszüge aus syrischen Akten persischer Märtyrer, 128 ff.). But though this name appears in the *Fihrist*, i, 311, 7, with magical and diabolical associations and is quoted very occasionally in connection with Zuhara (e.g. Makrīzī, *Khūṭat*, 1324/1906, i, 8; Thaʿl-abī, *Ḳiṣaṣ al-anbiyāʾ*, 1314/1896-7, 29—both with misprints) it appears to be totally unknown in magical or *Ḍinn* literature. Yet the name evidently passed early into South Arabic, became used there as a feminine proper name and as a feminine epithet,

"fat" and was confused with the root *ب د خ* (LA, iii, 484, sub *ب د خ*). Other standing in Arabic it does not

have. Further, when Budūḥ is associated with a particular planet, it is with Saturn (*Ṣuḥal*) and its metal is lead (Zarkawī, *Mafātih*, 170), not copper as Venus would require. Hardly worthy of mention is Von Hammer's fancy that Budūḥ is one of the names of Allāh (JA, 1830, 72) though it may have a Turkish basis (and see, too, de Sacy, below), and the derivation he suggests or the story told by Michel Sabbagh to de Sacy (*Chrest. arabe*, iii, 364 ff.) that it was the name of a pious merchant whose packages and letters never went astray, though that may well be a popular Syrian explanation. In magical books there are few cases even of personifying the word (e.g. *Yā Budūḥ* in *al-Faṭḥ al-raḥmānī* by Ḥādīj Saʿdūn, 21), but for the popular mind Budūḥ has become a *Ḍinnī* whose services can be secured by writing his name either in letters or numbers (JA, Ser. 4, xii, 521 ff.; Spiro, *Vocabulary of colloquial Egyptian*, 36; Doutté, *Magie et Religion*, 296, with *Kayyūm* as though a name of Allāh; Klunzinger, *Upper Egypt*, 387). The uses of this word are most various, to invoke both good and bad fortune. Thus, in Doutté, [*op. cit.*], against menorrhagia (234), against pains in the stomach (229), to render one's self invisible (275) and against temporary impotence (295). Lane's Cairo magician also used it with his ink mirror (*Modern Egyptians*, ch. xii), and so in several magical treatises. It is also engraved upon jewels and metal plates or rings which are carried as permanent talismans, and it is inscribed at the beginning of books (like *Kabikadī*) as a preservative, e.g. in *al-Faṭḥ al-djālī*, Tunis 1290. But by far the most common use is to ensure the arrival of letters and packages.

Bibliography (in addition to references given in the article): Ibn Khaldūn, *Muqaddima*, ed. Quatremère, iii, 131, 135, 139-40, 142-3, 157, tr. Rosenthal, iii, 163-4, 168-9, 174, 176-8, 193; Reinaud, *Monuments musulmans*, ii, 243 ff., 251 ff., 256; W. Ahrens, *Studien über die "magischen Quadrate" der Araber*, in *Isl.*, vii (1917), 186-250; idem, *Die "magischen Quadrate" al-Būnī's*, in *Isl.*, xii (1922), 157-77; E. Wiedemann, *Zu den magischen Quadraten*, in *Isl.*, viii (1918), 94-7; G. Bergsträsser, *Zu den magischen Quadraten*, in *Isl.*, xiii (1923), 227-55; T. Canaan, *The decipherment of Arabic talismans*, in *Berytus*, iv (1937), 100 ff.; W. Pax, *Der magische Kreis im Spiegel der Sprache, in Forschungen und Fortschritte*, xiii (1937), 380; Carra de Vaux, *Une solution arabe du problème des carrés magiques*, in *Revue de l'histoire des sciences*, i (1948), 206-12; L. Fischer, *Zur Deutung des magischen Quadrates in Durers MELENCOLIA I*, in *ZDMG*, cxiii (1953), 308-14;



H. Hermelink, *Arabische magische Quadrate mit 25 Zellen*, in *Sudhoff's Archiv für Geschichte der Medizin*, xliii (1959), 351-4. (D.B. MACDONALD*)

BUFFALO [see *ḤĀMŪS*, in Suppl.].

BUGHĀT [see *MĀRID*].

BUKĀ means etymologically "a patch of ground marked out from adjoining land by a difference in colour, etc." or "a low-lying region with stagnant water" (see Lane, *s.v.*); the latter sense is obviously at the base of the plural *Bikā'* [q.v.] to designate the (originally) marshy valley between the Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon ranges in Syria, and doubtless at that of the name al-Bukay'a for a settlement near the Lake of Hims [q.v.] (see Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, 352). From these senses it acquires the broader one of "province, region, tract of land", as in the classical Arabic geographers (for *Mukaddasi*, 31, tr. Miquel, 70, *buk'a* is a simple synonym for *mawḍi'*), and this seems to have been the farthest development of the term in the Muslim West (see Dozy, *Supplément*, i, 103b, who registers this latter sense only).

However, in the central and eastern parts of the Islamic world, *buk'a* acquired, apparently during the Saldjūk period, the sense of "dervish convent", "mausoleum", or in general "a building for pious, educational or charitable purposes". The transition here in sense clearly arises from the Kur'ānic phrase *al-buk'a al-mubāraka* (XXVIII, 30), traditionally interpreted as "the blessed hollow", the place where God spoke to Moses from the burning bush. From Saldjūk times onwards, *buk'a* appears in epigraphic phraseology. Thus an inscription of Yaghī-basan b. Ghāzī b. Dānīshmand (537-60/1142-65) from Niksar and dated 552/1157-8 describes the construction of a *buk'a mubāraka*, probably to be interpreted as a dervish convent (see M. Van Berchem, *Épigraphie des Danishmendides*, in *ZA*, xxvii [1912], 87 = *Opera minora*, Geneva 1978, ii, 703, with further references to *CIA*, i, *Égypte*, nos. 44, 459, and iii, *Asie Mineure*, 24). It was likewise used in the Syro-Palestinian region from Ayyūbid times onwards, e.g. in 595/1198 to describe at Jerusalem a school (*maktab*) originally endowed by Saladin, and Van Berchem noted that in this same city, a *Djāmi'* al-Nisā' adjacent to the *Haram* was still called al-Buk'a al-Bayḍā', perhaps from its white rough-cast walls (*CIA*, ii, *Syrie du Sud, Jérusalem Ville*, i/2, 110, 112, no. 39, ii/1, 130, no. 176). Some three-and-a-half centuries later, we find the Ottoman Sultan Süleymān I described on a restored fortress at Jerusalem as *khādim al-haramayn wa 'l-buk'a al-akdasīyya* (*ibid.*, i/2, 147, no. 45). In these instances, there still appears to be an ambivalence of meaning, with the double sense of the land on which the building stood and that of the building itself, one intended for religious or charitable uses.

Nevertheless, in the Turco-Iranian world the connection of the term *buk'a* with dervish convents and with mausolea, especially those of Šūfī saints, seems certain; such structures, whatever their precise architectural form and plan, would always be felt as "blessed places" in the Kur'ānic sense. In the biography of the Šūfī *Shaykh* Abū Sa'īd al-Mayhanī, the *Asrār al-tawhīd* of Muḥammad b. al-Munawwar (written in the last quarter of the 6th/12th century), *buk'a*, in one place *buk'a-i az khayr*, is synonymous with *khānākhāh* [q.v.] in the sense of "dervish convent" (ed. Dhabīh Allāh Šafā, Tehran 1332/1953, 44, 146, 331, cf. F. Meier, *Abū Sa'īd-i Abū l-Ḥayr* (357-

440/967-1049), *Wirklichkeit und Legende*, Tehran-Liège 1976, 305, n. 75, 310 and n. 115). B. O'Kane has gathered together instances of buildings described, usually in their inscriptions, as *buk'as*, from the Anatolian region (after the Dānīshmandid instance, see above, for the periods of the Rūm Saldjūks and the *beyliks*) and from the Iranian one (8th-9th/14th-15th centuries, extending as far eastwards as the Timūrid *Shāh-i Zinda* in Samarkand), and has noted that the term seemed eventually found more favour in those regions than in the Arab one; see his *Tāyḥād, Turbat-i Jām and Timurid vaulting*, in *Iran, Jnl. of the British Institute of Persian Studies*, xvii (1979), 94-6.

Bibliography: given in the article.

(C.E. BOSWORTH)

BUKRĀT, Hippocrates, the most famous physician of antiquity, was born ca. 460 B.C. on the island of Cos, and died ca. 375 in Larissa (Thessaly). He sprang from the Asclepiads, an old native family of physicians, where the name Hippocrates occurred repeatedly. Already in antiquity he was considered an exceptional and model physician. This prestige was due to Galen [see *ḤĀLĪNŪS*] in the first place, who brought to its culmination the "Hippocrates-revival" which had started in the 2nd century A.D. and thus determined the image of Hippocrates for the whole period to come; in Islam as in Europe, Hippocrates became the symbol of "the true physician". It is the more astonishing that hardly any of the many writings transmitted under his name can be traced back to him with full certainty. Dependent on the classification, the size of this "Corpus Hippocraticum" varies, but it comprises at least 60 writings. To the Arabs Hippocrates was well-known; his name appears as *Bukrāt*, with suppression of the Greek ending like in *Sukrāt* (Socrates) and *Dimukrāt* (Demokritos), and also as *Ibukrāt* and *Abukrāt*. The forms *Ibukrātīs*, *Abukrātīs*, etc. are older; Syriac influence is still present in *Hifūkṛātīs*, *Ifūkṛātīs*.

There is no lack of biographical information about *Bukrāt* among the Arabs; the longest section is found in Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a, *Uyūn al-anbā'*, i, 24-33. *Bukrāt's* teachers are mentioned here (24, ll. 16-17), his father *Iraklīdis* (Heracleides) and his grandfather *Bukrāt*; besides his father, the ancient sources name also others, like Herodicos of Selymbria (Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *Real-Encyclopädie der class. Altertumswissenschaft*, viii, 1912, 978 f.). He is said to have lived up to the age of 95. The Arab biographers, to be sure, often present misleading information, e.g. Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a (*op. cit.*, i, 24, ll. 22-3) says that *Bukrāt* was trained on Rhodes, Cnidos and Cos, while Ibn al-Kifīṭī (*Hukamā'*, ed. Lippert, 90 at the end to 91, 1) makes him stay for a while in *Firūhā* (i.e. *Bēpōra* = Aleppo, in the text identified with *Hims*; see also Barhebraeus, *Tārīkh Mukhtaṣar al-duwal*, ed. Cheikho, 85) and Damascus; both pieces of information perhaps mean no more than that *Bukrāt* travelled far and wide, as was already known in antiquity. On the other hand, one may assume that the Arabs retained scattered biographical data which are not found elsewhere. They were also right in stating that the *Corpus Hippocraticum* does not go back to one single author and that there have been several physicians of this name: the mathematician *Thābit b. Qurra* names four *Bakārīṭa* or *Bukraṭūn* ("Hippocraticians", one might say), the first of whom (in fact the second) would have been the famous *Bukrāt* (Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, ed. Flügel, 293 f.; Ibn al-Kifīṭī, *op. cit.*, 100).

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The Arabs also knew about the unconfirmed statement of Galen according to which Hippocrates declined a lucrative offer of Artaxerxes I to come to the Persian court (P. Bachmann, in *NAWG*, Phil.-Hist. Kl. 1965, 20 f.). Again and again he is commended for his care of the sick and his personal devotion; he allegedly was the first to found a hospital (Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a, i, 27, ll. 1-2). Evidently, the "Hippocratic oath" was also known to the Muslims, naturally in a somewhat different form; it can be found in Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a, i, 25 f. and has been translated by F. Rosenthal, *Das Fortleben der Antike im Islam*, Zurich 1965, 250-2. But Bukrāt was admired not only as the great physician but also as the master of alchemy, astrology and magic (M. Ullmann, *Die Natur- und Geheimpwissenschaften im Islam*, Leiden-Cologne 1972, 153, 288 f., 389); as such he gave his name to the handbook of Hellenistic magic which has become famous and notorious under the name *Picatrix* (distorted from *Bikrātīs* "Hippocrates").

It is impossible to say to what extent the Arabic canon of Hippocratic writings coincides with the Greek one. We would probably have more accurate information if had come down to us Galen's work, now lost, *Περὶ τῶν γυναικῶν καὶ νόθων ἱπποκράτους συγγραμμάτων*, which existed in Ishāk b. Hunayn's translation as *Kitāb fī kutub Bukrāt al-ṣahīha wa-ghayr al-ṣahīha* (G. Bergsträsser, *Hunain ibn Ishāq über die syrischen und arabischen Galen-Übersetzungen*, in *AKM*, xvii/2, Leipzig 1925, no. 104). We know several bibliographical compilations of various size. The first to be mentioned is the valuable survey of the following 10 works, ca. 259/972, compiled by the historian al-Ya'qūbī (*Ta'rikh*, ed. Houtsma, i, 107-29): *K. al-Fuṣūl* Ἀφορισμοί, *K. al-Buldān wa-l-miyāh wa-l-ahwāya* Περὶ ἀέρων ὑδάτων τόπων, *K. Mā' al-sha'ir* Περὶ πισάνης, *K. Takdimat al-mā'rifa* Προγνώστικόν, *K. al-Djanīn* Περὶ γονῆς, *Περὶ φύσιος παιδίου*, *K. al-Arkān* (or: *K. Tabī'at al-insān*) Περὶ φύσιος ἀνθρώπου, *K. al-Ghidhā'* Περὶ τροφῆς, *K. al-Asābī'* Περὶ ἐβδομάδων, *K. Awḍjā' al-nisā'* (Γυναικεία; cf. however, M. Ullmann, *Zwei spätantike Kommentare zu der hippokratischen Schrift "De morbis mulieribus"*, in *Medizin-historisches Journal*, xii [1977], 245-62), *K. Abidhimiya* Ἐπιδημία. This text has a specific value in so far as Ya'qūbī has added more or less detailed indices to six of these titles, so that their identification can be assured through comparison with texts that have been preserved (cf. M. Klamroth, *Über die Auszüge aus griechischen Schriftstellern bei al-Ja'qūbī*, in *ẒDMG*, xl [1886], 189-203).

Another canon of 10 works, all commented upon by Galen, is given by Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 288, who also names the translators. They partly coincide with those given above, but instead of *K. Mā' al-sha'ir*, *K. al-Djanīn*, *K. al-Ghidhā'*, *K. al-Asābī'* and *K. Awḍjā' al-nisā'*, we find here: *K. al-Ahd* Ὀρκος, *K. al-Amrād al-hādda* Περὶ διαίτης ὀξέων, *K. al-Kasr* Περὶ ἀγμών, *K. al-Akhlat* Περὶ χυμῶν and *K. Kāṭātriyyūn* (read: *Kāṭātriyyūn*) Κατ' ἱητρείον. Barhebraeus (*Duwal*, ed. Cheikho, 35) names 9 Hippocratical works, all of which appear in both of the inventories given above, while there is added the *K. Shidjād al-ra's* Περὶ τῶν ἐν κεφαλῇ τρωμάτων.

The by far most detailed classification is found in Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a, i, 31-3; a corpus of ca. 61 titles, thus nearly the same number as in the Greek list. Around 30 of them are considered authentic by Ibn

Abī Uṣaybi'a. However, only 12 of these are marked as important; they are found in the lists given so far; for the others, see Ullmann, *Medizin*, 31-5; Sezgin, *GAS*, iii, 38-47. From the indications given on the title-pages and colophons of the manuscripts as well as in the lists of titles, it cannot always be established with certainty who were the Arabic translators of the works. In any case, Hunayn b. Ishāk and his school were at the head. But there is no inventory of translations from Hippocrates's works drawn up by Hunayn himself, as is the case for his translations from Galen's writings. Bukrāt is extremely frequently quoted by the Arab physicians. The following works of the Arabic corpus have been published so far: 1. *K. al-Fuṣūl*. *The Aphorisms of Hippocrates*, translated into Arabic by Honain Ben Ishak, ed. J. Tytler, Calcutta 1832; 2. *K. Takdimat al-mā'rifa*, ed. M. Klamroth in *ẒDMG*, xl (1886), 204-33; 3. *K. Tadbīr al-amrād al-hādda*. *Hippocrates: regimen in acute diseases*, ed. and tr. M.C. Lyons (*Arabic Technical and Scientific Texts*, i), Cambridge 1966; 4. *Kāṭātriyyūn*. *Hippocrates: In the Surgery*, ed. and tr. by Lyons (ibid., iii), Cambridge 1968; 5. *K. Habal 'alā habal*. *Hippocrates: On superfetation*, ed. and tr. J.N. Mattock (ibid., iii), Cambridge 1968 (cf. Ullmann, *Die arabische Überlieferung der hippokratischen Schrift "De superfetatione"*, in *Sudhoffs Archiv*, lviii [1974], 254-75); 6. *K. Tabī'at al-insān*. *Hippocrates: on the nature of man*, ed. and tr. Mattock and Lyons (ibid., iv), Cambridge 1968; 7. *K. fī 'l-amrād al-bilādiyya*. *Hippocrates: on endemic diseases (airs, waters and places)*, ed. and tr. Mattock and Lyons (ibid., v), Cambridge 1969; 8. *K. fī 'l-Akhlat*. *Hippocrates: de humoribus*, ed. and tr. Mattock (ibid., vi), Cambridge 1971; 9. *K. fī 'l-Ghidhā'*. *Hippocrates: de alimento*, ed. and tr. Mattock (ibid., vi), Cambridge 1971. 10. *K. al-Adjinnā*. *Hippocrates: on embryos (On the sperm and on the Nature of the child)*, ed. and transl. M.C. Lyons and J.N. Mattock (ibid. vii), Cambridge 1978.

An effort should be made to establish a Corpus Hippocraticum Arabice, an aim which is admittedly still rather far away, but to which the above-mentioned editions form important preliminary studies. To this corpus should certainly be joined the Arabic translations of Galen's commentaries as well as the most important commentaries and paraphrases of the Arab physicians.

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und J. Pagel, i, Jena 1902, 196-268; P. Diepgen, *Geschichte der Medizin*, i, Berlin 1949, 77-94.

(A. DIETRICH)

AL-BULAYTĪ [see AL-BALĀTĪ, in Suppl.].

BULBUL SHĀH, *Ṣūfī* saint of mediaeval India. Bulbul Shāh, whose real name was Sayyid Sharaf al-Dīn, was a Mūsawī Sayyid and a disciple of Shāh Ni'mat Allāh Fārsī, belonging to the Suhrawardiyya order. He entered the Valley of Kashmir in the reign of Rādjā Suhādeva (1301-20) from Turkistān with 1,000 fugitives, fleeing before the Mongol invasion. Rinchana, a Ladakhī prince, who seized power from Suhādeva, possessed an inquisitive and a restless mind and was dissatisfied with both Buddhism, his own religion, and Hinduism, the religion of his subjects. Having come into contact with Bulbul Shāh, and learning from him about Islam, he was so much impressed by its teachings which, unlike those of Buddhism and Hinduism, were simple and free from caste, priesthood and ceremonies, that he became a Muslim and adopted the name of Ṣadr al-Dīn on the advice of the saint. The next person to embrace Islam was Rawančandra, Rinchana's brother-in-law; and according to one tradition Bulbul Shāh was able to convert nearly 10,000 people to his faith.

Rinchana built for Bulbul Shāh a *khānakāh* [q.v.] on the bank of the river Jehlam and endowed it with a number of villages, from the income of which a *langar* (free kitchen) was opened. Bulbul Langar has disappeared, but a quarter of Srinagar, bearing the name of the hospice still exists. Rinchana also built near the hospice a mosque, the first ever to have been built in Kashmir. It was destroyed by fire, and a smaller mosque was built in its place. Bulbul Shāh died in 728/1327 and was buried near it.

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(MOHIBBUL HASAN)

AL-BŪNĪ, ABU 'L-'ABBĀS AḤMAD B. 'ALĪ B. YŪSUF AL-ḲURASHĪ AL-ṢUFĪ MUḤYĪ 'L-DĪN (variants Takī al-Dīn, Shihāb al-Dīn), Arab author who wrote around forty works on magic. Hardly anything is known about his life; the date of his death (622/1225) was found by the present writer only in Hādīdjī Ḳhalīfa (*Kashf al-zunūn, passim*, cf. Kaḥḥāla, *Muḥjam al-mu'allifīn*, ii, 26; Baḡdathī Ismā'īl Paṣa, *Hadiyyat al-'arifīn*, i, 90 f.). He came originally from Būna ('Annāba [q.v.]). It is doubtful that he transmitted information on the construction in 425/1033 of the Sidī Bū Marwān mosque in that place, in a work called *al-Durra al-maknūna* (cf. G. Marçais, in *Mélanges William Marçais*, Paris 1950, 234), since this work does not appear in the catalogues of his writings. He is said to have died in Cairo and to have been buried in the Karāfa cemetery near the tomb of 'Abd al-Djalīl al-Ṭahāwī (d. 649/1251) (Ibn al-Zayyāt, *al-Kawākib al-sayyāra fī tartīb al-zayāra fī 'l-Karāfatayn al-kubrā wa 'l-sughrā* [written in 804/1401], Baghdad n.d., 268).

Al-Būnī's main work is the *Kitāb Shams al-ma'ārif wa-latā'if al-'awārif*, published in 4 volumes, Cairo n.d. [1905]. In 40 chapters, the headings of which are clearly arranged in Ahlwardt's Catalogue no. 4125, it contains a collection both muddled and dreary of materials for the magical use of numbers and letters-squares, single Ḳur'ān-verses, the names of God and of the mother of Mūsā, indications for

the production of amulets, for the magical use of scripts etc., all matters belonging to the field of the *hurūf* [q.v.] or *awfāk*. In ch. 7 appear even the words with which Jesus is supposed to have resuscitated the dead. The work exists in three forms, a short one which is the oldest, a long one and a middle-sized one (cf. H.A. Winkler, *Siegel und Charaktere in der muhammedanischen Zauberei*, Berlin 1930, 67; *ibid.*, 68-86 contains the translation with commentary of the chapters on the "seven seals" and the "highest name of Allah"). The number of manuscripts which became known in the course of time is considerable; the oldest—if the colophon is authentic—dates from 618/1221, thus from the author's lifetime (Manisa, Genel Küt., 1445, cf. T. Fahd, *La divination arabe*, Leiden 1966, 230-3). The work is a compilation based rather on current popular customs than on literature transmitted from Hellenistic superstition, since sources are hardly mentioned. Like all magic, these practices serve to realise wishes and longings and to ward off hardships, by trying to influence "supernatural" powers which cannot be grasped by the intellect or the senses. At the end of the work, al-Būnī therefore states that the mysteries of the letters (*al-hurūf*) cannot be proved by logical intellect, but only by insight into divine wisdom. He expresses himself in the same way in another work, the *Kitāb Latā'if al-ishārāt fī asrār al-hurūf al-ulwiyāt* (the title is variable; I did not have access to the lithography of Cairo 1317), quoted by Ibn Ḳhaldūn, *Mukaddima*, iii, 140 (Engl. tr. Rosenthal, iii, 174; Fr. tr. Monteil, iii, 1106). In his *Risālat al-Shifā' li-adwā' al-wabā'* (cf. M. Ullmann, *Die Medizin im Islam*, Leiden 1970, 249), Ṭāshköprüzāde (d. 968/1560) copied much of al-Būnī's magic to warding off the plague.

Most of the other works circulating under the name of al-Būnī seem to be more or less accurate extracts from the *Shams al-ma'ārif*; their relation to one another and to the main work is still to be investigated. We may mention here the *Kitāb al-Uṣūl wa 'l-dawābī*, a kind of introduction to the secret sciences; the *Kitāb Sharḥ sawākīf al-Fātiha al-sharīfa* on the consonants *th*, *dh*, *kh*, *z*, *sh*, *z*, *f*, which do not occur in the first Sūra; the *al-Luma' al-nūrāniyya* on the highest names and several writings on the divine names (enumerated in Fahd, *op. cit.*, 237 f.). In addition to Goldziher's earlier studies, G. Vajda has pointed to Jewish and pseudo-Jewish elements in the *Shams al-ma'ārif*, especially with regard to the names of God, the angels the idea of *ṭhakūfa* (from Hebrew *tekūfā*, something like "quarter of a year" and several other derived meanings): *Sur quelques éléments juifs et pseudo-juifs dans l'encyclopédie magique de Būnī*, in *Goldziher Memorial Volume*, i, Budapest 1948, 387-92. J. Ruska deserves the credit for having drawn attention to the abstruse chapter on alchemy in the *Shams* and its sources; since this chapter fits somewhat unnaturally in the work, it may indeed have been added by a later author who was familiar with al-Rāzī's *Kitāb al-Asrār* (cf. *Isl.*, xxii [1934], 307-10).

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mann, I², 655 f.; S I 910 f.; M. Ullmann, *Die Natur- und Geheimwissenschaften im Islam*, Leiden 1972, 234, 390 f., 415. (A. DIETRICH)

AL-BURAK **AL-ŠARĪMĪ** (Šuraymī in Ibn al-Kalbī), (AL-)ḤADJĪD B. ‘ABD ALLĀH (d. 40/660), a *Kh̲ārijī* who is said to have been the first to proclaim that “judgement belongs only to God” (*taḥkīm*; cf. al-Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, Cairo edn., 917), but who is famed in history because of his being one of the three plotters sworn to kill simultaneously ‘Alī b. Abī Ṭālib [see *IBN MULĎJAM*], ‘Amr b. al-‘Āṣ, [*q.v.*] and Mu‘āwīya b. Abī Sufyān. Al-Burak accordingly proceeded to Damascus and stabbed Mu‘āwīya whilst he was praying, but only managed to wound him in the hip. According to tradition, the attack had two consequences: firstly, the “marriage vein” (*ir̲k al-nikāḥ*) was severed, so that Mu‘āwīya was unable to beget any more children, and secondly, the latter decided that in future he would pray inside a *maḥṣūra* (but see the ironical remark of al-Djāhīz, *Ḥayawān*, ii, 161, where a dog is said to have led him to take this precaution).

When al-Burak was arrested, he immediately told Mu‘āwīya about the plot hatched against the three persons. He asked him to await news of the attack on ‘Alī, and proposed to Mu‘āwīya that he should go and kill the caliph if Ibn Mulḍjam had failed and then return and throw himself on Mu‘āwīya’s mercy. From this point, the accounts diverge. According to some, Mu‘āwīya had him executed on the spot; according to others, he threw him into prison and freed him when he heard of ‘Alī’s death. According to the apparently most current account, he had his hands and feet (or one hand and one foot) cut off and sent him to Baṣra, where Ziyād b. Abīhi put him to death when he learnt that he had had a child born to him whilst Mu‘āwīya remained henceforth sterile.

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BURKU’ or **KAŠR BURKU’**, a ruin situated in northern Jordan about 25 km. northwest of the pumping-station H 4, now a small village on the road from Mafrak to Baghdād. Here one of the earliest Islamic inscriptions, dated 81/700, is preserved. A *ḥarra*-plain of about 650 m. altitude surrounds the ruin, which lies on the northeast bank of the Wādī Minkād. About 2 km. northwest of Burku’, the wādī is blocked by a modern dam forming a small lake which contains water from late autumn until summer. The alignment of the foundations of the southwest-part of the *kašr* suggests that a similar dam existed there in the 7th century A.D.

The building was first visited in 1928. An archaeological report on the site was published in 1960 (H. Field, *North Arabian desert archaeological survey 1920-1950*, Cambridge Mass. 1960, 94-9). The building was re-studied in 1974 by H. Gaube, *An examination of the ruin of Qašr Burku’*, in *Annual of the Department of Antiquities of Jordan*, xix, (1974), 93-100 and 207-14.

The remains consist of a plain enclosure-wall at the northwest and the southwest sides, and ranges of rooms at the southeast (five rooms) and the northeast sides (six rooms), enclosing a courtyard where there is a rectangular tower. Enclosure and rooms show traces of repeated repairs, plan alterations and reconstructions. The masonry of the structure is of poor Hauranian style (basalt blocks

on the inner and outer faces, with a filling of lumps of basalt and clay). However, a thorough technical examination permits the isolation of five different stages of building-activity which can partly be connected with chronological evidences provided by inscriptions found at the spot. These inscriptions are: a Greek inscription from the 3rd century A.D. (Field, *op. cit.* 161 ff.); a Greek inscription from Byzantine times (Gaube, *op. cit.* 97); an Arabic inscription with the name of the *Amīr al-Walid* (the later caliph Walid I), dated 81/700 (*RCEA*, no. 12; Field, 154 f.; Gaube, 97); an Arabic inscription dated 782/1380 (Gaube, 97), and an Arabic inscription dated 812/1409 (Gaube, 97 f.).

In the course of its centuries-long use, Kašr Burku’ served different purposes. The nucleus of the site, the rectangular tower in the courtyard, was a Roman-Byzantine watch-tower controlling one of the main caravan-roads from Arabia to Syria. All installations to secure the water supply of the place (the artificial lake and two reservoirs) are most probably contemporary with the tower. In the 5th or the 6th century A.D. this advanced post was transformed into a monastic settlement and some rooms were built to the southeast of the tower. By Walid’s order, rooms northeast and southeast of the tower and the enclosure were added. At this time Burku’ served as a modest country-residence. It proves that in Umayyad times important members of the ruling family erected even small and rather primitive buildings. Later, in the Ayyūbid period, the building was restored and was most probably used as a *khān*.

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(H. GAUBE)

BURNOUS [see *LIBĀS*].

BURŪDJIRDĪ, ḤADJĪDĪ ĀKĀ ḤUSAYN ṬABĀTABĀ’I (1875-1961), the greatest religious authority (*mardja’-i taklīd-i mulak*) of the *Shī‘ī* world in his time. He belonged to a well-established and wealthy clerical family from which emerged distinguished figures such as Sayyid Mahdī Bahr al-‘Ulūm (d. 1797). After primary education in his home town, Burūdīrd, he moved to Iṣfahān in 1892 and studied *fikh*, *uṣūl*, philosophy and mathematics under several specialists including Sayyid Muḥammad Bākīr Dur̲cā’ī. In 1902 he went to Naḍjaf and attended the lectures of *Khurāsānī* [*q.v.*] and others until 1910, when he went back to Burūdīrd with the intention of returning to Naḍjaf, but the death both of his father and *Khurāsānī* in 1911 made him remain in Burūdīrd. Despite the fact that Burūdīrdī was closely associated with *Khurāsānī* during the Persian Constitutional Revolution of 1905-11, we do not know of any co-operation between Burūdīrdī and *Khurāsānī* in the latter’s constitutionalist campaign. This is an indication of Burūdīrdī’s conservatism in the field of politics, which continued to present itself during Burūdīrdī’s sole leadership from 1947-61.

While in Burūdīrd he was recognised as a respected religious authority in the western part of Iran. He was so popular in his region that in 1926, when he was temporarily living in Kum, he was urged by the Burūdīrdīs to return to Burūdīrd; he lived there until 1944. At this time the Kum Circle for Religious Studies which had been founded by Shaykh ‘Abd al-Karīm Ḥā’irī [*q.v.* in Suppl.] in 1921 was being run by three men (Šadr, Ḥudjdjat, and *Khawansārī* [*q.v.*]). It was envisaged that due to his priority in age, experience and background in religious leadership, Burūdīrdī would be able to

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reorganise the Circle which, under the government's pressures, and especially after Hā'irī's death in 1937, had been greatly diminished. To this end Burūdjirdī was cordially invited to Kum in December 1944. After the death of Sayyid Abu 'l-Ḥasan Iṣfahānī and Ḥādījī Ākā Ḥusayn Kumī in Najaf in 1946 and 1947 respectively, Burūdjirdī was unquestionably acknowledged as the sole *marja'-i taqlid* in the whole Shī'ī world and held this title until his death.

During his leadership, many religious activities were undertaken: several libraries, hospitals, mosques, and religious schools were established or revived in different locations in Iran and other countries, including Iraq and Germany; the publication of a number of religious books were subsidised; religious emissaries were dispatched to Europe, USA, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia and Africa. The Kum Circle for Religious Studies, which had become only a convenient alternative to that of Najaf during Hā'irī's leadership, now proved to be the most important clerical centre in the Shī'ī world. Thanks to this centrality, many students and specialists of Shī'ism formerly living in Najaf and elsewhere joined the Kum Circle, to the extent that their number exceeded 5,000, and for the first time the Najaf Circle looked to Burūdjirdī for assistance, financial or otherwise.

In the field of scholarship, Burūdjirdī made noticeable contributions; in addition to regular teaching and handling religious affairs, Burūdjirdī wrote a number of books on *fiqh* and *usūl*, several of which were never published; one speciality of his was *ḥadīth*. He has been widely acknowledged as the initiator of a new scheme which facilitates the process of determining the number and the extent of authority of the *ḥadīth* transmitters; it determines the time gap existing along the chain of transmitters, so that the classification of the *ḥadīth* into *musals* and *musnad* becomes easy. His scheme also helps to identify the identical names which appear in the chain of *ḥadīth* transmitters and to disclose any distortions or alterations there. Finally, it classifies the transmitters into 36 groups, each with distinguishable characteristics.

Another area of Burūdjirdī's concern was Sunnī-Shī'ī relations; to this end, Burūdjirdī closely cooperated with the Cairo *Dār al-Takrīb bayn al-Madhāhib al-Islāmiyya* and entered into correspondence with the Azhar rectors such as Shaykh Maḥmūd Shaltūt. This relationship, it is believed, resulted in the issuing of a *fatwā* in which Shaltūt declared Shī'ism to be as true a Muslim creed (*madhhab*) as other *madhabs* which have been followed by the Sunnīs, and invited all Muslims to recognise it (see the Peer Mahomed Ebrahim Trust, *Shiaism explained*, Karachi 1972, pp. x ff.).

In the arena of politics Burūdjirdī remained rather inactive. At times, however, he favoured the Shāh of Iran and some of the factions tied to the Royal Court. On a certain occasion, the Shāh even went to Kum and visited Burūdjirdī at home. In 1952, during the general election for the 17th Iranian Parliament, Burūdjirdī was considered as a supporter of a Kum feudal candidate, Abu 'l-Faḍl Tawliyat, who was also supported by the Court. In the Shāh-Muṣaddīk struggles, Burūdjirdī was widely recognised as being opposed to some of the measures taken by the latter and was happy over Muṣaddīk's downfall in 1953. In 1952 a member of the *Fidā'iyyan-i Islām* [q.v.] and then a friend of Muṣaddīk, Khālīl Tahmāshī, who was accused of the assassination of the former prime minister 'Alī Razmārā,

went to Kum to visit Burūdjirdī, but he refused to meet with Tahmāshī. In other political matters, which did not form Burūdjirdī's immediate concern, he was very reluctant to interfere. During the Palestine movement of 1947-8, for instance, a demonstration was organised in front of his house urging him to condemn Israel, to which he did not respond; however, in the end he prayed for the victory of the Palestinians and anathematised the Israelis (according to a leaflet picked up by the present writer on the street in Kum at the time).

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(ABDUL-HADI HAIRI)

BURUSHASKI is the language of the Burūsho, who form the majority of the population of the isolated principalities of Hunza and Nagir [q.v.] in the western Karakoram. It is probably used by about 20,000 persons. A closely related dialect, called Werčikwār, is spoken in the Yāsīn valley further west towards Čitrāl. The language was no doubt formerly current over a larger territory than at present. Although it shares much vocabulary with the Dardic languages Shina of Gilgit and Khowār of Čitrāl [see DARDIC and KĀFIR LANGUAGES], Burushaski has no known genetic relationship either with the neighbouring Aryan, Turkic, or Sino-Tibetan languages or with any other group, e.g. Caucasian, Dravidian, etc. This may be shown by the numerals 1-10: *hi, ālti, ṣki, wālti, ṣindi, miṣn, tale, āltam, hunti, tōrimi*. Characteristic features are (i) the division of nouns into four classes, approximately: human, (hm) masculine and (hf) feminine, (x) non-human animate and objects conceived as units, and (y) inanimate, amorphous and abstract, (ii) the occurrence of a plethora of plural suffixes, and (iii) the pervasive use of "possessive" personal pronoun prefixes with both nouns and verbs.

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(D.N. MACKENZIE)

AL-BUŞİRĪ, ŠARAF AL-DĪN ABŪ 'ABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD B. SA'ĪD B. ḤAMMĀD AL-ŠANHĀDĪ, an



Egyptian poet of Berber origin, born on 1 Shawwāl 608/7 March 1212 at Būṣīr [*q.v.*] or near to Dalāṣ (see Yāqūt, *s.v.*) in Upper Egypt. He was in fact known also by the *nisba* of Dalāṣī, it being said that one of his parents originated from Dalāṣ and the other from Būṣīr; he also had a composite *nisba*, al-Dalāṣīrī, but this last was never very current. He followed the courses of the Ṣūfī Abu 'l-Abbās Aḥmad al-Mursī (d. 686/1287; see al-Sha'rānī, *al-Tabakāt al-kubrā*, Cairo n.d., ii, 12-18; P. Nwyia, *Ibn 'Atā' Allāh*, Beirut 1972, index) and was also involved in the first developments of the Ṣhādhiyya order [*q.v.*]. He spent ten years in Jerusalem, and then resided at Medina and Mecca before settling at Bilbays [*q.v.*], where he held a minor administrative job (*mubāshir*; see al-Kalāshandī, *Ṣubḥ*, i, 451). He died at Alexandria, at a date which varies in the sources between 694 to 696/1294-7, and was buried at the foot of the Muḥaṭṭam, near to al-Shāfi'ī [*q.v.*].

Al-Būṣīrī was a skilled calligrapher, a traditionist and a celebrated reciter of the Kur'ān, but his name has been immortalised by a poem of his in praise of the Prophet, the *Burda* ode [*q.v.*], upon which a host of commentaries have been written and which has enjoyed up to the present time an extraordinary success. It has not, however, thrown wholly into the shade another work of his on the same theme, *al-Kaṣīda al-hamziyya fi 'l-madā'ih al-nabawiyya* or *Umm al-Kurā fi madā' khayr al-warā*, printed and commented upon several times. Al-Būṣīrī is furthermore the author of a *Lāmiyya* in praise of the Prophet, of *al-Kaṣīda al-muḍariyya fi 'l-salāt 'alā khayr al-bariyya*, of the *Ḍuḥḥ al-ma'ād 'alā wazn Bānat Su'ād*, of a *Yā'yya*, of *al-Kaṣīda al-khamiyya* and of some secular pieces more or less written for various occasions.

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AL-BUSTĀNĪ, name of a Lebanese family distinguished in the field of Arabic literature, which from the *mu'allim* Buṭrus al-Bustānī to Sa'īd S. al-Bustānī represents the various stages of the *nahḍa* and marks the contribution of the Lebanon to the Arab literary renaissance. Also, from the old *Encyclopaedia* of Buṭrus al-Bustānī to the present-day *Dā'irat al-ma'ārif* of F.E. al-Bustānī, a period of a century embraces the wide range of activities covered by Lebanese and Arab scholars in the sphere of general culture. A detailed comparison of these two generations of writers and of their methods of investigation and erudition shows more plainly than by any other means, the long road that the Lebanese travelled in their quest to acquire and to benefit from the knowledge and the methods of the West. The Bustānīs, in waves that were successive and intense, took turns in the service of the Arabic language.

A Maronite family, whose cradle was in northern Lebanon, it was drawn, at the end of the 16th century, in the time of the *amīr* Fakhr al-Dīn II, towards Dayr al-Kamar, to take advantage of the Ma'nid peace and the commercial prosperity of the region. The descendants of this prolific family were not slow to settle in other districts of the *Shūf*, such as Dibbiyya, Ibkishṭīn and Mardj.

In a period of less than a hundred years, we see that dozens of representatives of this family have occupied posts of supreme importance in the ad-

ministration, the bar, the judiciary, the civil service and most of all in education, in the press and in literature. It was their idea to found a National School for the purpose of grouping together all the children of the country without religious segregation. Also, it was they who took the initiative in the sphere of encyclopedias and modern dictionaries. It was to one of them finally that the Lebanese government entrusted, in 1953, the task of founding the Lebanese University. In the following pages we shall confine ourselves to mentioning, by way of example, and in alphabetical order, some famous names among the Bustānīs of the past who have done service to Arabic letters.

1. 'Abd Allāh al-Bustānī (1854-1930), eminent teacher and lexicographer, born at Dibbiyya, studied at the National School of Beirut under two distinguished *shaykhs*: Nāṣif al-Yāzidjī and Yūsuf al-Athīr. After founding, in Cyprus, with Iskandar 'Ammūn, a review *Djunaynat al-akhbār* which had little success, he devoted his energies to education. In a career spanning forty years, he acquired high renown and formed, at the College of Wisdom and the Patriarchal College, an élite of poets (Wadī' 'Aql, Bishāra al-Khūrī, Shibli al-Mallāt, Amīn Takī al-Dīn, etc.) and of journalists (Dāwūd Barakāt, Yūsuf al-Bustānī, etc.) and of writers (Shakīb Arslān, Is'āf Nashāshībī, etc.). It was in the course of this career, and mainly for the benefit of his disciples, that 'Abd Allāh al-Bustānī composed the majority of his writings. To assist in the teaching of Arabic, he prepared a dictionary, *al-Bustān* (2 vols. Beirut 1927-30), and an abridged version *Fākihāt al-Bustān*. It was also for their benefit that he composed a number of plays, some inspired by French dramatic art (*La Guerre des deux Roses*, *Brutus*, etc.), some taken from the storehouse of Arab history (*Djassās, assassin de Kulayb*, *Umar al-Himyarī*, etc.). In recognition of his versatile achievements, he was elected a member of the Arab Academy of Damascus, and president of the short-lived Lebanese Academy.

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2. Buṭrus b. Būlus al-Bustānī (1819-83) was born at Dibbiyya and first attended the village school, then the college of 'Ayn Warḳa, where he spent ten years, between 1830 and 1840. In order to help his mother, who had just lost her husband, in the task of raising and supporting his brothers, he refused the offer of a scholarship and went to Italy to complete his religious training at the Maronite College in Rome. It seems that he applied himself to learning English while at 'Ayn Warḳa, which was to serve him well in his future contacts with the Protestant missionaries. He settled finally in Beirut where he lived for forty-three years, and pursued a most distinguished career. His arrival coincided with the troubles caused by the departure of the *amīr* Bashīr II and the withdrawal of Egyptian troops. He made the acquaintance of some American missionaries, with whom he formed a friendship that grew stronger in time and contributed to his conversion to Protestantism. It was at this period that he met the doctor Cornelius Van Dyck, who was then a young physician working with the missionaries; he had just established himself in Beirut



and was eager to learn the language of the country. From 1846 to 1848, having temporarily left the city, he helped his friend in the school at 'Ubey, which the latter founded and which enjoyed a high reputation in this period. It was there, for the benefit of his pupils, that Bustānī composed his two educational manuals *Kaṣf al-ḥiqāb fī 'ilm al-hisāb* and *Bulūgh al-arab fī nahw al-'Arab*; it was also there that his eldest son Salīm was born. On his return to Beirut in 1848, the American Consulate employed him as an interpreter, a post that he held until 1862. During this period, he continued to educate himself, to learn European and Semitic languages with the object of assisting Dr. Smith in his venture of translating the Protestant Bible. His energy was also reflected in a large corpus of lectures, articles and pamphlets. In 1860, he published his magazine *Nafīṣ Sūriyā* ("The Syrian bugle"); then in 1863 he founded his famous National School which continued to operate until 1875 and rendered the country very valuable service. In 1870, he undertook the publication of his two periodicals *al-Dīnān* and *al-Djanna*, followed a year later by *al-Djunayna*. The major achievements of Buṭrus al-Bustānī were, besides his school and his reviews, his contribution to the translation of the Bible, his large dictionary *Muḥīt al-muḥīt*, edited in 1870 and the *Encyclopaedia*, the first volume of which appeared in 1876. He died while involved with this task, and he was able to produce only six volumes. His son Salīm applied himself to this work and added two further volumes. The encyclopedia in question came finally to a halt with the eleventh volume and was never completed.

The influence of al-Bustānī at his apogée was very deep. Lucid, far-sighted and sincere, he made accurate judgements of the state of his country from a national, cultural and moral point of view; then he set to work, applying himself to projects the achievement of which would seem impossible for one man alone. He saw clearly, in a setting of considerable obstacles, of a confused political situation, of intolerance and of opposition to Turkish rule, the long path that must be travelled in the quest for an authentic social and cultural renaissance. An indefatigable craftsman, of bold and progressive spirit, he devoted himself to his work and was involved with it to the very last days of his life.

Bibliography: M. 'Abbūd, *Ruwwād al-nahḍa al-hadītha*, Beirut 1952; P. Andraos, *al-Mu'allim B. al-Bustānī* (dissertation submitted to the Lebanese University, 1970); F.E. al-Bustānī, *al-Rawā'ī*, no. 22, Beirut 1950; M. al-Bustānī, *al-Salsabīl*, Djounieh 1968, 142-8; *al-Hilāl* of 15th January 1896; 'U. Kahhāla, *Mu'djam al-mu'allifin*, iv, 48-9; Sh. al-Khūrī, *Ma'djma' al-Masarrāt*, Beirut 1908; *al-Mukhtaf*, of 1st August 1883; N. Naṣṣār, *Nahwa mu'djama' djadīd*, Beirut 1969; M. Ṣawāyā, *al-Mu'allim Buṭrus al-Bustānī*, Beirut 1963; L. Shaykhū, *al-Ādāb al-'arabiyya*, ii, Beirut 1910; Ph. Farrāzī, *Ta'rīkh al-sihāfa*, i and ii, Beirut 1913; Dj. Zaydān, *Tarāḍim mashāhīr al-Shark*, ii, Cairo 1911.

3. Buṭrus b. Sulayman al-Bustānī (1893-1969), born at Dayr al-Ḳamar where he barely completed his primary studies, and went to live in Beirut with his brother Karam (see below, 4). Self-taught, his thorough linguistic and literary education was the fruit of assiduous personal effort. He first achieved distinction with his grammatical knowledge and his understanding of ancient texts which he analysed and annotated to make them accessible to his readers. In 1923 he founded his review *al-*

Bayān which he edited until 1930. Here he dealt with literary and social themes, analysed new works appearing in the Lebanon and in the Arab countries and encouraged the study of comparative literature. In the course of its publication, *al-Bayān* was both a magnet and a support for young Lebanese writers. The world economic crisis forced Buṭrus to give a different direction to his vocation. Henceforward he devoted his efforts to education and to all that might facilitate his task as teacher. It was to introduce his pupils from the Brothers and the College of Wisdom to Arabic literature that he composed, in three volumes, his valuable textbook *Les auteurs arabes*. The first of these volumes (1931) covers the period from the pre-Islamic age to the Umayyads, the second (1934) deals with the 'Abbāsid age, the third with al-Andalus and the *nahḍa*. Later, in 1943, this series was crowned by a fourth volume, an anthology. Even though scientific method is not respected scrupulously in his writings, Buṭrus excels through the purity of his style and the accuracy of his comments. The last years of his career were spent at the Lebanese University.

Bibliography: M. al-Bustānī, *al-Salsabīl*, 199-206.

4. Karam al-Bustānī (1888-1966) was born at Dayr al-Ḳamar, studied in the Jesuit school there, then went and settled in Beirut with his brother Buṭrus (see above, 3.); here he applied himself simultaneously to a number of tasks: teaching, journalism and critical editing of ancient texts. Over a number of years, he was associated with Catholic missionary establishments (Jesuits, Franciscans, Sacre Coeur, Friars, etc.), where he taught Arabic literature. At this time he was collaborating in various Lebanese reviews and journals that were then in fashion (*al-Bark*, *Lisān al-ḥāl*, *al-Arz*, *al-Makshūf*, etc.) and he gave generous assistance to his brother Buṭrus in the editing of his review *al-Bayān*. His thorough knowledge of Arabic and his erudition are shown in his study and editing of Arabic manuscripts and most of all in a series of collections of poetry (*Dīwān Ibn Zaydān*, *Dīwān Ibn Khafāḍīya*, *Dīwān Ibn Hānī* 'al-Andalusī, *Luzūmiyyāt al-Ma'arrī*, *Dīwān al-Khansā*, etc.). As regards original production, the work of Karam is confined to a small number of works of a historico-social nature (*Légendes orientales*, *Princesses du Liban*, *Femmes arabes*).

Bibliography: M. al-Bustānī, *al-Salsabīl*, 196-8.

5. Sa'īd b. Salīm al-Bustānī (1922-77) born at Mardj (in the Shūf), studied in Beirut at the College of Jesuit Fathers, then at the Institute of Oriental Literature, and pursued his studies in France, where he obtained a State Diploma in Arabic and a Doctorate of Letters. On his return to Lebanon, he occupied some important posts at the Lebanese University. In 1974, he was appointed Dean of the Faculty of Administration, then, in 1977, Dean of the Faculty of Literature. In the course of his brief university career, he published his thesis *Ibn ar-Rūmī, sa vie et son oeuvre* (Beirut 1967). In addition, he contributed to the *Encyclopaedia of Islām* and to the *Dā'irāt al-ma'ārif* of F.E. al-Bustānī. In university circles, Sa'īd al-Bustānī was associated with bilingualism and western culture, and he defended his positions of principle vigorously. The hope of the Lebanese élite, he died in mid-struggle, carried off suddenly by an incurable disease, leaving a number of important works unfinished.



6. Salīm b. Buṭrus (1846-84) journalist and novelist, born at 'Ubey. He studied in the centres established in the north of the Lebanon by Protestant missionaries recently arrived from America to compete with the propaganda diffused over two centuries by the Catholic missionaries. As teachers, he also had his father Buṭrus and Nāṣif al-Yāzidjī, who introduced him to the subtleties of Arabic. At the age of sixteen (in 1862) he entered the service of the American Consulate in Beirut as an interpreter, a post that he held for ten years. Then his father called upon him to collaborate with him in his many projects, especially in the running of the National School, the editing of his reviews and the elaboration of the *Encyclopaedia*. Thanks to his knowledge of foreign languages, his civic sense and his literary and philosophical training, Salīm gave a new impetus to the Renaissance, and turned it in directions other than those pursued by the generation of his father, of N. Yāzidjī, Aḥīr, Aḥḍab and others. The West influenced his thinking and his conception of society. He went far beyond the cultural level deemed sufficient by his contemporaries and tackled new and original genres in vogue in the West. He displayed this tendency towards innovation in several spheres. First, in participating in the activities of literary societies and cultural associations, in particular in belonging to the Syrian Scientific Society in which he played a significant role; he occupied the post of vice-president, and for the benefit of members and friends, he composed some plays, most notably *Maḡnūn Laylā*, in six acts, performed on the 11th May 1869, and greeted by Beirut audiences as a masterpiece. Later, he was tempted to pursue this line of activity further and he composed more plays in which prose and poetry lie side-by-side and blend harmoniously. Later, he found in his father's various reviews a useful medium for dealing with subjects fashionable in the western press. The columns of *al-Djinnān* (1870-86) discussed moral and civic questions never dealt with before in Arabic journals of this period. The obsequious journalist, the flatterer of power and high authority (and such men were the general rule at that time), came under attack in Salīm's articles from a thinker fired with civic concern and patriotism, believing sincerely in his mission as social reformer. The titles of his surveys and articles suffice by themselves to reveal the breadth of the spectrum of social, moral, economic and political problems that he studied. We shall quote, by way of example, the following titles: *Birth and evolution of nations*, *Factors of progress*, *Methods of education*, *The role of economics in the evolution of society*, etc. In addition, he blazed the first trail of the modern Arabic novel. Taking the ancient heritage as a base, he tackled subjects with a historical theme and thus sketched the path later to be followed by Naḥḥā al-Mudawwar and Dj. Zaydān.

Among his works we shall mention the following:

- (a) Nine novels published in serial form in *al-Djinnān* between 1870 and 1879;
- (b) Some twenty short stories composed directly in Arabic or translated from French or English (published at the same period in the same review);
- (c) *A history of France*;
- (d) *A history of Napoleon Bonaparte in Egypt and Syria*;
- (e) *Statesmen*.

These three last were also published in *al-Djinnān*.
(f) Volumes vii and viii of the *Encyclopaedia* (and valuable participation in the editing of the first six volumes).

Bibliography: Dj. Ayyūb, *Index alphabétique contenant noms d'auteurs et titres d'articles insérés dans al-Djinnān, au cours de sa publication (1870-1886)*, see in particular articles signed by Salīm (typescript thesis, the Lebanese University); M. al-Bustānī, *al-Salsabil*, 152-3; Y. Dāghir, *Maṣādir*, ii, 186; Dj. Khaṭṭār, *Salīm al-Bustānī: vie et oeuvre* (manuscript essay submitted to the Lebanese University, 1970). See also *Lisān al-hāl*, no. 712 (1884); *al-Mukṭaṭaf*, i (1884); Tarrāzī, *Ta'rikh al-shihāfa*, i, ii; Kaḥḥāla, *Mu'djam*; Zaydān, *Mashāhīr*, i; Ziriklī.

7. Sulaymān b. Khaṭṭār al-Bustānī (1856-1925), politician and writer, born at Ibkishūn, a small village in the neighbourhood of Dibbiyya (Shūf). He studied at the National School, attending the Arabic classes of Nāṣif al-Yāzidjī and Yūsuf al-Aḥīr, and gaining a knowledge of the French, English and Turkish languages, as well as the sciences that were then in vogue. His artistic temperament was noticed by Buṭrus, his illustrious father, who took care of him and invited him to collaborate in his educational work, the editing of his reviews *al-Djinnān*, *al-Djanna* and *al-Djunayna*, and the preparation of the *Encyclopaedia*. Invited to Baṣra, Sulaymān founded there a modern-style educational establishment, then he spent eight years in Baghdād where he occupied some very important administrative posts. A tireless traveller, Sulaymān visited many countries, notably Turkey, Egypt, India and Iran, as well as European and American states. Resuming his work on the *Encyclopaedia*, he settled in 1896 in Cairo and he contributed substantially to the editing of the tenth and eleventh volumes. In 1904, he accomplished his greatest work, a translation of the *Iliad* into Arabic verse (1260 pages of introduction and text). From this time onward he devoted his energies to politics, participating in the activities of various parties that were then proliferating in the Arab countries. His attitude was, initially, favourable towards the Ottomans, and this earned him, in 1908, when the Constitution was put into effect, election as representative of the *vilāyet* of Beirut in the Ottoman parliament, and later, in 1913, appointment to the post of Minister of Agriculture, Commerce and Industry. The change in policy on the part of the Sultan 'Abd al-Hamīd II (1876-1909), and the opposition of Sulaymān to Turkey's entry into the First World War against the Allies, obliged him to retire from the government and leave Istanbul, going into exile first in Switzerland (1914-19) then in Egypt (1919-24) and finally in New York where he died a year later, totally blind.

In general, the literary output of Sulaymān is hardly extensive and does not appear to equal that of Buṭrus or Salīm; but thanks to his political involvements, his participation in the activities of literary circles and reformist parties, and his innumerable articles in the Arabic press, his work had a profound influence on the development of Arab aspirations and democratic views in regard to Ottoman rule. Setting aside his translation of the *Iliad*, the thorough research that he conducted by way of introduction to the translation, reveals to the Arabic reader, for the first time, a cultivated mind, familiar with Greek, Latin and modern sources, and involved in considerations related to comparative literature, something totally ignored at that time in Arab literary circles.

In *'Ibra wa-dhikra*, or *l'État ottoman avant et après la Constitution*, published in Egypt (1908),



Sulaymān shows himself as a reformer, following the path blazed by his predecessors, and he expresses, in a clear and direct style, his ideas concerning different styles of government, liberty, tyranny, and the means of exploiting the resources of the Ottoman caliphate, as well as various procedures to be adopted for the modernisation of the state. In addition, a number of manuscript works are attributed to him, including *l'Histoire des Arabes*, and a book of *Memoirs* in English. In the Lebanese civil war of 1975-6, the house where Sulaymān was born in Ibkishṭīn was not spared; it was plundered and partially destroyed, and his library suffered the same fate.

Bibliography: G. Bāz, *Sulaymān al-Bustānī*, Beirut n.d.; F. al-Bustānī, *ar-Rawāʿī*, nos. 44-6; G. Ghurayyib, *Sulaymān al-Bustānī et l'introduction de l'Iliade*, Beirut n.d.; Dī. al-Hāshim, *Sulaymān al-Bustānī et l'Iliade*, Beirut 1960; M. Sawāyā, *Sulaymān al-Bustānī et l'Iliade d'Homère*, Beirut 1948; A. Hamorī, *Reality and convention in Book Six of Bustānī's Iliad*, in *JSS*, xxiii (1978), 95-101. See also the other authors mentioned in articles concerning the Bustānīs.

8. Wadī' al-Bustānī (1836-1954), born at Dibbiyya, studied at the American school of Sūk al-arb, then at the American University of Beirut where he obtained his B.A. in 1907. He was involved in an astonishing range of activities. Following in the tracks of previous and contemporary members of the Bustānī family, he applied himself to literature and to travels in Arabia, especially to the Yemen (1909) and to the Far East (1912) where he became a friend of Tagore. He returned to Egypt, then, after 1917, occupied some very important administrative posts in Palestine, at that time under British Mandate. In 1953, he left Haifa to return to his native country and there he spent the last year of his life. Two major principles dominated his long career. The first was reflected in his participation in all the efforts to preserve the Arab identity of Palestine. The second, more important, and more fortunate in its results, consisted essentially in a long list of Hindu or Western books translated from English, a language which he knew thoroughly. Thanks to him, the major works of Lord Avebury came to be known in Arabic, notably *The pleasures of life* (Khartoum 1904), *The meaning of life* (Beirut 1909), *The fruits of life* (Cairo 1910) and *The beauties of nature* (Cairo, 1913). Other authors, too, attracted his attention; he translated *The Quatrains of Khayyām* (Cairo 1912), and some poems of Tagore which he published under the title *The sardine fisher* (Cairo 1917). His most remarkable and successful achievement was without doubt the translation of the Sanskrit epic of the *Mahābhārata* (Beirut 1952), as well as other epic or semi-epic works from ancient India.

Other than translations, his principal works are:

- (a) *Lyrics of the War* (Poems, Johannesburg 1915);
- (b) *The absurdity of the Palestine Mandate* (Beirut 1936);

(c) *Palestinian poems* (Beirut 1946);

(d) *The Quatrains of Abu 'l-ʿAlāʾ* (manuscript).

Bibliography: M. al-Bustānī, *Kawthar al-nufūs*, 362-75; idem, *al-Salsabīl*, 189-96; Y. Dāghir, *Maṣādir*, ii, 196-9; A. al-Djundi, *A'lām al-adab wa'l-fann*, ii, 263-5; 'U. Kahhāla, *Mu'djam*, xiii, 163; Y. Sarkis, *Mu'djam al-maḥbūʿāt*, 561; L. Shaykhū, *Ta'rikh al-ādab al-ʿarabiyya*, 166; Zirikli, *A'lām*, ix, 127-8.

(J. ABDEL-NOUR)

BUTRUS KARĀMA, Christian Arab official and writer, the son of Ibrāhīm Karāma, was born in Hīmṣ in 1774. Together with his father he was converted from the Greek Orthodox faith of the Karāma family to Greek Catholicism. As a result they were forced to migrate to Acre, where Butrus entered the service of the Pasha 'Alī al-As'ad (1806). In 1811 he moved to Lebanon, where he was employed by the amīr Bashīr al-Shihābī [see BASHĪR SHIHĀB II] as a tutor to his sons and as head of his chancellery. After Bashīr's deposition in 1840, Butrus accompanied him to Malta, and later to Constantinople, where he became a secretary of the Sultan and court interpreter, thanks to his mastery of both Arabic and Turkish. He died in Istanbul in 1851.

Butrus composed many poems in Arabic, the majority of which were collected in his *diwān* entitled *Saḍīʿ al-ḥamāma fī Diwān al-Mu'allim Butrus Karāma*.

When one of his Arabic compositions was attacked by a Muslim critic, he replied with a spirited *makāma* in which he maintained the proposition that excellence in Arabic letters and mastery of the Arabic language was not dependent on being a Muslim. Notwithstanding the point of this dispute, it was conducted along thoroughly Islamic lines, with opposing views being expressed in verse, and Butrus himself uses forms of expression which differ very little from standard Islamic formulae, e.g. his *makāma* begins "In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful. Praise be to God, the Lord of the worlds: Ruler of the Day of Judgement..."

Fair-minded Muslim critics appreciated the worth of Butrus's poetry, and one, 'Abd al-Djalīl al-Baṣrī (1776-1854), composed a poem in which he adjudicated between Butrus and his chief detractor, finding in favour of the former.

Bibliography: Djurdjī Zaydān, *Tarāḍim mashāhīr al-shark fī 'l-kam al-tāsī' 'aṣḥar*, Cairo 1903, ii, 189-92; L. Cheikho, *al-Ādāb al-ʿarabiyya fī 'l-kam al-tāsī' 'aṣḥar*, in *Al-Machriq*, x (1907)-946-8, 1039-44; Sarkis, *Mu'djam*, cols. 1550-1; G. Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur*, iv, 303-5; Kahhāla, *Mu'djam al-mu'allifin*, iii, 47-8; R.Y. Ebied and M.J.L. Young, *The "Khālīyyah" ode of Butrus Karāmah: a nineteenth-century literary dispute*, in *JSS*, xxii (1977), 69-80. (R.Y. EBIED and M.J.L. YOUNG)

BUZZARD [see BAYZARA].

C

ČAČ-NĀMA, a Persian history of the Arab incursions into Sind in the 1st/7th and 8th centuries, with an introductory chapter concerning the history

of the province on the eve of the Arab conquest (ed. Dā'ūd-pota, New Delhi 1939, 14-72) and an epilogue describing the tragic end of the Arab commander

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Muhammad b. al-Kāsim and of the two daughters of Dāhir, the defeated king of Sind (*ibid.*, 243-7). According to the author, 'Alī b. Hāmid b. Abī Bakr Kūfī (about whom see Storey, i, 650), the *Čač-Nāma* is a translation of an Arabic book which Kūfī found some time after 613/1216-17 in the possession of the *kādī* of Alōr, Ismā'īl b. 'Alī . . . b. 'Uthmān al-Thakafī (*ibid.*, 9-10). No details about the author and name of that book are given. However, a comparison between the *Čač-Nāma* and Arab historians such as Balādhurī (*Futūḥ*, 431-46) bears out the Arab provenance of those parts of the book that describe the battles leading to the conquest of Sind; Kūfī might well have used Madā'ini's *Kitāb Thaḡhr al-Hind* and *Kitāb 'Ummāl* (or *A'māl*) *al-Hind* (*Fihrist*, 100; Yāqūt, *Udabā'*, v, 315; cf. A. Schimmel, *Islamic literatures of India*, Wiesbaden 1973, 12). The *Čač-Nāma* seems to have preserved Madā'ini's tradition concerning India in a much fuller fashion than classical Arab histories. On the other hand, the book also comprises a considerable amount of material which probably reflects a local Indian historical tradition. The part dealing with the rise of the Čač dynasty (14-72), the story of Darōhar, Djaysinha and Djanki (229-234), and some traditions attributed to a Brahman called Rāmsiya (179) and to "some Brahman elders" (*ba'dī mashāyikh-i barāhima*) (197; cf. also 206¹¹) deserve to be mentioned in this context.

The extensive account of the relationship that developed between the Arab conquerors and the local population, which may well reflect a local Muslim Indian tradition, is perhaps the most meaningful and fascinating part of the *Čač-Nāma* (208 ff.). Here Muhammad b. al-Kāsim is said to have given his unqualified blessing to the social characteristics of India and to have sanctioned both the privileges of the higher classes and the degradations of the lower ones. He upheld the central and indispensable function of the Brahmins and confirmed the privileges accorded to them by ancient tradition. As for the lower classes, represented in the *Čač-Nāma* by the *Djāts* [*q.v.*] (al-Zuṭṭ in Arab historiography), Muhammad b. al-Kāsim confirmed the disabilities imposed upon them by the deposed Čač dynasty (208 ff.). Some of these disabilities bear a striking similarity to the discriminatory measures employed against the *ahl al-dhimma* according to Islamic law. It is fascinating to observe the way in which the *šar'ī* injunctions were transposed into the Indian milieu and probably blended with local custom. Even more fascinating is the transformation of the injunctions themselves: they are not applied to all non-Muslims, irrespective of class, because of their refusal to embrace Islam; they serve rather as an instrument to demonstrate and perpetuate the inferior social status of an ethnic group. The *Čač-Nāma* occasionally sounds like a document intended to accord Islamic legitimacy to the Indian social structure, to sanction the privileges of the Brahmins and to confirm the degraded status of the lower classes. It seems to be a historical and even religious justification of the persistence, under Islam, of a social system which is in sharp conflict with the Islamic world view. It may be considered an illustration of Imtiaz Ahmad's statement that "... if the formal Islamic ideology rejects caste, the actual beliefs held by the Muslims not only recognise caste distinctions but also seek to rationalise them in religious terms" (*Caste and social stratification among the Muslims*, New Delhi 1973, p. xxviii).

Bibliography: The *Čač-Nāma* was published

by Dā'ūd-pota, New Delhi 1939; Manuscripts: British Library Or. 1787; India Office, Ethé 435; cf. Storey, 650-1; Translations: M.K. Fredunbeg, *The Chach Namah, an ancient history of Sind giving the Hindu period down to the Arab conquest*, Karachi 1900; Elliot and Dowson, *The history of India as told by its own historians*, London 1867, i, 131-211 (description and partial translation); Maḥdūm Amīr Aḥmad and Nabī Bakhsh Khān Balōč, *Fath-Nāmāyi Sind*, Ḥaydarābād (Sind) 1966 (Sindī translation and commentary; not used by the present author); cf. Storey, i, 651; Analyses: I.H. Qureshi, *The Muslim community of the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent*, The Hague 1962, 37 ff.; F. Gabrieli, *Muhammad ibn Qāsim ath-Thaqafī and the Arab conquest of Sind*, in *East and West*, xv (1964-5), 281-95; P. Hardy, *Is the Chach-Nāma intelligible to the historian as political theory?* in Hamida Khuhro (ed.), *Sind through the centuries*, Karachi 1978; Y. Friedman, *A contribution to the early history of Islam in India*, in M. Rosén-Ayalon, ed., *Studies in memory of Gaston Wiet*, Jerusalem 1977, 309-33; idem, *The origins and significance of the Chach Nāma* (forthcoming).

(Y. FRIEDMANN)

ČAD, CHAD, a region of Inner Africa. The Republic of Chad (area: 1, 284,000 km²; population: about 4,000,000 in 1975) is one of the four states which emerged from the former French Equatorial Africa. The country stretches over 1,600 km. from south of latitude 8° N. to the north of latitude 23° N. Consequently, climate and vegetation vary from savannah woodland with an annual rainfall of more than 1,000 mm. in the south to the arid desert of the Sahara in the north. Chad is torn between two conflicting orientations, between North and Equatorial Africa.

Islam has created a measure of cultural unity in the northern and central parts of Chad, but it has also contributed to the alienation of the region south of latitude 11° N., which remains almost untouched by Islam.

About one million members of the Sara tribe form the main element among the Bantu population of the better-watered south. The Sara are also the largest single ethnic group in Chad as a whole. For centuries the Sara, together with other peoples of the south, were the target for slave raiding from the north.

Farther north the open country between latitudes 12° and 15° N. attracted waves of migrants, mainly nomads, from the north (the Tubu) and from the east (Arabs and Arabised groups). The nomads played an important role in the history of that region which saw the emergence of islamised African states.

Kānim, the earliest state in this region [see KANEM], was first mentioned by al-Ya'qūbī (*Ta'rikh*, ed. Houtsma, 219) in the second half of the 3rd/9th century. The state of Kānim and its Kanembu people evolved as a result of an interaction between rulers of nomad origin (probably Tubu from Tibesti) and the indigenous population at the northeastern corner of Lake Chad. An interpretation of the Arabic sources (Ibn Sa'īd, ed. Vernet, 1958, 28; al-Maḥrizī, ed. Hamaker, 1820, 206; a *maḥram* in Palmer, *Sudanese memoirs*, iii, 3) suggests that the rulers of Kānim became converted to Islam in the 5th/11th century, undoubtedly through the influence of Muslims who moved along the trade route from Tripoli via Fazzān [*q.v.*] to Lake Chad. By the 7th/13th century Islam had spread to other

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sectors of the population. People from Kānim went on pilgrimage to Mecca and came to study in Cairo, where a *madrasa* for Kānimī students was established in the 640s/1240s (al-Maḥrīzī, *Khiṭaṭ*, ed. Wiet, 1922, iii, 266).

The ruling dynasty of Kānim claimed descent from Sayf b. Dhī Yazan [q.v.], and became known as the Saifawa. In the second half of the 8th/14th century the Saifawa were forced to evacuate Kānim because of harassment by the Bulala. The Bulala were probably an offshoot of the same dynasty who had mingled with one of the earliest Arab nomad groups coming from the east. The Saifawa moved to Bornu [q.v.] at the south-western corner of Lake Chad (now in Nigeria). After a transitory period the Saifawa rebuilt a state in Bornu, which towards the end of the 10th/16th century, under the reign of Idrīs Alawōma, regained its hegemony over the Chad basin. Kānim was reconquered by the Saifawa, who preferred to stay in Bornu. The Bulala rulers of Kānim became vassals to Bornu. About the middle of the 17th century the Bulala were removed from Kānim by the Tundjur, who had been themselves pushed out of Wādāy [q.v.]. Authority over Kānim rested with the *alifa* (from the Arabic *khalīfa*), who was nominally a deputy of the Saifawa rulers of Bornu. In the first half of the 19th century the *alifa* paid allegiance to the *sultān* of Wādāy, but in the second half of the century he came under the patronage of the Arab Awlād Sulaymān.

Arab nomads made their impact on Chad since the 14th century, when offshoots of Arab tribes which had penetrated the Nilotic Sudan advanced westwards across Kordofan and Dār Fūr. In the Chadian *sāhil*, on the fringes of the Sahara, the Arabs maintained their traditional way of life as camel breeders, but those who had to seek pasture farther south abandoned the camel and became cattle pastoralists (*baḥḥāra*). They mixed with the local population but retained their Arabic dialect. Though they are divided into many tribes, these Chadian Arabs are generally referred to as Shuwa Arabs [q.v.]. To the south, the Arabs reached as far as 11° N., and through their contact with the local population contributed to the spread of Islam. In most cases the Arabs accepted the authority of local rulers though they became involved in intra-state and inter-state politics.

Wādāy, on the western boundary of Dār Fūr [q.v.], lay on the route of the Arab nomads. The first Muslim rulers of Wādāy were the arabised Tundjur, but they did little to spread Islam among the local population. The spread of Islam is associated with ‘Abd al-Karīm b. Dījāmi’, of the Arab Dīja’aliyyīn [q.v.]. He had propagated Islam among the Maba of Wādāy and then mobilised them in a *djihād* against the Tundjur rulers. The Tundjur had been ousted and ‘Abd al-Karīm established a new dynasty which has survived to the present time. Until the middle of the 18th century Wādāy had been considered vassal to Dār Fūr, but then its *sultāns* asserted their independence and expanded south and west to reach the peak of their power in the 19th century. In 1850 the capital of Wādāy moved from Wara to Abeshe (Abeché). In 1851 H. Barth (*Travels*, 1857, iii, 566) wrote: “The Wadawy faqihis and ‘ulamā’ are the most famous of all the nations of the Sudan for their knowledge of the Kuran, the Fulbe or Fellani not excepted.”

In its westward expansion, Wādāy came into conflict with Bornu, mainly over the kingdom of Baghirmi [q.v.]. The latter emerged at the begin-

ning of the 16th century southeast of Lake Chad on the right bank of the Shari river, in a region which had formerly been raided for slaves. Under the influence of Bornu, its rulers adopted Islam, but the islamisation of the population of Baghirmi was a longer process, as remarked by Barth (*Travels*, 1857, ii, 561): “Their adoption of Islam is very recent, and the greater part of them may, even at the present day, with more justice be called pagans than Mohammedans”. During the 18th century, when the power of Bornu declined, Baghirmi prospered mainly on trade in slaves procured in raids to the south and the south-east. But in the 19th century both Bornu (which had recovered under the *shaykh* Muḥammad al-Amīn al-Kānimī) and Wādāy claimed Baghirmi as tributary. Pressed between her two powerful neighbours and exposed to raids and exactions from both directions as well as from Fazzān, the kingdom of Baghirmi disintegrated. Its destruction was completed in 1892 and 1897 by Rābiḥ.

Rābiḥ b. Faḍl Allāh [q.v.], one of the flag-bearers of the slave trader Zubayr Paṣha in the Sudan, retreated westwards after his master had been defeated by Gessi Paṣha. At the head of a slave army he skirted the powerful Wādāy and occupied the disintegrating Baghirmi in 1892. He then invaded Bornu, which had been caught unaware, sacked its capital Kūkawa [q.v.] and became master of the whole Chad basin. He wrought destruction by his slave raids and punitive expeditions until he was overcome in 1900 by the advancing colonial troops of France, Germany and Britain. Though Rābiḥ had considered himself for some time a follower of the *mahdī* of the Sudan, he had little interest in religious affairs. Only in one corner of Chad does he seem to have contributed to the spread of Islam. Dār Runga, south of Wādāy, had been for centuries a hunting ground for slaves, separated from the Muslim north by a hostile boundary. The absence of Muslim settlements or even itinerant traders beyond this boundary inhibited the spread of Islam. Rābiḥ made Dār Runga a base for slave raiding farther to the south, and it was during this period that people adopted some Arab customs, Arabic garb and rudiments of an Arabic dialect. This process of acculturation, which brought also the spread of Islam, was most evident among chiefs and in the trading villages which developed at that time.

Most of the Arab tribes in Chad came from the Nilotic Sudan. The northern approaches through the Sahara had always been blocked by the Tubu and the Tuareg. But in 1842 a section of the Awlād Sulaymān, who had been defeated by the Ottomans in Fazzān, migrated south to the region just north of Kānim. During the second half of the 19th century, the Awlād Sulaymān fought against the Tubu and Tuareg. Feuds among those nomads were somewhat mitigated towards the end of the century when the Sanūsiyya [q.v.] became established among both the Tubu and Awlād Sulaymān as well as in Wādāy.

In 1835 Muḥammad al-Sharīf, who later became the *sultān* of Wādāy, met Muḥammad b. ‘Alī al-Sanūsī [q.v.] in Mecca. Closer relations between the leaders of the Sanūsiyya and the *sultāns* of Wādāy developed during the reign of ‘Alī b. Muḥammad al-Sharīf (1858-74), when the two parties cooperated in reviving trade along the route from Benghazi to Wādāy via Kufra. Sanūsī traders enjoyed virtually a monopoly over this trade, and the influence of the Sanūsiyya among the Saharan nomads contributed to greater security for the caravans. Successive



centres of the Sanūsiyya—Djaghbūb (1856-95), Kufra (1895-9) and Kūrū in Borku (1899-1902)—were along this route. The southward shift of the centres of the Sanūsiyya indicates the growing importance of this region for that order.

In 1874 the Sanūsī leader Muḥammad al-Mahdī (1859-1902) exerted his influence to settle a succession dispute in Wādāy. The successful candidate Yūsuf (1874-98) became a devoted adherent of the Sanūsiyya. In 1909 the Sanūsīs encouraged the *sultān* of Wādāy to resist the French colonial occupation. In Kānim, the Sanūsī *zāwiya* of Bi'r 'Alālī led resistance to the French from November 1901 to June 1902. Because of their involvement in anti-colonial resistance, the activities of the Sanūsiyya came to an end after the French occupation. The Sanūsiyya still have some adherents in Kānim and Wādāy, but the predominant *tarīka* in Chad is the Tidjāniyya. The rulers of Wādāy and Baghirmi, as well as the *alifā* of Mao (Kānim), are Tidjānis. The Sanūsiyya, however, still maintain their influence among the Tubu of Tibesti.

Though the Tubu had been nominally Muslims for a long period, Islam had had little impact on their life until their exposure to the Sanūsiyya. The Tubu who had successfully resisted outside cultural and political influences, accepted the Sanūsī traders and teachers. Traditionally the Derde, the spiritual and temporal head of the Tubu in Tibesti, had only limited authority over his tribesmen, and Derde Shay (d. 1939) believed that greater commitment to Islam and the application of the *Shari'a* would enhance his personal authority. He invited Sanūsī teachers to teach the Tubu the ways of Islam. Though there is still considerable laxity in observing Islamic rituals and customs, the Tubu have become aware of their Islamic identity. Tubu elders often refer to the pre-Sanūsiyya period as their *ḡāhiliyya*.

The Tubu are divided into two main groups: the Teda whose centre is in Tibesti and the Daza who live in Borku and Ennedi. The latter were exposed to the influence of 'ulamā' from Bornu and Wādāy and seem to practise Islam with greater conformity. With greater security under colonial rule, traders and teachers were able to move more freely and farther away. The growing number of pilgrims from Nigeria and other parts of West Africa who passed through Chad as well as foreign merchants from Nigeria, Fazzān and the Sudan who operate in Chad, added to the impact of Islam on public and private life.

Some ethnic groups which in the past had sought refuge from the aggression of the islamised states gradually came out of their isolation, mixed with other groups and adopted Islam. In 1910 Islam had reached only a few notables among the Buduma on the islands of Lake Chad, but in the middle of the century all the Buduma were considered Muslims. Though there are no exact figures, it is estimated that more than half of the population of Chad are Muslims.

Chad was of great strategic importance for France as the link between its African possessions of French Equatorial Africa, French West Africa and French North Africa. In the heartland of Africa and remote, more than any other territory in Africa, from sea-ports, the conquest of Chad, and subsequently its administration and development, posed numerous logistic problems. Only in 1920 did the French complete the "pacification" of Chad, when they overcame the resistance of the Tubu, who had been inspired by the Sanūsiyya.

In 1920 Chad was also constituted into a separate territory. In the delineation of its boundaries a crucial decision was made to include the Sara and other Bantu tribes south of 11° N. in Chad rather than in Oubangui-Chari (the present Central African Republic), where culturally-related ethnic groups live. It was this decision which gave Chad its bipolar structure of the non-Muslim Bantu south and the Muslim, partly arabised, north. Hence Chad is internally divided—there are no clear boundaries with its neighbours. Ethnic groups in Chad often feel closer to their own kins, or to related groups beyond the international boundary, than to other ethnic groups in Chad. In the colonial period and after independence, the authorities had to withstand powerful centrifugal tendencies.

In 1929 the French introduced the cultivation of cotton as a cash crop in the south, and the Sara were the first to integrate into the modern sector of the economy and to reap its benefits. It was also among the Sara that the French recruited troops to their colonial army, and the Sara continue to dominate the army also after independence. Protestant and Catholic missionaries opened schools in the south and an educated élite emerged among the Sara.

The Muslims in the central and northern parts of Chad had their own system of Islamic education and were reluctant to send their children to French schools, or even to government (non-missionary) schools. Only a few sons of Muslim chiefs were sent to study in French schools in the first years of colonial rule. They returned to hold positions in the administration and were able to articulate support for the traditional authorities. Young Muslims preferred to go for advanced studies to Cairo and Khartum, but on their return they discovered that because of their lack of French education they could not be employed by the administration. This frustration, combined with Islamic militancy which they had acquired in the Arab countries, led to their being considered a threat both to the colonial administration and to their own traditional authorities. As a remedy, an Arabic-French school was opened in Abeshe in 1952, under the patronage of the sultan of Wādāy, in order to keep students away from Arab countries and to give them both an Islamic and French education.

The French preferred to rule the central and northern provinces of Chad through their *sultāns* and chiefs. Following their initial resistance to colonial encroachment, the *sultāns* of Wādāy, the *alifā* of Mao, the Derde of the Tubu and lesser rulers, cooperated with the French administration and were able to retain, and sometimes even to strengthen, their political and religious authority. Only in the 1950s did the French introduce a series of reforms in local government which imposed some limitations on the power of the traditional rulers. But the latter faced an even greater threat with the introduction of elections to representatives assemblies and with the emergence of political parties. With the support of the administration, the *sultāns* were able for some time to send their own men to the territorial assembly. But in 1957, with an almost universal franchise, the neutrality of the administration and the decline of the chief's powers, the radical *Parti Progressiste Tchadien* (PPT), which had been engaged in grass-roots politics, became dominant. The PPT's basis of power was among the Sara who were better educated, more advanced economically and more articulated politically. The PPT exploited divisions



among Muslim politicians, some of whom represented the interests of the traditional rulers while others, who had been exposed to influences from Cairo, North Africa and the Sudan, followed a more radical orientation.

When the Republic of Chad became independent in August 1960, the PPT had a marginal majority in coalition with minor political groups and individual politicians. Its leader, François Tombalabaye, became the first president of the republic. In the following years, Tombalabaye consolidated his power by gradually eliminating political rivals as well as ambitious allies. He relied on the support of the Sara, his own tribesmen, who dominated the armed forces. Most of the university graduates in Chad were also from among the Sara and they were appointed to senior political and administrative positions. But Tombalabaye sought also the cooperation of the traditional rulers, such as the *sultān* of Wādāy and the *alifa* of Mao. In order to appease them, he restored some of the powers that the *sultāns* had lost in the reforms during the last years of colonial rule. In order to maintain a semblance of national unity, he had Muslim ministers in his cabinet, some of whom were brought back to the government after periods of isolation in prison or in the political wilderness.

Muslims in Chad felt humiliated when they found themselves ruled by the people of the south, whom they had considered for centuries savage infidels and a fair game for slave raids. The Muslims found it hard to adjust to the change in the balance of powers, and resentment increased when Sara officials replaced the French not only in the capital but also in the territorial administration.

Since 1966 sporadic clashes between the government forces and dissidents spread from the south-eastern provinces of Salamāt to the provinces of Wādāy, Bathā and Baghirmi. Disturbances occurred simultaneously also farther north in Borku, Ennedi and Tibesti. Widespread unrest was channelled into a co-ordinated rebellion by the FROLINAT (*Front de Liberation Nationale*), a radical movement which sought to overthrow the régime of Tombalabaye, to eradicate survivals of French colonialism and to foster closer relations with the Arab countries. Though couched in ideological terms, the rebellion was really an escalation of the conflict between north and south, in which the historical, cultural and religious background had current economic and political implications.

Until February 1972, FROLINAT operated almost freely from Libyan and Sudanese territories. Since then the Sudan has effectively sealed its border with Chad. In the middle of 1972 Libya also agreed to withdraw its support from the rebels, but it still harbours the leaders of FROLINAT and does not stop the supply of provisions and arms into Chad from Libya. French troops were sent to Chad, and they succeeded in establishing a measure of security in the eastern and central provinces. But following the withdrawal of the French troops the government's control of the countryside remained rather fragile.

In Tibesti there is not a clear line between Tubu tribesmen who support FROLINAT and those who fought in the name of the Derde, their spiritual and temporal leader. Through most of the colonial period the Tubu nomads of the farthest north were under French military administration. By agreement with President Tombalabaye this military administration continued after independence until 1964, when

French troops have been replaced by Chadian troops who were mainly from among the Sara. These troops had hardly been prepared for the subtle task of governing the non-compliant Tubu nomads, and the situation has been aggravated by mutual distrust. Following a violent confrontation between troops and tribesmen, the military command resorted to collective punishment and detained for some time the Derde and his sons. In defiance of the government, the Tubu nomads deserted the oases and moved with their herds into the desert, as they had done also in the first years of colonial rule. The Derde and his sons took refuge in Libya, and from there directed the resistance of the Tubu.

On 13 April 1975 a military coup brought to power General Malloum who, like the deposed President Tombalabaye, was a member of the southern Sara tribe. The new government had only a partial success in achieving national reconciliation whereas the military situation deteriorated even further. In February 1978 a northern offensive extended the area controlled by FROLINAT to a point only 250 km from the capital Ndjamenā (the former Fort Lamy). Their advance was checked only by French troops who had hastily been flown in. The internal conflict had international implications, and Libya, together with Chad's two other neighbours—Niger and Sudan—brought the representatives of FROLINAT and the Chadian government to agree on a cease-fire. For the first time, after twelve years of fighting, there were at least formal arrangements for negotiations aiming at the rebuilding of Chad on the basis of equality between the north and the south. These negotiations, however, are bound to be difficult and lengthy [See also the Addenda and Corrigenda].

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(N. LEVTZION)

ČAKS, a tribal group which emigrated to Kashmīr from Dardistān under their leader Lankar Čak during the reign of Rādjā Sūhadeva (1301-20). Shams al-Dīn (739-42/1339-42), the founder of the Sultanate in Kashmīr, made Lankar Čak his commander-in-chief, patronising the Čaks in order to counteract the power of the feudal chiefs.

During the early part of Sulṭān Zayn al-Ābidīn's reign, Pāndū, the leader of the Čaks, organised a strike as a protest against corvée labour, and set fire to the Sulṭān's palace and some government buildings. As a punishment, the Sulṭān ordered the destruction of all the houses of the Čaks in Trahgām, 25 miles north-west of Bārāmūla. Pāndū escaped, but was captured and executed along with all the members of his family fit to bear arms. Thus suppressed, the Čaks remained quiet for some years. But taking advantage of the weakness of Zayn al-Ābidīn's successors, they recovered their position, and engaged themselves in the struggle for power against their rivals, the Māgres. When Mirzā Haydar Dughlāt (845-55/1441-51) established his rule in Kashmīr, they suffered an eclipse. But by making common cause with the nobles against him, they brought about his downfall; and in the struggle which followed his death, they succeeded in securing for themselves large *qiyās* and the *wizārat* from the reigning Sultans. They became so powerful that in 968/1561 Ghāzī Khān Čak set aside Ḥabīb Shāh, and declared himself king, becoming the first Čak Sulṭān. He was a good administrator, generous, tolerant and just, but also at times ruthless; he was the first Kashmīr Sultan to introduce the practice of blinding and mutilating the limbs of political opponents.

The Čaks ruled Kashmīr from 968/1561 to 996/1588. The outstanding ruler of the dynasty was Ḥusayn Shāh, who was generous, and although a good Shī'ī, liberal towards both the Sunnīs and Hindūs. A man of cultured tastes, he wrote verses in Persian and enjoyed the society of poets, artists and learned men of all religions. His brother 'Alī Shāh succeeded him, following his policies and ruling from 978/1570 to 987/1579.

The weakest ruler among the Čak Sulṭāns was Yūsuf Shāh. It was he who surrendered to Rādjā Bhagwān Dās, Emperor Akbar's commander, without offering any resistance (24 Šafar 994/14 February 1586), and made a treaty with him, according to which his kingdom was to be restored to him. But Akbar denounced the treaty and imprisoned him. Later, Yūsuf Shāh was given a *mansab* of 500 and sent to Bihār. He died on 14 Dhū'l-Hijja 1000/22 September 1592, and was buried at Biswak in the Patna district.

Ya'qūb Shāh, the son of Yūsuf Shāh, denounced

the treaty and declared himself sultan. He carried on the struggle against the Mughals, and inflicted defeats on the Mughal commander, Kāsim Khān. Meanwhile, Ya'qūb's intolerance towards the Sunnīs, who were compelled to recite the name of 'Alī in the public prayers, antagonised their leaders, who appealed to Akbar for help. The emperor sent Yūsuf Khān Ridwī to Kashmīr, accompanied by some Kashmīr chiefs who acted as guides. Yūsuf Khān, by adopting a policy of conciliation won over many Kashmīr nobles, and at the same time sent a force against Ya'qūb. The latter continued to resist, but finding himself alone and isolated, he surrendered when Akbar arrived in the Valley early in Raddjāb 996/June 1588. He was imprisoned and died in Muharram 1001/October 1592 and was buried, like his father, in Biswak.

Although leaderless, the Čaks continued to resist the Mughals, but were ruthlessly crushed. Djahāngīr's governor of Kashmīr, I'ūkād Khān (1032-7/1623-7) hunted them down and killed them; eventually, they escaped to the hills and remote villages, taking up agriculture and other peaceful pursuits.

The Čak rule, though short-lived (968-96/1561-88), was culturally important, for the Čak Sultans, like the shāh Mīrs, encouraged education, patronised poets and scholars and promoted arts and crafts. Two outstanding poets and scholars of the period were Bābā Dāwūd Khākī and Shaykh Ya'qūb Sarfī; and the most noted calligraphist was Muḥammad Hasan, who entered Akbar's service and was given the title of *zarīn kalam*. Under Djahāngīr and Shāh Djahān also, the most prominent calligraphists were those of Kashmīrī origin.

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ÇAMLİBEL, FĀRUK NĀFİDİH modern Turkish FĀRUK NAFİZ ÇAMLİBEL, Turkish poet and playwright (1898-1973). He was born in Istanbul, the son of Süleymān Nāfidih, a civil servant in the Ministry of Forests and Mining (Orman ve Ma'adin Nezāreti). After high school he began to study medicine, but soon abandoned it to turn to journalism and teaching. He taught Turkish literature in Kayseri (1922-4), Ankara (1924-32) and Istanbul high schools and the American Robert College (1932-46). He was elected a deputy for Istanbul of the Democratic Party (DP) and served 14 consecutive years (1946-60) in Parliament until his arrest with other DP deputies by the Committee of National Unity (*Milli Bütük Komitesi*) which carried out the Revolution of 27 May 1960. He was detained on a Marmara island (*Yassıda*) until his acquittal 16 months later. He died on 8 November 1973 on board ship during a cruise in the Mediterranean. Fārūk Nāfidih (as he was known until 1934 when he added Çamlıbel) began to write poetry at the age of 17 using the traditional 'arūd metre. His early works *Şarkīn sultānları* ("The Sultans of the East"), Istanbul 1918, and *Gönülden gönüle* ("From heart to heart"), Istanbul 1919, reveal the strong influence of Yahyā Kemāl [q.v.], who was the dominant literary figure of the period. The impact upon him of Diyā' (Ziya) Gökalp's teaching was most marked, and from then

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on he wrote in the line of the popular bards (*saz şâ'irleri*), becoming the most important member of the group called *Besh hedjedji şâ'ir* (five poets using syllabic metre, the others being Yûsuf Diyâ', Orkhan Seyfi, Enis Behîdî and Khâlid Fakhrî): *Dinle neyden* ("Listen to the flute"), Istanbul 1919, and *Coban çeşmesi* ("Shepherd's fountain"), Istanbul 1926. But he did not completely abandon the 'arûd, which he used (like his contemporaries) whenever he thought the subject matter lent itself better to this metre, as his *Suda halkaları* ("Circles on the water"), published in 1928 in 'arûd, shows. In 1933 Fârûk Nâfidî published a selection of his poems under the title *Bir ömür böyle geçti* ("A whole life gone by like this"). He collected his humorous poems *Tatlı sert* ("Bitter sweet") in 1938, and his epic poems *Akıncı türkûleri* ("Raider's songs") in 1939. Then followed a long silence until the publication of his *Çindan duvarları* ("Prison walls") in 1967. These are impressions of his prison days, in a rather outdated and hackneyed style, in the form of *kîf'a* (and not *rubâ'î* as stated by Mehmed Kaplan, *Cumhuriyet devri Türk şiiri*², Istanbul 1975, 31-3, *passim*). An anthology selected from all his works was published by the Ministry of Education in 1969, *Han duvarları* ("Inn walls"), which is the title of his most popular poem). A master of form, Çamlıbel wrote unsophisticated romantic and sentimental poems of love, with no particular depth of feeling, but in an easy, flowing, polished and harmonious style which made him one of the most popular poets of the 1920s. Following the trend of the period, he also wrote patriotic and epic-historic poems, and many poems eulogising Anatolia (and its people), these being increasingly popular subject-matter for literature under the inspiration of the Nationalist movement following the First World War. Çamlıbel is also the author of a number of verse plays, mostly inspired by political motives (e.g. *Akın* ("Raid"), Istanbul 1932), except for his powerful *Çânâvâr* ("The monster"), Istanbul 1926, a vivid portrayal of the chronic conflict between peasants and landowners in Anatolia. Çamlıbel also attempted one novel, *Yıldız yağmuru* ("Rain of stars"), Istanbul 1936.

Bibliography: Kenan Akyüz, *Batı tesirinde Türk şiiri antolojisi*³ Ankara 1970, 842, 876; Mehmed Kaplan, *op. cit.*, 13-33 (should be used critically, since it is often politically biased); Behçet Necatigil, *Edebiyatımızda isimler sözlüğü*⁸, Istanbul 1975; Cevdet Kudret, *Türk edebiyatından seçme parçalar*, Istanbul, 1973, 367-74. (FAHİR İZ)

CAMONDO, AVRAM, financier, philanthropist, and reformer active amongst Istanbul's Jewish community (d. 1873). Born in Venice, he arrived in Istanbul and entered the banking business midway through the reign of Sultan Mahmûd II (1808-39). As his influence and power increased, Camondo became the *şarraf* (personal banker) of a number of Ottoman officials, most notably of the Grand Vizier Muştafâ Reshîd Pasha, with whom he established extremely close ties. Camondo later became financial representative of the Baron Hirsch interests and at times acted in concert with the firms of Rothschild and Bleichröder.

In 1854 Camondo became a member of the *İntizâm-ı Şehir* Commission, a body charged with advising the central government on measures necessary for the modernisation of Istanbul [see BAL-ADİYYA]. To carry out the extensive plans of this commission, the Ottoman government in 1858 created an autonomous municipal council in Çhalaça [q.v. in Suppl.], the European district of the capital.

From 1858 until 1861 Camondo was a leading member of this council, which marked the first systematic effort to provide Istanbul with the services and amenities of a modern European city.

Camondo's efforts at modernisation were also directed toward the Jewish community of Istanbul, which by the 19th century was marked by extreme ignorance and fanaticism. In 1854 he founded a modern school at Piri Pasha, where Turkish and French were studied in addition to scripture. The resulting attempt by conservatives to excommunicate him provoked a serious conflict in the Jewish community, which was resolved in favour of the liberal faction only because of the intervention of the Ottoman government. Camondo then became head of the Jewish Community Council and continued the task of educational reform. In 1870 he took up permanent residence in Paris, but continued to provide Istanbul's Jewish community with synagogues and educational institutions. After his death, his body, in accordance with his will, was returned to Istanbul and buried in Sütlüce.

Bibliography: M. Franco, *Essai sur l'histoire des Israélites de l'empire Ottoman depuis les origines jusqu'à nos jours*, Paris 1897, 153-5, 162-6, 180, 187; 'Othmân Nûrî (Ergin), *Medjelle-i Umûr-i Beledîyye*, i (Istanbul 1922), 1412-13; Abraham Galanté, *Histoire des Juifs d'Istanbul*, i, Istanbul 1941, 31, 63, 78, 185-6, 206. Similar information can be found in idem, *Rôle économique des Juifs d'Istanbul*, Istanbul 1942, 20-1, 44-5.

(S. ROSENTHAL)

ÇAWDOR, or Çawdır, one of the major tribes of the Turkmen [q.v.].

It appears already in the lists of 24 Oghuz tribes given by Mahmûd al-Kâshgharî (i, 57; *Djuwaldar*) and Rashîd al-Dîn (ed. A. Ali-zade, Moscow 1965, 80, 122; *Djâwuldur*). The tribe participated in the Saldjûk movement; the famous *amir* Çaka, who founded an independent Turkmen principality on the Aegean coast at the end of the 11th century, is said to be a Çawdor. The tribal name (in the form Çawundur) was registered in Anatolia in the 16th century (see F. Sümer, *Oğzlar*, Ankara 1967, 315-17). The main part of the tribe, however, remained in Central Asia or returned to it from the west. In the *Shadjara-yi Tarākima* by Abu 'l-Ghāzī [q.v.] (ed. A.N. Kononov, text 61, Russian tr. 68), the Çawdor are mentioned among those tribes which came to Mangishlak [q.v.] after disturbances in the Oghuz il. It remained on Mangishlak till the 19th century, longer than any other Turkmen tribe. In his *Shadjara-yi Turk* (ed. Desmaisons, text, 210, tr. 224) Abu 'l-Ghāzī mentions the Çawdor only once, in the account of the Turkmen tribes which paid tribute to the Uzbek khāns of Kh'ārazm at the beginning of the 16th century. The Çawdor are mentioned in this connection together with another old Oghuz tribe, the Igdir (in a form "Igdir Djâwuldur"); together they are said to pay three-fourths of the tribute imposed on Hasan-ili. The term Hasan-ili (Esen-ili in the Turkmen pronunciation; also Esen-Khān-ili) has continued to exist till the present time, but its exact meaning is not quite clear; it seems that latterly it has been applied mainly to the Çawdors themselves and sometimes only to one of their main clans, the Kara-Çawdor. Besides the Çawdor and the Igdir, the Hasan-ili group included also the tribes of the Abdāl, Būzaçi (Boz Hādjī), Burundjīk and Soyīnādjī (Soyin Hādjī). In the 19th century all of them, except the last one, were mostly considered only as different clans of the

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same tribe Āwādor; in some descriptions, however, they appear as separate tribes.

In the 16th and 17th centuries, the dwellings of the Āwādor were located mainly in the northern part of Mangīshlak, where the Būzači peninsula still preserves the name of one of the above-mentioned clans. From the early 17th century, they were exposed to a strong pressure both from the north, by the Kalmuks [q.v.], and from the south, by the Khānate of Khīwa. As a result of this pressure in the late 17th and the early 18th century, a part of the Āwādor and the Igdir as well as all the Soyinādji migrated to the region of the Volga Kalmuks, and, together with the Kalmuks, they became Russian subjects (see V.V. Bartol'd, *Sochineniya*, ii/1, 613-14). At the end of the 18th century, they moved to the Northern Caucasus, and now they live on the rivers Manīč and Kuma in the region (*krai*) of Stavropol; in 1960 their total number was estimated as more than 5,000. The greater part of the Āwādor moved however in the first half of the 18th century to Khārazm. At the end of this century their main centre, Āwādor-kala, was in Arāl, in the north of Khārazm, and they were the allies of the independent Uzbek rulers of the town of Kungrat in their wars with the khāns of Khīwa. After the victory of Khīwa over the Kungrat [q.v.] in 1810, part of the Āwādor returned to Mangīshlak, but in the 1830s and 1840s they finally left Mangīshlak for Khārazm under the pressure of the Aday Kazaks, and since then their centre has become the town of Porsī (now Kalinin), about 30 miles to the east from Old Urgenč. Only an insignificant number of Āwādors still remain on Mangīshlak.

On Mangīshlak the Āwādor were nomads, though the number of their cattle was relatively small and an important part of their economy was fishing and seal-hunting on the Caspian sea. In Khārazm they became sedentarised farmers. Their exact number is unknown; the estimations of the late 19th and the early 20th century vary between 3,500 and 17,000 families.

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(Yu. BREGEL)

ĀY-KHĀNA, lit. "tea-house", a term covering a range of establishments in Iran serving tea and light refreshments, and patronised mainly by the working and lower middle classes. The term *kahwa-khāna*, "coffee-house", is used almost synonymously, though coffee is never served. This latter name, however, tells us something of the history of this institution, for most of which we have to rely

on the accounts of the European travellers. One of the earliest references occurs in Chardin's *Voyages* (ii, 321), where in his description of Iṣfahān in about 1670 he speaks of "les cabarets à café, à tabac, et pour ces boissons fortes qu'on fait avec le suc du pavot." There is no mention of tea here, nor in Hanway's *Journal of Travels*, written nearly a hundred years later, nor even in Malcolm's *History of Persia* compiled at the beginning of the 19th century. Up to this point it seems that coffee remained the popular drink, but by 1866 Lycklama a Nijeholt was able to write that tea "forme la boisson ordinaire des divers habitants de la Perse" (ii, 105), though elsewhere he mentions that coffee as well as tea was served to him by the Imām Djum'a of Iṣfahān. Yet even he does not use the term *āy-khāna*, though he does mention that the word *kahwa-khāna* was applied to part of the servants' quarters in a large Persian house. E.G. Browne in 1887 records a stop at "a little roadside tea-house" near Tehran, and adds, "Many such tea-houses formerly existed in the capital, but most of them were closed some time ago by order of the Shah. The reason commonly alleged for this proceeding is that they were supposed to encourage extravagance and idleness, and, as I have also heard said, evils of a more serious kind. Outside the town, however, some of them are still permitted to continue their trade and provide the 'bona fide traveller' with refreshment, which, need-less to say, does not include wine or spirits." (*A year amongst the Persians*, 82). Elsewhere Browne mentions frequently the serving of tea at private entertainments, but never coffee.

Evidently, then, a fairly sudden change of habit took place during the first half of the 19th century, though why tea should suddenly have been preferred to coffee (neither of which grew in Irān at that time) is not clear. It is not even certain when tea first became known to the Iranians. Bīrūnī's *Kitāb al-Saydana*, written in the first half of the 5th/11th century, gives a detailed account of *āy*, but only as a plant grown and used in China. According to a Ṣafawid manuscript referred to without quotation by Farīdūn Ādamiyyat in his *Amīr-i Kabīr wa Irān*, tea was drunk in Irān in Ṣafawid times; but the same author suggests that the widespread introduction of tea-drinking into Irān was due to Amīr-i Kabīr [q.v. in Suppl.], who in 1849 received gifts of silver samovars from the Russian and French governments on the occasion of the coronation of Naṣir al-Dīn Shāh, and encouraged the craftsmen of Iṣfahān to copy them. From then on, tea began to be imported in significant and increasing quantities, mainly the black tea of India, which was preferred to the milder Chinese. Tea was not actually grown in Irān, and specifically in the Caspian area, until 1896.

The first dictionary appearance of the word *kahwa-khāna* is in Francis Johnson's, published in 1852; but the word *āy-khāna* does not appear until the most recent dictionaries (e.g. Dihkhudā, pt. 41, 1338/1959). Even the omniscient Haim (1935) does not list it, but under *kahwa-khāna* adds the definition "[in Persia] a tea-house". However, the word *āy-khāna* was certainly in common use by that time; indeed A.V. Williams Jackson met it as early as 1903, when he found along his route "mud cabins which served as tea-houses (*chāi khānah*)" (*Persia past and present*, 34).

At the present time the terms *āy-khāna* and *kahwa-khāna* are to some extent interchangeable, but the former tends to be used for the small way-



side establishments catering primarily for travellers (cf. Dihkhudā's definition "places on the highways and caravan routes where formerly carriage horses were changed"). Since the coming of motor transport most of these have disappeared, while others have acquired a degree of sophistication appropriate to the bus passengers who now constitute their main clientèle. By contrast the word *kahwa-khāna* usually designates the tea-shops in the towns and large villages, which serve as meeting-places for the local (male) community (a very few have curtained-off compartments for women). Both types of establishment serve much the same fare—tea, prepared with the aid of a large samovar, bread and cheese, eggs, perhaps *ab-i gūsh* or some other such simple dish, and of course the *kalyān* (water-pipe). (Coffee is obtainable only in the more sophisticated, European-style café (*kāfā*), patronised by wealthier clients, where tea, ice-cream, soft drinks, and French pastries are also to be had). For entertainment, there is the *takhta-yi nard* (backgammon board), and often the *nakkāl*, who recites long dramatic episodes from the *Shāh-nāma*, or traditional epics and folktales in prose or verse. In *Ādharbāyījān* a similar role is often filled by the *āshīk*, who recites mystical poetry in Turkish, Arabic or Persian, accompanying himself on a stringed instrument. Dervish fortune-tellers (*rammāl*) are also commonly to be seen. In times of high political activity the *kahwa-khāna* may serve as a centre for the dissemination of news and views. Browne, in *The Persian revolution*, 143, quotes an unnamed Persian correspondent, writing on 19 June 1907: "In many of the *Qahwa-khānas* professional readers are engaged, who, instead of reciting the legendary tales of the *Shāh-nāma*, now regale their clients with political news."

Many of the older *kahwa-khānas* are decorated with paintings and frescoes dating from Kājār times. These may depict religious scenes (the martyrdom of Husayn, for instance, or the *Mirāj* of the Prophet), *Shāh-nāma* episodes (the death of Rostam, the court of Dāhāk, the fight between Bizhan and Hūmān), love-stories (Laylā and Maǧnūn, *Shīrīn* bathing), and dancing girls, musicians and entertainers at the royal court.

Bibliography: al-Birūnī, *Kitāb al-Saydāna*, ed. and tr. Hakīm Mohammed Said, Karachi 1973, i (introduction), 84-5, ii, (translation), 128-9 (Arabic), 105-6 (English); *Voyages du Chevalier Chardin en Perse*, Paris 1686; Jonas Hanway, *An historical account of the British trade over the Caspian Sea with a journal of travels*, London 1753; Sir John Malcolm, *The history of Persia*, London 1815; *ibid.*, *Sketches of Persia*, London 1828; T.M. Chevalier Lycklama a Nijeholt, *Voyage en Russie, au Caucase et en Perse*, Paris 1872; Farīdūn Ādamiyyat, *Amīr-i Kabīr wa Irān*, Tehran 1323/1944, ii, 248-50; E.G. Browne, *A year amongst the Persians*, London 1893; *idem*, *The Persian revolution*, Cambridge 1910; A.V. Williams Jackson, *Persia past and present*, New York 1906; Irādī Nabawī, *Tāblū-hā-yi kahwā-khānā'ī*, Tehran N.D. (ca. 1973).

(L.P. ELWELL-SUTTON)

ÇAYLAĞ TEWFİK, modern Turkish ÇAYLAĞ TEVFIK, Turkish writer and journalist (1843-92). A self-taught man, he was born in Istanbul and became a civil servant. He started his career in Bursa and continued in Istanbul where he published the papers *Asır* ("Century"), later renamed *Letā'if-i āttār* and *Terakkī* ("Progress"). In February 1876 he published his best-known paper, the humorous *Çaylak* ("The Kite"), which became his nick-name

and which ceased publication in June 1877 after 162 numbers. In 1877 he went, with a delegation, to Hungary for a month and on his return he published his impressions as *Yādigār-ī Maǧaristān* ("Souvenir of Hungary"). Çaylak Tefvīk is the author of the following works: *Kāfile-i shu'arā'*, alphabetically arranged biographies of poets (which stop at the letter *dāl*); *Istanbul'da bir sene* ("A year in Istanbul"), Istanbul 1297-9 Rūmī/1881-3, his best known work, the general title of a series of five books, consisting of realistic descriptions of everyday life in Istanbul. The subtitles of the work are (1) *Tandır*; (2) *Mahalle kahvesi*; (3) *Kāhīdkhāne*; (4) *Ramadān geđeleri*; and (5) *Meykhāne*. Çaylak Tefvīk pioneered the Naṣr al-Dīn Khōdja literature in modern Turkish, and published three volumes containing about 200 stories on him, *Letā'if-i Naṣr al-Dīn*, *Bu Ādem* (1883) and *Khāzīne-i Letā'if* (1885).

Bibliography: *Türk Ansiklopedisi*, xi (1961-3), 407-8; Behçet Necatigil, *Edebiyatımızda isimler sözlüğü*⁸, Istanbul 1975. (FAHİR İZ)

ĀEH, the Ottoman term for the inhabitants of present-day Czechoslovakia, mainly Bohemia and Moravia, but partly also Slovakia. The Arabs did not use this term, although the territory was known to them at least since the end of the 3rd/9th century. In the so-called "Anonymous relation" on East European and Turkish peoples, preserved by a group of early and later Muslim geographers (Ibn Rusta, *Hudūd al-'ālam*, Gardīzī, al-Bakrī, Marwazī, 'Awfī), the name of Svatopluk (spelled variously as Sw.n.t.b.l.k., Sw.y.t.m.l.k., etc.) ruler of the Great Moravian Empire (871-94), is mentioned. The name of his land (Mirwāt, M.r.dāt) is also given in some sources, but its localisation is erroneously shifted too far to the east (cf. Ibn Rusta, 142-5, tr. Wiet, 160-3; *Hudūd al-'ālam*, tr. Minorsky, §§ 42, 46; Gardīzī, ed. Barthold, 99-100, ed. 'Abd. al-Ḥayy Ḥabībī, Tehran 1347/1968, 275; Marwazī, ed. Minorsky, 22, 35).

Al-Mas'ūdī must have had an excellent informant (probably a Slavonic slave from this region) on the ethnic and political situation in Central Europe, since his relation is entirely independent of other sources and rich in detail not to be found elsewhere. In the list of Slavonic tribes and their rulers we find also the name of Wenceslaus (Prince of Bohemia, 926-35), spelled as Wān.dj Slāw, but only as ruler of the Dūlebs (Dūlāba), one of the many Czech tribes at this period (*Murūdj*, iii, 62-3 = §§ 905-6; Marquart, *Streifzüge*, 102 ff., wanted to read another ethnic name in the list Ṣāṣīn as Čāḥīn [= Czechs], but this is unlikely as the context points rather to the Saxons). In his *Tanbīh*, 62, al-Mas'ūdī describes the Danube (Danuba) and the Morava (Malawa) rivers and mentions also the Slavonic peoples Bāhmīn (Bohemians; this can be read also as Nāmdjīn, the Slavonic term for the Germans), and Murāwa (Moravians).

The most copious and detailed information about the territory of Czechoslovakia and its peoples is to be found in Ibrāhīm b. Ya'qūb's [g.v.] narration, who visited these countries in the sixties of the 10th century and could well be called the discoverer of Central Europe. He names the successor and brother of Wenceslaus, Boleslav I (935-67) as the ruling prince over Prague (Frāgh), Bohemia (Būyāma) and Cracovia (Kraḳūwā). His detailed account is full of precious information about the economic and commercial situation, and brings many facts about the life, manners and customs of the people, as well as a few Slavonic words. His description of Prague is

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the oldest extant in the literature, and the whole account belongs to the most valuable sources of early Czech history. Unfortunately his relation is not conserved in its entirety, but only in excerpts in al-Bakrī's *al-Mamālik wa'l-masālik*; some fragments are preserved by al-Ḳazwīnī and by the late Maghribī geographer Ibn 'Abd al-Mun'im al-Ḥimyarī in his *Kitāb al-Rawḍ al-mi'fār* (Bibl. Nat. Rabat, Ms. no. 238).

After the 4th/10th century, the country of the Czechs and Slovaks wanes from the horizon of Arab and Persian geographers. The only exception is al-Idrīsī, who in two sections (vi, 2 and 3) mentions Bū'āmiyya (Bohemia), but under this name he understood two different countries, as is to be seen from the list of towns belonging to it. His first Bū'āmiyya represents Slovakia (and partly northern Hungary) with the towns of Bāṣū (either Bratislava, formerly Poszón, or Vácov), Akrā (Jager, Erlau), Buṭaṣh or * -nṣīn (either Bíteš in Moravia, or Trenčín in Slovakia), Shubrūna (Sopron), Niṭram (Nitra), etc. The second Bū'āmiyya, in which the towns of Ifrākāt (Prague) and Māsila (Meissen) are located, forms, according to al-Idrīsī, a part of his Allamāniyya (Germany). All this shows that he had rather vague knowledge about this part of Europe, borrowing his information from various sources and being unable to harmonise it (cf. Lewicki, *Polska*, part 2, *passim*).

The next time the Muslim peoples came into contact with the territory of modern Czechoslovakia was under the Ottoman Empire. The Ottoman expansion in the 11th/17th century touched also some southern regions of present-day Czechoslovakia, these regions then forming a part of the Hungarian kingdom. Following the Battle of Mohács in 1526, the Turks successively conquered Buda in 1541 and Esztergom in 1543 and occupied the village of Kakat (today Štúrovo), where they built a small fortress, called Cigerdelen Parkani; this was the beginning of Ottoman rule over Czechoslovak territory. In 1544 they conquered the fortress Fil'akovo in eastern Slovakia and Nógrad and Szécsény in northern Hungary. This territory was then organized into four *sandjaks*, those of Esztergom, Nógrad, Szécsény and Fil'akovo, where more than 90 villages and hamlets on the territory of present-day Czechoslovakia were located.

During the so-called Fifteen-Years' War of 1593-1606, the Ottomans lost the larger part of this region, so that afterwards only about 200 villages remained under their rule.

The greatest military enterprise of the 11th/17th century, the campaign of Köprülü Ahmed Paṣha against the Hapsburg monarchy in 1663-4, touched again Czechoslovak territory. In 1663 the Turkish army conquered the important fortresses of Nové Zámky (Uyvar, Neuhausel, Érsekújvár), Nitra and Levice as well as many smaller fortifications. After the peace of Vasvár of 14 August 1664, the fortress of Nové Zámky, together with 786 villages and hamlets in southern Slovakia, remained in Ottoman hands (cf. *Defter-i mufasssal-i eyālet-i Uyvar*, Başbakanlık Arşivi, Tapu Defterleri, Nos. 115-698). Out of this territory a new *eyālet* was constituted with its headquarters in Uyvar. Ottoman rule lasted here until the reconquest of Nové Zámky in 1685, whereas in the eastern regions of Slovakia it persisted till a year later, when the township of Rimavská Sobota paid for the last time taxes to the Ottomans.

Since the treaties between the Ottomans and the

Hapsburg monarchy were frequently infringed, the frontiers remained unstable and underwent many changes. The Ottoman administration considered all villages inscribed in the tax-registers or *defters* as its own territory and insisted firmly on this view, whereas the opposite party was not willing to accept this state of affairs. There thus emerged a wide frontier zone under the fiscal jurisdiction of both parties, i.e. a condominium. The inhabitants were forced to pay taxes to both sides; the levy of taxes on the disputed territory led to incessant fighting, to punitive expeditions for non-payment, to raids and plunderings of villages as well as to dragging-away of peoples into captivity or slavery. The main raids occurred against Rožňava and Jelšava in 1556, Gemer in 1569, Vrāble in 1584 and 1630, Krupina in 1654, Žarnovica in 1654, etc. The marauding raids, chiefly by Tatar troops, devastated many times the whole region of the Váh and Nitra rivers (1543, 1552, 1575), as well as eastern Moravia (1530, 1599, 1663).

The only Turkish traveller who visited the territory of Czechoslovakia was Ewliyā Čelebi, who travelled in the southern regions in 1660-6 and also took part in the campaign of 1663-4. He visited and described the following towns and fortresses: Nové Zámky (Uyvar), Komárno (Komaran), Parkán-Štúrovo (Cigerdelen Parkani), Šurany, Košice (Kashsha), Fil'akovo (Filek), Hlohovec (Galgofča) and Bratislava (Podjon), cf. *Seyāhat-nāme*, vi, 46-51, 278-392; vii, 133-6, 335-45.

Two participants in the same campaign have also left accounts: Muṣṭafā Zuhdi in the *Ta'rikh-i Uyvar* (Halis Efendi Ktph., No. 2230) and Mehmed Nedjāt in the *Ta'rikh-i sefer-i Uyvar* (Revan Ktph., No. 1308), both written in 1665. In the Turkish historical literature the events of war on Czechoslovak territory were described in some detail by Ibrāhīm Pečewī (conquest of Fil'akovo, *Ta'rikh*, i, 139-40; of Sobotka, ii, 140; the siege of Komárno, ii, 154-6). Kātib Čelebi gave an account of events of the Fifteen-Years War in his *Fedhile*, i, 19-20, 132-6, 261-2.

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(I. HRBEK - J. BLAŠKOVIČ)

CITRUS [see MUHAMMADĀT].

ČOBĀN-OGHULLARĪ, a family of *derebeys* [q.v.] in Ottoman Anatolia, who controlled the districts (*nāhiyes*) of Tiyeek, Ekbez and Hacilar in the eastern parts of the Amanus Mountains or Gāvur Dağı (in the hinterland of Iskenderun [see ISKAN-DARŪN] in modern Turkey). They claimed hereditary power in the area from the time of Sultan Murād IV (1032-49/1623-40), when the latter, in the course of his campaign against the Persians in



Baghdād, granted these districts to a local shepherd (ġobān). By the 19th century, the family was divided into two branches, one controlling Tiyeq and Ekbez and the other Hacilar. The Ġobān-oghullarĠ played a part in the attempts of the more powerful *derebey* families of the Cilician region to maintain their local

autonomy against the Porte in Istanbul, and were at times allied with e.g. the Kŭcŭk ‘AlĠ-oghullarĠ [q.v.].

Bibliography: see A.G. Gould, *Lords or bandits? The derebays of Cilicia*, in *IJMES*, vii (1976), 491. (Ed.)

D

DABBĀGH (A.), “tanner”, frequent as a *nisba* in mediaeval and modern Arabic. In pre-Islamic Arabia, the tanners were Jewish craftsmen. During the lifetime of the Prophet, his Companions, such as al-Ĥārith b. Šabīra, Sawda, Asmā’ bint ‘Amīs and others, were associated with tanning. Sa’d b. ‘Ā’idh al-Ĥaraz, one of the Companions of Muḥammad, was busy trading in fruit of the acacia (*karaz*) which was widely used as a material for the processing of leather. During the Umayyad, ‘Abbāsīd and Mamlŭk periods, there were many Jewish and Arab tradesmen engaged in tannery. Dġāhiz mentions Jewish tanners; al-Sam‘ānĠ and Ibn al-AthĠr, on the other hand, cite numerous names of Arabs who were well-known not only as *dabbāghs*, but also as transmitters of traditions and religious lore.

The tanners worked and lived in the suburbs of towns and villages, and had their separate lanes (*darb*) in the markets known as *darb al-dabbāghŭn*. They had their shops close to the camel-market of MĠrbad in Bašra during the Umayyad period. The shops of *dabbāghŭn*, together with those of fishmongers, were situated in the markets of Karkh in Baghdad, away from the shops of the perfumers (*attārŭn*). The *muḥtasib* supervised the artisans’ works and prevented the *dabbāgh* from using oak galls (*‘aḡs*) instead of acacia fruits (*karaz*) for leather processing, and cautioned the tanners not to mix hides of ritually-slaughtered cows with those of animals like horses, mules and donkeys which had died natural deaths without being properly slaughtered.

The *dabbāgh* does not appear prominently in Arabic anecdotes and humorous tales, whereas the weaver (*ḥā’ik*) and the copper (*ḥaḡḡġām*) was often portrayed as a comic character in Arabic literature. The relative silence of Arabic *udabā’* about tanners was partly due to the social isolation in which the *dabbāghŭn* worked and lived. Al-Rāghib al-IšfahānĠ expresses the accepted view about the *dabbāgh*, the *ḥā’ik* and the *ḥaḡḡġām*, that they are *siḡlat al-nās*, men of mean status. The ‘Abbāsīd government, from time to time, imposed extraordinary taxes (*maks*) on skilled artisans, including tanners, but these fiscal measures were temporary. We find some evidence which suggest that the witness (*shahāda*) of craftsmen of low status like the sweeper (*kannās*), tanner, copper and weaver was not acceptable in law; some MālĠkĠ jurists, however, pleaded in favour of the waiving of this restriction and the acceptance of their *shahāda*. Ibn ‘ĀbidĠn and some other jurists, while discussing the law of *kaḡā’a*, debated the question whether the tanners were eligible to contract marriages outside their own social group, and Arab prejudices against the *dabbāghs* clearly hindered upward social mobility among tanners through marriages with families of higher status.

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(M.A.J. BEG.)

AL-DABBĀGH, ABŪ ZAYD ‘ABD AL-RAĤMĀN

B. MUḤAMMAD B. ‘ALĠ B. ‘ABD ALLĤH AL-ANŠĀRĠ AL-USAYDĠ, b. 605/1208-9, d. 699/1300, was, according to the eyewitness and probably interested testimony of al-‘AbdarĠ, the unique true scholar in al-Ĥayrawān of his time. If one can believe an anecdote which states that he owed his cognomen of al-Dabbāgh to the fact that his great-grandfather disguised himself as a tanner in order to avoid the office of *ḡāḡĠ*, he must have stemmed from an ancient family of ĤayrawānĠ *ḡakĠhs*. Al-‘AbdarĠ, who visited him in 688/1289 and received from him a general *iqḡāza* for the transmission of his whole work, praises his hospitality, fine appearance, amiability, lofty mind and breadth of knowledge. He was well-versed in all the traditional Islamic sciences, was a felicitous poet and excelled above all in *ḡadĠth*. His masters had been numerous (over 80), and he devoted to them, in the fashion of the time, a *ḡamāmaḡġ* or catalogue, which has survived. He also wrote a work on *ḡadĠth*, *al-Aḡḡḡḡ al-arba’Ġn fĠ ‘umŭm raḡmat AllĤh li-sā’ir al-‘ālamĠn*, a history, *Ta’rĠḡḡ Mulŭk al-Islām* and a collection of edifying *vĠtae*, *ḡġala’ al-aḡḡār fĠ manāḡib al-anšār*; none of these works has come down to us.

However, al-Dabbāgh owed his reputation above all to his *ḡabaḡāt* devoted, in a chronological order by dates of death, to the saints and scholars who had either lived in al-Ĥayrawān or had visited it. According to al-‘AbdarĠ, this was called *Mā’ālim al-imān wa-naḡḡat al-nuḡwān fĠ manāḡib al-maḡḡḡŭrĠn min sulāḡā’ al-Ĥayrawān*, and was in two big volumes. He drew substantially on the oldest sources, and especially on the *ḡabaḡāt* of Abŭ ‘Ġ-Arab and the *Riḡāḡ* of al-MālĠkĠ. Al-Dabbāgh’s work was in turn copied and enlarged firstly by IbrāḡĠm al-‘AwwānĠ (d. ca. 719/1320), and above all by another Ĥayra-

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wānī, Ibn Nādjī (d. after 839/1435), who completed it by adding biographical notices of the scholars of his own century and by interpolating all through the earlier texts personal remarks generally introduced by the verb *kultu* "I say". Hence al-Dabbāgh's work is only known to us through this definitive work in four volumes given to us by Ibn Nādjī with the title *Ma'ālīm al-īmām fī ma'rifat ahl al-Ḳayrawān*. In sum, we have here a collective work which, by means of anecdotes and edifying stories, brings to life before our very eyes and in successive layers, the highly diverse world of piety and *fikh*. The Tunis edition of this (1320-5) is very poor, but has been re-edited in a more critical way by Ibrāhīm Shabbūh (i, Cairo 1968), which has however now stopped after the first volume and seems unlikely to continue. For his part, M.H. al-Hilā has made a very useful index which is unfortunately only available in roneotyped form and has had little circulation.

Al-Dabbāgh was buried in al-Ḳayrawān at the Tunis Gate, in the enclosure reserved for his ancestors and called the Silsilat al-Dhahab ("Golden chain"). He was in fact the descendant of a famous line of Anṣār.

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(M. TALBI)

DABĪR (P.) "scribe, secretary", the term generally used in the Persian cultural world, including the Indo-Muslim one (although in the later centuries it tended to be supplanted by the term *munshī*, so that Yule-Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson, a glossary of Anglo-Indian colloquial words and phrases*, London 1886, 328, record "dubeer" as being in their time "quite obsolete in Indian usage"), as the equivalent of Arabic *kātib* and Turkish *yazıcı*. The word appears as *dipīr/dibīr* (Pahlavi orthography *dpī(u)r*, see D.N. MacKenzie, *A concise Pahlavi dictionary*, London 1971, 26) in Sāsānid Persia to denote the secretaries of the government departments, an influential body in the state, and a chief secretary, *Erān-dibīrpat* or *dibīrān-mēhīšt* is mentioned in such sources as the *Kārnāmag-i Ardāshīr*; see, for instance, Mas'ūdī, *Tanbīh*, 104, tr. Carra de Vaux, 148, giving the *dafīrbadh* as the fourth of the five great dignitaries in the Sāsānid state. A knowledge of writing and secretaryship was considered part of a gentleman's education, and the *Kārnāmag* records that Ardāshīr learnt *dibīrīh* at Bābak's court (see M. Boyce, *The Parthian gōsān and Iranian minstrel tradition*, in *JRAS* [1957], 32-3). From Sāsānid usage it passed into Armenia, where we find mentioned a chief secretary, *drapet Areac'* (H. Hübschmann, *Armenische Grammatik*, i, Leipzig 1897, 145). The origin of the word is seen in Old Iranian **dīpibara* "bearer of writing", and this originally Iranian word passed during pre-Islamic times into more westerly languages, such as Aramaic and Armenian; for etymological details, see W. Eilers, *Iranisches Lehngut im arabischen Lexikon: über einige Berufsamen und Titel*, in *Indo-Iranian Jnl.*, v (1961-2), 216-17.

For the functions of *dabīrān* in Islamic times, see *KĀTĪB*, ii and iii, and also *DĪWĀN*, iv and v.

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(C.E. BOSWORTH)

ḌABU', **ḌAB'** (A. *ḍub'*, *ḍubū'*, *ḍibā'*, *aḍbu'*, *maḍbā'a*), grammatically feminine singular nouns designating the hyena (Persian: *kaftār*, Turkish: *şirtlan*, Berber: *ifis*, pl. *ifisen*) irrespective of sex or species (see Ch. Pellat, *Sur quelques noms d'animaux en arabe classique*, in *GLECS*, viii, 95-9). From this vague generic term, additional forms have been derived to differentiate the sexes: *dib'ān*, pl. *ḍabā'in* for the male (alongside *dhīkh*, pl. *dhuyūkh*) and *dib'āna*, pl. *-āt*, for the female. The word *ḍabu'* (preferable to *ḍab'*) is of Sumerian-Akkadian origin and is found in several languages of the Semitic group, most notably in Hebrew with *ṣebū'a* (Jeremiah, xii, 9) and its plural (*ṣebū'im*) in the Biblical toponym of the "Valley of the Seboim" or "Valley of the Hyenas" (I Samuel, xiii, 18), currently the valley of the Wādī Abū Ḍab'a, tributary of the Wādī al-Ḳilt, to the west of Jericho. The Arabic dialects of the present day have all retained the original name of the animal in the forms *ḍba'* and *ḍab'* (fem. *ḍab'a*, pl. *ḍbū'a*).

The hyena family comprises four species, distributed geographically throughout Africa and from Arabia to Bengal; this means that the majority of Muslim peoples, and especially all Arabic and Berber speakers, have always been familiar with this repulsive carrion-eater, closely related to the dogfamily. The species that is most widely distributed, from the Atlantic coast of North Africa to India, is the striped hyena (*Hyaena hyaena* or *Heaena striata*) which lives a solitary life, occasionally in pairs, at altitudes of up to 1,500 metres and is essentially nocturnal. It is distinguished by its hide, varying in colour from grey to a dingy shade of yellow, and by its erect dorsal mane (*marāfil*) which accounts for 'ayfā', one of the many epithets applied to the animal. Its den (*twīḍār*, *hiḍn*, *ruḍjma*, 'iran) is usually a deep, vaulted burrow under an outcrop of rock. Litters consists of five or six cubs (*fu'ul*, *fu'ulān*, pl. *fu'ū'il*, and in poetry, *bahdal*, *fartana*, *hubayra*, *hinbar*, *hunnabr*, *hunbu'*). In Africa, the southern limit of its habitat is the mid-Sahara, where it is called, in Tamahak, *erkeni/terkenit*, pl. *erkeniten/terkenitin*. The Arab nomads of the Sahara regions, for reasons of superstitious euphemism, refer to it as *bāb marzūk* "lucky door". The second species, found only in Africa, is the spotted hyena (*Hyaena crocuta*), in Arabic *dabū' rakīṭā'*. Stronger and more ferocious than the former, this hyena has no mane and its hide is reddish with black speckles. It is found throughout Africa south of the Sahara, and its habitat overlaps that of its striped cousin in the central desert regions, where it is called *tahūri*, pl. *tihūryawin*; it is common in the Sudan and Eritrea under the name *marfa'in/marfa'il/marfa'ib*. Its behaviour differs considerably from that of the striped hyena; a strong gregarious instinct causes it to live in packs (in dialect: *mdab'a*, pl. *mdābi'*), each one of which may include more than a dozen members. Hunting in groups, both by day and night, the members of a pack pose a formidable threat to cattle and deer, and they have been known to attack isolated travellers; within the pack, a strict law regulates the distribution of captured prey. Much less prolific than the striped hyena, the spotted hyena has no more than one or two cubs to a litter. The other two species of hyena, the brown hyena (*Hyaena brunnea*) and the aard-wolf (*Proteles cristatus*), an insectivore, are virtually unknown in the Arab countries, being confined to central and southern Africa.

The Greeks, who knew of the hyena through the writings of Aristotle (*Hist. Anim.*, vi, 32) and Hero-

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dotus (iv, 192), had only two words for the animal: ὕαινα and γλάνυς, while the Arabs, many centuries before Islam, employed a wide vocabulary of terms to describe both the physical appearance and behaviour of the hyena (see Ibn Sīduh, *Mukḥaṣṣaṣ*, viii, 69-72); ancient Arabic poetry contains the bulk of this terminology, which has virtually disappeared from contemporary speech. The first thing which struck the Bedouin about the appearance of the hyena was its swaying and limping gait (*hanbala*, *hunbu'a*), owed to the fact that its forequarters are higher and more powerful than its hindquarters. This trait earned the animal a whole range of pejorative epithets with the general sense of "lame", such as: *dhay'al/dhayal*, *'ardjā'*, *math'ā'*, *khāmī'a*, *khutā'*, *khala'ā'*, *khaz'al*, etc. The effect of this ignominious gait is aggravated by the animal's bandy forelegs, on account of which it was called *'aythūm*, *'athāmi*, *fashāhi* and *na'thal*, while its thick, matted and mangy coat gave rise to the names *bākī'*, *a'thā'*/*'athwā'*/*'ithyān*, *umm 'ithyāl* and *ghunāfir*. Because of its black jowls and muzzle, it was known as *rashmā'* and *umm rasham*, and because of its ungainly and misshapen body, *hadāḍīr*, *'afshālīl*, *umm n'īm* and *umm dabkal*. Its nocturnal habits and appetite for carrion earned it a number of epithets with the general sense of "vileness", "filth", such as *djay'ar*/*djā'ari*, *kuthām*/*kathāmi*, *kash'*, *ghan'as* and *madrā'*. It has always inspired disgust, with its necrophagous instinct and its habit of raiding cemeteries and unearthing and consuming freshly-interred corpses; as a result of this repugnant behaviour, the hyena earned uncomplimentary nicknames such as *umm al-kubūr* "mother of the tombs", and *nabbāsh al-kubūr* or *nakāthi*, "grave-digger".

Al-Djāhīz amassed a considerable quantity of information on the hyena by collecting legends relating to the animal in Bedouin circles, and he mentions this reprehensible behaviour, without himself believing in it, in connection with the coupling with swollen, unburied corpses of enemies slain in battle or of executed criminals (*Hayawān*, v, 117, vi, 450). He also mentions the fact that, like the hare, the hyena was alleged to be a hermaphrodite. Furthermore, this hermaphroditism was believed to be alternate, not simultaneous, the same individual being male one year, female the next. In reality, such legends may have arisen from the fact that the female hyena is seen to possess a strangely hypertrophied external genital organ, allowing it to be mistaken for a male. On account of its contact with corpses and its menstrual cycle, the hyena was regarded in the superstitious minds of the nomads as something essentially unclean, and for this reason could not serve as a mount for the genies (*Hayawān*, vi, 46). According to another fable, it was believed that by penetrating the shadow cast by a dog in the moonlight, the hyena could make the animal fall from the wall or the terrace where it was standing; the dog would then be eaten.

All in all, the hyena was regarded as a totally reprehensible and ill-omened beast, as is suggested by epithets with the sense of "mother of calamity" (*umm kash'am*, *umm khinnawr*, *umm nauwal*), while its nocturnal rallying cry (*khaff*, *khafkhafa*), resembling a sardonic laugh, and its raucous growl of anger (*nawf*, *kusha'*), have always been of a type calculated to terrify the traveller stranded in the countryside, looking anxiously for the reassuring lights of an encampment or a village. To meet at night the animal known in different regions as "the crier" (*al-khaffūf*), "the growler" (*umm 'attāb*), "the host of the road"

(*umm al-tarīk*), "mother of the sands" (*umm al-rimāl*) and "the mother of the hill" (*umm al-kalada*) is a sign of bad luck; striking a light is the only way of banishing this unwelcome companion, this animal which joins forces with the wolf (*akhū nahshal*), the jackal and the vulture in consuming the scraps left behind by the lion, the panther, the leopard or the caracal lynx. Another, more empirical means of protecting oneself against any possibility of attack from the hyena was to carry on one's person pieces of colocynth (*hanzal*) or sea-onion (*'unsul*) or to rub the skin with black nightshade (*'inab al-tha'lab*), plants whose smell is repellent to the hyena. On the other hand, the underground cave where the hyena sleeps during the day is often shared by some snake or other large reptile with which it coexists peaceably; this explains the hyena's most widely-spread nickname *umm 'amir* "mother of the serpent".

In spite of its ferocious and formidable appearance, the hyena is, in fact, characterised by cowardice; once captured and muzzled and seen in daylight, the animal is so terrified that it gives the impression of total bewilderment and stupidity. This well-known behaviour led the Bedouin to coin the phrase *ahmak min dabu'* "more foolish than a hyena" and the epithet *dabā'ta/dabagh'ta/dabagh'tarā* "stupid", described the animal before being used as a word of reproach for silly or mischievous children. In the Maghrib, a brutal or foolish person is contemptuously described as *madbū'* or *mdabba'*, implying that, in the words of the proverb *klā rās dba'*, "he has eaten a hyena's head". Although the young of the species, if caught before the age of weaning, is easily domesticated and proves very much attached to its master, the adult is quite untamable, as is shown by the tragic story of the kind Bedouin who gave refuge to a hunted hyena and was eaten in his sleep as a reward for his benevolence, an episode which gave rise to the proverbial expression *muḍḍīr umm 'amir* "protector of the hyena", applied to excessive hospitality shown towards a stranger. The incorrigible and unsociable temperament of the adult hyena and its latent malevolence gave rise to the metaphorical sense of the word *dabu'*, as used by the Arabs to describe years of drought and the distress and misery which accompanied them (*Hayawān*, vi, 446-7). Still more explicit was the old adage *khari'at bayna-hum al-dibā'* "the hyenas have defecated between them", used in reference to rival tribes divided by implacable hatred. Comparison to the hyena, as to the monkey [see *KIRD*] and the pig [see *KHINZIR*], was a grievous insult in Arabic as in Persian; in the latter, *rū-yi kaftār* "face of a hyena" was used to describe repulsive features inspiring distrust (*Hayawān*, vi, 452).

Belief in hybrid forms produced by matings of the hyena and the wolf was firmly entrenched in the Arab mentality, and al-Djāhīz was the first to dare to refute it categorically (*Hayawān*, ii, 181-3). According to the latter, copulation of a male hyena with a she-wolf would have produced the *sim'*, a creature renowned for its agility (see al-Damīrī, *Hayāt*, ii, 27-8), identified by modern naturalists with the Cape hunting-dog (*Lycan pictus*), a canine. An inverse crossing would have produced the *'isbār* (see al-Damīrī, *op. cit.*, ii, 115-6), probably to be identified with the aard-wolf, a species of hyena mentioned above. According to another legend dating from the early years of Islam, the *sim'* and the *'isbār*, offspring of the hyena and the wolf were, in fact, the progeny of two tax-collectors, transformed into these two carnivores by Allah as a punishment for their greed (*Hayawān*, v, 80, 148-50); this alleged pu-



nishment gives historical force to the unfortunate reputation for usury acquired in this period by tax-collectors and money-changers. Still more extravagant was the idea of the evolution of the giraffe (*zarāfa*), according to the following process: in Abyssinia, a male hyena mates with a "wild" she-camel, producing a hybrid (unknown and unnamed!) which, mating in its turn with, according to its sex, a male or a female oryx, gives birth to the giraffe as a definite product. Although this comical explanation defies all the laws of genetics, it does, for the simple-minded, account for the physique of the giraffe; it has the low hindquarters of the hyena, the long neck of the camel and the thin legs and cloven hooves of the antelope. Taking into consideration the colour of its hide, orange speckled with black, we can understand its compound name in Persian: *ušturgāw-i palang* "camel-bovine-panther" and its current scientific name, borrowed from the preceding, *Giraffa camelopardalis* L.

In pre-Islamic Arabia the hyena does not seem to have been the object of a taboo. It was considered a game-animal and there was no objection to its meat being eaten in times of hardship; there was even a trade in the animal, and according to some compilers of tradition (see al-Damīrī, *op. cit.*, ii, 82, and al-Kazwīnī, *Adjā'ib*, same edition, ii, 235), it was sold between al-Ṣafā and al-Marwa, on the Pilgrims' Route. In later times, the question of the legality of the consumption of the meat of this canine-toothed carnivore was answered differently by the four judicial schools of orthodox Islam. This is understandable, since the Prophet Muhammad, when asked to give a ruling on this vexed question, replied in an ambiguous fashion, saying that he himself did not eat it, but that it was a form of game (*sayd*) and could therefore be consumed. The exegetes expounded this advice at some length, arguing that the hyena does not hunt living prey as predatory animals do, an argument which holds good only for the striped hyena, the sole species known in Arabia. As a result, consumption of the meat of the hyena is regarded as permissible by the Shāfi'is and the Ḥanbalīs (see H. Laoust, *Le précis de droit d'Ibn Qudāma*, Beirut 1950, 224; al-Kāshānī, *Ṣubḥ al-aṣḥā*, ii, 47-8; E. Gräf, *Jagdbeute und Schlachtvieh im islamischen Recht*, Bonn 1959, 143, 233). Mālik b. Anas and his followers were more reticent, considering the consumption of the meat of this scavenger "worthy of reproof" (*makrūh*). As for Abū Ḥanīfa, he maintains categorically that this meat is absolutely impermissible, on the basis of the formal prohibition applying to all carnivores equipped with canine teeth.

Whatever the motive, consumption or destruction, the capture of the hyena was a practice that always had enthusiasts, using the best means available according to the time and the place. In Islamic countries, the simplest and oldest method of hunting, no doubt dating back to prehistoric times, was to trap the animal with cords in the burrow itself. The brave man who had the audacity to confront this adversary, in spite of its terrible bite, was obliged, as a preliminary, to undress and to arm himself with cords tied into slip-knots; he would then approach his quarry as stealthily and silently as possible and muzzle and hobble the creature without, apparently, encountering any resistance. In this delicate operation the hunter relied not only on his own courage, but also, and most of all, on the magic power of formulae proclaimed in a loud voice at the moment of contact with the beast; in the East, the most efficacious formula was: *Umm 'Amir nā'imā!* "Umm 'Amir is asleep!" Another injunction was more distasteful

(see LA under 'm-r): *khāmīrī Umm 'Amir abshīrī bi-dharād 'azlā wa-kamar' rīdāl katlā*. "Go back Umm 'Amir, go and play with mating grasshoppers and the penis of slain men!" In the Maghrib, the hunter, having invoked the local saint, said, with more delicacy: *hātī yeddek nehennihā*. "give me your foot and I shall dye it with henna." It should be emphasised that the first condition for success was, before embarking on the enterprise, to seal up the smallest fissure capable of shedding light into the burrow; the hunter was obliged to operate in total darkness, as in indicated by al-Djāhīz (*Hayawān*, vi, 48); he could, for his personal safety, arm himself with a short dagger (see L. Mercier, *La chasse et les sports chez les Arabes*, Paris 1927, 29-30). Arab authors who have described hunting, like the poet Kūshādjīm [q.v.] in his *Kūṭab al-Maṣāyid wa 'l-maṣā'irid* (ed. A. Talas, Baghdād 1954, 103, 213-15) from the 4th/10th century, or the encyclopaedist of field sports 'Isā al-Asadī, in his monumental *Djāmharā fī 'ulūm al-bayzara* from the 7th/13th century (ms. Escorial 903, fols. 162b-163b), have given accounts of various procedures, other than that described above, for the capture of the hyena; these include the hunting-trap, using a ditch fenced in with stakes, the kennel-trap with a guillotine-style door (*ridāha*, *ridā'a*) or the snare (*kiffā*) with a running knot to catch the paw. Each of these devices was accompanied by a bait (*rimma*) consisting of the carcass of some animal. In more recent periods, metal traps with tongues have replaced all devices previously in use. Such traps should be large and very powerful, because in many cases the hyena's vice-like jaws are strong enough to bend steel. The Mamlūk Ibn Manglī, summarising the works of al-Asadī in his *Kūṭab Uns al-malā' bi-wahsh al-falā*, in the 8th/14th century, gives the following advice, the fruit of his personal experience, to the mounted hunter: "When pursuing the hyena on horseback, the animal should be approached from the left-hand side; an archer, if right-handed, should overtake it on the left flank. If the hunter is armed with a lance or a sabre, he should attack at very close quarters. Nevertheless, it is said that if the hyena charges at you from the right, you will be unable to strike it, although if it approaches you on the left, it is vulnerable and you will have it at your mercy, if Allah wills." With much less style and finesse, the general practice in the Maghrib is simply to stun the hyena with a club, having first smoked it out of its lair, the same procedure as is used in Europe for the fox, the badger and the polecat. Heavy and sudden rainfall can sometimes force the hyena to evacuate its flooded burrow; a fact illustrated by the old Arabic expression used to describe torrential rain *sayl dḡār al-dabu'* "a flood to drive the hyena outside".

The truth is that the hyena has never enjoyed any kind of favour on the part of Muslim communities because the animal, while alive, is of absolutely no use to them. At the very most, in ancient Arabia the shepherd could hope for its presence when his flock was threatened by a wolf since, according to his not illogical reasoning, so long as these two carnivores were in violent competition with each other, his sheep were safe, which explains the shepherd's prayer *Allahumma dab' wa-dh' b'm!* "Oh Allah, [send me at the same time] a hyena and a wolf." There was a time when, in certain regions, the hyena could play the role of the Hebrew scapegoat; in cases of persistent drought where all other propitiatory rites had failed, the procedure of last recourse was to tie the hyena



to a wall by its tail and to set dogs on it, torturing it for three days before killing and burying it; with the evil destiny thus exorcised, rain was sure to come soon. Such is the interpretation laid on these obscure ritual practices by the mythologists.

In spite of everything, the hyena should not be unjustly abused because, wherever it lives in proximity to man it is, with the jackal and the vulture, a factor in biological equilibrium, contributing to the elimination of decomposing organic matter, the source of all diseases and epidemics. In Islamic countries, the rural populations willingly accept the presence of the hyena in spite of its unpleasant instinct for digging (*ḡayyāf*); at night, the animal is present in large numbers on the outskirts of encampments and villages, disposing of the garbage and waste products thrown out without any regard for hygiene.

In ancient medicine, as practised by the Greeks and later by the Arabs, the hide of the hyena, in all its forms, offered a wide range of therapeutic properties, the most valued being the supposed aphrodisiac quality of its brains and genital organs when dried and made into powder; but this drug only had a generative effect on the man and induced frigidity in the woman. Bearing in mind the mutual hostility between the live hyena and the dog, it was quite logical to extend this hostility beyond death and to use the remains of the former to repel the latter; also, carrying in one's person a piece of hyena's skin or its dried tongue gave protection against dog-bites and, consequently, rabies. Similarly, anointing one-self with grease from a hyena would prevent dogs from barking at one's approach; this practice was well-known to burglars. Applying the same grease to a placid dog would immediately transform it into a ferocious animal. A hyena skin buried at the entrance to a house was a permanent means of denying access to all dogs and, hung up outside a village, it kept all pestilence at bay. Wrapped round the sieve or the measure used in the handling of grain, this skin preserved the seed against depredation by grass-hoppers and birds; with fruit trees, the same effect could be achieved by the use of the animal's claws. In addition, the head and the tongue of the hyena were lucky talismans; the former promoted fertility in a dove-cote and the latter, hung in a room where a banquet or a wedding feast was to take place, guaranteed enjoyment and was a protection against unpleasantness. On the basis of the hyena's power of vision in the darkness, its gall, used as an eye-wash, was believed to prevent cataract and make nyctalops. Finally, the dried heart of a hyena, hung as a talisman round at a child's neck, was a sure means of improving spirit and intelligence; and the right paw of the animal, attached to the arm or the leg of a woman in labour, assuaged the pains of childbirth and guaranteed a successful birth. To this list of major qualities a large number of secondary properties could be added, and one might conclude that the hyena, for which the Arabs had no sympathy in its lifetime, the outlaw al-Shanfarā excepted (see his *Lāmiyyat al-'Arab*, vv. 5, 59), was reconsidered and enjoyed a measure of favour after its death, on account of its numerous beneficial contributions to medicine and magic, two areas which were then regarded as being one.

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DABŪSIYYA, a town of mediaeval Trans-oxania, in the region of Soghdia, and lying on a canal which led southwards from the Nahr Ṣughd and on the Samarkand-Karmīniyya-Bukhārā road. The site is marked by the ruins of Kal'a-yi Dabūs near the modern village of Ziyāudin (= *Ḍiyā' al-Dīn*), according to Barthold, *Turkestan*³, 97. It lay in a prosperous and well-watered area, say the mediaeval geographers, and Muḥaddasī, 324, cf. R.B. Serjeant, *Islamic textiles, material for a history up to the Mongol conquest*, Beirut 101, mentions in particular the brocade cloth known as *Wadhārī* produced there.

Dabūsiyya's main significance in history was as the place of a victory in 394/1094 of the last Sāmānid Ismā'il al-Muntaṣir [see *ISMĀ'IL B. NŪH*] over the *Qarakhānids* before his final defeat and death, and also the scene of a sharp but indecisive battle between the *Qarakhānid* 'Alūṭigin or 'Alī b. Ḥasan Bughra Khān [see *ILEK-KHĀNS*] and his Saldjūk allies on one side and the Ghaznawid governor of *Kh'ārazm*, Altuntash [q.v. and also *KH'ĀRAZM-SHĀHS*] on the other, in which the latter was mortally wounded (see Barthold, *op. cit.*, 270, 295-6). Dabūsiyya apparently flourished at this time and was a mint-town of the early *Qarakhānids* (see Zambaur, *Die Münzprägungen des Islams zeitlich und örtlich geordnet*, i, Wiesbaden 1968, 110). During the Mongol period, Dabūsiyya and Sar-i Pul both opposed Čingiz Khān's hordes in early 617/1220 (*Djuwaynī-Boyle*, i, 102, 107, 117), and operations around it between warring *Ozbeq* princes are recorded by Bābur in the opening years of the 10th/16th century (*Bābur-nāma*, tr. Beveridge, 40, 124, 137).

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(C.E. BOSWORTH)

DACTYLONOMY [see *HISĀB AL-'AKD*].

DĀGH U TAŞHĪHA, "branding and verification", a term used in Muslim India for the branding of horses and compilation of muster rolls for soldiers. The system of *dāgh* (horse branding) was first introduced in India by 'Alā' al-Dīn Khaldjī (695-715/1296-1316), and was revived by Shēr Shāh Sūrī (947-52/1540-5). The system of double ranks (*dhāt* and *suwār*) made its appearance during the second half of Akbar's reign. The motive probably was to compel every *mansabdār* actually to maintain the number of horses and cavalry men expected of him for imperial service. But dishonesty among the nobles was found to be so widespread that a mere paper edict could not remove it. Therefore, to check all evasions of military obligations, Akbar introduced *dāgh* (branding) for the horses and the *chhra* (descriptive rolls) for the men. Detailed rules were framed for *dāgh u taşhīha*. Each *mansabdār* had to bring his horses and men every year for branding and inspection; in case of delay, assignment of one-tenth of his *ḡāḡr* was withheld. Nobles whose

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djāgirs were remote were not expected to bring their horses to the muster before twelve years, but after six years since the last muster, one-tenth of their income was withheld. If a *mansabdār* was promoted to a higher *mansab* and three years elapsed since he last presented his horses at a muster, he received a personal increase of salary, but was allowed to draw the allowances for the increased number of his men only after the first muster. He then obtained assignments against his old and new men.

The entire machinery of branding and inspection was controlled by the *Bakhshī-yi mamālik* (or *Mir bakhshī*) in the central administration. He had under him *bakhshīs* posted at the capitals of *sūbas* or provinces. The actual work of branding and inspection was done by an officer known as the *Dārūgha-yi dāgh u tašhīha*, who reported to the *bakhshīs*. This department was very important for maintaining the Mughal army up to prescribed standards, and the decline in the quality of Mughal troops in the 12th/18th century was widely ascribed to the collapse of the *dāgh u tašhīha* system.

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(M. ATHAR ALI)

DĀHIS, the name given to a pre-Islamic war waged during the latter half of the 6th century A.D. between two closely related tribes of *Qhatafān*, the Banū 'Abs and the Banū *Dhubyān*, or more accurately the Banū Fazāra, a sub-tribe of *Dhubyān*. The war took its name from a stallion called *Dāhis*, over which the quarrel arose, and which became proverbial for bad luck.

The real reasons for the war are probably to be sought in the enmity generated by the domination by 'Abs of all *Qhatafān*, as well as *Hawāzin*, which had reached its peak around the middle of the century but had begun to decline with the death of Zuhayr b. *Djadhīma*, the chieftain of 'Abs [see *QHATAFĀN*]. The war, which is said to have lasted forty years, continued until some years after the Day of *Shi'b* *Djabala*, on which 'Abs joined with 'Amir against *Dhubyān* and *Tamīm*; this battle is traditionally dated in the year of the Prophet Muḥammad's birth.

The major events of the war, as well as their proper sequence, are clear from our sources, although many details are uncertain, since the main primary source shows signs of a tendentious recasting to give added prominence to the two leaders, *Qays b. Zuhayr b. Djadhīma* al-'Absī and *Hudhayfa b. Badr al-Fazārī* of *Dhubyān*.

The most detailed study of the first part of the war down to the Day of al-Habā'a is by E. Meyer, *Der historische Gehalt der Ayyām al-'Arab*, Wiesbaden 1970, 50-65, who gives a full bibliography. The main primary source is the commentary on the *Nakā'id*, i, 83-108, which is a continuous narrative on the authority of al-Kalbī (probably the son *Hishām*, d. 206/821-2), *Aghānī*, xvi, 24-33; xvii, 187-208, gives the same account almost verbatim on the authority of Muḥammad b. *Ḥabīb* (d. 245/860), *Abū 'Ubayda* (d. 209/824-5), Muḥammad b. Sa'dān (fl. 3rd/9th century), but stops with the death of *Hudhayfa* on the Day of the Well of al-Habā'a, omitting the latter half of the war and the final conclusion of peace. Other accounts are those of al-Mufaḍḍal b. *Salama*, *al-Fakhir*, Cairo 1380/1960, 219-35 (quoted verbatim by

Maydānī, *Maḍma' al-amthāl*, Cairo 1959, ii, 110-21), and Ibn al-Athīr, Beirut 1965, i, 566-83, neither of whom cites his authorities. The latter version is considerably curtailed and at the same time is eked out by the addition of dialogue and transitional passages to make the story more interesting and to fill in gaps in the narrative. A much shorter account also from *Abū 'Ubayda*, in Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, *al-'Ikd al-farīd*, v. Cairo 1946, 150-60, is divided into *ayyām*.

All the primary accounts differ considerably one from another. We shall first summarise the main events of the war as they are related in the *Nakā'id* and then point out the more important differences in the other sources.

Dāhis was ill-omened even before his birth, since the owner of his sire tried but failed to recover the seed deposited in the womb of the dam, because the pair had mated without his knowledge or consent. The stallion grew up to be a swift runner and eventually became the property of *Qays b. Zuhayr* of 'Abs, who seized him in a raid (83-5).

Different reasons are given for the ill-will between *Qays* and *Hudhayfa*, but whatever the cause, it eventually culminated in a horse-race arranged between the two. Each agreed to run a stallion and a mare. *Qays* ran *Dāhis* and al-*Ghabrā'* and the entries of *Hudhayfa* were al-*Khattār* (or *Kurzul*) and al-*Hanfā'*. To make sure of winning, *Hudhayfa* stationed men along the course who seized and held *Dāhis* until the other horses passed. When released, *Dāhis* overtook the two horses of *Hudhayfa* and would have come in second behind al-*Ghabrā'*, but again the Banū *Fazāra* intervened and beat off the leaders, preventing them from finishing first. Both sides claimed victory, and the wager was not paid (85-8).

First blood in the conflict was drawn by *Qays*, who while on a raid killed 'Awf b. *Badr*, the brother of *Hudhayfa*. The bloodwit of 100 camels was paid by al-Rabī' b. *Ziyād* al-'Absī. Despite this, *Hudhayfa* retaliated by sending a group of men, among whom was his brother, *Ḥamal* b. *Badr*, against *Mālik* b. *Zuhayr*, the brother of *Qays*, who was married to a woman of *Fazāra* and living in the vicinity. *Ḥamal* kills *Mālik*, and when al-Rabī' hears of this, he leaves the *djūwār* of *Hudhayfa*, which he had enjoyed up to this time, and joins *Qays* (88-92).

At this point there is a digression to explain an estrangement that had occurred between *Qays* and al-Rabī', who had stolen a coat of mail belonging to *Qays*. The murder of *Mālik*, however, reconciles the two men, who combine their forces against *Hudhayfa* (90). They demand the return of the camels that had been paid as blood money for 'Awf, but *Hudhayfa* refuses. Then another brother of *Hudhayfa*, *Mālik* b. *Badr*, is killed by a certain *Djunaydib* akhū *Banī Rawāha*, a distant relative of *Qays* (93-4).

Peace is then sought by al-*Asla'* b. 'Abd Allāh al-'Absī, who gives several young boys to *Fazāra* as hostages. *Hudhayfa*, however, is implacable. He gets possession of the boys and kills them one by one, forcing them to call on their fathers for help as he shoots them to death with arrows. Among the boys were *Wākid* b. *Djunaydib* and 'Utba, the son of *Qays* b. *Zuhayr* (93-4).

Next follows a series of battles in which 'Abs are victorious. On the Day of *Khāthira*, at which *Hudhayfa* was not present, *Fazāra* lost several prominent men, among them al-*Hārith*, another brother of *Hudhayfa* (94). *Hudhayfa* mustered his forces and set out in pursuit of 'Abs, but fell into a trap laid



by ʔays, who sent off the animals and non-combatants in one direction, and together with his warriors went in another. As he expected, Hudhayfa and Dhubyān followed the animals, and, as they scattered to gather in the plunder, 'Abs fell on them unexpectedly and wreaked such slaughter that al-Rabī' b. Ziyād and his brothers begged him to desist. This battle was known as the Day of Dhū Husā (94-5). Hudhayfa and his brother Hamal escaped the carnage, and with a few companions came to the Well of al-Habā'a, where they were finally hunted down by a group of 'Abs, among whom was Shaddād, the father of the poet 'Antara. Both Hudhayfa and Hamal were killed. The *Nakā'id* adds as an after-thought that it was said that Hudhayfa killed the mother of ʔays, whom he found among the animals, on the Day of Dhū Husā (95-6).

From this point, the fortunes of war change. The rest of the chronicle is given over to the wanderings of 'Abs, who, hard-pressed by the combined forces of Dhubyān, leave their homeland in an attempt to find allies or *ḡiwār* among the Arabs who were not of Ḡhaṭafān. They first defeat the Banū Kalb on the Day of 'Urā'ir, then they go to the Banū Sa'd b. Zayd Manāt, who give them a pledge of security for three days, but attack them later and are defeated on the Day of Farūk. Then 'Abs go to the Banū Hanifa in al-Yamāma, but find no support with them. They finally find *ḡiwār* with 'Amir b. Ṣa'sa'a, but it is given grudgingly and 'Abs are subjected to indignities. It is during this period that they participate in the Day of Shī'b Djabala referred to above. Thereafter they leave 'Amir and go to the Banū Taghlib. Taghlib react favorably to their request and send a delegation to consult with 'Abs, but among the delegates ʔays recognises an old enemy, Ibn Khims al-Taghlibī, who had killed al-Ḥārith b. Zālim, the man who had avenged the murder of ʔays's father. ʔays slays Ibn Khims and the chances for *ḡiwār* with the Banū Taghlib are ruined (98-104).

Thereafter, weary of war, ʔays sends his tribe home to try to make peace with Dhubyān. After some difficulties this is accomplished, but ʔays himself refuses ever again to be a *muḡāwir* of any house of Ḡhaṭafān and departs for 'Umān, where he later dies. Peace is concluded with Dhubyān by al-Rabī' b. Ziyād and the rest of the Banū 'Abs (104-8).

It is clear that whoever put together this account of the war—al-Kalbī or his informants—was a partisan of 'Abs. ʔays is made to appear as a paragon of forbearance (*ḥilm*) and Hudhayfa an unmitigated villain. ʔays in the beginning attempts to call off the wager, which was made without his consent, because he realises that it can only lead to trouble. Hudhayfa insists on running the race, and then wins it only by cheating. He later on sends Hamal to kill Mālik b. Zuhayr, although he had previously accepted the bloodwit for his brother 'Awf, and now refuses to return the camels. ʔays lets one of his sons go as a hostage in an effort to bring about peace, and Hudhayfa kills him with the other children in a barbarous manner. Later on he kills ʔays's mother. Finally, at the end, at the Well of al-Habā'a, Hudhayfa shows himself a coward and has to be pushed into the fray by his brother Hamal. ʔays, who was not present, expresses in verses his regret at the incident and refers to Hamal as "the best of men", and says he would weep for him forever, were it not that he had behaved unjustly.

In the other sources, ʔays does not appear in such a good light, nor is Hudhayfa so wicked. According to *ʔkd*, v, 151, Dāhis and al-Ḡhabrā' raced against

each other and not as a team. The wager was between ʔays and Hamal b. Badr, the owner of al-Ḡhabrā', who arranged the deception, and thus appears as instigator of the war instead of his brother.

ʔays is said to have killed not the brother, but Mālik (or Nadba), the son of Hudhayfa, whom his father had sent as a messenger to ask for payment of the wager. As a messenger his person should have been sacred, but ʔays said grimly, "I'll pay you later", and then thrust his spear through his back (*ʔkd*, v, 152; Ibn al-Athīr, i, 572).

The killing of the children is told in two separate episodes. Rayyān b. al-Asla' is taken prisoner, but is released by Hudhayfa and gives his two sons and nephew as hostages. ʔays kills Mālik b. Badr and only then does Hudhayfa in retaliation kill the two sons of Rayyān, who die calling for their father. He is prevented from killing the nephew by the boy's maternal uncles, who were apparently of Fazāra (Ibn al-Athīr, i, 576). Later, 'Abs agree to pay Hudhayfa ten bloodwits for his losses and give as hostages a son of ʔays and a son of al-Rabī' b. Ziyād. Hudhayfa is only able to get his hands on the son of ʔays, but captures two other 'Absīs and kills the three of them together. It is not actually stated that this last group were children (*ibid.*, 577). In still another account of this incident, ʔays is made to bear the blame for foolishly insisting on giving hostages against the advice of al-Rabī' b. Ziyād, who wished to stand and fight (Maydānī, ii, 114). In general, the other sources give much more importance to al-Rabī' than does the narrator in the *Nakā'id*.

According to the *Nakā'id*, ʔays was not present at al-Habā'a when Hudhayfa and Hamal were slain, but he is there in the other versions, egging his comrades on with the cry *labbaykum* in answer to the cries of the children as they were murdered (*ʔkd*, vi, 157; Ibn al-Athīr, i, 579).

'Abs and Dhubyān were permanently reconciled, and the war of Dāhis had no political aftermath that affected the course of events after the advent of Islam. For later Muslims, the most important results of the war were literary, since it is the best-documented of all the wars of the pagan Arab tribes. Several famous poets participated in it or allude to it in their poetry. Among them are 'Antara b. Shaddād, Nābigha al-Dhubyānī, Labīd, whose mother was of 'Abs, and the 'Absī leaders ʔays and al-Rabī'. The memory of the major events in the struggle was doubtless still fresh when scholars began to collect the poetry and anecdotal material connected with it, though it is likely that the minor incidents, the personalities of the participants, and the real causes of the quarrel had already been invested with an aura of romanticism. Probably the very quantity of data facilitated this process which is apparent in the surviving accounts. Even as late as the Umayyad period, the war was exploited for *fakhr* and *hiḡā'* themes; several Arabic proverbs and proverbial expressions are said to have originated in the dialogue between Hudhayfa and ʔays (Maydānī, nos. 537, 613, 821, and 1530), and Dāhis became a permanent part of Arabic folklore and literature as a symbol of bad luck and enduring enmity, embodied in the proverbs *ash'am min Dāhis* and *kad wakā'a bay-nahum ḥarb Dāhis wa 'l-Ḡhabrā'* (*ibid.*, nos. 2033, 2925).

Bibliography: in addition to the works mentioned in the text, see al-Mufaḍḍal al-Dabbī, *Amṭhal al-'Arab*, Istanbul 1300, 26 ff. (not seen); al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab*, xv, Cairo 1949, 356-63 (copies *ʔkd*); G.W. Freytag, *Arabum proverbialia*, ii, 275-83 (= Maydānī); Abū Tammām, *Hamasa*



carmina, ed. Freytag, i, 222-3, 232, 449, 450-1 (all quite brief); Ibn al-Kalbī, Hishām b. Muḥammad, *Nasab al-khayl*, ed. G. Levi della Vida, Leiden 1928, index (genealogies of Dāhis and the other horses); W. Caskel, *Ḥamharat an-nasab*, i, Tafeln 130, 132 (genealogies of Dhubyān-Fazāra and 'Abs); idem, *Ajām al-'Arab*, in *Islamica*, iii (Supplement, 1930) 1-99 (literary aspects of ayyām-literature). (J.A. BELLAMY)

DĀ'IRA SANIYYA, the term used for the administration of crown lands in the Ottoman Empire during the last quarter of the 19th century. *Saniyya* lands were the *mulk* (private freehold) of the Sultan. They were administered by a well-organised establishment, the *Dā'ira Saniyya*, which had branch offices in areas where these lands were abundant. After the revolution of 1908, Sultan 'Abd al-Ḥamīd II ceded his private properties to the state. The lands continued to be called *saniyya*, but they were transferred to the newly-formed department of *al-Amīlāk al-mudawwara*.

Within months of the accession to the throne of 'Abd al-Ḥamīd II, vast areas of the richest agricultural lands in 'Irāk had been registered as his private property. Most of these lands were in the Hilla-Diwāniyya, 'Amāra, and Baṣra districts. They were acquired by all possible means, from expropriation by imperial order to *bona fide* purchases with the sultan's money. The *Saniyya* Land Department in 'Irāk had close ties with the army, the only source of trained engineers and surveyors able to collect the revenues. The lands continued to be farmed out by *iltizām*; tribes occupying *saniyya* lands persisted in considering them as their tribal *lazma*. The Sultan received from *saniyya* lands both the *mallākiyya* (owner's share) and the tithes. Tenants were granted certain privileges in order to induce them to remain on these lands.

In Egypt, the term was related to the Muḥammad 'Alī dynasty. Land given by Muḥammad 'Alī and his successors to themselves or to members of their family originally was called *ḥiflik* (pl *ḥifālik*), and Ismā'il adopted the term *ḥifālik saniyya* or *ḥifālik al-dā'ira al-saniyya*. By 1880 the *Dā'ira Saniyya* lands amounted to 503,699 feddans, most of them in Upper and Middle Egypt. This land was pledged as security for two loans contracted by Ismā'il in 1865 and 1870 and consolidated and unified in 1877 and 1880. After Ismā'il's deposition and in the course of the liquidation of Egypt's debt, the *Dā'ira* lands passed into the control of the state, and only a small part was later restored to the princes in a final settlement in 1893 or repurchased by them. The bulk was sold to land companies and private persons. In 1898 British capital formed the syndicate which later became the Daira Sanieh Company and disposed of all *Dā'ira* lands on behalf of Egypt's creditors. The operation was completed by March 1906, resulting *inter alia* in a considerable increase in the area owned in large estates.

Bibliography: A. Jwaideh, *The Saniyya lands of Sultan Abdul Hamid II in Iraq*, in G. Makdisi (ed.), *Arabic and Islamic studies in honor of Hamilton A.R. Gibb*, Leiden 1965, 326-36; 'Alī Pasha Mubārak, *al-Khiṭa' al-tawfiḳiyya al-djādida*, Bulāḳ 1304-5/1887-8; *Rapport présenté par le Conseil de Direction de la Daira Sanieh à S.A. Le Khédive sur la situation de l'année 1880*, Cairo 1881; G. Baer, *A history of landownership in modern Egypt 1809-1950*, London 1962.

(G. BAER)

DAKAR, the capital of Senegal, is situated at the tip of the Cape Verde peninsula. Its position

is the westernmost outpost of the ancient world (its longitude reaches 17° 16' W. at the point of the Almadies). The region of Dakar, which covers almost the whole of the peninsula, is subdivided into three parts: (1) An eastern highland area (more than 100 m. in altitude); the N'Diass range rises some 70 m. above lake Tanma; to the east, the relief consists of hills or low plateaux with very gentle slopes not exceeding 40 to 50 m.; (2) the tip of the peninsula; from Fann Point to Bel-Air Point, the coastline is very jagged; numerous capes (Fann Point, Cape Manuel, Bel-Air Point) define the bays (Soumbedioune, the Madeleines, Bernard, Port of Dakar, etc.); the altitude is very modest, except at Cape Manuel (40 m.); (3) In the north-west of the region, the coast-line is more or less jagged, with a series of capes; the Cape of Yoff, Cape of the Almadies. Here, by contrast, the contours are higher, with the Mamelles (100 m.), and with plateaux at altitudes of between 30 and 50 m. A vast plain links the two mountainous regions of the Cape Verde peninsula. The centre of this plain is a marshy area with stable dunes. In the north, a strong cordon of dunes forms a distinct barrage for sea-farers and isolates a whole series of lakes: lake Yovi, lake Tanma, lake Retba, lake Mbebeusse, etc. To the south there is a cordon of shifting dunes.

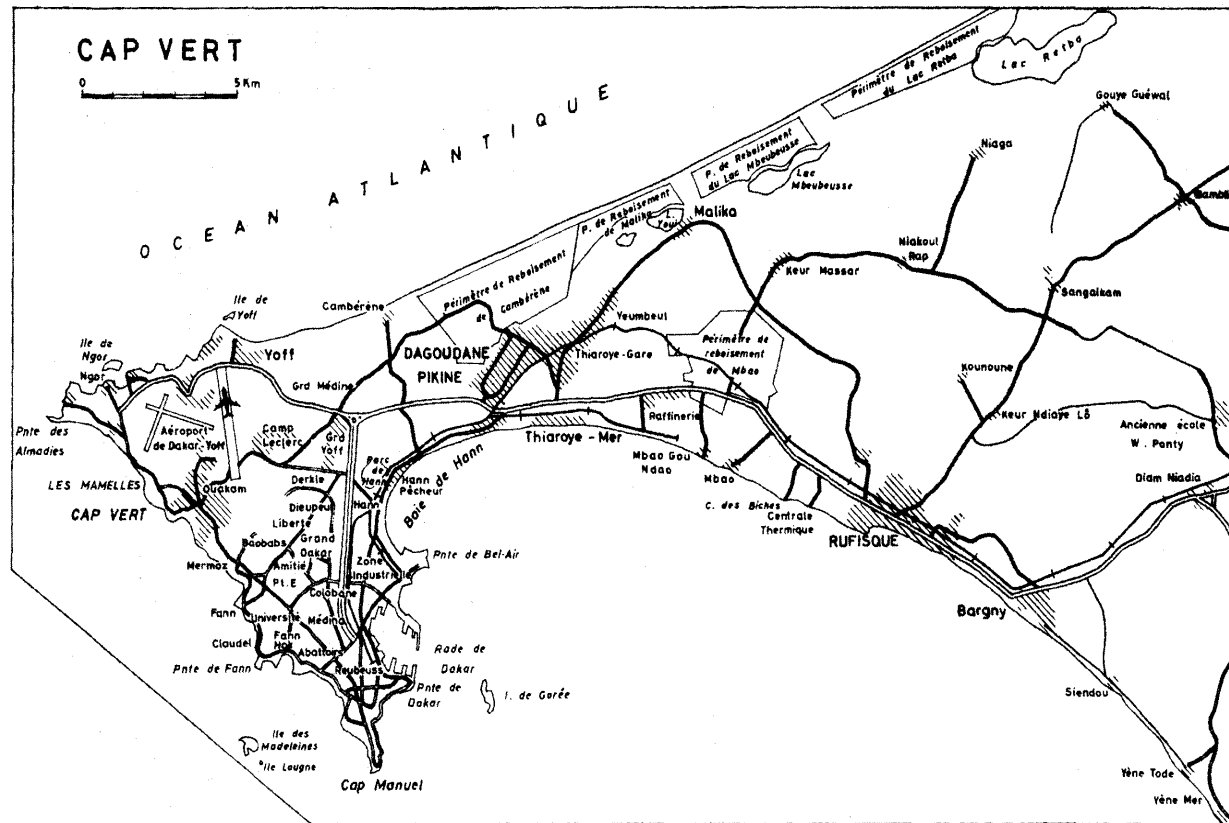
The peninsula of Cape Verde has a special climate totally different from that of the interior of the country. During the "bad season" or rainy season, which lasts from mid-June to October, temperatures reach 25° to 27° C., the air is humid, and there is an average of 600 to 650 mm. of rainfall, the maximum being in the month of August. The singular feature of the climate is the length of the "good season", or dry season, which lasts from November to mid-June. Temperatures are mild (19° to 23°), owing to the proximity of the sea, but especially to the cold current of the Canaries, which hugs the Senegal-Mauretanian coast, and to the *alizé*, the sea-wind of the Azores, which bars the way to the *harmattan* (a hot and dry wind).

Historically, the peninsula of Cape Verde was part of the kingdom of Kayor. It was visited in 1444 by the Portuguese Denis Diaz. While Gorée, an island lying 3 km. to the east provided a transit centre for European navigators and for the slave trade, and was the residence of governors controlling the whole of the coastline as far as Gabon, Dakar was nothing more than a tiny village occupied by fishermen of the Lebou tribe (a branch of the Wolof). It was on 25 May 1857 that the captain of the vessel *Prolet*, in agreement with the leaders of the theocratic Republic of the Lebou, officially hoisted the French flag at Dakar, which henceforward became a port of call on imperial communications routes to south America. In 1895, a general government was formed charged with co-ordinating the policy of the governments of the different colonies constituting French West Africa (A.O.F., l'Afrique Occidentale Française). The governor of Senegal was, however, actually installed at Saint-Louis, capital of the A.O.F.

It became a naval base in 1898, the capital of the A.O.F. in 1902 with a governor-general, the focal point of the major axes of communication between the A.O.F. and metropolitan France, and the seat of the Grand Federal Council in 1957. Dakar also became the capital of the colony of Senegal from 1957 onwards, then that of the Federation of Mali (comprising Senegal and the former French territories of the Sudan), and finally that of Senegal after the accession of the country to international sovereignty in 1960.



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DAKAR



Officially the administrative, economic and religious capital, Dakar comprises urban sectors with remarkably clear-cut divisions, regulated by the plans of 1946 and 1961. The former established four zones: (1) A mixed African and European residential zone on the western sea-board as far as Yoff (the airport); (2) A commercial and administrative zone centred on the southern region, bordering on the commercial port; (3) An industrial zone, from the main jetty to Thiaroye; and (4) Finally, a group of reserved territories, *non aedificandi* sectors.

The 1961 plan modified the earlier very little; the only changes were the specialisation of the industrial zone, the constitution of an important university centre, and the designation of the new urban centre of Dagoudane-Pikine as the co-ordination centre for the direct plan.

With reference to the urban structure, the town of Dakar occupies the south-eastern extremity of the tip of the peninsula. It is the region which has developed round the port, on the south-eastern plateaux and on the southern part of the plain where is situated the Medina. The essential characteristic of this urban zone is that it is almost the only area having buildings of solid construction. Grouped within it are the national organisations of a political nature, the administrative services, the entire wholesale trade, almost all the banks, insurance companies and real-estate organisations. The plan of the town is not a homogeneous unity; the port sector, the most ancient, is in the form of rectangles, squares or triangles; the south-eastern sector is of the radio-centric type with a series of roundabouts; the central part is of chequer-board form with narrow streets, whilst in the south, urbanisation is least advanced.

The town of Dakar comprises several quarters: the business quarter, an ancient nucleus, having as its centre the Kermel market, with several old administrative buildings, the main post-office, the town-hall, an area which is very busy in the morning and deserted at night; the western quarter centred on the Place de l'Indépendance, very modern and full of activity (banks, estate agencies, travel agencies and insurance offices); the heterogeneous central quarter which consists rather of services establishments and of wholesale houses, and is a centre of the textile trade and of traditional commerce; the human population is very mixed there, with Lebanese and Syrians, French, Portuguese Cape Verdeans, Moors, Toucouleurs, etc.; and the administrative quarter with high-rise public buildings: the National Assembly, the Presidency of the Republic, the government ministries building, the embassies, hospitals, the Palais de Justice. It is also a residential quarter.

The northern sector of the town of Dakar comprises an eastern section with some buildings of solid construction in an area of insalubrious shanties (Rebeuss) a central section, with waste-ground and some large buildings (Colis Postaux, the École Malik Sy, the Great Mosque, the Institut Islamique, the Polyclinique) and some industrial establishments: Huilerie Petersen, Brosette, Air Liquide, etc.

The third industrial zone contains export and import industries (oil-works, large mills, maritime industries and light industries). This zone is not built up: it is mostly waste-ground with some market-gardens and shanty-towns (Darou Kip, Maka-Colobane, etc.).

The *Grande-Médina* comprises several quarters: the *Gueule-Tapée*, relatively urbanised with many solidly-built houses, and some large modern establishments

(the Mandel maternity hospital and dispensary, municipal nursery, etc.); *Fas*, barely urbanised, with very few asphalted roads, dotted with shanties giving place more and more to modern developments (the O.H.L.M. Centre). It is there that the Independence monument and the Kennedy girls' lycée are situated; *Colobane*, a quarter identical to *Fas*; *Gibraltar*, entirely residential, with some stylish villas constructed by the O.H.L.M.

Grand-Dakar constitutes the most recent, the most extensive and the most populous zone of urban development of Dakar. A very modern urbanisation exists alongside patches of shanty-town. It consists of the following quarters: Fann-Hock, Fann-Residence, Mermoz, Point E and Zone B, a superior residential zone (the University, the École normale supérieure, the École nationale d'économie appliquée, the Blaise Diagne and Delafosse Lycées, numerous embassies and luxury villas for government ministers). In the centre of Grand-Dakar there are some small self-contained estates: Zone A, Cité du Port de Commerce et des Douanes, the estates of Bopp and of Wägouniaye.

The allotments of the north encompass, between the Avenue Bouguiba and the Route du Front de Terre: the Cité de Police, the Karak, the simple or multistoreyed villas of the Sicap, the quarters of the Castors, of *Derkle* and of the *Cité des Eaux*, some villas of the O.H.L.M. I and II.

The *Grand-Dakar* with its shanty-towns is the quarter with the densest population (500 to the km²). The dominant characteristic is insalubrity. It lies between streets 10 and 13. SICAP and the O.H.L.M. are beginning to apply there a modern urbanisation policy.

Dakar and its suburbs. In the immediate hinterland of the town is a zone where the influence of Dakar is shown by certain characteristic features: installation of industrial establishments as far as MBao where there is a petrol refinery and where there begins the free industrial zone of Dakar-marine; the military camps of Quakam and of Camberene, the international airport of Yoff and its technical buildings; the major telecommunications establishments grouped at Yeumbel and to the north of Rufisque, a military conglomeration situated 30 km. from the capital; the presence of residential estates accommodating the workers of Dakar; the estates of the Almadies, of Ngor, of the airport, of Sabe, of Grand-Yoff, of the Patte d'Oie, the villas of the O.H.L.M., Guediawaye, Pikine, Thiaroye and Diaksaw.

Dakar also maintains reciprocal trading relations with certain villages in its close vicinity, providing the villages with fish and vegetables and furniture in exchange for various types of merchandise. These villages are Hann-Pêcheur, Oukam, Ngor and Yoff.

Demography. Dakar, which had only 20,000 inhabitants at the beginning of the century, today numbers more than 350,000. The census of 1961 gave a total population of 302,920 for the town of Dakar and 71,780 for the surrounding area. The same investigation listed 45,000 non-Africans, of whom 29,180 were French, 9,900 Lebano-Syrians, 5,800 Métis, 500 Antillese and about a hundred North Africans. With the exception of the Lebanese community, this non-African population has tended to diminish as a result of the Africanisation of cadres and the reduction of the French military presence.

The African population in 1961 numbered in total 398,060, or 9/10 of the population of Cape Verde (443,560). There are some thirty tribes represented, but five predominate: the Wolof (203,840 or 51.2%),



the Toucouleurs (50,480 or 12.6%), the Lebou (36,860), the Sereres (25,980), and the Peul and Fouta (23,900), a total of 341,060.

The Lebano-Syrians deal in commercial activities. The Africans practise fishing and agriculture (the Lebou), or are agents in public services (functionaries and members of the security forces), workers in personal services (the Toucouleur, Peul, young Sereres and Diola) or members of the liberal professions (lawyers, bailiffs, experts in various fields). Industries employ as many people as do the services. Commerce involves the employees of European commerce (clerks, bookkeepers, administrators), tradesmen based in the African quarters and vendors in the markets with a strong colony of Fouta from Guinea (Konakry).

Religions. The two main religions practised in Senegal are Islam and Christianity (both Catholic and Protestant), and it is at Dakar that they are officially represented.

The primary religion of Senegal, after the virtual disappearance of animism, is Islam. In fact, 90% of Senegalese are Muslims, as are 4/5 of the population of Dakar. Unlike Christianity, Islam in Senegal takes on a traditional, even local, character. The Muslims of Senegal, of the Mālikī rite, belong, in a general sense, to a religious fraternity (*tarīqa*) led by a marabout, their spiritual chief. As a result of the rural exodus, Dakar is the meeting-point of all the fraternities existing in the country. From Dakar thousands and thousands of pilgrims travel once a year towards Touba, capital of Murīdism [*q.v.*], a fraternity founded by *Shaykh* Ahmadu Bamba Mbacké in ca. 1895, or towards Tivaouane, capital of the Tijāniyya order. These two towns are certainly religious capitals, but it is at Dakar that contacts between the temporal (the secular state) and the spiritual take place. Periodically, the various religious leaders leave their respective capitals to meet the governmental authorities in Dakar.

The different fraternities represented in Dakar are: (a) The Tijāniyya [*q.v.*], of which the present spiritual chief is the "caliph" (*khalīfa*) El-Hadjī Abdoul Aziz Sy, the third son of the late El-Hadjī Malick Sy (1850-1922). The *khalīfa* has his official residence at Tivaouane, a *zāwiya* founded by his father; however, he possesses houses in Dakar which provide him with a *piéd à terre* and serve as accommodation for the *tālibis*, disciples who generally conduct Kur'anic schools. These residences are constantly changing when the *khalīfa* is moving through the capital. A large number of the members of the Sy family reside in Dakar, and each one, in his home, has his following of *tālibis*.

While speaking of the Tijāni at Dakar, one cannot ignore El-Hadjī Seydou Nourou Tall, grandson of El-Hadjī Omar Tall (1796-1864), a man of the first importance both in the religious and the political sphere, whose residence is constantly full of Senegalese Toucouleur and Malian disciples.

(b) The Murīds. With the rural exodus of the peasants from the Baol, where are situated Touba and the *zāwiya* of *Shaykh* Ahmadu Bamba, Dakar contains a significant number of Murīds, who every year make the Magal, or pilgrimage to Touba. Almost all the members of the Mbacké family reside either at Touba, at Mbacké, at Diourbel or in the neighbouring villages, and to our knowledge, only Serigne *Shaykh* Mbacké, grandson of *Shaykh* Ahmadu Bamba, representing the industrialist tendency of Murīdism, resides permanently in Dakar. He owns many houses there and a quarter bears his name (Sicap Serigne

Cheikh); his residence is remarkable for the daily crowds of *tālibis* and of dependents. When the *khalīfa* is on his way to Dakar, the crowds become more numerous, each man pressing forward to express his allegiance to his spiritual leader; the *tālibis* sing poems by the founder of Murīdism or recite the Kur'ān for the whole length of the journey. Dakar becomes a sort of Touba during the entire visit of the *khalīfa*, the *Shaykh* Abdul Ahad Mbacké.

(c) The Kādiriyya, who have several important centres in Senegal. Senegalese pilgrims often travel to Baghdād, where there is the tomb of *Shaykh* 'Abd al-Kādir al-Djilānī [*q.v.*], founder of the fraternity, but every year thousands of Kādirī adherents make their way to Nimzat, in Mauretania, where the order arose. NDjassane in Senegal is the most important centre of the Kādirī fraternity. As in the case of the others, many associations of Kādirī *tālibis* exist in Dakar. They are very active, especially during visits of their *khalīfa*, grandson of *Shaykh* Sa'd Buh, one of the propagators of the sect in Senegal. In Dakar, the Kādiriyya has its own quarter in the Gueule-Tapée on street 6.

(d) Of recent creation (1890), the fraternity of the Lāye is less widespread than the previous three groups. The Lāyes take their name from Libasse (a corruption of al-'Abbās), better known as Limāmou Lāye (Imām Allāh) (1843-1909), marabout and founder of the order whose influence remains limited to the Cape Verde peninsula, more particularly among the Lebou. It was from a base at Yoff that the founder preached his doctrine.

The present *khalīfa* is *Shaykh* Sidinā Mandione Lāye; he lives in Camberence, a village not far from Dakar.

(e) The Tijānī sub-group of the Niassenes is based at Kaolack. In Dakar, Maryama Niasse (daughter of the late El-Hadjī Ibrahima Niasse, founder of the sub-sect) lives in Malik Sy Avenue and receives visitors coming from all parts of Senegal, as well as from Nigeria, Egypt, Ghana, Dahomey, etc. Her brother, also in Dakar, supervises an important Kur'anic school whose renown stretches beyond the frontiers of the country.

In addition to its role as a capital, Dakar is the meeting-point of all the fraternities existing in Senegal, where the Muslim religion, because of its importance, enjoys a number of official institutional benefits conferred by the secular state.

At the University of Dakar, in the Faculty of Literature, there is an Arabic section, and there is a department of Islamology at the I.F.A.N. (Institut Fondamental d'Afrique Noire).

The Great Mosque of Dakar is a religious institution of an official nature. Its construction was 90% financed by the state. The *Imām* is appointed by the Lebou community, but paid and housed by the government. The Friday prayer in the Great Mosque is transmitted only by the radio-masts of the O.R.T.S. and on the occasion of major Muslim festivals, the head of state is always officially represented by the Prime Minister. In the precinct of the Great Mosque is the Islamic Institute of Dakar, which was inaugurated in 1974 by the President of the Republic and which has as its purpose basic research, education and Islamic instruction.

Catholicism is under by a Senegalese archbishop who has his seat in Dakar, the centre of the activities of the Catholic Church in Senegal. The Church contributes very effectively to education; it administers infant, primary and secondary schools which



are officially recognised by the Government and receive valuable subsidies from it.

Protestantism is poorly represented in Senegal; the Protestants administer some infant schools which are also recognised by the State.

Educational, sporting, cultural, artistic, manufacturing and touristic institutions are almost all centralised on Dakar. The only Senegalese University—with its Faculties and Institutes, the I.F.A.N. and its major schools, of which the Ecole Normale Supérieure provides higher education, basic research and the formation of higher cadres—is situated in Dakar. The Institutes of Applied Research (Institute of Nutritional Technology, the O.R.S.T.O.M., the Institute of Development and of International Organisations, the Institute of Oceanographic Studies of Thiarye, the B.A.N.A.S., the Pasteur Institute, the Institute of Psychiatric research, the Institute of Applied Leprology and the National Institute of Arts, are also based on the capital. There are in Dakar 12 centres of technical, professional, industrial and catering training, 112 primary and secondary schools and centres of General Education, without counting the Customs Service, Military Health, Gendarmerie and Police training schools. All the museums are situated in Dakar or in Gorée.

An administrative, economic, human, cultural and religious focus, forced brutally into contact with contradictory elements generating conflict between the modern and the traditional, anxious to overcome these contradictions and reduce these tensions so as to progress towards an integral and harmonious development, Dakar tends to be concerned not only with its own destiny, but more realistically, with that of the whole of Senegal.

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(AMAR SAMB)

DAKHALIEH [see DAKAHLIYYA].

AL-DALĀL, ABŪ ZAYD NĀKID, *mawlā* of the Fahm tribe, musician and *zarf* in Medina, born about 70/690, died about 145/762. Like his teacher Tuways (d. 92/710) he was a *mukhannath*—hence the proverb “more effeminate than al-Dalāl”—and is said to have been castrated by order of one of the caliphs, either Sulaymān or Hishām [but see KHAṢṢ]. His musical gifts and ready wits he used as an entertainer of Quraysh women and a singer at weddings, accompanying himself on a tambourine (*duff*). He composed highly artistic (*kathīr al-ʿamal*) melodies in a style called *ghināʾ muḍʾaf*, most of them on verses by contemporary poets. Yūnus al-Kātib recorded one, Ibrāhīm al-Mawṣilī 19, and Abū ʿl-Faraj al-Iṣbahānī 30 of his song texts in their *kutub al-aghānī*, the latter using sources like the songbooks of al-Hishāmī and Habash and the *Akhbār al-Dalāl* by Ishāk al-Mawṣilī.

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DALMATIA (Dalmacija in Serbocroat), a historic province of Yugoslavia, formerly covering parts of the Federal Republics of Croatia (the territory of contemporary Dalmatia), of Montenegro and a very small section of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

I. Generalities

Skirted by the Adriatic Sea, Dalmatia stretches in a north-west-south-east direction at the foot of the Dinaric mountain ranges (Velebit, Svilaja, Biokovo) from the peninsula of Istria (according to some authors, only from the island of Pag) to the Albanian frontier, marked by the river Bojana.

But in fact, the territory designated by historians and geographers under the name Dalmatia is an area without strictly defined borders; these borders have indeed changed a number of times over the centuries. During the periods when the hinterland was controlled by powerful states (Croatia, Zeta, Bosnia, Hungary under the Angevins and the Ottoman Empire at its zenith), the territory of Dalmatia was limited to the Adriatic islands and to a few strongly fortified towns. In times of disintegration among the continental states, Dalmatia extended further into the interior of the Balkan Peninsula.

At the present day, the term broadly covers the central part of the Yugoslav Adriatic coast, that is, the coast-line from west of Velebit to the source of the river Zrmanja, and from there, in a south-easterly direction, to the frontier of Montenegro. The two other parts of the Yugoslav littoral are on one side *Severno Primorje* (the northern littoral): the peninsula of Istria, the gulf of Kvarner, as well as part of the coast in a south-easterly direction; and on the other side *Crnogorsko Primorje* (the Montenegrin littoral): the coast between Herceg Novi and the Albanian frontier.

Dalmatia comprises three geographical regions:

- (a) the littoral, flat in places, steeply sloping in others, indented with deep gulfs and well sheltered anchorages;
- (b) the interior of the country, with poorly defined limits; and
- (c) the numerous islands which make up the Dalmatian archipelago.

The climate of Dalmatia is Mediterranean, although it is colder to the north of Split on account of the wind known as *bura* (called βορέας or βορρᾶς by the Greeks, *aquilo* by the Romans).

In the past, the economy depended most of all on fishing, on the rearing of sheep, the growing of cereals, olives, vines and fruit-trees; today, additional sources of income are industry, shipbuilding and tourism. Ports worthy of mention include Split, Šibenik, Zadar, Ploče, Gruž (the port of Dubrovnik, formerly Ragusa) and with regard to the Montenegrin littoral, Bar (for the contemporary period), without forgetting the bay of Kotor, with Tivat, Kotor, Perast, Risan and Herceg Novi; whereas Rijeka (formerly Fiume), the principal port of Yugoslavia, situated at the end of the gulf of Kvarner, is not generally regarded as a city of Dalmatia (the territory of which, as stated above, is reckoned to lie further to the south) but as a city of “the Adriatic coast”.



II. History

A. The pre-Ottoman period.

Inhabited since Neolithic times, Dalmatia was populated in the Bronze Age by Illyrian tribes, one of which would seem to have born the name Delmates/Dalmates. (This was in any case the name given by the Romans, after the 1st century, to their province of Illyricum or Illuricum.)

From the time of the 5th and 4th centuries B.C., the Greeks began establishing trading-posts (and later, colonies) on a number of islands (Vis, Hvar, Korčula, etc.) as well as in some of the coastal towns (Solin, Trogir, etc.). In the 3rd century B.C., there are records of raids by Celtic tribes.

The Illyrians of Dalmatia subsequently underwent conquest by the Romans, a conquest which was accomplished in stages, provoking wars of resistance and numerous revolts on the part of the indigenous population against the invader. Six centuries later, in 297 A.D., the enormous Roman province of Dalmatia (which stretched from Istria to Skadar, and from the Adriatic to Sava, Kolubara and Zaprada Morava) was divided by Diocletian into two regions: *Dalmatia* and *Prævalis* (*Provincia Prævalitana*), the latter approximately covering the territory of present-day Montenegro, with part of Albania, of Macedonia and of Serbia.

Under Byzantine rule from the 5th century onwards, Dalmatia also suffered invasion and temporary subjugation at the hands of various barbarian peoples, first the Ostrogoths, then the Avars; subsequently, it was swamped by the influx of Slavic tribes, who arrived in the Balkans in the 6th and 7th centuries.

During the following centuries, the various regions of Dalmatia passed successively (although belonging effectively, or nominally at least, to the Byzantine Empire) under the domination of the Franks, the different Croatian and Serbian states (Hrvatska, the Principality of Neretva, Zahumlje, Travunija, Duklja, etc.) and the Normans.

In the intervening period (in the 3rd/9th century), there are records of raids by the Arabs against the Dalmatian coast, in particular an unsuccessful siege of Ragusa (Dubrovnik), which seems to have lasted fifteen months, in 252/866-7 (cf. Theophanes Continuatus, *Historia de vita et rebus gestis Basilii* . . ., ed. I. Bekkeri, Bonnæ 1838, 289-90; G. Musca, *L'emirato di Bari* (847-871)², Bari 1967; U. Rizzitano, art. *ITALIYA*, in *ET*³).

From the 11th century onwards, domination of the northern part of Dalmatia was contested by the Venetians, the Croats (*Regnum Croatiae et Dalmatiae*), and the Hungarians, and domination of the southern part by the various local Bosnian and Serbian principalities and kingdoms.

Between 1205 and 1358 a large portion of Dalmatian territory was held by Venice. During this period, there was a raid by the Mongols, who, while in hot pursuit of King Béla of Hungary, devastated the suburbs of Split and ransacked the town of Kotor in March 1242 (cf. R. Grousset, *L'Empire des steppes*, Paris 1948, 332-3).

Between 1358 and 1409 Dalmatia fell under the domination of Angevin Hungary (*regna Dalmatiae et Croatiae*), then under that of Venice (1409 and 1420-1797), although for a long time previously, many of the towns had often existed in a more or less (or totally) autonomous state, as was the case of Dubrovnik in particular (cf. M. Novak, *Autonomija dalmatinskih Komuna pod Venecijom*, Zadar 1965).

B. The Ottoman period.

(For the Republic of Dubrovnik, see *RAGUSA*; for the history of the coastal region to the south of Dubrovnik, see *KARA DACH*, i.e. Montenegro (Crnogorsko Primorje).)

The conquest of the Balkan Peninsula by the Ottomans, and their break-through in the direction of Vienna, changed the map of Dalmatia yet again. In fact, throughout the period of the Ottoman Empire's greatest power, Venice controlled only the Adriatic islands, the cities of the coast and a narrow coastal strip stretching as far as Omiš, while the littoral between the rivers of Cetina and Neretva (Makarsko Primorje), and the entire hinterland, were in the hands of the Turks (*sandjak Lika*, *sandjak Klis*, and *sandjak Hercegovina*). It was only after the beginning of the decline of Ottoman power (end of the 17th century), that Venetian Dalmatia began once more to extend into the interior of the peninsula.

Venetian rule in Dalmatia in the 15th and 16th centuries operated on a feudal pattern. The land belonged to the nobility, the majority of whom were of foreign stock. In the towns the artisans and tradesmen were not permitted to take part in municipal councils. There are records of numerous popular rebellions against the feudal landlords. Maritime commerce was reduced to the advantage of that of Venice. Agriculture, on the other hand, became rather more prosperous (especially on the islands), mainly as a result of the influx of peoples fleeing from the Turks. In the course of the next two centuries, there is evidence of a major transformation of Dalmatian society, a transformation which coincided with the decline of Venice. Finally, we should take note of the emergence of a Dalmatian culture of a very high level.

(a) From the arrival of the Turks to 1570

The first Ottoman raids against northern Croatia began in 820/1417, those against Dalmatia a little later. In 1432 the Turks invaded the region of Zadar, and soon after 1463 that of Senj; subsequently, in September 1468, they mounted attacks against Zadar, Šibenik and Split, then they once more devastated the region of Zadar in 1470, those of Split and of Trogir in 1471, of Modruša (in the region of Lika not far from Senj) in 1486, etc. But it was the region of Makarska (at the foot of the mountain of Biokovo) which was most exposed to the Ottoman attacks. From the years 1465-70 onwards, the Turks were in control of the entire hinterland, with the towns of Ljubuški, Vrgorac and Imotski. A little further to the north, Omiš (which was to keep up a valiant resistance throughout the Ottoman period) repelled the first attack, that of 1498. (On the frontiers of Venice in Dalmatia in the 15th century, see M. Šunjić, *Pomjeranje mletačkih granica u Dalmaciji i odnosi sa susjedima tokom XV stoljeća*, in *Godišnjak Društva Istoričara B.i.H.*, xv [1964], 47-62.)

The pressure on Dalmatia became still more intense after the decisive defeat inflicted on the Croats by the Turks (*cladis croatica*) at Krbavsko Polje near Udubina (1493), and especially during the Venetian-Turkish war of 1499-1503. Having once again devastated the territories of Split, Trogir, Šibenik, Zadar and Nin, the Ottomans took control of the whole of Makarsko Primorje (from Cetina to Neretva) (on the conquest of Makarska, see V. Trpković, *Vilajet Primorje*, in *Godišnjak Društva Istoričara B. i. H.*, xiv [1963], 229-37), as well as the salient of Bosiljina (Busoljina?) lying between Trogir and Šibenik (1501).

The peace treaty signed at the beginning of 1503

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had little effect on the situation on the ground, with Turkish troops continuing to attack and devastate Dalmatian territories: an attack on Split in 1507, on Omiš in 1509, on Skradin in 1512; the capture of Čačvina (in Posušje) of Nutjak (on the river Cetina) and of Vir (near Imotski) in 1513; in 1514 attacks on Skradin and Knin, and the capture of Karin; in 1515 an attack on the fortress of Klis; in 1520 the plunder of the region of Split; in 1522 a fresh siege of Klis (by Khosrew Beg [q.v.], the illustrious *sandžakbeg* of Bosnia), the capture of Knin (cf. V. Klaić, *Knin za turskoga vladanja (1522-1688)* in *Serta Brunsmidiana*, 1928, 257-62) and of Skradin; in 1523 the capture of Ostrovica (an important strong-point, controlling secondary strategic areas to the south of Velebit), the destruction of Nadin and of Vrana; in 1524 the capture of Sinj (according to some authors the town of Sinj was taken in May-June 1513. cf. H. Šabanović, *Ezlija Čelebi, Putopis, Sarajevo, Svjetlost* 1967, 151 n. 14); in 1526 the capture of Gabela, etc.

Thus, after the year 1524, the Turks held all of the hinterland between the rivers Cetina and Zrmanja, with the exception of the fortresses of Klis (besieged again in 1531, finally taken in 1537) and of Obrovac (taken in its turn in 1527), while Venetian Dalmatia was limited to the islands, a narrow coastal strip to the south of Velebit, and the territory lying between Omiš and Novigrad (minus the salient of Bosiljina).

Also to be noted in this period are a number of popular revolts (revolts of the *pučani* against the feudal landlords), which we may add to the long list of similar revolts of the preceding centuries. Worth mentioning are the revolt at Šibenik of 1510, and most important of all the great rebellion of the island of Hvar (1510-14) which had repercussions not only in Split, Šibenik and Zadar, but also in many other regions of Dalmatia.

The Venetian-Turkish war of 1537-40, which followed the capture of the fortress of Klis (1537) and the siege of Omiš by the Turks, brought ruin once again to the regions of Split (which was henceforth to have the river Jadro as its frontier) Trogir, Šibenik and Zadar, and led to the destruction of Vrana (on the town of Vrana under the Ottoman domination, see S.M. Traljić, *Vrana pod turskom upravom*, in *Radovi JAZU*, ix [Zadar 1962], 337-58; idem, *Vrana injei gospodari u doba turske vladavine*, in *Radovi...*, xviii [Zadar 1971], 343-77) and of Nadin (1537-8), while the Venetians briefly regained control of Skradin and ransacked the town. Shortly after, in 1540, the territory (*župa*) of Poljica passed into Ottoman hands, and was granted special status (cf. A. Sućeska, *O položaju Poljica u Osmanskoj državi*, in *Prilozi za orijentalnu filologiju*, xvi-xvii [Sarajevo 1966-7 (1970)], 77-91; idem, *O državno-pravnom položaju Poljica pod turskom vlašću*, in *Žbornik Pravnog fakulteta u Zagrebu*, xvii/3-4 [1967], 386-94; idem, *O položaju Poljica u osmanskoj državi*, in *Poljički žbornik*, ii [Zagreb 1971], 61-72; idem, *O posjedovnim odnosima u Poljicama u svjetlu poljičkih turskih isprava*, in *Godišnjak Pravnog Fakulteta*, xxii [Sarajevo 1974], 411-22). It was probably in the same period, certainly during the first half of the 16th century, that the little town of Jablanac (to the south of Senj, opposite the island of Rab) was razed to the ground. It was not until the following century that the ruined town began to recover (on the general situation, see G. Stanojević, *Dalmacija i crnogorsko primorje u vrijeme mletačkoturskog rata 1537-39 godine*, in *Istorijski Glasnik*, Belgrade 1960/3-4, 87-112).

The peace, signed in October 1540 (after a suspension of hostilities for three months in 1539), had the effect of ceding to the Ottomans all the territories which they had previously occupied. In addition, the Turks were given war reparations.

The truce lasted for thirty years. During this period efforts were made to heal the ravages caused by a near-century of devastation and misery. Agriculture and stock-rearing, which had been very severely affected, improved, mainly as a result of the influx of people fleeing the occupied regions. Fishing also prospered, but commerce and craftsmanship were not so fortunate.

But it was a fragile truce, broken daily by the raids of the famous *Uskoci* on Ottoman territory. These were commando bands of guerrillas, based in Dalmatia (principally in Senj) and conducting military operations within the conquered territories; at sea they committed acts of piracy which did not only affect the Turks. In addition, they did not hesitate to engage in conflict with the Venetians, who hunted them most energetically, but would appeal to them for help when the occasion arose (cf. V. Vinaver, *Senjski Uskoci i Venecija do Kiparskog rata*, in *Istorijski Glasnik*, 1954/3-4, 43-66; G. Stanojević, *Prilozi za istoriju Senjskih Uskoka*, in *Ist. Gl.*, 1960/1-2, 111-141; idem, *Jedan dokument o senjskim Uskocima*, in *Vesnik Vojnog Muzeja JNA*, vi-vii [Belgrade 1962], 97-108; and naturally the same author's major work *Senjski Uskoci*, Belgrade 1973, as well as the two volumes of archive material published by B. Desnica, *Istorija Kotarskih Uskoka*, Belgrade, SANU, 1950-1; and S. Pavičić, *Raseljavanje staroga stanovništva Senja i okolice, nastajanje uskoka i njihovo djelovanje*, in *Senjski žbornik*, iii [Senj 1967-8], 324-70).

In the towns there was a remarkable florescence of Dalmatian culture, of literature especially, written either in Latin or in the language of the country, the most significant writers being Marko Marulić (1450-1524), Hanibal Lucić (1485-1553), Petar Hektorović (1487-1572) and others. Three other authors, equally celebrated, deserve greater attention, because they devoted many of their works to study of the Turks, and may therefore be regarded as the ancestors of "Yugoslav orientalism". They are: Feliks Petančić (Felix Brutus Petancius, de Petanciis, Petancius, Ragusinus Dalmata) (ca. 1455-ca. 1517) of Ragusa; Ludovik Crijević Tuberón (Ludovicus, Aloysius de Cerva, de Crieva, Cervarius, Tubero) (1459-1527) also of Ragusa; and Antun Vrančić (Verantius, Vrantius, Wrantius, Vrancich) (1504-73) of Šibenik.

The writings of the first of these include a *Historia imperatorum regni Turcici* (or *Historia Turcica*) the manuscript of which is in Nuremberg; *De itineribus in Turciam...* (or *... Quibus itineribus Turci sint aggredienti...*), ed. Vienna 1522; *Genealogia turcorum imperatorum...* (or *Descriptio Turcicae*) the manuscript of which is in Budapest (see D. Kniewald, *Feliks Petančić i njegova djela*, Belgrade, SANU, 1961; M. Kurelac, *Enciklopedija Jugoslavije*, vi, 474).

The writings of the second include: *De Turcarum origine, moribus et rebus gestis commentarius*, ed. Florence 1590; *Commentariorum de rebus, quae temporibus eius in illa Europae parte, quam Pannonni et Turcae eorumque finitimi incolunt, gestae sunt, libri xi*, 1st ed. Frankfurt 1603, 2nd ed. (under the title *Syndromus rerum Turcico-Pannonicarum*) Frankfurt 1627, 3rd ed. in J.G. Schwandtner, *Scriptores rerum Hungaricum*, ii, 107-381, 4th ed. Dubrovnik 1784 (see K. Krstić, in *Enc. Jug.*, ii, 390-1).



The third (who personally visited Turkey on a number of occasions and lived there for four years) wrote: *Iter Buda Hadrianopolim anno MDLIII* . . . ed. Venice 1774; *Diarium legationis nomine Maximiliani II . . . ad portam ottomanicam suscepta a.C. 1567*, ed. in M.G. Kovacich, *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum*, Budae 1798; *Ratio itineris in Turciam facti per Danubium*, ed. in *ibid.*; *Expeditionis Solymani in Moldaviam et Transylvaniam* . . . ed. Budapest 1934 (see M. Kurelac, in *Enc. Jug.*, viii, 534-5).

(b) *From the Cyprus War (1570-3) to the Cretan War (1645-69)*

Having refused to cede the island of Cyprus to the Ottoman Empire in 1569, Venice found itself engaged in another war against the Turks, which lasted from 1570 to 1573. The effects of this war were to the detriment of Dalmatia, in spite of the crushing defeat inflicted on the Ottoman fleet at the battle of Lepanto (October 1571), a battle in which a number of Dalmatian ships, with local crews, also took part (see *Lepantska bitka. Udio hrvatskih pomoraca u Lepantskoj bitki 1571 godine*, Zadar JAZU, 1974). In fact, Venetian successes in Dalmatia were ineffectual; Klis was besieged in 1571 and occupied briefly in 1572, as was Skradin, which the Venetians evacuated after demolishing part of its fortifications. Makarska was also besieged, but without success.

The Ottomans, on the other hand, ransacked the island of Mljet (1572), attacked the island of Korčula (cf. V. Foretić, *Turska opsada Korčule godine 1571*, in *Vesnik Vojnog Muzeja*, v/2 [Belgrade 1958], 61-91), burned the island of Hvar (1571) devastated the region of Split on a number of occasions (taking Solin and Kamen (according to H. Šabanović, *op. cit.*, 155, n. 37, the city of Kamen was taken as early as 1537), also the regions of Trogir, of Šibenik and of Zadar where they took Zemunik (which according to other sources had been captured in 1539, cf. H. Šabanović, *op. cit.*, 162, n. 92), besieged Novigrad, and occupied Nin for some time (for the town of Nin, see S.M. Traljić, *Nin pod udarom tursko-mlatčkih ratova*, in *Radovi . . .*, Zadar 1969, 529-48). The peace treaty of March 1573 restored the situation that had existed before the hostilities, but the Turks retained Zemunik and strategic positions around Solin. Mention should also be made of the unexpected capture of the fortress of Klis by a combined group of *Uskoks* and people of Split (7 April-31 May 1596), an exploit which had significant repercussions throughout Dalmatia.

After these distressing events, and in spite of continual border skirmishes, relations between the two Dalmatian territories (Turkish territory and Venetian territory), became gradually more correct and increasingly normalised. Trade with the Turkish-occupied hinterland developed, as did an important trans-Balkan commerce, in which, especially after 1592, the port of Split played a dominant role (see V. Morpurgo, *Daniel Rodriguez i osnivanje splitske skele u XVI stoljeću*, in *Starine JAZU*, liii [1966] 364-415).

But there were other towns, Trogir and Zadar for example, which established close commercial relations with the Ottomans, for the most part selling salt, and buying wheat, meat, cheese and wool (see S. Traljić, *Trgovina Bosne i Hercegovine s lukama Dalmacije i Dubrovnika u XVII i XVIII stoljeću*, in *Pomorski Zbornik*, i [Zadar 1962], 341-71). This normalisation of relations lasted more than seventy years, from 1573 to 1645, in other words, until the war of Crete.

(c) *From the War of Crete (1645-69) to 1683*

This long period of peace was broken in the spring

of 1645 by a new Venetian-Turkish war which lasted a quarter of a century. Many things had changed in the meantime, both within the Ottoman Empire (the heyday of which was now long past), and in Europe. But the outcome of the war was once again favourable to the Ottomans, except however in Dalmatia.

On Dalmatian soil, the most significant military actions took place between 1646 and 1649. In 1646 the Ottomans mounted a lightning raid into northern Dalmatia, in the regions of Šibenik and Zadar. The town of Novigrad was taken (3 July 1646) as were Biograd and Nin, but an attack on Šibenik was repelled (October 1646). In the course of their counter-attack, the Venetians and Dalmatians laid siege to Skradin, and recaptured it briefly in 1647. In 1646 the region of Poljica, and, in February 1647, that of Makarsko Primorje (the littoral between the rivers Cetina and Neretva), severed their ties with the Ottoman Empire and allied themselves to Venice (Poljica nevertheless was compelled for some time to pay a *kharāḍj* to the Ottomans). (On the position of Poljica in the 17th century, see V. Mošin, *Poljičke konstitucije iz 1620 i 1688*, in *Radovi Staroslovenskog Instituta JAZU*, i [Zagreb 1952], 175-206.)

In 1647 the Venetians (the bulk of whose army was made up of Dalmatians and of Slavs who had fled from the regions under Ottoman rule) recaptured the towns of Zemunik, of Novigrad, of Vrana and of Nadin, before inflicting a further defeat on the Turks outside Šibenik (August 1647). Recovering Ostrovnica, Obrovac, and for a brief period Drniš (where all the Turkish fortifications and monuments were demolished), the Venetians attacked Knin and Vrljika, and regained definitive control of Biograd (1648), and, most significant of all, of the famous stronghold of Klis (30 March 1648). The Ottoman reaction was not slow in coming; shortly afterwards, Turkish troops devastated the region of Poljica and that of Ravni Kotari in the vicinity of Biograd.

Finally, in 1649, major military operations came to an end, when there was an outbreak of plague in Dalmatia, especially in Šibenik and in Zadar, followed by a period of widespread famine (see G. Stanojević, *Dalmacija u doba Kandijškog rata 1645-1669*, in *Vesnik Vojnog Muzeja JNA*, v [Belgrade 1958], 93-182; *idem*, *Trgovina robljem u doba Kandijškog rata, 1645-1669*, in *Istorijski Glasnik*, 1958/3-4, 105-112; D. Kečkemet, *Dva odlomka iz "Povijesti Kandijškog rata u Dalmaciji" Šibenicanina Franje Dvornića (Difrića) in Mogućnosti*, xx [Split 1973], 876-88; S.M. Traljić, *Turskomletacke granice u Dalmaciji u XVI i XVII stoljeću*, in *Radovi Inst. JAZU*, xx [Zadar 1973], 447-58).

For some time previous to this, there are records of a large-scale migration of Slavic peoples known as *Vlasi* (sing. *Vlah*) or *Morlaci* (sing. *Morlak*)—these are clearly to be understood as being armed men—towards Dalmatian territory, daily swelling the ranks of the guerrilla commando bands (*hajduci*, sing. *hajduk*, and *uskoci*, sing. *uskok*). The latter made constant invasions of Ottoman territory (Lika, Bosnia, Herzegovina), mounting attacks and ambushes far into the interior, pillaging, killing, burning and kidnapping on their way. At the same time, *Hajduci* and *Uskoci* conducted a policy sometimes favouring Venice, sometimes Austria, but more often the latter. A state of permanent minor war was thus perpetuated on both sides of the frontier, a situation well described in Yugoslav popular epic poetry (from both the Christian and the Muslim side), with a full gallery of heroes, all of whom are well-known historical figures. (There are a great



many publications dealing with the *hajduks*. Particularly worth mentioning are the works of D. Popović, *O hajducima*, Belgrade 1930-1, 2 vols., and R. Samardžić, *Hajdučke borbe protiv Turaka u XVI i XVII veku*, Belgrade 1952.)

In the context of larger-scale battles, mention could be made of the defeat of a Venetian-Dalmatian force outside Knin (1654), and the ravages perpetrated by Ottoman troops in 1657-8 in the regions of Split, Šibenik and Zadar, with a raid on the island of Brač, following an attack on Split (1657).

The peace treaty was signed in 1671. In Dalmatia, the position of the Venetians was then more favourable, since they retained Klis and its surrounding area, the region of Poljica, and the littoral to the south of Omiš (Makarsko Primorje) (it may be noted that *de jure*, this last territory should have remained under Ottoman control, but it belonged *de facto* to Venice). The whole of Dalmatian territory under Venetian rule was henceforward known as *acquisto vecchio*, and the frontier with Turkey became a fortified line called *linea Nani* (1671) (see I. Grčić, *Jedna mletačka agrarna operacija u Dalmaciji, in Žadarska Revija*, ii [Zadar 1953], 65-76; V. Omašić, *Mletačko-tursko razgraničenje na trogirskom području nakon Ciparskog i Kandijskog rata i njegove posledice*, Trogir 1971).

The brief period of peace which followed lasted some fifteen years. It was not long enough to allow Dalmatia to recover from the ruin caused by long years of war, nor to revive its shattered agriculture and commerce, not to mention the epidemics and famines which had weakened the country to a considerable extent. Split quickly regained its status as the leading port for commerce between Italy and the Balkans. The port of Zadar was then of secondary importance.

The Ottoman military operations and the situation in Dalmatia in this period are documented in a sometimes whimsical but entirely first-hand account written by the famous Turkish traveller Ewliyā Čelebi, who visited these areas in about 1660; the *Seyāhat-nāme*, v, 458-72, 476-78, 480-91, 494-500 (see the excellent annotated translation by H. Šabanović, *E.Č., Putopis*, Sarajevo, Svjetlost 1967, 149-67, 175-91, 195-204).

(d) *From 1683 to the Treaty of Sremski Karlovci* (26 January 1699)

The decisive defeat of the Ottomans beneath the walls of Vienna (September 1683) signalled the end of their presence in Dalmatia, where a large-scale popular insurrection broke out. The Muslims of the area panicked and fled towards the interior of the empire. Within a short time the whole of northern Dalmatia had been liberated; even before the end of the year 1683, Skradin, Karin, Vrana, Benkovac, Obrovac and Drnič were in the hands of the rebels, the Turks retaining only the cities of Knin and Sinj.

Venice entered the war in the spring of the following year (1684), and Dalmatia was the scene of a large number of military operations; Sinj was recaptured from the Ottomans in September 1686, Knin, Vrljka and Zvonigrad in 1688, Vrgorac between 1690 and 1694, Gabela in 1693, while the territories of Trogir, Šibenik and Zadar were finally liberated.

The peace treaty was signed at Sremski Karlovci in January 1699. Venice retained the areas she had conquered, and her territory in Dalmatia (which bore the name *acquisto nuovo*) extended as far as the new fortified frontier (*linea Grimani*), in other words, Knin-Vrljka-Sinj-Zadar-Vrgorac-Gabela. In addition, each of these strategic points was surrounded by

a neutral zone covering the range of a day's march. In return, Venice ceded to the Ottomans the territories conquered in Herzegovina. In turn, the Republic of Dubrovnik was enabled, with Austrian support, to free itself from Venetian influence; Turkey thus had access to the Adriatic Sea in the form of two narrow corridors, that of Sutorina (near Herceg Novi) in the south, and that of Neum-Klek in the north. The latter, nine kilometres long, is nothing more than a tiny gulf, situated to the south of the mouth of the river Neretva (on this period in general, see G. Stanojević, *Dalmacija u doba Morejskog rata 1684-1699*, Belgrade, Vojno Delo, 1962; on the new frontier between Dalmatia and the *pašaluk* of Bosnia, see E. Kovačević, *Granice bosanskog pašaluka prema Austriji i Mletačkoj republici prema odredbama Karlovačkog mira*, Sarajevo 1973.)

(e) *From 1699 to the Peace of Požarevac* (21 July 1718)

At the end of the 17th century and the beginning of the 18th one, Venetian Dalmatia witnessed a spate of popular uprisings (such as, for example, that of the region of Vrana in 1692, and that of Bukovica and Ravni Kotari in 1704), caused in part by the penurious economic state of the peasantry, in part by the aggressive policy of the Roman Catholic church towards the Orthodox one.

On the military level, a new war against the Turks broke out in December 1714. Thanks largely to indirect aid from Austria, Venice scored a number of successes in Dalmatia; in 1715 Sinj repulsed the final siege by the Ottomans, and in 1717 Venetian-Dalmatian troops definitively recaptured the town of Imotski. These victories were augmented by successes achieved in Herzegovina, where the Venetians took the town of Mostar in 1717 (cf. G. Stanojević, *Dalmacija za vreme mletačko-turskog rata 1714-1718*, in *Istorijski Glasnik*, 1962/1-4, 11-49; S.M. Traljić, *Tursko-mletačko susjedstvo na Žadarskoj Krajini XVIII stoljeća*, in *Radovi JAZU*, iv-v [Zadar 1959], 409-24; M. Perojević—T. Macan, *Odjek Bečkog rata na Makarskom Primorju i u Hercegovini 1683-1723*, in *Istorijski Žbornik*, xxiii-xxiv [Zagreb 1970-1], 179-214).

The peace treaty of Požarevac (July 1718) obliged Venice to give up all her conquests in Herzegovina, including the town of Gabela. In Dalmatia, however, her territory was enlarged through the addition of the region of Imotski, which led to some minor adjustments to the frontier of 1699. Thus the whole of Dalmatia was liberated from the Ottomans and came under Venetian control, with the exception of the two corridors of Neum-Klek and Sutorina (see the monograph by G. Škrivanić, *Dnevnik Dubrovčanina Mihajla Pešića o Požarevačkom mirovnom kongresu 1718 godine*, Belgrade 1952; L. Katić, *Prilike u splitskoj okolini poslije odlaska Turaka*, in *Starine JAZU*, xlvii [1957], 237-77).

The new frontier, *linea Mocenigo* (1721-3), passed to the east of the cities of Metković, Imotski, Sinj, Vrljka and Knin and extended as far as Klek and Zabska Gora, and all Dalmatian territory belonging to Venice was henceforward known as *acquisto nuovissimo*.

The Muslim inhabitants who had not succeeded in leaving Dalmatian territory in time were very soon forcibly converted, mostly by the Franciscans (cf. J. Cvijić, *Balkansko Poluostrvo*², Belgrade 1966, 337 which gives details borrowed from S. Zlatović, *Franjovci države presvetog otkupitelja i Hrvatski puk u Dalmaciji*, Zagreb 1888, 233-4, 236-7, and from M.V. Batinić, *Djelovanje franjevacu u Bosni i Hercegovini za prvih šest vjekova njihova boravka*, Zagreb 1881-7,



ii, 147). On the Muslim inhabitants of Dalmatia who emigrated to Bosnia-Herzegovina, see M. Petrić, *O migracijama stanovništva u Bosni i Hercegovini Doseljavanja i unutrašnja kretanja*, in *Glasnik Zemaljskog Muzeja*, xviii (Etnog.) [Sarajevo 1963], 10-11.

C. After the Ottomans

Dalmatia remained under Venetian rule until the dissolution of the Republic in 1797. It was subsequently part of the Austrian Empire (1797-1805), the French Empire (1805-9), then one of the Illyrian Provinces (1809-13), before returning to the Austrian Empire (1815-1918).

After 1878 a number of Muslims from Herzegovina (which in that year became part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire) came and settled in Dalmatia. After a certain period of time they had grown considerably in number, and as a result the Muslim religious community (Hanafi rite) of Dalmatia was officially recognised by the Austro-Hungarian government, on 15 July 1912 (see *Reichsgesetzblatt für Österreich* 1912, 875, paras. 1-7; M. Begović, *Organizacija Islamske verske zajednice u Kraljevini Jugoslaviji*, in *Arhiv za pravne i društvene nauke*, god. xxiii, drugo kolo, knjiga xxvii (xlv) br. 5, 25 November 1933, p. 379; the same, *Islamska verska zajednica*, in *Enciklopedija Jugoslavije*, iv, 372).

From 1920 to 1941 Dalmatia was part of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, then from 1941 to 1945 it was divided between fascist Italy and the Ustachi Croatian State (*Nezavisna Država Hrvatska*), finally, since 1945, it has belonged to the People's Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (as part of the People's Republic of Croatia).

In 1971, there were roughly 4,000 Muslims in Dalmatia (the total number of Yugoslav Muslims at the time was a little over three million, of whom 18,457 lived in Croatia; see K. Hadžić, *Brojnost i rasprostranjenost muslimana u Jugoslaviji*, in *Takvim* [Sarajevo 1975], 119-34).

Bibliography: There has as yet been no study of Dalmatia in the Ottoman period (15th to 18th century) which takes into account simultaneously local, Turkish and Venetian sources. It is true that the existing documentation is indeed enormous, and that a large portion of this (archive documents in particular) is accessible only to a very small number of specialised researchers. Naturally, emphasis should be laid on the writings of Yugoslav historians and Turcologists who have in the past produced an impressive number of studies, monographs and articles on this subject. It should be noted however that the bulk of these publications have been primarily concerned with the Republic of Dubrovnik, and that consequently it is most difficult to present a bibliography concentrating exclusively on the history of the territory of Dalmatia as strictly defined.

An excellent general survey by J. Tadić is to be found in *Istorija naroda Jugoslavije*, ii, Belgrade 1960, 247-74, 519-30, 595-601, 1145-60. This work also contains a wise and intelligent analysis of the sources (the Ottoman sources are simply mentioned) and the entire bibliography available at that date (cf. 266 ff., 528 ff., 1159 ff.).

For a convenient list of Yugoslav publications on Dalmatia since 1945, see J. Tadić (ed.), *Dix années d'historiographie yougoslave 1945-1955*, Belgrade 1955 (see especially 217-55, 268-71, 374-84, 410-15, 540-54, 566); J. Tadić (ed.), *Historiographie yougoslave 1955-1965*, Belgrade 1965 (especially 113-42, 201-20 and *passim*); D. Janković

(ed.), *The historiography of Yugoslavia 1965-1975*, Belgrade 1975, (esp. 136-59, 185-96 and *passim*).

In addition to the Ottoman historians (Nā'imā, Reshīd, Pečewī, etc.) and the major histories of the Ottoman Empire (those of von Hammer, Zinkeisen, Iorga, etc.), special attention should be drawn to the following works: G. Cattalinich, *Storia della Dalmazia*, 3 vols., Zadar 1834-5; Š. Ljubić, *Pregled hrvatske povijesti*, Rijeka 1864; V. Lago, *Memorie sulla Dalmazia*, Venice 1869; V. Lamansky, *Secrets d'État de Venise*, St. Petersburg 1884; J.N. Tomić, *Grad Klis u 1596 godini*, Belgrade 1908; J. Tadić, *Španija i Dubrovnik u XVI veku*, Belgrade 1932; L. Voinovitch, *Histoire de Dalmatie*, 2 vols., Paris 1934; J. Ravlić, *Makarska i njeno Primorje*, Split 1934; B. Poparić, *Povijest senjskih uskoka*, Zagreb 1936; G. Novak, *Prošlost Dalmacije*, 2 vols., Zagreb 1944; A. de Benvenuti, *Storia di Zara*, 2 vols., Milan 1944-53; J. Radonić, *Rimska Kurija i južnoslovenske zemlje od XVI do XIX veka*, Belgrade 1950; I. Božić, *Dubrovnik i Turska u XIV i XV veku*, Belgrade 1952; A. Ujević, *Imotska Krajina*, Split 1953; G. Praga, *Storia di Dalmazia*³, Padua 1954; L. Katić, *Solin od VII do XX stoljeća*, Split 1956; G. Novak, *Povijest Splita*, 2 vols., Split 1957-61; V. Vinaver, *Dubrovnik i Turska u XVIII veku*, Belgrade 1960; R. Samardžić, *Veliki vek Dubrovnika*, Belgrade 1962; B. Djurdjević and M. Vasić, *Jugoslovenske zemlje pod turskom vlašću do kraja XVIII stoljeća*, Zagreb 1962; G. Novak, *Jadransko more u sukobima i borbama kroz stoljeća*, Belgrade 1962; E. Albrecht, *Das Türkenbild in der ragusanisch-dalmatinischen Literatur des XVI. Jahrhunderts*, Munich 1965; *Grad Zadar, presjek kroz povijest*, Zadar 1966; M. Šunjić, *Dalmacija u XV stoljeću*, Sarajevo 1967; G. Stanojević, *Jugoslovenske zemlje u mletačko-turskim ratovima XVI-XVIII veka*, Belgrade 1970; T. Popović, *Turska i Dubrovnik u XVI veku*, Belgrade 1973.

Finally, one should add those articles already cited in the present article: A. Strgačić, *Upadi osmanskih gusara u predjele Žadarskih otoka*, in *Žadarska Revija*, ii/4 (1953), 195-204, iii/1 (1954), 44-53; S.M. Traljić, *Zadar i turska pozadina od XV do potkraj XIX stoljeća*, in *Grad Zadar* (Zadar 1966), 206-28; A.J. Soldo, *Prilozi proučavanju agrarno-društvenih odnosa u Gornjem primorju od XVI do polovine XIX stoljeća*, in *Makarski žbornik* (1970), 337-80; A. Rube-Filipi, *Biogradsko-vransko primorje u doba mletačko-turskih ratova s osvrtom na povijest naseljenja*, in *Radovi Inst. JAZU* xix (Zadar 1972), 405-98.

(A. POPOVIĆ)

DAM (A.), pl. *dimā* 'blood', also 'blood-guilt' [see *DIYA*, *QATL*]. In the present article it will be appropriate to mention the numerous blood sacrifices offered by the Muslims, but we will not concern ourselves with the theory, nor is it our intention to list them [see *DHABĪHA*, *HADJ*, 'ID AL-APHĪ]. We will confine ourselves to a brief survey of the beliefs relative to blood and the uses to which it is put or to which it may be put by Muslims in the various circumstances where the sacrifice of an animal is required, and the role attributed to it in magic and therapy.

Arabic texts of the Middle Ages speak of four cardinal humours: black bile (*sawdā'*), phlegm (*balgham*), yellow bile (*safra'*) and blood, associating this last with joy and with the second string (*mathnā*) of the lute (see al-Djāhiz, *Tarbi'*, § 152), and asserting that it is dominant in March, April and May (al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, iii, 425 = § 1313). But these ideas



are late and unknown to the *Qurʾān*, which, setting aside the story of the creation of man represented by a clot of blood (*ʿalaka*, XXII, 5, XXIII, 14, XL, 69/67, LXXV, 38) and the dietary prohibition (see below), makes only one brief reference (VII, 130/133) to the miracle of the river turned into blood (Exodus, vii, 17-21) and does not even mention the bleeding of the nose (*nuʿāf*) among the sufferings inflicted by God upon the ancient peoples of Arabia as punishment for their impiety (see al-*Djāhīz*, *Tarībī*, § 47 and index). The *Qurʾān* gives no information as to the place occupied by blood during the *Djāhiliyya* where, however, gory sacrifices were not lacking (see J. Chelhod, *Sacrifice, passim*), nor as to the conception that the Arabs had of it. However, for them, as for the Hebrews (Genesis, ix, 4; Leviticus, xvii, 11, 14), the soul of all flesh was in the blood, and oaths were sworn on the *dam* or the *dimāʾ*, as well as on the pagan deities (see *LA*, s.v. *d. m. y.*). A distinction was drawn between *ruh*, air circulating within the body, and *nafs*, the soul for which blood, itself sometimes designated by the same word (cf. al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, iii, 309-10 = §§ 1190-1; *LA*, s.v. *n. f. s.*), is the vehicle: only animals possessing a *nafs sāʾila*, that is to say blood, render impure the water in which they die. The soul of a murdered man, leaving the body with the spilt blood (see Chelhod, *op. laud.*, 102-3), then took the form of a bird (*hāma*, *ṣadā*) which did not cease to haunt the tomb of the victim and could not be set at rest until the blood of an enemy had been shed there; thus J. Chelhod also sees in blood-vengeance a human sacrifice owed to the spirit of the deceased. An analogous belief per-persists in various parts of the Mediterranean area: throwing stones upon the scene of the crime has the effect of covering the voice of the blood appealing for vengeance and contributes to the immobilising of the soul of the deceased (cf. Westermarck, *Ritual*, i, 549; Jausen, *Moab*, 335-6; Servier, *Portes de l'année*, 33-4 [see also KARKUR, RAJIM]). If blood that has been spilt thus appeals for vengeance, it is because the earth has no longer absorbed it since the murder of Abel (*Qurʾān*, V, 30-5/27-32) and the ten punishments that it incurred for hiding him from view (cf. al-*Djāhīz*, *Hayawān*, iv, 201); the earth therefore feels the utmost aversion for blood, except perhaps for that of the camel, (*ibid.* iii, 136, iv, 201), but this last idea is borrowed from Aristotle. And if, after some sacrifices, the blood that has been shed disappears the next day, it is because it has been drunk by errant souls (Servier, *op. laud.*, 325). Even in the view of Muslims who do not believe in the *hāma*, the blood of the victims of an unjustified murder does not cease to seethe until proper vengeance has been taken; that of John the Baptist has become proverbial in this respect (al-*Djāhīz*, *Nābīa*, in *AIEO* Alger, x (1952), 312; Balʿamī-Zotenberg, i, 569).

Since the blood is the vehicle for the soul, it is understandable that among the Hebrews, its consumption was forbidden (Genesis, ix, 4; Leviticus, iii, 17, vii, 26, xvii, 10, 12, xix, 26; Deuteronomy, xii, 16, xv, 23; I Samuel, xvi, 33), and it is probable that even before the prohibition enunciated by the *Qurʾān* (II, 168/173, V, 4/3, VI, 146/145, XVI, 116/115), the pagan Arabs—but not the Christians—generally abstained from it. Nevertheless, if we believe the commentators, they used to eat a sort of black pudding made from camels' blood (al-Bayḍawī, on *Qurʾān*, II, 173; Chelhod, *op. laud.*, 175) and, according to al-*Djāhīz* (*Hayawān*, iv, 96), they used to drink as a tonic the blood extracted by the

phlebotomist, the free-thinkers asserting that meat is only blood transformed. In this regard, it will be recalled that one of the reasons invoked as a justification for the refusal to pay a salary to the blood-letter is that before Islam he used to sell the blood to third parties and that this type of sale was forbidden by a *ḥadīth* (cf. R. Brunschvig, *Métiers vils en Islam*, in *St. Isl.*, xvi (1962), 47). In another connection, a group of *Kuraysh* was given the name *Laʿakat al-dam* [q.v.] "lickers of blood" because of their practice of licking their fingers after dipping their hands into a receptacle containing the blood of a camel, as a means of sealing an alliance. There are scarcely any attestations of the practice consisting, in cases of the adoption by the tribe of a foreign element, of mixing the blood of the adopted man with that of a representative of the group, but in southern Turkey there still exists the "fraternity of blood", effected by the making on the wrist a gash which is sucked by the contractants (J.-P. Roux, *Traditions*, 324).

The ancient Arabs considered the blood of kings to be a specific remedy for rabies (*kalab*) and possession (*khabal*), and it may have happened that it was preserved for this purpose (cf. al-*Djāhīz*, *Hayawān*, i, 5, 310; idem, *Tarībī*, § 69; al-Masʿūdī, *Murūdj*, iii, 192-3 = § 1049; see also the legend of *Djādhīma* [q.v.] in which blood plays a certain role); this belief is still alive (cf. Wellhausen, *Reste*, 139-40; Doutté, *Magie et religion* 85).

Al-*Djāhīz* mentions (*Bukhalāʾ*, ed. Hādjirī, 198, 200), somewhat as an exception, the practice of Bedouins who, dying of thirst in the desert, were constrained, after exhausting the contents of the first stomach of a camel, whose purpose was ultimately to provide them with water, to slaughter another; they collected its blood, which they beat carefully so as to separate the sediment (*ṭhufl*) from the serum (called *māʾ* = water); this alone they drank; this drink was called *maddūh* (cf. *LA*, s.v. *ḍj. d. h.*; Chelhod, *Sacrifice*, 175).

Drinking the blood of an enemy does not seem to have been a current practice, in spite of the hatred which tribes sometimes held for one another; there is indeed a recent attestation of it (Jausen, *Moab*, 177, n. 1), but it is exceptional. On the other hand, an arrow stained with the blood of an enemy (*sahm mudamm*^m) and returned to the archer who had dispatched it was retained as a lucky talisman (*tabarruk*^m) by the latter (*LA*, s.v. *d. m. y.*).

Without being obsessed by blood, the ancient Arabs were especially superstitious about menstruation [see *ḤAYṢ*] and considered the woman thus indisposed (*ḥāʾid*) as impure and disqualified from performing certain acts. After Islam, the notion of impurity remained, but the *Qurʾān* (II, 222) confined to sexual relations the prohibition affecting women during the period of menstruation: and it is said that if this prohibition is infringed, Satan interposes between the partners. From another point of view, it is not impossible that the prohibition regarding the consumption of the hare and the rabbit, differently justified by Deuteronomy, xiv, 7, derives, in certain sects [see ARNAB in Suppl.] in part at least from the fact that the doe, which is believed to menstruate, naturally does not purify itself; the hyena is a similar case, and as a result these two animals cannot serve as mounts for the *djinn* (al-*Djāhīz*, *Hayawān*, iii, 529, vi, 46).

Once it has left the veins of a living being, blood is at the same time impure and taboo, for it is through blood that a link is established between



man and God, where it is a case of canonical sacrifices, between men and the invisible powers in the case of immolations which, although permitted, have retained a pagan character. Once it begins to flow, it is the blood which "gives to the ceremony its true sense of expiation, of purification and of protection" (Servier, *op. laud.*, 83).

Although the Kur'ān (XXII, 38/7) states with regard to sacrifices, "neither their flesh nor their blood shall reach Allāh, but only the piety coming from you shall reach Him" (cf. Amos, v, 21-2), a *ḥadīth*, retained only by al-Tirmidhī and Ibn Mādja (no. 3126) but often quoted, proclaims: "the blood [of the victim sacrificed for the Great Feast] finds its place in the presence of Allāh even before it has touched the ground" (al-Ghazālī, *Ihyā'*, ed. 1278, i, 252; Westermarck, *Survivances*, 199; Chelod, *Sacrifice*, 59), and such is doubtless the belief of the Muslims. The more abundant it is, the greater its power, and it is essential that the victim has been completely emptied of blood before dying (besides, it is this total effusion which renders legitimate the consumption of the butcher's animals, and the list of dietary prohibitions which figures in the Kur'ān (II, 168/173 and especially V, 4/3) is instructive in this regard, since it declares illicit all animals killed accidentally and not ritually bled to death, except in cases of necessity).

Independently of the role played by the blood of the sacrifice of the Great Feast in actually conveying the sacred offering from the Believer to God, it possesses protective and curative properties sometimes put to profitable use. It is thus that in Iran a piece of cotton is dipped in the blood of a sheep that has been immolated and allowed to dry; if a child has pains in the throat, a morsel of this cotton is put into water which he is made to drink (H. Massé, *Croyances*, 142). In Kabylia, blood is mixed with cattle dung which is smeared on a sheltered wall and administered in fumigations (*Fichier de Documentation berbère*, 1964/4, 12); in the same region a woman takes a little blood to mark the forehead of a child less than one year old (*ibid.*). In certain tribes, the mistress of the house still smears the posts and the lintel of the door with it to protect her home (Servier, *op. laud.*, 346); it is also poured over a ploughshare to consecrate it (*ibid.*, III-2; among the Zaghāwa (M.-J. Tubiana, 149) it is the hoes that are sprinkled with the blood of a he-goat, but in different circumstances). On the occasion of the feast of 'Ashūrā' [*q.v.*] it is the practice to dip in the blood of a sacrificed animal branches of rose-laurel which are hung between the stable and the living-quarters (Servier 370); elsewhere blood is sprinkled on the threshing floor (Koller, 325).

In the few examples mentioned above, magical practices have come to be grafted on to rites considered orthodox; more numerous and more obvious are the vestiges of paganism which appear in the multifarious sacrifices offered to the djinn [see *ḌINN*], those invisible powers whose existence orthodoxy was obliged to admit. Just as during the *Ḍjāhiliyya* one became united with the divinity by pouring blood over the rocks which were their home (cf. T. Fahd, *Le Panthéon de l'Arabie centrale*, Paris 1968, 103, on Isāf and Nā'ila [*q.v.*]), similarly, one enters into communication with the protective genies or wards off the maleficent spirits by means of blood poured on the altar of the home or on high places especially frequented by spirits. Although it is difficult to arm oneself against the hostile attentions of the djinn which haunt the places, very dangerous

for men, where blood flows abundantly, especially abattoirs (see Doutté, *op. laud.*, 86; Westermarck, *Survivances*, 14, 165; Servier *op. laud.*, 60-1), it is very easy to protect oneself against invisible spirits by means of the blood of sacrifices which, while attracting them, also annuls their maleficent power. This is why the life of superficially Islamised populations is marked by immolations, often modest in scale, which are followed by anointings and sprinklings with the purpose of gaining protection from enemy spirits of the nether world, and of obtaining in some measure the goodwill of the protective genies of the house or of the tent or of those who can assure the prosperity of fields and herds.

The threshold or the door (cf. Jaussen, *Moab*, 343), the central pole of a tent, the mill or the hearth (cf. J.-P. Roux, *Traditions*, 255) are the true domestic altars; but every new object is likewise consecrated by offering the blood of an animal to the protective genies of the home. When a tent is constructed, or an old one enlarged or a part of it replaced, the central pole is smeared with blood (Jaussen, 399). In Morocco, a woman smears a pole of the tent with the blood of an animal when her first child is born (E. Laoust, *Transhumants*, 58) to assure herself of numerous progeny. In the land of Moab, marriages are the occasion for a number of successive immolations, and in the course of the last at any rate, the bride is sprinkled with the blood of the victim. In the present day, in Iran [see *KHAYR*], masons still sacrifice an animal before starting to build, so that its blood may protect them against any accident which might cause their own to be shed. There seems little purpose in recording further examples of this type which the ethnologists have noted in the course of their inquiries.

A problem of a different order is posed by the blood sacrifices which, in agricultural areas, accompany all work in the fields: ploughing, harvesting, threshing, etc. It seems that blood is not encountered in rites designed to bring rain [see *ISTISKĀ'*], but the Zaghāwa who sprinkle it in the fields and in river beds (M.-J. Tubiana, index) can hardly be the only ones who do so. E. Laoust (*Mots et choses berbères*, 315) has noticed in one Moroccan tribe an interesting annual custom which takes place on a Wednesday or a Thursday before ploughing begins: in a hole dug in the first piece of land to be sown and then ploughed, the farmer slaughters a sheep and smears with the blood his own right foot, then the left foot of the *khammās* responsible for the ploughing; on to the pool which forms at the base of the hole, a little earth is thrown and on this the farmer scatters grains which he thrusts into the ground with his hand; this place is henceforward sacred. E. Laoust suggests two interpretations of this rite: to ward off the evil influences of the djinn, or to restore to the soil the vital forces of growth. The two explanations are, it seems, both to be accepted, for they are confirmed on the one hand, by the practice which consists of fixing with blood, after the harvest, the force liberated by the work in the fields, on the other hand the practice of sprinkling the sheaves with it, of spreading it in various places and of smearing it on the clogs of the beasts that tread the grain on the threshing-floor (*ibid.* 391). After the harvest, the jars containing the grain are also smeared with blood (Servier, *op. laud.*, 254). As for livestock, it too is protected by anointings, as is done in the land of Moab, to a newly-bought mare or to a new-born filly (Jaussen, 354).

In the times when it was still possible to hunt



big game, in the Moroccan Rif, some of the blood of each animal killed was set aside to be offered to the spirits of the rocks with the object of lessening the ferocity of the lions (Koller, 331).

Springs are also haunted by djinn. At Sefrou, Morocco, in the autumn, a black or seven-coloured goat or a white cockerel is slaughtered beside one of them, and the blood of the animal is poured into the water (H. Basset, *Grottes*, 89). In the case of hot springs, the bathers arm themselves against evil spirits by sprinkling the basin with the blood of a victim (Jaussen, 359-360).

As well as djinn, deceased saints must be appeased by immolations (See Servier, *op. laud.*, 179). In the land of Moab, for example, blood is cast on to the lintel of a sanctuary (Jaussen, 356). Blood still serves as the vehicle for the conditional malediction imposed upon a saint or another man, or for the transfer of responsibility in the practice of 'ār [q.v. in Suppl.] and, on the contrary, for the honour done to the host for whom an animal has been slaughtered (Chelhod, *Sacrifice*, 185).

In another context, it plays a particular role in the taking of virginity, and it is well known that on the day after a wedding, a cloth stained with the blood of the bride must be exhibited. In Kabylia, the water used to wash it is poured out at the foot of a pomegranate tree, the symbol of fertility (Servier, *op. laud.*, 144).

The preceding topic brings us back to menstrual blood, which possesses particular properties. In folk-medicine, it is recommended as an antidote for dog-bites, scurvy and freckles and serves also to preserve the firmness of the breasts, but it also possesses a magical power since seafarers can protect themselves against the dangers of tempests and against the threat of a sea monster called expressively *hūt al-hayd* "fish of the menses", by fixing to the stern of their ship a cloth stained with this blood. Al-Damīrī, in his *Hayāt al-hayawān*, from whom these details are borrowed (s.v. *insān*) provides in every account, under the heading of *khawāṣṣ* "properties" data concerning the use of the blood of animals in magic and medicine. By its very nature, its uses in the preparation of philtres are fairly limited in number. These are a few examples: the blood of the parrot (*babbaghā*), dried, powdered and spread between friends transforms their friendship into hatred. Sprinkling a mixture of the blood of a weasel (*ibn 'irs*) and of a rat or a mouse (*fa'r*) and water brings discord to families. The blood of a shemula (*baghlā*) buried under the threshold of a house prevents rats and mice from entering. If a man can keep about his person a quantity of the blood of a fox (*thā'lab*), he is safe from all forms of trickery.

Virility can be improved or restored thanks to the blood of the *tinnin* (*sic* [q.v.]), of the frog (*difda*) of the sparrow (*'usfūr*) or of the hedgehog (*kunfudh*), while that of the cat (*sinnawr*) and of a kind of pigeon (*shafnīn*) is a guarantee against feminine infidelity; that of the swallow (*khuttāf*) even deprives a woman of all sexual desire. If the blood of the frog prevents the growth of hair and causes the teeth to fall out, that of the fox encourages growth of the children's hair, and that of the lizard called *sāmm abraṣ* prevents loss of hair; against the re-growth of eyebrows (though al-Damīrī speaks of eye-lashes), the blood of the chameleon (*hirbā*), of the bear (*dubb*) and of the jerboa (*yarbū*) is efficacious.

In folk-medicine, again, the blood of the tortoise (*sulḥfāt*) is effective against pains in the joints

and stiffneck. That of the hare (*arnab*) causes scurvy and freckles to disappear; like that of the horse (or of the mare, *faras*), it has contraceptive properties. To cure maladies of the eyes, the blood of the viper (*af'ā*), of the mole (*khuld*), of the cockerel (*dik*) or of the wood-pigeon (*warshān*) may be used; that of the cockerel is also a remedy for insect-bites and that of the mole or the weasel seems to be supremely efficacious against scrofula. The blood of the stag (*ayyil*) is efficacious against bladder-stones and that of the bull against haemorrhages; that of the pigeon (*hamām*) cures styes, stops nose-bleeds and, with oil, soothes the pain caused by burns; the effects of a dog-bite are alleviated by means of the blood of the hedgehog. Deafness can be cured with the blood of the wolf (*dhī'ib*), while that of the monkey (*kird*) has salutary effects in treating dumbness. A leper benefits from anointing himself with the blood of a ewe (*dā'n*) or of a ringed pigeon (*fākhīta*); abscesses are treated with the blood of the peacock (*tāwūs*), when they are serious, of the starling (*zurzūr*) if they are benign. The blood of the beaver (*kundus*, *kalb al-mā'*) is effective against incontinence of urine, that of the ichneumon (*nims*) restores lucidity to a man who is possessed and finally, that of the crow (*ghurāb*) cures habitual drunkenness if it is mixed with wine, for which it inspires a definitive distaste. This is one of the few cases where the blood of an animal is imbibed; in the majority of cases mentioned above, it is used in the form of ointments, but whatever the manner in which it is utilised, it must, in principle at least, for this is not the case with some of the animals mentioned, come from a licit animal, which has been ritually slaughtered (al-Kayrawānī, *Risāla*, ed. and tr. Bercher, Algiers 1949, 321).

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(CH. PELLAT)

AL-DĀMAGHĀNĪ, ABŪ 'ABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD B. 'ALĪ B. MUḤAMMAD B. 'ALĪ B. MUḤAMMAD B. AL-ḤUSAYN B. 'ABD AL-MALIK B. 'ABD AL-WAHHĀB B. HAMMŪYA B. ḤASANAWAYH, Ḥanafī jurist who, as Chief *Kādī* of Baghdād, stands at the head of a family dynasty holding the positions of *kādī* or *kādī 'l-kuḍāt* down through the years. The following sketch is based mostly on *al-Djawāhir al-mudīyya fī ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanafīyya* by 'Abd al-Kādir b. Abi 'l-Wafā' al-Kurashī (d. 775/1373). The best way to distinguish between them is

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by the use of their patronymic (*kunya*) and first name (*ism*). Among the eighteen identifiable members of this family, three distinguished themselves from among the others; namely, the eponym Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad (no. 1), his son Abū 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī (no. 2), and one of their last descendants Abū 'l-Ḳāsim 'Alī (no. 15). The eponyms *kunya* and *ism* are also those of the latter's brother (no. 16), and for this reason, the eponym was referred to—not it seems, in the contemporary documents, but later—as *al-Kabīr*, the Elder; this was in order to distinguish him from all the rest, not merely from his much later descendants who were too far removed to cause confusion and who had the same *kunya* and *ism* (nos 4 and 16), but of whom none was referred to as *al-Saghir*.

1. Dāmaghānī the Elder was born in 398/1007 in Dāmghān in the province of Kūmis [q.v.], where he was first educated and pursued his initial studies in law. He then came to Baghdad in 419/1029 at the age of 21. Here he continued his studies of law under the two great masters of Ḥanafī law, al-Ḳudūrī (d. 428/1037) and al-Ṣaymarī (d. 436/1045). The juriconsult Ḳudūrī, famous for his work on law, known especially by his name, *Mukhtaṣar al-Ḳudūrī*, with numerous commentaries (see a list in *GAL*, I, 183, Suppl. I, 295), was also one of his teachers of *ḥadīth* (see the certificate or *samā'* dated Dhū 'l-Ḳa'da 423 in the Köprülü Library (Istanbul) no. 1584, fol. 41b).

Coming from humble beginnings, Abū 'Abd Allāh experienced material difficulties in pursuing his studies in the great capital. The *madrasas* had not yet begun to flourish in Baghdad, with their endowments for the benefit of students as well as the teaching staff. He had therefore to work, as other needy students did, and pursue his studies at the same time. He took a job as night guard which also allowed him to study by the light of the guard's lamp. He studied hard and learned by heart the current textbooks on law. One night he was surprised by a son of the caliph al-Muqtadir, now an old prince who, admiring his knowledge of the law, invited him to come to his residence on Thursdays and aided him materially.

When the Chief *Kādī* of the caliph al-Ḳā'im died in 447/1055, the year that the Saljuqs defeated the Buwayhids, the caliph consulted with the wealthy Ḥanbalī merchant Abū Maṣṣūr b. Yūsuf [q.v.] regarding his replacement. He wanted someone who was more knowledgeable in the field of law than the deceased. Abū Maṣṣūr suggested al-Dāmaghānī, who was thus qualified, but whose appointment would also please the *wazīr* of the Saljuq Toghril Beg, 'Amīd al-Mulk al-Kundurī [q.v.]. Previously, the post of chief magistrate had been particularly reserved for adherents of the Shāfi'ī law school. Assigning it to a member of the Ḥanafī school, which was also that of the Saljuq Sultan and his *wazīr*, was an act dictated by political expediency, not by al-Dāmaghānī's superior knowledge of the law; for there were other juriconsults of the Shāfi'ī school, from which previous chief magistrates were chosen to serve, who were more highly qualified than he was, namely Abū 'l-Tayyib al-Ṭabarī (d. 450/1058), the great Shāfi'ī juriconsult of the period; al-Māwardī (d. 450/1058), the celebrated author of *al-Aḥkām al-sultāniyya*; Abū Ishāq al-Shīrāzī (d. 476/1083), disciple of Abū 'l-Tayyib al-Ṭabarī, his repetitor (*mu'īd*), and first professor at the Madrasa Nizāmiyya of Baghdad; and Abū Naṣr b. al-Ṣabbāgh (d. 477/1084), disciple of Abū 'l-Tayyib al-Ṭabarī, classmate and later colleague and rival of Abū Ishāq

al-Shīrāzī, and believed by Ibn Khallikān to be even more knowledgeable in Shāfi'ī law than al-Shīrāzī.

After his appointment, the fortunes of al-Dāmaghānī changed. Only three years after his appointment, his residence was rich enough to attract the attention of burglars, and again later, in 493/1100, when his son Abū 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī was the occupant.

Dāmaghānī the Elder was considered in his day as one of the leaders of his legal school, with some reputation in the field of disputation (*munāẓara*). He continued in his post as *Kādī 'l-Ḳudāt* for thirty years, under the caliphs al-Ḳā'im (d. 467/1075) and al-Muqtadī (d. 487/1094). He served as a substitute-*wazīr* under both caliphs, refusing to accept the vizierate itself and not wanting to exceed his position as *Kādī 'l-Ḳudāt* (Ibn al-Djauzī [also *apud* Ibn 'Aqīl], *Muntazam*, ix, 210, 11. 15-16: *fa-abā 'a'addiya rubḥatī 'l-ḳadā'*). This genuine modesty was perhaps due to a gentle personality as well as to his humble beginnings. The period of his life when he lived in poverty, hardly having enough to eat, was also perhaps the cause of his becoming a voracious eater when he could afford to buy all the food he wanted. One anecdote (*Muntazam*, ix, 24, 11. 3 ff.) tells of his finishing off a thirty-pound (*raṭl*) plate of pastry at the end of a copious meal at a banquet given by the caliph's *wazīr* Fakhr al-Dawla b. Djahīr. He died in 478/1085.

Only one work on law has come down to us from al-Dāmaghānī, the *Kitāb Masā'il al-hīṭān wa 'l-turūḥ* (Berlin Ms. 4982). His biographers do not cite any works for him. Among his students was Abū Ṭāhir Ilyās al-Daylamī (d. 461/1069), who was the first professor of law at the great Madrasa of Abū Ḥanīfa founded the same year as the Nizāmiyya of Baghdad (see *GAL*, I, 460, Suppl. I, 637, and bibliography cited; G. Makdisi, *Ibn 'Aqīl*, 171 ff. n. 6, and index, s.v. Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Dāmaghānī).

Here follows a list of his descendants with full names, according to the enumeration in the sketch below, all of whom were known by the *nisba* of al-Dāmaghānī.

2. Abū 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Muḥammad [q.v. below].

3. Abū Dja'far 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad, Muhadhḥib al-Dawla (d. 518/1124); became a *shāhid*-notary under his father (no. 1); appointed as *kādī* of the East Side quarter of Bāb al-Ṭāk in Baghdad, and of the stretch from upper Baghdad to Mawṣil, by his brother (no. 2) when the latter became *Kādī 'l-Ḳudāt* (23 Sha'bān 488/28 August 1095) (*Djauwāhir*, i, 287-8).

4. Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. 'Alī, Tādj al-Ḳudāt (d. 516/1122); became *shāhid*-notary under his father (no. 2), who appointed him as his representative magistrate in Baghdad and elsewhere; when his father died, he was put up as candidate for the post of *Kādī 'l-Ḳudāt* to succeed his father, but was not appointed; was sent as ambassador of the caliph to Transoxania and died during the mission at 38 years of age (*Djauwāhir*, ii, 96).

5. Abū 'l-Ḥusayn Aḥmad b. Alī (d. 540/1145); was appointed *kādī* of the West Side quarter of Karkh in Baghdad, and later of the whole of the West Side quarter of Bāb al-Azādī (*Djauwāhir*, i, 82; al-Tamīmī al-Dārī al-Ḥazzī, *Muntazam*, ix, 117; *al-Ṭabakāt al-samiyya fī tarāḍim al-ḥanafiyya*, i, 473).

6. Abū Naṣr al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī (d. 555/1160); substituted for his brother (no. 5) as *kādī* of the West Side quarter of Karkh (*Djauwāhir*, i, 199-200).

7. Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī (d. 561/



1166) (see *Ḍawāhir*, i, 214-5, where the year of death is given as 461, erroneously, because (a) the day of death is given as Friday 11 Radjab, and 11 Radjab was a Friday for 561, but a Wednesday for 461, and (b) the biographical notice cites him as a brother of "Abū Naṣr al-Ḥasan" (no. 6), who died in 555/1160. One more discrepancy appears at the end of the notice where the author of the *Ḍawāhir* quotes Ibn al-Nadīdjār (d. 643/1245) as citing the father (no. 2) of this Dāmaghānī as his informant regarding the son, which is not possible).

8. Abū Maṣṣūr Ḍja'far b. 'Abd Allāh (d. 568/1172-3); born in 490/1097, he studied *ḥadīth* under the two Ḥanbalīs Abū 'l-Khaṭṭāb al-Kalwadhānī (d. 510/1116), known for both *ḥadīth* and *fikh*, and Yahyā b. Manda (d. 511/1118), the great *ḥadīth*-expert (*Ḍawāhir*, i, 179).

9. Abū Sa'īd al-Ḥasan b. 'Abd Allāh (d. 575/1179); studied *ḥadīth* under the great *ḥadīth*-expert Abū 'l-Kāsim Hibat Allāh b. Muḥammad al-Shaybānī al-Baghdādī (d. 524/1130) (*Ḍawāhir*, i, 196).

10. Abū 'l-Muzaḥḥar al-Ḥusayn b. Aḥmad (d. 579/1183); his brother (no. 12) accepted him as *shāhid*-notary in 552/1157 and appointed him as his representative magistrate in the quarter of the Caliphal Palace on the East Side of Baghdād (*Ḍawāhir*, i, 207-8).

11. Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad (d. 582/1186); his brother (no. 12) accepted him as *shāhid*-notary in 552/1157 and appointed him *kādī* in the West Side quarter of Karkh in Baghdād, then also in Wāsiṭ; he spent a lifetime in his career as *kādī*, in Wāsiṭ and Baghdād, between dismissals and reappointments (*Ḍawāhir*, i, 188-89).

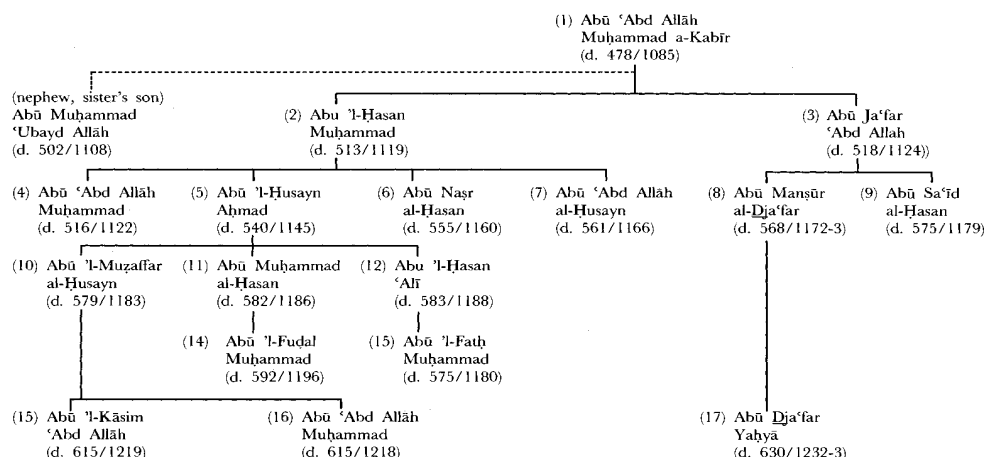
12. Abū 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Aḥmad (d. 583/1188); was appointed *kādī* in the Karkh quarter of Baghdād's West Side in 540/1145 following his father's (no. 5) death. Then when the *kādī* 'l-Kudāt Abū 'l-Kāsim 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn al-Zaynabī died in 543/1149, he was appointed *kādī* 'l-Kudāt in his place, at the age of

thirty, by the caliph al-Muṭtafi. He was confirmed in his appointment under the caliph al-Mustandjīd, who then dismissed him. The caliph al-Mustadīr reappointed him, and, the appointment being confirmed later by the caliph al-Nāṣir, Abū 'l-Ḥasan continued to serve until he died. When he was dismissed by al-Mustandjīd, he kept to his home, where he pursued his study of the religious sciences, considering himself as still the *kādī* 'l-Kudāt, and all the *kādīs* as his authorised representatives, "because a *kādī*, unless guilty of moral depravity, may not be dismissed" (*li-anna 'l-kādīya idhā lam yaḥzar fiskuh, lam yaḥjuz 'azluh, Ḍawāhir*, i, 351, 11. 9-10) (Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa 'l-nihāya fi 'l-tārīkh*, xii, 329; *Ḍawāhir*, i, 350-2; Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nuḍūm al-zāhira*, vi, 104).

13. Abū 'l-Faṭḥ Muḥammad b. 'Alī (d. 575/1180); was accepted as *shāhid*-notary by his father (no. 12) on Monday, 12 Radjab 575/Thursday 13 December 1179), who made him his assistant magistrate in the city of Baghdād; he died at the age of 29, less than three months after his appointment (*Ḍawāhir*, ii, 91).

14. Abū 'l-Faḍl Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan (d. 592/1196); was accepted as *shāhid*-notary by his uncle (no. 12) on 12 Shawwāl 575/Tuesday 11 March 1180), three months after his cousin (no. 13), and was entrusted with the controllership of the caliphal burial grounds in the East Side quarter of al-Ruṣāfa. He died young (*Ḍawāhir*, ii, 40).

15. Abū 'l-Kāsim 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥusayn (died Sunday 30 Dhū 'l-Ḥiḍḡa 615/17 February 1219); was appointed *kādī* in 586/1190, and dismissed in 594/1198; was reappointed as *kādī* 'l-Kudāt in 603/1207, and dismissed once again in 611/1214; was highly esteemed for his knowledge of the law according to the various schools of juridical thought, as well as for belles-lettres (Abū Shāma, *Tarāḍīm riḍāl al-kamayn al-sādis wa 'l-sābi'*, 110-11; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa 'l-nihāya fi 'l-tārīkh*, xiii, 82;





Djāwāhir, i, 273-4; Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nudjūm al-zāhira*, vi, 223).

16. Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. al-Husayn died Wednesday 16 Shā'ban 615/7 November 1218, three and-a-half months before his brother (no. 15); was accepted as *shāhid*-notary by his brother (no. 15) on 20 Shawwāl 603/20 May 1207, who appointed him as his representative magistrate in Baghdād, a post he kept until his brother's dismissal on 12 Radjab 611/17 November 1214 which entailed his own dismissal; he died four years later without reappointment (*Djāwāhir*, ii, 48).

17. Abū Dja'far Yahyā b. Dja'far (d. 630/1232-3); he is known to have learned *ḥadīth* from his father (no. 8) and to have taught the subject, according to al-Mundhirī (Abū Muḥammad 'Abd al-'Azīm b. 'Abd al-Kawī, d. 656/1258), who received authorisation (*idjāza*) by correspondence from Abū Dja'far, on more than one occasion, to teach on his authority, one in particular arriving from Aleppo in Shawwāl 620/October-November 1223). (*Djāwāhir*, ii, 211).

The author of the *Djāwāhir* gives the orthography of the ethnic name al-Dāmaghānī and says that it is the name of *Kādī 'l-Kudāt* Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Dāmaghānī (no. 1) and of a group of his descendants (see *ibid.*, ii, 306). The author cites a nephew (the son of a sister) of Dāmaghānī (of no. 1), 'Ubayd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Talḥa b. al-Husayn, Abū Muḥammad al-Dāmaghānī (d. 502/1108), who was accepted by the uncle as a *shāhid*-notary (*Djāwāhir*, i, 340-1).

Another Dāmaghānī (fl. 494/1102), 'Abd Allāh b. al-Husayn b. 'Abd Allāh, was also accepted as *shāhid*-notary by Abū 'Abd Allāh (no. 1), but his identification as a member of the family is not certain (*Djāwāhir*, i, 274).

There are other persons noted with this name, but with no apparent relationship to this family.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Djawzī, *al-Muntazam*; Abū Shāma al-Makdisī, *Tarāḍūm riḍāl al-karnayn al-sādis wa 'l-sābi'*, Cairo 1366/1947; Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa 'l-nihāya*; 'Abd al-Kādir b. Abī 'l-Wafā' al-Kurashī, *al-Djāwāhir al-muḍiyya fī ṭabaḳāt al-hanaḳfiyya*, Ḥaydarābād 1332/1914; Ibn Taghribirdī, *al-Nudjūm al-zāhira*, Cairo 1383/1963; G. Makdisi, *Ibn 'Aqīl et la résurgence de l'Islam traditionaliste au XI^e siècle*, Damascus 1963, 172-5 and index, s.vv. Abū 'l-Ḥasan al-Dāmaghānī and Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Dāmaghānī; Brockelmann, I, 460, S I, 637.

(G. MAKDISI)

AL-DĀMAGHĀNĪ, ABŪ 'L-ḤASAN 'ALĪ B. MUḤAMMAD B. 'ALĪ B. MUḤAMMAD B. AL-ḤASAN B. 'ABD AL-MALIK B. HAMMŪYA, son of Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad al-Dāmaghānī [q.v.]. He was born in 449/1057, studied law, and was accepted as *shāhid*-notary by his father in 466/1073-4, and was appointed by him *kādī* of the East Side quarter of Bāb al-Tāk in Baghdād and of a part of the countryside, a jurisdiction which was that of his maternal grand-father Abū 'l-Ḥasan Aḥmad al-Simnānī, who had just died in 466/1074 (see *Djāwāhir*, ii, 95-6). In the year of these two appointments, Abū 'l-Ḥasan al-Dāmaghānī was only 16 years of age; such appointments at that age were unheard of.

He held the post of *kādī* first under the two caliphs al-Kā'im and al-Muktadī, until his father died in 478/1085, and was succeeded by the Shāfi'ī jurisconsult Abū Bakr al-Shāmī. Upon the latter's death in 488/1095, Abū 'l-Ḥasan was appointed as *Kādī 'l-Kudāt* and held the post under the caliphs al-Mustazhir and al-Mustarshid until his death in

513/1119. He held also the post of substitute-*wazīr* under these two caliphs, sharing the post with others.

There are some anecdotes regarding Abū 'l-Ḥasan al-Dāmaghānī which shed light on how he was regarded by some of his contemporaries among the jurisconsults. In one of these, he is said to have refused to accept the testimony of a person who came to him at the behest of the caliph al-Mustazhir. When the latter asked for an explanation, he replied that on the Day of the Last Judgment God would hold him responsible for his actions, not the caliph who appointed him. Another anecdote concerns the Shāfi'ī jurisconsult Abū Bakr al-Shāshī (d. 504/1110) who came to Dāmaghānī to pay him a visit. The *Kādī 'l-Kudāt* did not show him respect by rising for him, so Shāshī turned on his heels and left. That was in the 480s. It was not until after the year 500/1106-7 that they came together again on the occasion of a ceremony for mourning over a fellow jurisconsult's death. Shāshī arrived first and took his seat. When the *Kādī 'l-Kudāt* entered, everyone rose except Shāshī, who did not budge. Dāmaghānī wrote to the caliph Mustazhir complaining that Shāshī did not respect the representative of the religious law. The caliph wrote back: "What do you expect me to say to him? He is your senior in age, a more excellent [jurisconsult], and more pious. Had you risen for him, he would have done the same for you". Shāshī also wrote to the caliph complaining of Dāmaghānī's disdainful treatment of men of religious science, and included the following two verses: "A partitioning screen, conceit, and excessive vainglory / and painstaking reaching for the heights / If all this had come as a result of ability / it would be easy to accept, but it comes as a result of coming from behind (meaning that he succeeded his father, riding on his coat tails)". The caliph finally brought the two jurisconsults together and they made up their quarrel. But the anecdote ends on a note which shows that Shāshī had not quite forgiven the magistrate. Dāmaghānī sat with Shāshī, presumably in the presence of other learned men, and began to give a list of the questions of law that his father, Dāmaghānī the Elder [q.v.], had discussed in sessions of disputation, together with the names of his fellow disputants in each case. When Dāmaghānī had mentioned several of these questions, Shāshī made the following remark, laden with subtle sarcasm: "How excellently you have memorised the titles of these disputed questions!"—meaning that Shāshī was good for superficial memorisation, but not good enough for even memorising the disputations themselves, let alone understanding them.

Ibn 'Aqīl [q.v.], who had a great respect for Dāmaghānī the Elder as one of his teachers of disputation, had no respect at all for the son Abū 'l-Ḥasan, to whom he addressed two letters which appear to be open ones written, not in the second, but in the third person (see the French tr. of both letters in Makdisi, *Ibn 'Aqīl*, 467-71). In these, Ibn 'Aqīl compares father and son, laying stress on the inferior qualities of the son. He held against the son the fact that, at one of his sessions as chief magistrate, he cried at the top of his voice that there were no longer any jurisconsults of the rank of *muḍīṭahid* [q.v.]. Ibn 'Aqīl considered this a thoughtless attack against the doctrine of consensus or *idmā'* [q.v.], a doctrine which God had instituted above that of prophecy, since the Prophet of Islam was the seal of the prophets, not to be followed by other prophets. God thus instituted the doctrine of the consensus of His community in the place of the succession of



prophets. He also held against Abu 'l-Ḥasan his neglect of the learned men of Baghdad in favour of those from Khurāsān. He accused him of doing so for the purpose of gaining a broader reputation, presumably because these men would spread his name far and wide on their travels back and forth to their home provinces.

Ibn al-Djawzī (d. 597/1200), who gives a lengthy biography of Abu 'l-Ḥasan and is our source for Ibn 'Aqil's two letters, nevertheless speaks well of him, stating that he was a religious man, with a sense of honour, with generosity and integrity, and that he was knowledgeable in the field of *shurūṭ*, i.e. the writing of formal documents. Among his teachers, the Hanbalī *Kāḍī* Abū Ya'qūb b. al-Farrā' (d. 458/1066), Abū Bakr al-Khaṭīb (d. 463/1071), al-Sarīfīnī (d. 469/1076), and Ibn al-Naḳūr (d. 470/1078) are cited as those who taught him *ḥadīth*, and is said to have related traditions in turn. He studied law under his father and his brother [see under DĀMAGHĀNĪ, ABŪ 'ABD ALLĀH, Nos. 1 and 3].

Abu 'l-Ḥasan died in 513/1119 after having served for close on 30 years as magistrate and chief magistrate. He was buried at his home in the quarter of Nahr al-Qallā'in on the West Side of Baghdad where his father was buried, and the remains of his father were transferred to the shrine of Abū Hanīfa on the East Side. (G. MAKDISI)

DAMASCENING [see MA'DĪN].

DANDĀNKĀN, DANDĀNĀKĀN, a small town in the sand desert between Marw and Sarakhs in mediaeval Khurāsān and 10 *farsakhs* or 40 miles from the former city. The site of the settlement is now in the Turkmenistan SSR, see V.A. Zhukovsky, *Razvalini Starogo Merva*, St. Petersburg 1894, 38. The geographers of the 4th/10th century mention that it was well-fortified and was surrounded by a wall 500 paces in circumference, the baths and a *ribāt* or caravanserai lying outside this wall (Ibn Hawkal², 436-7, 456, tr. Kramers-Wiet, 422, 440; *Hudūd al-'ālam*, tr. Minorsky, 105). When Yāqūt saw it in the early 7th/13th century, it was ruinous and abandoned, with only the *ribāt*, the minaret and the walls outstanding, apparently because of the encroaching sands, though he quotes a work of Sam'ānī's, the *Kutāb al-Tahbīr*, that its ruin dated from a sacking by the Ghuzz in Shawwāl 553/November 1158 (*Buldān*, ed. Beirut, ii, 477). Both Yāqūt and Sam'ānī (*Ansāb*, ed. Hyderabad, v, 381-3) list many scholars who stemmed from Dandānkān.

The place's main claim to historical fame arises from the fact that, outside Dandānkān's walls in the parched and largely waterless desert, there took place one of the decisive battles of eastern Islamic history. In Ramaḍān 431/May 1040 a force of highly-mobile Turkmens under the Saldjūk leaders Toghrīl and Čaghri Beg defeated a more heavily-armed but largely demoralised Ghaznawid army under Sultān Mas'ūd b. Maḥmūd, and this victory gave the Saldjūks control of the former Ghaznawid province of Khurāsān (see B.N. Zakhoder, *Dendanehan*, in *Belleten*, xviii (1954), 581-7, and Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids, their empire in Afghanistan and eastern Iran*, index).

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(C.E. BOSWORTH)

DANIEL [see DĀNIYĀL] DĀR AL-ḤADĪTH.

I. Architecture.

The first *dār al-ḥadīth* [q.v.] founded by Nūr al-Dīn in Damascus served as a prototype for similar

establishments set up in Syria, 'Irāk, Egypt and Palestine during the Zangid, Ayyūbid and Mamlūk periods. Unfortunately, this particular building is now virtually a ruin. The façade is completely disfigured by little shops built on the site of the rooms situated to the north of the courtyard. Of the building as a whole, some traces still exist: the walls of a prayer room with some vestiges of the *mīhrāb* decoration; the façade of this prayer room, made up of three bays; the courtyard on to which it opened; and the basin in its centre. These few remains have nevertheless allowed Jean Sauvaget to reconstruct the plan of the building (*Le Dār al-ḥadīth de Nūr al-dīn*, in *Les monuments ayyoubides de Damas*, i, Paris 1938, 15-25). This plan fitted into a small, almost square rectangle (16.30 × 17.20 m. overall). It comprised a room with a *mīhrāb* ranging all along the south wall, which opened on to a central, square courtyard through a large, high central bay flanked by two other bays of more modest dimensions. Each of these bays was made up of a rectangular opening surmounted by a lintel and a curved, pointed arch. The central arch was supported on two rectangular pillars, whilst the lateral ones were supported on the piers of the doorway. Two rectangular and symmetrical rooms, one of them communicating with the prayer room, opened on to the lateral façades of the courtyard, and each communicated with a little vaulted room making up the east and west angles of the northern façade of the buildings as a whole. The central part of this last was made up of a passage way which led both to the central courtyard and also to two further small, vaulted rooms which themselves led to the courtyard. In the centre of the courtyard was a basin for ablutions.

The arrangement here, simple and functional, allows one to identify exactly the role of each of the various rooms: the prayer room at the end, teaching rooms at the sides, and possibly, the janitor's lodgings in the rooms along the façade.

Sauvaget has emphasised the relationship between the plan above and those of the oldest *madrasas* in Damascus, the difference being essentially in a reduction of the dimensions and the replacement of the *iwān*s—specific features of *madrasas*—by lateral rooms. Even so, the distinction between the two types of building was not always clearly made. To cite only one example, the *Ḍiyā'iyya*, founded in Damascus by *Ḍiyā'* al-Dīn al-Makdisī before 643/1245, is given as a *dār al-ḥadīth* by Ibn Ṭūlūn (*al-Kalā'id al-djauhariyya fī ta'rīkh al-madāris*, Damascus, 1949, 76) and as a *madrasa* by al-Nu'aymī (*al-Dāris fī ta'rīkh al-madāris*, Damascus 1948, i, 80).

The opening of the first *dār al-ḥadīth*, was followed by the founding of numerous similar institutions based on Nūr al-Dīn's building; unfortunately, these have almost all disappeared. Of the 16 establishments listed by al-Nu'aymī, Damascus has now only the remnants of Nūr al-Dīn's *dār al-ḥadīth*; the fine doorway with stalactites of that of Tingiz, built in 739/1338 and whose interior has been completely rebuilt (cf. Sauvaget, *Les monuments historiques de Damas*, Beirut 1932, 69, no. 44); and a few remnants of walls incorporated in shops or houses. As a result, we are forced to go back to the written sources in order to get information about the architecture of the *dār al-ḥadīth*s; but these are very laconic on this particular aspect, and the passages on these institutions concern themselves almost wholly with the lives of the teachers there. Alone of them Ibn Ṭūlūn devotes a few lines to the buildings themselves, and from him we learn that certain of them were mere



II. Historical development [see ii, 125-6].

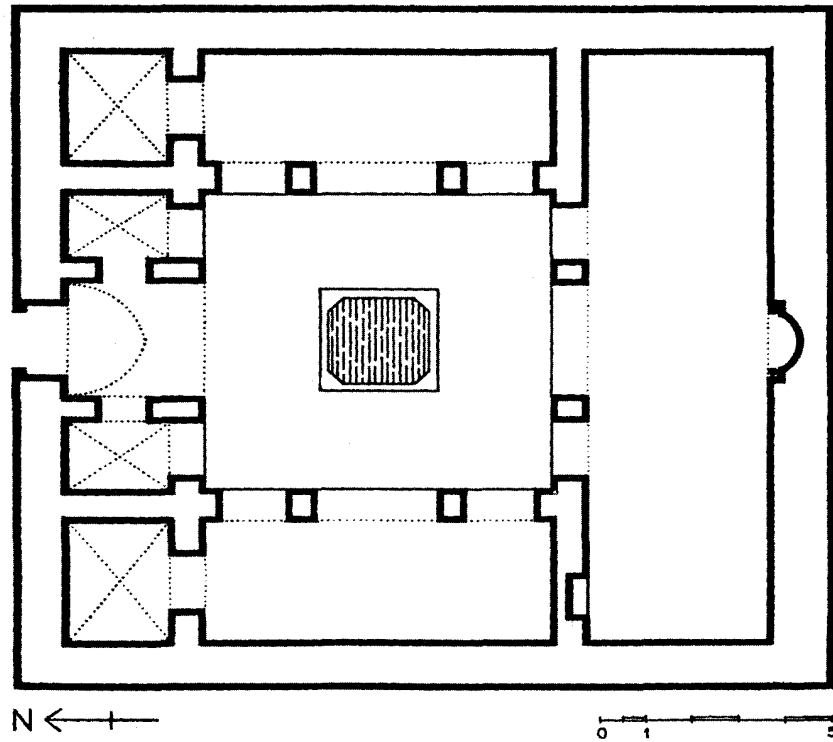


Fig. 1. Plan of Nūr al-Dīn's *dār al-ḥadīth*, after J. Sauvaget.

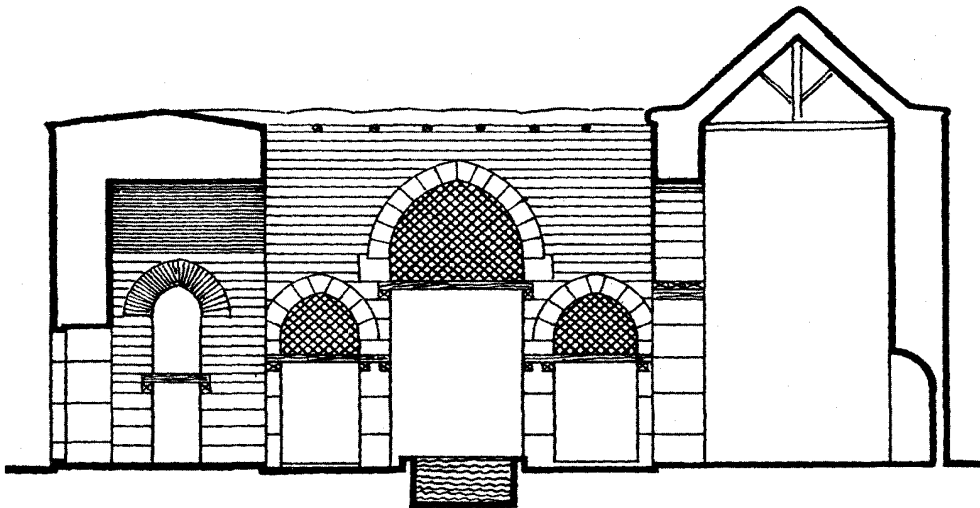


Fig. 2. Elevation of Nūr al-Dīn's *dār al-ḥadīth*, after J. Sauvaget.



rooms within the house of the *shaykh* who was giving out instruction. Thus the *Shakīshakiyya*, founded in Damascus by Ibn Shakīshaka in 656/1258, was only the modest dwelling of this master (cf. al-Nuʿaymī, *Dāris*, i, 81). The *Ḍiyāʿiyya* (see above) had a plan resembling that of the *Nūriyya*, but the rooms meant for students were spread over two floors (Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Kalāʾid*, 83). The *Kalānisiyya*, founded in ca. 729/1328 by the vizier Ibn al-Kalānisi (not to be confused with the historian of the same name), had a very extensive hall, provided with three large windows looking on to the Nahr Yazīd, several doors giving access to it, a paved courtyard and a minaret (Ibn Ṭūlūn, *op. cit.*, 86). The *Nizāmiyya*, founded towards the middle of the 9th/15th century by the *kāḍī* ʿI-kudāt Nizām al-Dīn ʿUmar, showed a structure even more close to that of the *madrasas*. Three *iwāns* opened on to a court in whose centre was an ablutions cistern. The southern *iwān* had a *mihṛāb*, and the eastern side was provided with a *riwāḳ* reserved for women (*ibid.*, 88).

Sometimes the *dār al-ḥadīth* had a *ribāt* or *khānḳāh* [q.v.] annexed to it, or else the founder's own tomb or *turba* might be adjacent to it. This was the case with the *Nāṣiriyya*, founded by al-Malik al-Nāṣir Yūsuf on the southern slopes of Mount Kāsiyūn [q.v.] some time before 659/1261. This imposing architectural complex, built on the banks of the Nahr Yazīd and decked out with yellow and white stones, was topped by a minaret and also included a mill. According to Ibn Ṭūlūn, *op. cit.*, 94, it was one of the finest houses in Damascus; but by his time, it had been entirely destroyed and even its site had vanished.

In Aleppo, there are still some remains of the *dār al-ḥadīth* founded by Ibn Shaddād Yūsuf (the biographer of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn) in 618/1221, as attested by the text of a foundation inscription carved on a stone block inserted in a modern wall of the reconstructed building. According to the summary plan deduced by Herzfeld, there remains a rectangular room 16.50 × 6 m. overall, with a *mihṛāb* and three openings. In the north-eastern corner, an entrance contiguous to the room's north wall and at the beginning of another wall perpendicular to the latter gives on to what was possibly the *dār al-ḥadīth*'s courtyard (Herzfeld, *Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum. Inscriptions et monuments d'Alep*, ii, pl. CXXXVIIa).

The *Kāmilīyya* of Cairo, founded there by al-Malik al-Kāmil Nāṣir al-Dīn in 622/1225 on the model of the *Nūriyya*, is chronologically the second of the *dār al-ḥadīths* (cf. al-Makrīzī, *Khitāt*, ed. Būlāḳ, ii, 375). Some remains of this building still exist, in particular, an *iwān*, whose pointed-arched vault is faced in fired brick and is supported on the walls and on stone piers (photograph by J.C. Garcin, in *Annales Islamologiques*, vii [1967], pl. XII).

These various examples suffice to show how the architecture of the *dār al-ḥadīth* remained dependent on that of the *madrasa*, when indeed it was not included in it. (S. ORY)

II. History [see Vol. II, 125-6].

DĀR ŠĪNĪ, or **DĀRŠĪNĪ** (Persian *dār šīnī* "Chinese wood") is the Chinese cinnamon (*Cinnamomum cassia*), next to the Ceylonese cinnamon (*Cinn. zeylanicum*) the most valuable spice from plants of the cinnamon species, of the family of the Lauraceae, perhaps the oldest spice altogether. The rind of the branch of the cinnamon-tree was used in China as medicine, aromatic substance and spice already in the 3rd millennium B.C., and reached the Near East and the

Mediterranean countries in the 2nd millennium. It cannot be established with certainty with what original plant *dāršīnī* is to be associated, since in the pharmacognostic texts *Cinn. cassia* is also rendered by *salikha*, which allegedly is not identical with *dāršīnī*. The Greeks (Dioscorides) called the class κιν(ν)άμωμον, and the rind of the Chinese κασσία; the Arabs speak accordingly of *kināmūmun* (and variants) and *kāsiyā* (*kassiyā*); in Spanish-Arabic texts it even appears in the Romance form *djinnamū* (*cinamomo*), cf. M. Asin Palacios, *Glosario de voces romances*, Madrid Granada 1943, no. 196. Since Ceylonese cinnamon was exported rather late from the island, hardly before the 14th century A.D., *dāršīnī*, according to its name, can only indicate Chinese cinnamon during the whole previous period.

The older Arab botanists (Abū Ḥanīfa al-Dīnawarī, *The book of plants*, ed. B. Lewin, Wiesbaden 1974, no. 814) did not know what to do with the term *šīnī* and associated it with an unidentified drug *šīnīn* mentioned by al-Aʿshā (*Dīwān*, ed. Geyer, 201). Ishāk b. Sulaymān al-Isrāʾīlī (d. ca. 320/932) was perhaps the first to perceive that cinnamon came indeed from China, see al-Ḥāfiḳī [q.v. below], *al-Adwiyā al-mufrada*, Ms. Rabat, Bibl. Gén. k 155 i, fol. 130a, 11. Like the numerous other Asiatic spices, cinnamon was imported mainly by the sea route, the most important transit-port being ʿAdan (W. Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant au Moyen Age*, Leipzig 1885-6, index s.v. Cannelle).

The Arabs knew a whole range of kinds of *dāršīnī* which cannot be determined more closely: the "real Chinese cinnamon" (*dāršīnī al-šīnī*), an inferior kind (*dār šūs*), the "real cinnamon rind" (*al-kirfa ʿalā ʿI-hakika*), the "clove-rind" (*kirfat al-kurūnful*), the "pungent cinnamon" (*al-hadd al-madhak*), etc. As spice for food, there served not only the tubular rind of the cinnamon-tree, but also its leaves, blossoms and unripe berries. The pleasant scent is caused by the volatile oil extracted from the rind. Taken as a medicine, cinnamon reduces and softens thick substances, strengthens the stomach, liver and spleen and counteracts their sluggishness, quickens the activity of the heart, invigorates the eyesight and is effective against poisonous bites and stings of scorpions. Spread on excrement and urine, it does away with their nasty smell.

Bibliography: Dioscurides, *De materia medica*, ed. M. Wellmann, i, Berlin 1907, 18-20 (= lib. i, 14); *La 'Materia medica' de Dioscorides*, ii (Arabic tr. Iṣṭafan b. Bāsil), ed. C.E. Dubler and E. Terés, Tetuán 1952, 22 f.; *The medical formulary or Aḡrābādīn of al-Kindī*, tr. M. Levey, Madison etc. 1966, 265 f. (no. 96); Bīrūnī, *Saydala*, ed. Ḥakīm Muḥ. Saʿīd, Karachi 1973, Arab. 189 f., Engl. tr. 156; Barhebraeus, *The abridged version of "The Book of simple drugs" of . . . al-Ḥāfiḳī*, ed. M. Meyerhof and G.P. Sobhy, Cairo 1932, no. 232; Suwaydī, *Simāt*, Ms. Paris ar. 3004, fol. 71b; Ibn Bīklārīsh, *Muṣṭafīnī*, Ms. Naples, Bibl. Naz. iii, F. 65, fol. 32b; Ibn al-Djazzār, *ʿIṭimād*, Ms. Ayasofya 3564, fols. 66b-67a; Zahrāwī, *Taṣrīf*, Ms. Beṣir Aḡa 502, fol. 503a-b; Maimonides, *Sharḥ asmāʾ al-ʿuḳkār*, ed. Meyerhof, Cairo 1940, no. 95; Ibn al-Bayṭār, *Djāmīʿ*, Būlāḳ 1291, ii, 83-5, tr. Leclerc, no. 841, with many quotations from sources; Ḡhassānī, *Muṭamad*, ed. M. al-Sakkāʾ, Beirut 1395/1975, 145-7; *Die pharmakolog. Grundsätze des Abu Mansur Muwaffak bin Ali Harawi*, tr. A.Ch. Achundow, Halle 1893, 305; *Tuḥfat al-aḥbāb*, ed. Renaud and Colin, Paris 1934, no. 112; Rāzī, *Hawī*, xx, Ḥaydarābād 1387, 490-6 (no. 345); Ibn Sīnā, *Kānūn* (Būlāḳ), i, 288 f.; Dāwūd



al-Anṭākī, *Tadhkira*, Cairo 1371, i, 149; Ibn ʿAbdūn, *ʿUmdat al-ṭabīb*, Ms. Rabat. Bibl. Gén. 3505 D, fols. 61b-62a; *El Libro Agregà de Serapiom*, ed. G. Ineichen, ii, Venice 1966, 89 f.; F. Moattar, *Ismāʿīl Gorgānī und seine Bedeutung für die iranischen Heilkunde*, Diss. rer. nat. Marburg 1971, no. 64; H.G. Kircher, *Die "ein-fachen Heilmittel" aus dem "Handbuch der Chirurgie" des Ibn al-Quff*, Bonn 1967, no. 99; W. Schmucker, *Die pflanzliche und mineralische Materia medica im Firdaus al-hikma des ʿAlī ibn Sahl Rabban al-Tabarī*, Bonn 1969, no. 292; F.A. Flückiger, *Pharmakognosie des Pflanzenreiches*³, Berlin 1891, 592-8; I. Löw, *Die Flora der Juden*, ii, 1924, 107-13.

(A. DIETRICH)

DARAK (A.), *damān al-darak*, in Islamic law the guarantee against a fault in ownership. As the most important of the various guarantees aimed at protecting the new legal status brought about by the conclusion of a contract of sale, the *damān al-darak* ensures that the seller will make good should the buyer's title be contested by a third party. It is possible, for instance, that prior to the conclusion of the contract and without the knowledge of the two contracting parties, a third party had inherited all or part of the property sold, it had been given in *wakf*, a neighbour had exercised his right of pre-emption, or a creditor had claimed the property in settlement of a debt against the seller. Thus the *darak* rises from a rightful claim of ownership (*istihkāk*) before the contract has come into being, while a claim established after this (because a defect is discovered, or the object sold perishes before delivery, for instance) is not covered by the *darak* guarantee. Further, the seller is liable to the buyer only and not to another person to whom the property may have been transferred.

There is a difference of opinion on how the seller discharges his obligation; return of the price was the norm, but arguments are made for the return of the property itself, or its equivalent, if it is fungible, or its value together with the value of such improvements as had been made by the buyer at the time the claim was raised. The *damān al-darak* is usually confined to contracts for the sale of immovable property, but in the formularies for written contracts we see that the guarantee could be given for movables of value as well, such as slaves, walls (considered movable because they could be dismantled for their materials), and palm trees (sold separately from the land and perhaps uprooted). It is not included in contracts in which the property is delivered at a later date, but rather, a separate witnessed document containing the guarantee is drawn up after delivery takes place. Nor is the guarantee given in conveyances in which the alienor receives no consideration, as in a deed of gift. The importance of this guarantee and the variety of formulas employed to express it reflect the concern of Islamic law for the protection of ownership and bona fide acquisition.

Bibliography: The term *darak* is defined in Lane, iii, 874; Dozy, *Suppl.*, i, 436-7; J. Schacht, *An introduction to Islamic law*, London 1964, 139; al-Sarakhsī, *K. al-Mabsūt fi'l-furūʿ*, Cairo 1324-31/1906-13, xxx, 173-4, 180, 183, 187-8; Discussion of various aspects of the legal status and the formulae is to be found in the *shurūʿ* works, e.g., J.A. Wakin, *The function of documents in Islamic law: the chapters on sale from Ṭahāwī's "Kitāb al-Shurūʿ al-Kabīr"*, New York 1972, index, s.v.; al-Ṣayrafi, *al-Mukātabāt al-badīʿa fīmā yuktab min umūr*

al-Sharīʿa, in al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab fī funūn al-adab*, ix, 12; Marghīnānī, *al-Fatāwā al-ḥāḥiriyya*, MS British Museum, Rieu Suppl. 4305, fol. 19a; *al-Fatāwā al-ʿĀlamgiriyya*, Calcutta 1251, vi, 424-6. Since this guarantee is a prominent feature of the contract, examples of its use in practice are found frequently in the extant deeds of sale. For examples, see A. Grohmann, ed., *Arabic papyri in the Egyptian Library*, i, 146, 162, 169, 175, 182, 187 and *passim*; J. Sourdel-Thomine and D. Sourdel, *Trois actes de vent damascains du début du IV/X siècle*, in *JESHO*, viii (1965), 173; W. Hoenerbach, *Spanisch-islamische Urkunden aus der Zeit der Nasriden und Moriscos*, Berkeley 1965, 11-2, 272; for earlier Near Eastern parallels, see R. Yaron, *On defension clauses of some oriental deeds of sale and lease, from Mesopotamia*, in *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, xv, 15-22. See also **DAMĀN**.

(J.A. WAKIN)

DARB ZUBAYDA, the pilgrim highway running from al-ʿIrāk to the Holy Cities of the Ḥijāz, named after Zubayda bint Djaʿfar [q.v.], the wife of Ḥārūn al-Rashīd.

The main section of the Darb Zubayda, from Kūfa to Mecca, is something over 1,400 km. in length. The branch to Medina leaves the main road at Maʿdīn al-Nakira, which is also the point at which the road from Baṣra joins it. From Maʿdīn al-Nakira to Mecca the distance is about 500 km., and from the same point to Medina it is about 250 km. Between Maʿdīn al-Nakira and Mecca, the section of the road lying between Maʿdīn Banī Sulaym and al-Mislah has an alternative route which runs: Maʿdīn Banī Sulaym-Sufayna-Ḥādha-al-Mislah. This latter route lies across the Ḥarrat Raḥaṭ, and was used for the sake of its superior water resources. For the most part, the preparation of the track of the road consisted in clearing the ground of boulders, rocks, etc., but at least one stretch (near Baṭn al-Agharr) was paved, at the expense of Khālīsa, the lady-in-waiting of the mother of al-Rashīd (al-Harbī, *K. al-Manāsik*, Riyāḍ 1389/1969, 305).

Fayd, the midway station of the road, was the seat of the *amīr al-ḥaḍīdī* and the road superintendent (*ʿāmil al-ṭarīk* or *wālī al-ṭarīk*) [see further, **FAYD**, below] and was provided with fortifications (*ḥuṣūn*) and markets. The main route of the Darb Zubayda had 54 recognised stations (*manāzil*). Stopping places for the evening meal were known as *mudāʿashshā*.

There is no archaeological evidence for the use of the Darb Zubayda route before the Umayyad period, but it must have been in use at least from the time of the foundation of Kūfa in the reign of ʿUmar I.

Al-Harbī (*al-Manāsik*, 309) states that ʿUṭhmān had wells dug at Fayd, and Ṭabarī mentions that among the places at which ʿAlī stopped on his way from Medina to Kūfa in 36/656 were al-Rabadha, Fayd and al-Thaʿlabiyya. Similarly, Ḥusayn b. ʿAlī stopped at *inter alia* al-Ḥāḍjir, Zarūd, Zubāla and al-Akaba. These are all major stations of the Darb Zubayda.

The ʿIrāk-Mecca road was a leading concern of the ʿAbbāsīd caliphs, to the extent that as a well-maintained, reliable highway it may be regarded as an ʿAbbāsīd foundation. Al-Saffāh set up milestones and established fire-beacons (*manār*) along the whole route from Kūfa to Mecca (Ṭabarī, iii, 81; Ibn al-Athīr, Cairo edn., iv, 344), and he also constructed forts (*kuṣūr*) along the northern section from al-Kādisiyya to Zubāla. Al-Manṣūr provided the road with hostels, and under this caliph the first road superintendent was appointed. The names of at

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least 21 of these superintendents have been preserved. Al-Mahdi enlarged the forts, constructed water tanks, sunk wells and renewed the milestones. It was during his reign that Yaḥyā b. Mūsā, the most outstanding of the road superintendents, was appointed (161/777). His incumbency lasted ten years, during which time the pilgrim road was noted for its convenience, comfort and safety (Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāya wa l-nihāya*, Beirut and Riyāḍ 1966, x, 133).

Al-Rāshid constructed cisterns, sunk wells and built forts along the road, but he was outshone in these works by his wife Zubayda, whose contribution is mentioned in laudatory terms by many mediaeval writers. Al-Ḥarbī refers to at least eleven places which were provided with water facilities and rest-houses or fortifications at her instigation, and states that a cistern of a circular type (*birka mudawwara*) was known as a "Zubaydiyya" (*al-Manāsik*, 288). Much of Zubayda's work was devoted to the smaller stations at intermediate points between the larger stopping places, which suggests that her objective was to minister to the needs of poorer pilgrims who had to make their long journey on foot. For the upkeep of the water installations in Mecca she left endowments with a yield of 30,000 *ḍinārs* per annum, and it is probable that she provided funds for the upkeep of the road itself in the same way. It may be noted that the mediaeval writers record the names of many wealthy individuals, both men and women, who made the upkeep of the road the object of their benefactions.

Among the later caliphs, al-Wāthiq, al-Mutawakkil and al-Muḥtadir were particularly active in maintaining and improving the road. Evidence of the contribution of al-Muḥtadir is provided by a Kūfic inscription on stone, dated 304/917-17, which refers to improvements being carried out under the supervision of 'Alī b. 'Isā [q.v.].

From the 3rd/8th century, the security of the road was increasingly disturbed by tribal raids, beginning with that of the Banū Sulaym in 230/844. In 294/906 occurred the first of many attacks on pilgrim traffic by the Ḳarmāṭīs [q.v.], and these were to continue for over thirty years. The last pilgrim caravan organised under an 'Abbāsīd caliph was that of 641/1243, when al-Musta'ṣim's mother performed the pilgrimage, taking with her 120,000 camels (*al-Nahrawālī, K. al-Flām bi-a'lām bayt Allāh al-Ḥarām*, ed. Wüstenfeld, in *Die Chroniken der Stadt Mekka*, iii, Leipzig 1857, 178).

After the fall of Baghdād in 656/1258, pilgrim traffic was often diverted through Damascus, but the Darb Zubayda continued to be used intermittently in later centuries, the frequency of traffic depending largely upon the presence or otherwise of a stable administration in Baghdād. The use of the road in the 19th century is attested by European travellers such as Lady Anne Blunt, Huber and Musil.

The coming of motor transport in the 20th century had led to the final abandonment of the Darb Zubayda, although its cleared track is still everywhere visible, as are many of the waymarks (*a'lām*), which usually consist of cairns of stones of over 2 m. in height. Two undamaged milestones from the 'Abbāsīd period have survived, and are now preserved in the Riyāḍ Museum of Antiquities. One of these uses the system of the post-stage (*barīd* [q.v.]), the other that of miles. Most of the water facilities of the road can still be identified, even though many of these are sanded up; they include square, rectangular and circular tanks, some of which are connected with settling tanks and flood diversion walls. Many of the

wells are still in use by local tribesmen. The foundations of rest-houses and forts may still be seen at many points along the road, and in several cases (e.g. Kaṣr Zubāla, Ḥiṣn Fayḍ and al-'Aḳīḳ) more substantial ruins testify to the high level of workmanship bestowed on the public facilities of the road.

Bibliography: see, in addition to the works mentioned in the text: Ibn Khurradādhbih, 125-8 131-2; Ibn Rusta, 174-80; al-Ya'qubī, *Mushākalāt al-nās li-zamānīhim*, ed. W. Millward, Beirut 1962, 24-6; Ibn Ḍjubayr, *Rihla*, ed. de Goeje, Leiden 1907, 203-13; 'Arīb al-Ḳurṭubī, *Ṣilat Ta'rikh al-Ṭabarī*, Leiden 1897, 54, 59, 123-4, 130-1; Lady Anne Blunt, *A pilgrimage to Nejd*, repr. 1969, 32, 64, 57-8, 70-1, 84; C. Huber, *Voyage dans l'Arabie Centrale, Hamād, Sammar, Qaṣīm, Hedjaz*, in *Bull. Soc. Géographie*, VII^e série (1885) No. 6, 104-48; A. Musil, *Northern Nejd*, New York 1928, 205-36 and *passim*; N. Abbott, *Two Queens of Baghdad*, Chicago 1946, 238-9, 245-6, 250, 258-9; Saad A. al-Rāshid, *A critical study of the Pilgrim Road between Kufa and Mecca (Darb Zubaydah), with the aid of field-work*, Leeds Ph.D. thesis, unpublished (includes plans and illustrations).

(SAAD A. AL-RASHID and M.J.L. YOUNG)

ԶԱՐԻԲԱ (1) — (6): See Vol. II, 142-58.

(7)—Indonesia. The classical Malay chronicles are not very eloquent about matters of taxes and tolls, and the collections of *undang-undang*, or laws, are more concerned with court rituals than with legal or fiscal questions. More materials are available for the tax regulations under the Dutch administration. Thus F. de Haan's eminent work on *Priangan. De Preanger Regentschappen onder het Nederlandsch Bestuur tot 1811*, 4 vols., Batavia-The Hague 1911 ff., contains a lot of valuable information. But with regard to the Islamic kingdoms and sultanates in the archipelago which flourished in the 16th and 17th centuries, similar detailed studies, although probably less voluminous, are still a desideratum. In this article, the official orthography for Malay and Indonesian is used, except in quotations and the more generally known term of *shahbandar* (not: *syahbandar*).

The rise of the Islamic kingdoms and sultanates developed in two different settings: there are (a) the maritime centres, starting with Pasai (1202) and Malakka (1403), later being continued by Aceh (early 16th century), Demak (1478-1546), Banten (1525), Ternate (end of 15th century), Tidore (idem), Makassar (1605), Banjarmasin (begin of 16th century) and Pontianak (1771) which based their economics mainly on sea trade, whereas (b) Mataram (1582) retained an outspoken agrarian character, although, in the course of time, it gained suzerainty over a number of important seaports in Java and some oversea provinces on other islands.

(a) For the maritime sultanates, the backbone of their welfare was the harbour, and its administration had to be handled with special care. The most important functionary in the harbour administration was the *shahbandar*, or harbour master. He was usually appointed by the local ruler or sultan and chosen from among the foreign traders who had settled in the port. No salary was given to him. In big harbours, more than one *shahbandar* were sometimes active. Thus Malakka is reported to have had four of them at the same time during the period of its florescence before the Portuguese conquest (1511). The same holds true for Banda Aceh Darussalam during the reign of Iskandar Muda (1607-36). In such a case, each *shahbandar* was responsible for certain



national groups, including the one from which he originated himself. In Malakka, one *shahbandar* had to take care of the Gujarati traders, another one looked after the other "western" traders from India, Persia, Arabia, Pegu (Burma) and North Sumatra, a third one dealt with those originating "east" of Malakka like Palembang, Java, the Moluccas or the Philippine islands, and the fourth one was responsible for the Chinese.

The *shahbandar* had to supervise the merchandise, take care of its transport and storage, inspect the markets and guarantee the security of the ships and the well-being of their crew, passengers, and tradesmen. When a ship entered the harbour, he had at once to inspect it and estimate the value of the goods. Based on his estimation, tolls were fixed and those objects chosen which had to be presented as gifts to the sultan or ruler and other high officials. The owner of the chosen gift, however, had to give his consent. Otherwise, according to the *Navigation and commercial law of Amanna Gappa* (Codex 130, chapter xxxv, see below), this gift would have a personal character and the captain had to pay for it. The collected tolls had to be handed over by the *shahbandar* to the *tumenggung* who headed the civil administration of the whole city, including the harbour.

The import tax which was demanded in Malakka was not the same for all traders. Those originating "from above the wind", i.e. the West, had to pay 6% of the value of their merchandise. Only food supplies from Siam, Pegu (Burma), the western coast of the Malay peninsula and northern Sumatra were exempted.

Besides this import tax, 1 to 2% of the value had to be presented to the ruler, the *bendahara* (treasurer), and the *tumenggung*. After the *shahbandar* had reached agreement with the captain and the traders, he was to bring his gifts to their destinates. Tomé Pires observed that the Gujarati traders in particular, who were sailing with considerably sized vessels, used another procedure to pay their taxes. They asked a delegation of ten traders to re-estimate the whole merchandise loaded on their boat, take 6% of its total value and present it directly to the *tumenggung*. Thus all duties were paid at once, including the different kinds of gifts for the ruler and his officials. On the other side, the *shahbandar* responsible for the Chinese, Siamese and the people from Liu Kiu, on his turn, sometimes freed his clients from all kinds of taxes, but then he expected an appropriate "gift", choosing himself those goods he thought to be suitable.

If a trader wanted to settle at Malakka, he had to pay 3% as taxes, and in addition to this another 6% as royal taxes. For Malays, however, this latter sum was reduced to 3% only (Tjandrasasmita, 74 ff.).

Other regulations were valid for tradesmen originating from lands "below the wind", i.e. in the East. Formerly, they seem to have been free from any kind of taxes. It was just expected that their gifts to the ruler and high officials should be appropriate and this could mean at least as high as the official taxes and tolls for the traders from the West. Later on, they also had to pay 5% for their goods, except again for food supplies.

In Banda Aceh, the *shahbandars* together with their secretaries (*keureukön*, Malay: *karkun*) and other personnel were responsible to the *Balai Furdah*. This was a special office for levying the harbour dues, linked to the *Bayt al-Māl* (Z. Ahmad, 92), which was headed by the Sri Maharaja Lela and the *penghulu kawal*, or supervisor of the guard. These officials,

too, were not real employees of the sultan, but it was expected that they should gain their living from the gifts the merchants had to deliver.

In relation to sea trade, the following kinds of tolls and taxes (*adat wasé*) were known in Aceh: the *hadia langgar*: a gift for the permission to cast the anchor; the *adat lhök*, for those ships anchoring in the harbour; the *adat memohon kunci*, to "ask for the key", i.e. to get permission for disembarkment after the other taxes have been paid; the *adat mengawal*, a donation for those Acehnese who guarded the ship during its stay in the harbour; the *adat hakk al-kalam*, a kind of registration fee; the *wasé kuala*, demanded by the *shahbandar* for disembarking or loading certain goods, for preserving the water supply for departing ships, and help for those stranded; the *adat cap*, to be paid with goods or in money to get the seal or permission of the sultan for sailing; the *adat kain*, a roll of textiles to be presented by the Indian and European merchants when getting the *adat cap*; the *adat kain yang ke dalam*, i.e. textiles destined for the court; etc. (Tjandrasasmita, 77 ff.; Hoesin, 116 f.).

From the time of Iskandar Muda, every merchant had to pay an additional tax, the *usur* (A. 'ushr), for the sultan. Differences between the taxes to be paid by Muslim and Christian merchants are mentioned but not explained.

Of equally high importance for the income of the ruler and his functionaries was the market. Here, the *hariya* was in charge of securing the payment of a number of duties claimed by the *adat*; the *adat hariya*, a rent to be paid by merchants who kept their goods in a storehouse which had to be prepared by the *hariya*; the *adat kamsen*, to be taken from merchants as an insurance against robbery; the *adat tandi*, a fee for the clerk weighing the goods in the market; and the *adat peukan*, demanded from people going to the market.

All these taxes and tolls mentioned above had to be transferred either by the *shahbandar* or the *hariya* to the *ulëe balang*, or district chief, who at the same time served as the local military commander. He distributed part of this money to some of his civil servants, whilst another part had to be presented annually to the court. Like the *shahbandar*, *hariya*, or other senior officials, the *ulëe balangs* did not receive a salary.

For the people living in the villages, some other kinds of taxes were known. Those farmers who received irrigation waters for their rice fields had to pay the *adat blang*, or *adat buët umong*. Rent rates to be paid by tenants ranged from 50% to 20% of the yields and depended on the situation of the land. If someone had a cause to be settled, he had first to pay the *adat peutoë* which permitted him to bring his cause to the court (*hak ganceng*). The judge (*kali*, *kādī*) and other elders sitting in the court session were entitled to receive the *adat tuha*.

Besides paying their taxes either in kind or money, the villagers had also to give their services voluntarily to the *ulëe balang* or the *keutjihik*, or village chief, e.g. in preparing their rice fields. This had to be done in *gotong royong* (cooperation) by the villagers, without receiving any compensation but being provided with food.

Taxes which were not under the competence of the *ulëe balang* were those levied on forest products (*adat glé*) and the *adat peutuha* for bringing the pepper to the market; trade with pepper was a major concern of the sultan himself.

Complementary to these duties, which were more



or less based on customary law (*adat*), the obligations imposed by the *shari'a* according to the *Shāfi'i madhhab* had also to be fulfilled. Special attention was given to the handing-over of *zakāt*. If someone was reluctant, he had to be admonished either by the *keuhjik* or the *teungku meunasah* who was specifically in charge of supervising those aspects of village life related to the *shari'a*.

In the port of Banten, West-Java, which was, besides Jambi, one of the main trading places for pepper, taxes were usually fixed incidentally, varying from ship to ship. Chinese traders usually had to pay 5% of the value of their goods, but the Dutch ships in particular often were faced with discriminatory high fees, which *inter alia*, stimulated them to strengthen their own new port of Batavia (1619). Besides the import taxes, a fee for anchoring had to be paid. Two-thirds of the whole sum were to be delivered to the sultan, the rest was for the *shahbandar*. Export taxes for local products, including pepper, were lower than those for products of foreign origin.

Since the rise of the first Muslim kingdom in Java with its centre in Demak (1478/1546), the seaport of Japara became the dominant trading centre of the island. It was able to maintain this position under the rule of the first rulers of Mataram, who were usually not too much interested in sea trade, concentrating their main interests in the agrarian interior of Java. Under Sultan Agung (1613-46) and the *susuhunan* Amengku Rat I (1646-77), Japara was for some time the capital of Mataram's East-coast province, headed by the *wedana bupati*, with the title *tumenggung*. The city itself, as well as the other ports, was governed by the *kyai lurah*. It is not clear whether it was to him or to the *wedana bupati* that the *shahbandar* and another official met by a Dutch visitor in 1631, the *petiat-tanda* "who supervised all fiscal offices and dominated all the river mouths", were responsible. At all events, it was in the end the main task of the *wedana bupati* to collect all custom duties from the ports, all taxes from his coastal province and those overseas tributaries (*daerah upeti*) which were directly under the supervision of one of the *bupatis* in his province, e.g. Palembang which was under Demak, Sukadana under Semarang, or Jambi which was directly under Japara. Part of the collected deliveries, especially those from the export trade of rice, which was the monopoly of the *susuhunan* himself and until 1657 was allowed to be traded only in Japara, had to be transferred to the court.

In the later years of Amengku Rat's I reign, and especially after the introduction of his policy of centralisation, the higher provincial functionaries were displaced, and the ports directly ruled by the *shahbandars* as quasi-governors. They were now directly responsible to the court, i.e. to the *wedana gedong* as the royal treasurer and storekeeper and had to spend much of their time there, which made it easier to control them. Simultaneously, Amengku Rat I introduced a new form of taxation, i.e. money taxation, in exchange for the formerly-used system of taxation which was based on natural and craft products. To increase the income of the court, he also farmed out the provincial revenues out to the officials and then demanded a specific annual sum to be delivered. In the course of time, the whole foreign trade, not only the export of rice, became a state monopoly (Schrieke, I, 184 f.).

Since the days of the Hindu empire of Majapahit, the tolls to be paid in the central and east Javanese

ports on the north coast had been very low, and were sometimes completely unknown, as in Gresik before 1612. Only Tuban formed an exception, and this was severely criticised by the Chinese. Moreover, certain nationalities could be exempted from fees, like the Dutch in Japara under Sultan Agung, or the Chinese, the latter certainly profiting from the fact that a number of *shahbandars* in the north Javanese port were of Chinese descent. But again, gifts were expected to be forwarded by them.

Another commercial centre attractive for merchants from the East as well as from the West was Makassar (Ujung Pandang), which since pre-Islamic days was known too for its free and open attitudes towards trade and its small demands of tolls. Although not directly dealing with questions of taxes and tolls, the *Navigation and commercial law of Amanna Gappa*, a Buginese codex compiled around 1676 and edited by Ph.O.L. Tobing in 1962 (1977), gives interesting hints about the financial obligations and rewards of the community living together for some time on the same ship. During the journey, the traders are not considered as passengers, but are divided into three or four classes of crew members with special tasks and duties given to each of them. Those categorised as "regular crew" may leave the vessel only after having bailed the water from the vessel and paid a fee for "descending" from the ship. The "casual crew" members, however, are free to leave the vessel wherever they want, without paying anything. For each class, the volume of merchandise as well as the part of the hold in which to put their goods are fixed. The freight rate is determined by the distance between the home port and the port of destination, for which detailed data are given.

The sum collected with the freight rates determines the income of the owner of the ship and its senior crew, i.e. the captain, the coxswain, and the *jurubatu* who has to take soundings and cast the anchor: if neither the captain nor the other two are friends of the owner of the ship, then the proceeds have to be divided into two equal parts, one for the owner and one for the other three. If one of them is a friend of the owner, then two-thirds are for the owner.

A number of regulations deals with the sharing of profit or loss between the dealer and the owner of the goods. According to the principle of *bagi laba*, profit or loss have to be divided equally between both of them, if, in case of a loss, this is not due to negligence on part of the dealer. Otherwise, he has to compensate for it. Another principle states that the family of the dealer, if the goods get damaged because of his negligence, cannot be claimed to participate in compensating for the loss (ch. vii). The principle of *bagi laba* knows, however, some modifications. When the dealer has not yet returned and the owner has good reason to assume to that his partner is dead, he may claim a certain sum from his partner's family, but not more than half of the original capital. After that, he loses any right on the goods, even if his partner eventually reappears and has been successful. If the dealer in fact has died and suffered a loss by his own fault, then his family has to compensate in full (ch. xii).

Debts, too, demand special regulations. If a debtor has sold his properties but cannot yet repay his debts, he has for some time to serve as a slave with his creditor until his debts are extinguished. After that, no claim may be made, even if the debtor becomes a wealthy man (ch. xiv).

If a passenger-tradesman dies on the way and his



heirs cannot be found, his goods have to be turned over to the captain who may trade with them and enjoy the profits. Returning to the domicile of the deceased, however, his property must be handed over to his family, either in money or in kind (ch. xvi).

All these regulations are very similar to those relating to land tenure in the village (*desa*), and as a matter of fact, during its voyage the vessel is considered as a microcosmos in the same way as is the *desa* ashore, representing the cosmic order which has to be preserved through harmonious relationships among its inhabitants. The "owner" of this microcosmos stays outside of it, but he is represented by his deputy and his deputy's helpers. This deputy does not receive a salary, but has to live, like his helpers, from what he collects as rent, or taxes.

(b) Mataram, as the most powerful Islamic kingdom in Indonesia, did not base its economics on sea trade but on the products of its agrarian interior in Java. It continued the main spiritual and administrative traditions of the last Hindu empire of Majapahit which was destroyed by Demak in 1478. The student of its taxation system has to note with regret, however, that the late B. Schrieke did not live to implement his plan of writing a history of Javanese taxation (Schrieke, i, 26). The data collected and evaluated in such a study would not only have been helpful in obtaining a clearer picture about the fiscal and economic development of the Javanese kingdoms, and especially of Mataram, but might also have provided a well-documented basis for studies on the religious-cultural currents in Javanese society which continually gave rise to millenarian movements among the peasantry, caused by the deteriorating economic situation which again was mainly the result of the burden of taxes levied on the farmers.

Basically, the structure of the village (*desa*) and the kingdom were not much different. The village chief, and similarly the ruler in the greater context, were considered as the representatives of the deity and thus entitled to consider the land of the *desa*, or the main lands of the kingdom, as their own property, which they then rented out to the people. In some village societies, this conviction was modified: not the village chief himself, but the village community, owned the land, and the council of the elders had to decide who of the villagers might farm a certain piece of land. Thus in Kediri, East Java, all the land was named *haqullah*, whereas in Banten and Krawang, West Java, only uncultivated land was considered as *haqullah*, whereas cultivated land became *haquladam* (Kartohadikoesomo, 238). If someone died or moved to another *desa* without leaving an heir behind, his land fell back under the authority of the *desa*. In some places, land was redistributed after a certain time cycle. Someone who wanted to sell "his" land had to notify the village government and pay the *uang paseksen*.

The communal understanding of land ownership is evident in the Law Codex of Majapahit, which was, on the whole, still used in Mataram. Para. 259 states that anyone who had asked for permission to farm a rice field but afterwards leaves it uncultivated, has to restore by other means the value of the rice he might have yielded. In para. 261, anyone who leaves an already cultivated rice field on its own, with the result that the crop get spoiled or is eaten by animals, is categorised as a thief, and that could mean capital punishment (Slametmuljana, 37, 165).

The relationship between the village and the central authority was maintained mainly via the

taxes and labour obligations. As the land was never in fact considered as being the property of the farmer, he had to pay the *upeti*, which means tribute. This tax might rise to 50% of the harvest, but it could always be changed, according to the general situation. Besides this, a capitation tax, housing taxes, dues for different kinds of offences against the laws, etc. were known. Special taxes had to be delivered at occasions like child birth, wedding ceremonies and services for a deceased person. These could sometimes, if they coincided with warfare or other disasters, bring the villagers to the edge of ruin (cf. the report by C. van Maseyck, quoted by Schrieke, ii, 147). The special war tax which Sultan Agung raised mainly among the foreigners during his military operations in East Java (Surabaya) in 1625, is recorded as follows: all married Chinese had to pay 22½ reals, unmarried Chinese 18 reals, married Javanese in the coastal regions who had been his subjects for many years 4½ reals, unmarried and young men 4½ reals, all recently-acquired slaves from Madura and Surabaya ¼ real. This tax was repeated in the following year (Schrieke, ii, 148 f.). At times it was compulsory to purchase some kinds of spices, rattan, and cotton, and above all rice, the trade with which was, as already mentioned, a state monopoly under Amengku Rat. I. A major occasion to deliver the collected taxes at the court was the *'Id al-Fitr*.

Labour obligations due to the ruler included the building of the *kraton* (palace), important streets or other state projects, and, in times of war, help the army mainly as carriers. The village chief and other district potentates, too, were entitled to summon the villagers for forced labour. Thus the principle of *gotong royong*, or cooperativeness, became more and more abused. Eventually, a *desa* could also be exempted from taxes but instead it was charged with the maintenance of a sanctuary.

Another source of income for the district rulers were the toll gates on streets and rivers which, especially since the middle of the 18th century when their number increased enormously, did great damage to inland trade, and therefore time and again contributed to the rise of social unrest.

Upeti, or tribute, had also to be delivered by a vassal or a dependency as a sign of loyalty, or by an ally as reward for any kind of help received before. It could be delivered in kind or money and could also comprise beautiful girls, rare animals or plants. Another way of fulfilling the duties towards the ruler was to send man-power. The annual tribute imposed, e.g., on Palembang in 1668, was one rix-dollar *per capita* (Daghtregister 1668-9, quoted by Schrieke, ii, 227).

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(O. SCHUMANN)

DARYĀ KHĀN NOHĀNĪ, local governor in Bihār under the Dihlī sultans. His original name is not known, Masnad-i 'Alī Daryā Khān being his honorific title. He was the third son of Masnad-i 'Alī Mubārak Khān Nohānī, Sultan Bahlūl's *mukta'* or governor of the province of Karā and Manikpūr. Daryā Khān Nohānī attached himself to Prince Nizām Khān (later Sultan Sikandar Shāh) during the reign of Sultan Bahlūl Lōdī. The first important event of his life was the battle of Ambāla, fought between Prince Nizām Khān and Tatār Khān Yūsuf Khayl, the rebel *mukta'* of the Pandjāb in 890/1485. In 895/1490 he again fought on the side of Sultan Sikandar Shāh against his own father, who had joined the camp of the rival prince, Bārbak Shāh, and in 901/1496, Sikandar Lōdī appointed him as *mukta'* of Bihār in reward for his services.

In Bihār, Daryā Khān found that the Afghāns' capture of the eastern territories was easier than retaining control over them, for the rule of the overthrown Sharḳī dynasty [q.v.] had struck deep roots, and the Muslim 'ulamā', the Hindu *zamindārs* and the common people had been deeply attached to the Sharḳī house for generations. But he gradually succeeded in consolidating Afghān rule there, taking measures to win over local support. He extended generous patronage to the scholars and made generous landgrants to the Šūfis and *Sayyids*; and the old educational institutions were maintained, while tombs and mosques were repaired. Thus the town of Bihār grew into a metropolitan centre under his governorship.

During the reign of Sultan Ibrāhīm Lōdī, certain political events caused an estrangement between him and the sultan, although he had fought against his own son-in-law, Islām Khān Sarwānī, the rebel in Karā in 925/1519. In 930/1524, Nāsir Khān Nohānī, the elder brother of Daryā Khān, rebelled against the sultan in the Ghāzīpur *sarkar*, and his flight to Bihār turned the sultan against Daryā Khān. In an attempt to save himself, Daryā Khān himself rebelled against the sultan and strengthened the defences of Bihār fort; but soon afterwards he died, leaving his son, Bahār Khān, as his successor. His son and grandson ruled over Bihār till the year 936/1530, when Shēr Khān Sūr supplanted the Nohānī rule by his own.

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DASHT-I KĪPČAK, the Kīpčak Steppe, was the Islamic name of the territory called Comania by Christian writers: the great plains of what is now Southern Russia and Western Kazakhstan. Both names were given while this region was still dominated by the Kīpčak or Comans (the Dasht-i Kīpčak is mentioned in the *Dīwān* of Nāsir-i Khusrāw, who died between 465/1072 and 470/1077); they were retained when it passed under the control of the Golden Horde [see BATU'IDS], who subjected and absorbed the Kīpčak whilst adopting their speech in place of their native Mongolian. John de Plano Carpini and William of Rubruck travelled through the Dasht-i Kīpčak during the reign of Batu [q.v.]. Carpini, who traversed it from end to end, supplied for the first time the modern names of the great rivers he crossed: the Don and the Volga. Rubruck, who entered the steppe via the Crimea, described it as a "vast wilderness" extending in places over thirty days in breadth, in which there was "neither forest, nor hill, nor stone, but only the finest pasturage". Ibn Battūta's visit to the region occurred during the reign of Özbek (712-42/1313-41). Like Rubruck he approached it from the south, through the Crimea; from Saray he proceeded in a westerly direction until he reached Byzantine territory. What little we know about social conditions in the Dasht-i Kīpčak is derived almost entirely from Rubruck and Ibn Battūta.

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(J.A. BOYLE)

DATES [see TAMR].

DAVID [see DĀWŪD].

DAWĀT, ink holder, a synonym for *mihbara*, "inkwell". The term is also used for *mīklama*, a place for keeping the *kalam* or pen, and more generally for *kalamdān*, penbox.

Islamic treatises describe the various ways of preparing ink and give different accounts of inkwells, *mihbara* or *dawāt*, that were used in their time. The *dawāt* is, according to al-Kāshandī, "the mother of all writing tools", and "a scribe without an inkpot resembles a man who enters a fight without a weapon". Following traditional religious relationships between the art of writing, meaning the transcribing of the "Word of God", the Qur'ān and the tools used for writing, various Islamic writers prohibit the use of inkwells made of precious metals, and call for the omission of human and animal forms in their decoration. However, the 4th/10th century poet al-Kushādīm already accused the learned men of his time of being proud of their gold-and-silver-decorated inkpots. The religious prohibition of depicting human and animal forms was also disregarded.

The use of glass pots and the preference for the round shape, as suggested by al-Kāshandī, are documented by some 3rd/9th to 4th/10th century inkpots that have been preserved (Baer, *Inkwell*, n. 4; *The arts of Islam*, Hayward Gallery, 1976,



nos. 117-8, with octagonal outer form). A fragmentary cylindrical cast-bronze vessel found at Nishāpūr suggests that this type of inkwell was used in Eastern Iran as early as the Sāmānid period.

In the course of the 6th/12th century, particularly during its second half, cylindrical bronze inkwells were produced in different Iranian workshops. They were of comparatively small size, and each was originally covered with a separate lid with a domed centre. Lid and body were generally provided with small loops or handles for fastening the pot to the hand of the scribe, and they were decorated with traced and inlaid silver and copper ornaments. Several signed inkwells from the mid-6th/12th to the early 7th/13th centuries, including some of Khurāsānian workmanship, have been preserved. On two of them the decoration includes a human figure, presumably the owner of the inkwell, proudly presenting a cylindrical object of the same type as the vessel itself (Toronto, Royal Ontario Museum, ex-Kofler collection, and London, Victoria and Albert Museum). The covers of the Iranian inkwells are surmounted by a lobed dome that rests on a flat cylindrical collar. In the Syrian specimen, a hemispherical dome rests directly on the horizontal rim, and is surmounted by a pear-shaped finial terminating in a round knob. Both traditions blend in an early 7th/13th century inkpot in the Metropolitan Museum of Art (Baer, *Inkwell*). Three West-Iranian, early Safawid inkpots signed by Mirak Husayn Yazdī point to the continuation of this type in the 10th/16th century. Apart from cylindrical caskets with small glass receptacles for ink and other writing implements, penboxes with a separate compartment for the *qalam* were used since early times. The earliest known so far is a bronze *qalamdān* dated 542/1148 in the Hermitage which has the shape of a parallelepiped. It is closed and has two openings on opposite ends, one for the ink and the other for the *qalam*. More common is the open, originally East-Iranian, wedge-shaped type made in two parts, in which the inner, compartmented box could be entirely removed. These penboxes were probably placed in a belt, and were commonly used in the Ottoman empire.

Rectangular open boxes with a hinged or separate cover are apparently based on wooden models. The earliest known metal penboxes from the middle of the 6th/12th century are round-ended, and these continued to be popular after the Mongol conquest; but in Mamlūk and Ottoman times, the rectangular penbox was more common. It was imitated by the Chinese in blue and white porcelain for export to the Near East and by Iznik potters working in the early 10th/16th century. A good example of its kind, decorated with a pseudo-Kufic inscription and floral scrolls in pale blue on white, is kept in the Godman collection in England.

Dawāt and *qalamdān* are depicted in miniatures as early as the late 6th/12th century (*K. al-Diryāk*, Bishr Farēs, *Le livre de la thériaque*, Cairo 1953, Pls. VII-IX). A round-ended penbox is shown in the *Djāmi' al-tawārīkh* copy in the University Library on Edinburgh (*Survey*, Pl. 827 A), while a small inkpot attached to a penbox of the easily portable type is painted by Behzād in a mosque scene of the *Bustān* of Sa'dī in Cairo, dated 893/1488 (*Prop. Kunstgeschichte*, no. 333).

Bibliography: General information based on literary sources can be found in A. Grohmann, *Arabische Paläographie*, i, Vienna 1967, 117-27.

There is no comprehensive study of the *dawāt* in

visual art. For a short survey, see E. Kühnel, *Islamische Schriftkunst*, Berlin-Leipzig 1942, 80-4. One type of inkwell has been studied by E. Baer, *An Islamic inkwell in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, in R. Ettinghausen (ed.), *Islamic art in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, New York 1972, 199-211. The writer is preparing a comprehensive study of the *dawāt* in Islamic art and civilisation. Representations of the different types are included in general books on Islamic and Persian art and in exhibition catalogues: A.U. Pope (ed.), *A survey of Persian art*, London-New York, 1939-64; J. Sourdel-Thomine and B. Spuler (eds.), *Die Kunst des Islam*, Propyläen Kunstgeschichte, Bd. 4, Berlin 1973; *The arts of Islam*, Hayward Gallery, 8 April - 4 July 1976, The Arts Council of Great Britain, 1976; A.S. Melikian-Chirvani, *Le bronze Iranien*, Musée des Arts Decoratifs, Paris 1973. Signed metal inkwells and penboxes are listed in L.A. Mayer, *Islamic metal-workers and their works*, Geneva 1959 (incomplete).

(E. BAER)

DĀWIYYA and ISBITĀRIYYA, the Arabic name for the Knights Templars and the Knights Hospitallers respectively. With the partial and very late exception of the Teutonic Knights (see below), the other military orders established in Syria during the Crusades went unnoticed (or at least unnamed) by Arabic writers. Since it is impossible to give here even a summary history of these extraordinary organisations, which in any case belong more to European than to Islamic civilisation, we shall restrict our consideration to two questions: (1) when and by what channels did the terms *dāwiyya* and *isbitāriyya* enter the Arabic language; and (2) how fully did Muslim historians understand and attempt to describe the orders?

Isbitāriyya and its common variant *isbitār* are simply arabised forms of Latin *hospitālis*, "lodging-place for wayfarers", perhaps influenced by *hospitāliarius*, "hospitaller" in a literal sense. (For the Latin terms, see J. Riley-Smith, *Knights of St. John*, 277 n. 5 *et passim*.) Two other variants, *istibār* and *istibāriyya*, which seem especially characteristic of later writers beginning with Ibn Wāṣil [*q.v.*], plainly represent the assimilation of a foreign word to the Arabic *maṣdar* pattern *ifti'āl*. Though the etymology is clear, we do not however know precisely when the Muslims of Syria first became aware of the Hospitallers as a distinct group in the Frankish army. The first record-mention of them is in Ibn al-Kalānīsī (*Dhayl ta'rīkh Dimashq*, ed. Amedroz, 339), who simply lists them without further explanation as members of a Frankish force overwhelmed near Bāniyās in 552/1157. We must therefore assume that by this date the term *isbitāriyya* was in common use among Syrian Muslims. It had doubtless become current only recently, since the Hospitallers did not play a major military role before 530/1136, when they were assigned the stronghold of Bayt Džibrīn (Bethgibelin) by King Fulk, while the real foundations of their power were laid only in 539/1144 with the cession to them of Ḥiṣn al-Akrād [*q.v.*] (Crac des Chevaliers) by Count Raymond II of Tripoli.

In the passage just mentioned, Ibn al-Kalānīsī also names the Templars as members of the defeated Frankish detachment; as with the Hospitallers, this is the oldest Arabic reference to the Templars, and again the term used for them, *Dāwiyya*, is left unexplained. Hence we must assume that by 552/1157 the Templars also were commonly perceived



Fig. 1. Inkwell with domed cover. Bronze, engraved and decorated with interlacings, the signs of the zodiac and blessings. East Iran, probably late 6th/12th century. Philadelphia Museum of Art, no. 30.1. 45 A & B. Photograph E. Baer.



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Fig. 2 a and b. Cylindrical inkpot with receptacles for ink and writing implements. Bronze, incised and inlaid with silver. Decorated with mounted falconers, and animated scrolls. Probably Iran, 7th/13th century. Berlin, Museum für Islamische Kunst, no. 90.431.

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Fig. 3. Rectangular penbox. Brass, incised and inlaid with silver and copper. Decorated with the signs of the zodiac. 7th/13th century. London, British Museum, given by A.W. Franks, 1884. Photograph courtesy L.A. Mayer Memorial, Jerusalem.

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PLATE XXVII



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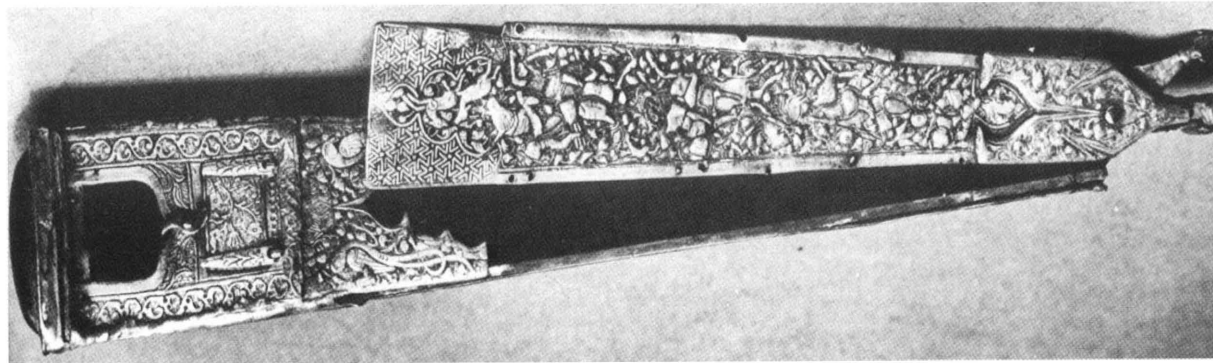


Fig. 4. Wedge-shaped penbox. Brass, incised and inlaid with silver and gold. Perhaps north-west Iran, mid-7th/13th century. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, no. 54.509. Photograph courtesy L.A. Mayer Memorial, Jerusalem.

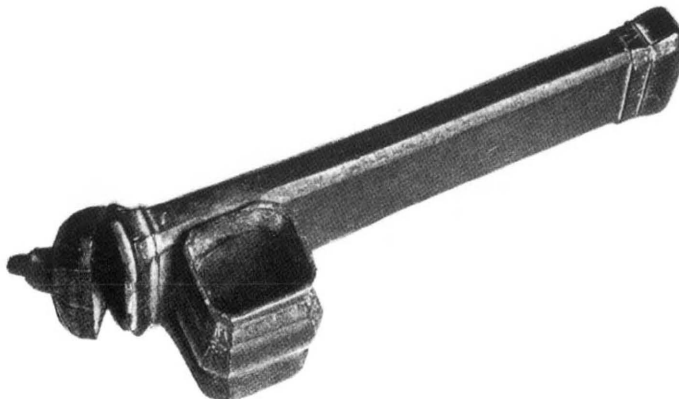


Fig. 5. Penbox. Brass, engraved. Syria, 13th/19th century. Private Collection. Photograph E. Baer.

PLATE XXVIII

DAWĀT



as a familiar and distinct element within the Frankish army. Indeed, Usāma b. Munqidh, writing some three decades after the event, records a visit to the Akṣā Mosque in Jerusalem in the years 532/8-1138-44; it was then partially occupied by the Templars, whom he calls "my friends" (*aṣḍikā'i*). (*K. al-Fihār*, ed. Hitti, Princeton 1930, 134-5). At the time of Usāma's visit, the Templars had been formally recognised as an order of the Church for only ten years or so (at the Council of Troyes, 1128), and their origins went back only to 1119. As in the case of the Hospitallers, therefore, the Muslims of Syria were not slow to become aware of this new element in Frankish society.

On the other hand, the use of the word *Dāwiyya* for the Templars raises real problems. For many reasons, one cannot accept Hitti's suggestion that *dāwiyya* is a "corruption of a Syriac word for 'poor', the original name of the order in Latin being Pauperes Commilitones Christi" (*History of the Arabs*⁸, 644 n. 3). Rather, it seems best to derive the word from Latin *dēvōtus*, Old French *devot*, "one who has vowed himself to God's service". Phonetically, this etymology seems to fit both *dāwiyya* and its variant *daywiyya* reasonably well. Moreover, though it is true that the Templars did not ordinarily call themselves *dēvōti*, this term accurately characterises their status and outlook, and may well have been the way in which they were described to the Muslims by local informants. (Cf. the descriptions of them by William of Tyre, *RHC, hist. occ.*, i, 520; *Chronique de Michel le Syrien*, ed. and tr. J.B. Chabot, Paris 1899-1914, iii, 201-3, 207-8).

As to the understanding of the orders displayed by the Muslim writers of the 6th/12th and 7th/13th centuries, we should not expect any full or accurate descriptions, for this would have required an insight into the corporate nature of Frankish society such as the Muslims did not possess (cf. CRUSADES and IFRANĠ). The Franks are often perceived and characterised as individuals in the Arabic texts, but they are very rarely seen as members of a socio-economic class, nationality, or corporate entity; the observations of Usāma b. Munqidh, Ibn D̲j̲ubayr, and Ibn Wāṣil (*Mufarrid*, iv, 248-51) represent the furthest limit of Muslim knowledge and concern in this period. Nevertheless, it remains curious that the Templars and Hospitallers were perceived early on as a group apart from other Frankish warriors and yet their precise nature was never investigated.

Throughout the Saldjūk and Zangid periods notices on the orders are extremely rare in the Arabic texts; it is only in the time of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn, especially in the years of the reconquest and the Third Crusade (583-8/1187-92), that they become fairly common. This new prominence is certainly due in part to the orders' greatly increased military and political importance during and after the 1170s, but it is equally owed to the writings of 'Imād al-Dīn al-Kātib al-Iṣfahānī, which were the chief source for Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's reign even for his own contemporaries (e.g. Ibn Abī Tayyī, Ibn al-Athīr). 'Imād al-Dīn's *al-Fath al-kusṣī* shows him to be rather well-informed on the orders and suggests some progress in the Muslims' understanding of them; he knows which castles belong to which, he can give an accurate description of their buildings in Acre and Jerusalem, he seems to have some sense of their internal organisation (though he never discusses it explicitly). He respects the military qualities of both orders, but reserves his fiercest invective for the Templars. One of the ugliest pas-

sages in Arabic literature, unique in its gloating and brutality, is surely that which he devotes to Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn's massacre of Templar and Hospitaller prisoners after Hittin. Ibn al-Athīr uses 'Imād al-Dīn's information to make a point of his own—the orders' boldness and fanaticism make them a standing threat to the Muslims, and sound public policy requires their extermination. Indeed, he sharply criticises Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn on those occasions when he decides to release Templar and Hospitaller prisoners instead of summarily executing them. (Ibn al-Athīr [Beirut reprint, 1966], xi, 531, 538, 558; xii, 22-3).

For the Ayyūbid period after Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (589-658/1193-1260), there are only scattered reports on the orders, but the language used suggests a rising level of knowledge and sophistication. In a long report on al-Manṣūr Muḥammad of Ḥamāt's campaign against the Hospitallers in 599/1203 (*Mufarrid*, iii, 141-50), Ibn Wāṣil refers to them for the first time as *bayt al-istibār* (*domus hospitalis*), an expression which is henceforth common for both orders and which seems to imply some sense of their corporate nature. Likewise, for the first time they are called *al-ikḥwa* (*fratres*), a term suggesting a similar conclusion. Finally, all officers of the orders had previous been named simply *mukaddam*, whatever their real rank; now, however, Ibn Wāṣil distinguishes two subordinate officers, *mukaddam al-turkubliyya* (Turcopolier) and *kūmiṣ min al-bahriyya* (perhaps Commander of the Ship; cf. Riley-Smith, *op. cit.*, 329-30). Though Muslim writers never display a systematic knowledge of the orders' internal structure, this passage at least signals increased contact and familiarity. On a different level, there is a remarkable passage in Ibn al-Athīr (xii, 465-6, *anno* 623) which suggests some comprehension of the special tie which bound the Templars and Hospitallers to the Papacy, and which also demonstrates that Muslim authors had access to Christian informants for their information about such things.

The Mamlūk chronicles *per se* seem to add little that is new to the Ayyūbid texts, but they do reproduce a number of treaties between the Mamlūk sultan and various European rulers which reveal a sound assessment of the place of the orders in the Mediterranean balance of power, and whose precise terminology suggests a fairly accurate knowledge of their internal organisation. Thus in a treaty of 686/1287 between al-Manṣūr Ḳalāwūn and the King of Aragon, the orders are identified as potential enemies of Egypt and Aragon equal to the Papacy, to the Genoese and Venetians, and to the Byzantines (Amari, *Biblioteca arabo-sicula*, Leipzig 1857, 345). Again, when Ḳalāwūn dictated the terms of a truce with Acre in 682/1283, he recognised that the royal *bailli* could no longer command the obedience of all the Franks there, and so the chiefs of the orders were included among the signatories to the treaty. Especially striking is the precise and accurate titulature assigned to these men (*ḥadrat al-mukaddam al-djalil ifrayr* [Templars]; *al-mukaddam ifrayr* [Hospitallers]; *al-marḥūn al-aḍjall ifrayr . . . nā'ib mukaddam* [Teutonic Knights]). It is in this document that the Teutonic Knights appear to be identified for the first time as a separate entity, under the name *bayt al-istibār al-ann* (the last word doubtless being an error for *al-almān*) (Maqrīzī, *Sulūk*, i, 985-6, 995). Whatever knowledge of the orders may be ascribed to the historians and chancery of the early Mamlūk period, however, it would develop no further. For with the fall of Acre (690/



1291), the dissolution of the Templars (1307-14), and the transfer of Hospitaller headquarters to Rhodes (1306-10), Syro-Egyptian Muslims no longer had any real reason to take note of the orders. Henceforth, only the Hospitallers of Rhodes were to play any part in Islamic history, sc. that of the Ottomans.

Bibliography: The literature and published documentation on the orders is of course overwhelming, but the bulk of it refers to their European branches rather than to Syria. (This is especially true of the Templars, whose central archives were destroyed when the order was abolished in the years 1307-14.) The best general history of the orders remains H. Prutz, *Die geistlichen Ritterorden*, Berlin 1908; For the Hospitallers in Syria, we have an excellent recent study by J. Riley-Smith, *The Knights of St. John in Jerusalem and Cyprus, c. 1050-1310*, London 1967. For the Hospitallers in Rhodes (1306-1523), the most recent overviews are the chapters by A. Luttrell and E. Rossi in K.M. Setton, ed., *A history of the Crusades*, Madison, Wisc. 1975, iii, 278-339. Due to the lack of archival materials, there is no serious modern work which focuses on the Templars in Syria; however, A.J. Forey, *The Templars in the Corona de Aragón*, London 1973, is a detailed study of their role in Spain during the *reconquista*. The political and diplomatic role of the orders in the East is of course presented in the standard works on the Crusades. Archival materials can be approached through two major collections: *Cartulaire général de l'ordre des Hospitaliers de St-Jean de Jérusalem* (1100-1310), ed. J. Delaville le Roulx, Paris 1894-1906; and *Cartulaire général de l'ordre du Temple*, 1119?-1150, ed. Marquis d'Albon, Paris 1913. An extremely rich source for the Hospital's Rhodian period is the *Catalogue of the records of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem in the Royal Malta Library*, ed. J. Mizzi, V. Borg, A.Z. Gabarretta, Malta 1964. As suggested in the text, the Arabic sources all but ignore the orders during the Saldjūk and Zangid periods. For the Ayyūbid period, the most interesting references are in 'Imād al-Dīn al-Kātib al-Iṣfahānī, *al-Fath al-kusī fi 'l-fath al-Kudsi*, ed. Landberg, Leiden 1888; tr. H. Massé, Paris 1972; Ibn al-Aṭṭār, *Kāmil*; Ibn Wāṣil, *Mufarriḡ al-kurūb*, ed. al-Shayyāl et al., Cairo 1953. In the early Mamlūk period, valuable information is yielded by Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir, *al-Rawḍ al-zāhir* (on Baybars), ed. A.A. Khawaiter (SOAS thesis, 1960); idem, *Tashrif al-ayyām* (on Qalāwūn), ed. M. Kāmil, Cairo 1961; al-'Aynī, *Ikḍ al-djūmān*, fragments publ. in *RHC, Hist. or.*, ii; Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubdat al-fikra*, unpubl. (see Brockelmann, II, 44, S II, 43). In general, Ibn al-Furāt, *T. al-duwal wa'l-mulūk*, vii-viii, ed. Zurayk and 'Izz al-Dīn, Beirut 1936-8, gives the most reliable extracts of unpublished 7th/13th century materials. Makrīzī, *Sulūk*, i, ed. M.M. Ziyāda, Cairo 1934, though late and of little use in itself, is important because of the editor's careful indexes and cross-references. Among Eastern Christian sources, Kinnamos (Greek), Matthew of Edessa (Armenian), Bar Hebraeus and (of highest importance) Michael the Syrian (Syriac) may be mentioned.

(R. STEPHEN HUMPHREYS)

DAWLAT KHĀN LODĪ, 27th ruler of the Dihlī sultanate, was the son of Maḥmūd Khān Lodī and a cousin of Mallū Ikbāl Khān. Native Persian chroniclers say nothing about the early

history of this Afghān nobleman of Dihlī who emerged as a dominant figure during the early years of the 9th/15th century when Tughluḳid authority was on the verge of dissolution. He served Sulṭān Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd II, the last ruler of the dynasty, both as private secretary with the title '*ʿAzīz al-Mamālik*' ("Great one of the State") and as military governor of the Dō'āb. On the death of the Sulṭān in 815/1412, the *amirs* offered the throne of Dihlī to Dawlat Khān Lodī, who thus assumed power, but without the honours of royalty, as incorrectly mentioned by Firishṭa, ii, 292; for the Tughluḳid monarchy after Firūz Shāh's death in 790/1388 had become a moribund institution, as evidenced by Badā'ūnī in his *Muntakhab al-tawārīkh*, i, 266, where he speaks of Sulṭān Maḥmūd's writ as extending only from Dihlī to Palam, a suburb of the capital.

The first act of Dawlat Khān Lodī on becoming ruler was to move out of the capital towards Katahr, where he received the allegiance of Narsingh Ray and other Hindu landlords. But he had to retreat from Kalpi in the face of fierce onslaughts by Ibrāhīm Shāh, the Shārkī ruler of Dīawnpūr [see SHARKIDS]. Dawlat Khān's downfall came at the hands of his arch-rival Khidr Khān of Multān, who taking advantage of the prevailing disorder in and around Dihlī, attacked the capital in 816/1414. Dawlat Khān took refuge in the fortress of Siri, which was invested by Khidr Khān for four months. At last, he capitulated, and was sent prisoner to Hiṣār-Firūzshāh, where he soon died. The Dihlī Sultanate henceforth enjoyed a fresh lease of life for a little more than a century, with Khidr Khān becoming the first ruler of the Sayyid dynasty.

Bibliography: Maḥdī Husayn, *The Tughluq dynasty*, Calcutta 1963; E. Thomas, *The chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi*, 2nd enlarged edition, Delhi 1967; Yahyā al-Sarhindī, *Tārīkh-i Mubārakshāhī*, Calcutta 1931. (ABDUS SUBHAN)

DAWR (A. pl. *ādwar*), "revolution, period"; the periodic movement of the stars, often coupled with *kawr* (pl. *akawār*), "great period" (see *Risāla* no. 35 of the *Rasā'il Ikhwān al-Safā'*, [q.v.]: *Fī'l-ādwar wa 'l-akawār*). In the doctrines of the extreme Shī'ī sects, the period of manifestation or concealment of God or the secret wisdom.

The Ismā'īliyya [q.v.]; According to the earliest Ismā'īlī doctrine, history is composed of seven *adwār* of seven "speaking" (*nāṭīk*) prophets, each of whom reveals a new religious law (*sharī'a*): Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, Jesus, Muḥammad and the Maḥdī or Kā'im. Each *nāṭīk* has his trustee (*waṣī*) who reveals the inner (*bāṭin*) meaning of the respective *sharī'a*. The seventh *nāṭīk*, the Kā'im, will abrogate Muḥammad's *sharī'a* and restore the pure *tawhīd* [q.v.] of the times before Adam's fall. The period between each two *nāṭīks* is called "the little period" (*al-dawr al-saghīr*). The whole cycle from Adam to the Kā'im (*al-dawr al-kabīr*) is also called "period of the concealment" (*dawr al-satr*), because the gnosis (*'ilm*) is concealed by the outward (*zāhir*) law and is only known by the initiates. During the period of concealment, the seven planets rule the world. Before the *dawr al-satr*, there was a period of manifestation or revelation (*dawr al-kashf*) during which the twelve angels of the Zodiac kept the unadulterated pure *tawhīd*; at the end of time, the Kā'im will bring forth a new *dawr al-kashf*. In the literature of the Ṭayyibiyya [q.v.], an eternal alternation of *satr* and *kashf* is supposed.

The Druzes [see DURŪZ]: In the Druze canon,



the periods of reincarnation of the Divine Creator are called *adwār*. The 13th treatise counts 70 *adwār*, each of 70 × 70 × 1000 years.

The Nuṣayrīs [q.v.]: Like the Ismāʿīlīs, the Nuṣayrīs assume a cycle of seven *adwār*, in which the Divine "Sense" (*maʿnā*) incarnated himself in Abel, Seth, Joseph, Joshua, Āṣaf (the vizier of Solomon), Simon Peter and ʿAlī, while his "Name" (*ism*), i.e. his prophet, was incarnated in Adam, Noah, Jacob, Moses, Solomon, Jesus and Muḥammad.

The conception of the seven periods of revelation seems to derive from old Jewish-Christian traditions like those preserved in the Pseudo-Clementine Homilies; it is a well-known topic in the speculations of certain Gnostics and Manichaeans (see T. Andrae, *Die Person Muhammads in Lehre und Glauben seiner Gemeinde*, Stockholm 1918, 322 ff.; H.H. Schaefer, *Die islamische Lehre von vollkommenen Menschen*, in *ZDMG*, lxxix (1925), 213 ff.).

Bibliography: Abū Yaʿkūb al-Sidjīstānī, *Ā. Iḥbāt al-nubuwwāt*, ed. ʿĀ. Tāmīr, 181 ff.; C.F. Seybold, *Die Drusenschrift Kitāb Alnoqat waldawair*, Kirchhain 1902, 84; R. Dussaud, *Histoire et religion des Nuṣayrīs*, Paris 1900, 42 f.; H. Corbin, *Le temps cyclique dans le mazdéisme et dans l'ismaélisme*, in *Eranos Jahrbuch*, xx (1952), 149 ff.).

(H. HALM)

DAYN (A.), like *obligatio* in Latin, means literally "debt", but also expresses the idea of "claim". This predominance of the passive aspect makes it necessary to specify the sense of the relationship; hence when one says *lahu dayn*, this means that an obligation is due to someone, i.e. he is a creditor, whereas with *ʿalayhi dayn*, this means someone has an obligation to fulfil, i.e. he is a debtor. Claim and indebtedness are thus two aspects of the obligation, according to whether the active or the passive side is in mind, and this is why it seems more exact to speak of "obligation" for *dayn*.

The obligation (*dayn*) which is a personal right is opposed to that in an object (*ḥakk fi ʿl-ayn*). The idea of *dayn* rests on that of *dhimma*, a word which has a very wide sphere of applicability: it is the capacity of being subject to the law, in fact the basis of an obligation. Hence patrimony and *dhimma* come together in practice. It is thus easily understandable why the *dayn* is classified by Muslim authors among goods or chattels (see al-Māwardī, *Adab al-kādī*); in effect, it is an incorporeal possession belonging to the creditor and existing in the patrimony or personal estate of the debtor, so that this possession makes necessary an "action" on the debtor's part (see Abū Ḥanīfa's definition of the *dayn*: that it is an action required (*muṭālaba*)). But this connecting obligation, this link, is often thrust into the background, and authors confuse the right and the thing which is the object of the right (cf. the analogy of the distinction of *Schuld* and *Haftung* in German for the obligation, and *dayn* and *muṭālaba* in Arabic). The obligation (*dayn*) must be distinguished from its object (*ʿayn*) or personal action (*dhimma*). The obligation which has as its object a non-fungible, determinate thing (*dayn fi ʿl-ayn*) is different from the obligation which has as its object a personal action (*dayn fi dhimma*). In regard to obligations which have a determinate thing (*ʿayn*) as object, the expression *dhimma* is not used; if the debtor refuses to hand it over, his personal patrimony is not responsible for it.

The sources of obligation (*dayn*). Obligation or *dayn* can arise out of a contract (loan, sale,

surety, transaction or marriage), or out of a tort requiring reparation.

The elements of obligation (*shurūṭ al-dayn*). Obligation necessarily presupposes (a) at least two persons, i.e. a person who is required to perform a certain act, the debtor (*madīn*, *maṭlūb*), and a second person to whom the fulfilment of this performance is due, the claimant (*rabb al-dayn*, *tālīb*). The word *gharīm* indicates the two of them (Latin *reus*). But there can be several principals involved, claimant or debtors, as when there is joint responsibility for the obligation. (b) An object, i.e. the performance which is obligatory and which the other party is legally entitled to exact; a multiplicity of objects is possible (the case of alternative obligation). (c) A cause; Muslim authors often understand by this the origin of the obligation.

The effects of the obligation. This last can be completed or not completed. Where it is completed, see below, there results the extinguishing of the obligation. If it is not completed, the claimant has a right to recover damages because of loss suffered through the non-completion of the obligation. A formal notice is not necessary: *Dies interpellat pro homine*. From the very fact of non-performance, the debtor is presumed to be at fault, and must prove either force-majeure or act of God (*amr al-sultān*, *ḡarāra*, *ʿudhr* or *āfa samāwiyya*).

Modalities of the obligation sc. settlement and stipulations. In principle, only monetary claims can be affected by a settlement. This last is always presumed in the interest of the debtor. The stipulations can be suspensive or resolutive, but there is a reluctance to validate conditional obligations.

Extinguishing of the obligation. The usual method here is through payment, but there are other ways, e.g. dation in payment (*istibdāl*), extinction of the debt through one debtor or creditor succeeding to the estate of another, substitution of a new obligation, compensation, etc.

Modern legal phraseology translates *dayn* by "claim", and to this are added several epithets: an assigned or assignable claim, a certain one, an unsecured, simple one, a commercial one, a contested one, a dubious one, one which is due, a guaranteed one, etc. (see the translations of these terms in the *Dictionnaire des termes juridiques et commerciaux, Français-Arabe*, by Mamdouh Hakkī, s.v. "créance").

Bibliography: Chafik Chehata, *Théorie générale de l'obligation en droit musulman*, i, Cairo 1936; Ibn ʿĀsim al-Mālikī al-Ḡharnāṭī, *al-ʿĀsimiyya*, 117; al-Kayrawānī, *Risāla*, 133, 210, 211, 267; Kāsānī, vii, 174. For modern works in Arabic, see Ṣubḥī Maḥmasānī, *al-Nazariyya al-ʿamma li ʿl-muḡtabāt wa ʿl-ṣukūd*, Beirut 1948. (A.M. DELCAMBRE)

DEBT [see DAYN].

DECLAMATION [see SHIʿR].

DECLENSION [see IʿRĀB].

DECORATION [see FANN].

DEED (juridical) [see ʿAKD].

DEFAULT OF HEIRS [see MİRĀTH].

DEHKHUDĀ, ʿALĪ AKBAR (1297-1375/1879-1955), poet, satirist and lexicographer of modern Iran. During the constitutional revolution (1905-9), he acquired a reputation as poet and satirist. But later, with the rise of Riḍā Shāh Pahlavī [q.v.], he gave up all political activities, devoting himself to literature and philology. Besides the satirical pieces, the so-called *Čarand u parand*, in which his very sarcastic humour secured vast popularity for the journal *Sūr-i Isrāfīl*, his literary



output includes a Persian translation of Montesquieu's *Esprit des Lois* (unpublished), a review of Nāṣir-i Khusraw's *Dīwān* (ed. S.N. Takawī and M. Minūwī, Tehran 1307/1928), a four-volume collection of Persian proverbs and aphorisms, called *Amṭhāl u hikam* (*Madḡmā' al-amṭhāl*, as cited in E.E. Bertels's *Očerki*, is not the correct title of the published volumes), and the extensive lexicon, *Lughat-nāma*, which has had to be published mainly as a posthumous work and is still in progress. While Dehkhudā is generally considered a pioneer in modern, simple prose-writing, his poetical work—except for a few pieces published in popular periodicals—seems rather of a turgid and pedantic character, though often well-spiced with humour.

Bibliography: The *Lughat-nāma-yi Dehkhudā*, of which 203 fascicules in about 22,796 pages, in folio, of 3 columns each, have so far (March 1976) been published, contains an introductory volume (fascicule 40) in which more details on the author's life and work are given, (cf. also *Dīwān-i Dehkhudā*, ed. M. Mu'īn, Tehran 1334/1955; Dehkhudā, *Amṭhāl u hikam*, 4 vols., Tehran 1308-10/1929-30; Y. Āryan-Pūr, *Az šabā tā nīmā*, Tehran 1350/1931, ii, 77-105; Browne, *LHP*, iv, 469-82; idem, *The press and poetry of modern Persia*, Cambridge 1914, index; E.E. Bertels, *Očerki istorii persidskoy literatury* (with penetrating critical remarks), Leningrad 1928, 125-27; P. Avery, *Modern Iran*, London 1965, 129-30; A. Bausani and A. Pagliaro, *Storia della letteratura persiana*, Milan 1960, indices; J. Rypka et alii, *History of Iranian literature*, Dordrecht 1968, index; Gh. Youssofi, in *ZDMG* (1975), 117-32.

(A.H. ZARRINKOOB)

DEMESNE [see DAY'A].

DEMIRDĀSHIYYA, a branch of the *Khal-watiyya* [q.v.] Sūfī order named after Muḥammad Demirdāsh al-Muḥammadī, an Azeri Turk as is suggested by his name. According to 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Sha'rānī, *al-Tabakāt al-kubrā*, Cairo 1954, ii, 147 ff. (cf. Maḥmūd Rabī' and Hasan Kāsim (eds.), Abu 'l-Hasan Nūr al-Dīn al-Sakhāwī, *Tuḥfat al-albāb wa-bughyat al-tullāb fī 'l-khiṭāt wa 'l-mazārāt wa 'l-tarāḡīm wa 'l-bakā' al-mubārakāt*, Cairo 1937, 15 f.), he had belonged to the community of mystics which had gathered around 'Umar al-Rūshānī (d. 892/1486), a protégé of the Aḳ Kōyūnlū [q.v.] ruler Uzun Hasan and a *khalīfa* [q.v.] of the second *pīr* [q.v.] of the order Yahyā al-Shirwānī (d. 869/1464).

The biographies written in the late 19th and early 20th century by Yūsuf b. Ismā'īl al-Nabahānī, *Djāmi' karāmāt al-awliyā*, Cairo 1329, ii, 9 f., and Muḥammad Zāhid al-Kawtharī, *Nabrās al-muḥtadī fī idṭilā' anbā' al-'Arīf bi-Allāh Demirdāsh al-Muḥammadī*, Cairo 1364/1944-5, state that Muḥammad Demirdāsh had originally been a *mamlūk* of the Sultan al-Ashraf Sayf al-Dīn Kāyit Bāy [q.v.] and the *murīd* [q.v.] of Ahmad b. 'Ukba al-Ḥadramī (d. 895/1489-90) before he joined the disciples of al-Rūshānī in Tabrīz, from where he is said to have returned to Egypt towards the end of Kāyit Bāy's reign. This version is in accordance with the contents of the official biographies published on behalf of the *ṭarīqa* [q.v.] at the beginning of the 20th century (appended to Muḥammad Demirdāsh al-Muḥammadī, *Risāla fī ma'rīfat al-ḥakā'ik wa 'l-ma'ānī min kawlīhi "Wa laḳad ātaynāka sab'ā min al-maṭhānī"*, Cairo n.d., 27-34 and 55-63), which are mainly based upon unpublished sections of 'Abd al-Ra'ūf al-Munāwī's *al-Kawākib al-durrīyya fī tarāḡīm al-sāda al-sūfiyya*.

Muḥammad Demirdāsh was an adherent of Ibn al-'Arabī's metaphysics, and he must have been influenced by the teachings of the *Shādhiliyya* order in which he had been initiated by his first spiritual master Aḥmad b. 'Ukba (cf. Demirdāsh, *Risāla fī Ma'rīfat al-ḥakā'ik*, 32 f., 62), as appears in his treatises *al-Kawl al-farīd fī ma'rīfat al-tawḥīd*, Cairo n.d., and in *Risāla fī Ma'rīfat al-ḥakā'ik*, mentioned earlier in the article. The liturgy of the order refers in no way to any special kind of mystical theology, as was noted by E. Bannerth, in *WZKM*, lxii (1969), 20, who described the *ṭarīka's ḥaḍra* [q.v.]—*mahyā* in the terminology of the order—and the ceremonial surrounding the yearly occasion of retreat (*khalwa*) for a period of three days at the end of Sha'bān, as it was practiced in the 1960s (see bibliography). It is not unlikely, however, that the liturgy may have mirrored the influence of Ibn al-'Arabī's thinking upon Muḥammad Demirdāsh at an earlier stage, since we have no evidence of a fixed ritual until about a century after his death in 929/1524, when his great-grandson and *khalīfa* Muḥammad al-Saghīr composed a treatise in *radjāb* metre, entitled *Tuḥfat al-tullāb al-rā'imīn ḥaḍrat al-wahhāb wa-uṣūl al-ṭarīk*, Cairo n.d., which codified the ritual and has been the principal manual of the order ever since.

Among others, this manual gives the rules for the so-called *ḥuwayya*, the most characteristic part of the ritual in which the head of the order, a number of *nukabā'* (sing. *naḳīb* [q.v.]) and some members form a circle turning anti-clockwise (or occasionally two circles, one moving clockwise and the other circle moving anti-clockwise), while calling "*hū, hū*". This part of Demirdāshī ritual has been subject to outside criticism in the past (cf. 'Abd al-Kādir b. Muḥyī al-Dīn al-Arbīlī, *Hudūdāt al-dhākīrīn wa-radd al-munkarīn*, Alexandria 1299/1881-2, 43 ff., and 'Abd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī, *Kutāb al-Ḥakīka wa 'l-madḡāz fī riḥlat al-Sha'm wa-Miṣr wa 'l-Ḥiḍāz*, ms. Berlin 6146, fols. 242a ff.).

From the days of Muḥammad Demirdāsh al-Muḥammadī until the present, ceremonial gatherings have been confined to the only existing *zāwiya* [q.v.] of the order, situated in the present-day 'Abbāsiyya quarter of Cairo. The original establishment and the surrounding land had been donated to Muḥammad Demirdāsh by Sultan Kāyit Bāy (cf. *Risāla fī Ma'rīfat al-ḥakā'ik*, 59). It was visited by Ewliyā Celebi (cf. *Seyāhat-nāme*, Istanbul 1971, xiv, 206) as well as by 'Abd al-Ghanī al-Nābulusī (cf. *Kutāb al-Ḥakīka*, fol. 224) towards the end of the 17th century, which suggests that the establishment must have been of some importance at that time. The *zāwiya* complex with its *khalwa* cells has been described by 'Alī Mubārak, *Khiṭāt*, iv, 112 f., as it was in the 1860s and by E. Bannerth a century later.

The order experienced a severe setback at the end of the 18th century when it was plundered by French troops (cf. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Djābartī, *Adjā'ib al-āthār*, Cairo 1297/1879-80, iii, 95), and continued to rank among the less prominent *ṭarīkas* in Cairo until the 1880s, when it experienced a revival under the leadership of 'Abd al-Raḥmān Muṣṭafā al-Demirdāsh Bāshā, the founder of the Cairene hospital named after him. After his death in 1929, a dispute about the succession occurred, in which the then *muftī* of Egypt 'Abd al-Madḡid Salīm intervened (cf. Maḥmūd Abū Rayya, *al-Sayyid al-Badawī*, Cairo n.d. 182). This dispute ended in the formal investiture of 'Abd al-Raḥīm's six-year old grandson,



equally named 'Abd al-Rahīm, and the appointment of the principal *naḳīb*, Amīn al-Ṣayyād, as his *wakīl* or regent, specifically charged with the task of managing the *ṭarīqa*'s affairs. The latter's son Ḥusayn was head of the order in the 1970s.

Active membership of the order has never spread outside Cairo. This has been the direct consequence of the requirements set upon the potential *murīd*. Anyone desiring membership had to attend the weekly *ḥaḍras* of the order held near the shrine of its founder for a period of at least two years. During this period he had to be under the surveillance of one of the order's *nuḳabā'*, who were always residents of Cairo. The latter had to judge the personality of the candidate, and could propose him for initiation to the head of the order (cf. Zakī Muḥammad Mudjāhid, *al-A'lām al-sharḳiyya*, iii, 110).

Traditionally there were never more than twelve *nuḳabā'* at one time. New *nuḳabā'* were elected by the head of the order in consultation with the *nuḳabā'* already in office (cf. Muḥammad Sulaymān al-Bushārī, *Tuḥfat al-albāb wa-hidāyat al-tullāb fīmā yaḍribu 'alayhim min al-ādāb*, Cairo 1322/1904-5, 81 f.).

The mosque and shrine of Demirdāsh are the scene of an important weekly *ḡyāra*-day (cf. F. De Jong, *Cairene ḡyāra-days. A contribution to the study of saint veneration in Islam*, in *WI*, xvii (1976), 34 ff.), and of *mawlid* celebrations in the second half of Sha'bān (cf. J.W. McPherson, *The Mawlid of Egypt* Cairo 1940, 257 f. and E. Bannerth, in *WZKM*, lxii (1969), 129).

Bibliography: For further detail and additional references, see E. Bannerth, *La Khalwatiyya en Égypte. Quelques aspects de la vie d'une confrérie*, in *MIDEO*, viii (1964-6), 3-7; idem, *Über den Stifter und Sonderbrauch der Demirdāshīyya Sufis in Kairo*, in *WZKM*, lxii (1969), 116-32 (which contains a German translation of the section about *khalwa* in the *ṭarīqa*'s manual *Tuḥfat al-tullāb*); idem, *Islamische Wallfahrtsstätten Kairos*, Cairo 1967, 74 f., and M. Gilsenan, *Saint and Sufi in modern Egypt. An essay in the sociology of religion*, Oxford 1973, *passim*; The section on al-Demirdāshīyya in B.G. Martin, *A short history of the Khalwati order of dervishes*, in N.R. Keddie (ed.), *Scholars, saints and sufis. Muslim religious institutions since 1500*, Berkeley-London 1972, 290-5, is largely based upon Bannerth's work.

The treatises by Muḥammad Demirdāsh al-Muḥammadī and by Muḥammad Demirdāsh al-Ṣaghīr mentioned in the article have been published, together with another treatise by the *ṭarīqa*'s founder, *Kitāb al-Daradja al-'ulyā fī ma'āridī al-awliyā'*, by Muḥammad Nūr Ṣāliḥ al-Sirdjānī under the title *al-Maḍimū'a al-Demirdāshīyya*, Cairo 1348/1929-30; This collection contains also a section with biographical data on a number of *shaykhs* of the order and a biography of 'Abd al-Rahīm Muṣṭafā al-Demirdāsh Bāshā compiled by Muṣṭafā Adham Bek Munīr, 52 ff.

For other biographies of 'Abd al-Rahīm, see Zakī Muḥammad Mudjāhid, *al-A'lām al-sharḳiyya*, Cairo 1955, iii, 109 ff., which gives also additional information about the order's religious practice, and Muḥammad Sulaymān Badawī, *Nabdhā yasīra min ḥayāt ustādhīnā al-fāḍil ... 'Abd al-Rahīm Muṣṭafā al-Demirdāsh Bāshā*, Cairo n.d. Other publications of the order, containing historical data, liturgical texts and rules, are *al-Nafahāt al-kudsiyya fī awrād al-ṭarīqa al-Demirdāshīyya*,

Cairo n.d.; Muḥammad Labīb al-Halabī and Husayn Muḥammad al-Halabī (eds.), *al-Fuyūdāt al-nūrāniyya fī mahyā al-ṭarīqa al-Demirdāshīyya*, Cairo n.d.; and Muḥammad Nūr Ṣāliḥ al-Sirdjānī, *Risālat al-Silsila al-dhahabiyya fī tarāḍīm riḍāl al-sāda al-khalwatiyya al-Demirdāshīyya*, Cairo 1319/1901-2.

On the position of al-Demirdāshīyya in 19th century Egypt, see F. De Jong, *Turuq and turuq-linked institutions in 19th century Egypt* Leiden, 1978, *passim*; Additional data on the history of the order may be found in F. De Jong, *Two anonymous manuscripts relative to the Sūfī orders in Egypt*, in *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, xxxii (1975), 186-90; Enver Behnan Şapolyo, *Mezhepler ve tarikattar tarihî*, Istanbul 1964, 193, is full of conflicting detail. (F. DE JONG)

DEMOGRAPHY. Demographers who study Islamic nations are concerned with population numbers and population change in those nations. Their works have, with a few exceptions, been recently written. This is due to the nature of the study. Though many of the basic principles of demography have been known for centuries demography as a field of study is relatively new. It is also dependent on statistical sources—records of population from censuses, surveys, and registration lists—that did not exist in many Muslim countries until very recent times. Because of this late development, many demographic topics have been little studied and for some Muslim countries no adequate demography has been written.

There are few demographic studies of Muslim population as such, and demographers have most often not been concerned with religion. Thus in the indexes of books of the demography of Islamic countries the words "Islam" or "religion" either do not appear or only a few references are cited. In addition, some countries with significant Muslim populations have become officially indifferent or even hostile to religion. The communist countries of Eastern Europe and Asia do not list any association by religion in their censuses. This makes historical or comparative analysis of Muslim population extremely difficult. Those in the "Muslim" category in the 1897 Russian Imperial census, for example, cannot be traced in the 1926 Soviet census, which only lists ethnic and linguistic groups, not religions.

For countries such as Saudi Arabia, Turkey, or Iran, of course, Total Population and Muslim Population are, in effect, the same. For other countries, however, especially those in South Asia and Africa, differential studies of the Muslim population would be valuable, though they are seldom done. Religion is usually not a consideration. This is especially true of the modern demographic sample surveys, which produce high-quality information on fertility, mortality, and marriages, but which often do not even ask the informants' religion.

For these reasons, much of the demographic material discussed below is not data or analyses of Muslim population, but of the population of Muslim countries. The distinction is real and important.

In historical documents and colonial records, terms such as "census", "survey", and "population estimate" are often used in a confusing manner. It is thus valuable to define exactly what is meant by the words used to describe basic demographic statistics. The following are definitions of the four sources of demographic data as they are usually defined and as the terms are used here:

Estimates. Estimates are not actual counts of the population. They range from wild guesses on



the populations of entire nations to well-reasoned analyses based on incomplete or slightly inaccurate census returns.

Registration. In Muslim lands, registration data have always been kept by governments. Ideally, a population register records a person by age and sex and lists his date of birth and death and, perhaps, events such as marriage and conscription. More usually, births, deaths, and other events are registered separately, total numbers of births, deaths, etc. are published, and no attempt is made to keep a record of each individual. The former is usually called a Population Register, the latter a Register of Vital Events.

Sample surveys. Surveys ask demographic questions of a scientifically selected sample of the population, often 5% to 10%. The surveys take various forms, but are usually intended to find information on demographic variables, particularly fertility, in a detailed manner not possible in a census. Surveys are normally used to supplement information gained through a census. In countries such as those in the Sahel in Africa, though, in which taking censuses long proved impossible, "sample censuses" were taken instead.

Censuses. The census is the basic source of quality demographic data. To be a census, an enumeration must be intended to be an actual count of the members of the population of an area. It must be held in a short period of time. Every census should ask age, sex, and residence of all inhabitants, and questions on marital status, occupation, religion, and others are usually included also. Collections of registration data are not censuses.

Though the census and registration practices of each Muslim country have differed, some phenomena have been universal. In a Muslim nation's early census or registration records, females are undercounted. Children are also undercounted, and a person seldom knows his exact age, so age-specific data is incorrect. As education, economy, and experience with national statistics grows, these problems lessen.

With few exceptions, completeness and reliability of a nation's population statistics improve as time advances. Few Muslim nations have accurate historical statistics. For this reason, in Muslim nations historical demography depends on modern demography. Only by examining modern and accurate demographic data can an historical demographer gain the basic knowledge of fertility and mortality that he needs to evaluate historical records.

What follows are descriptions of the demography of nations with a Muslim majority or a large Muslim minority. They are arranged by geographic region and nation and two sorts of works are considered—government statistics and analytical/descriptive studies. Censuses are listed by year in which they were taken, not by issuing agency or publication year, for reasons of space. The articles and books cited deal with population and demography as a whole, not with specific subjects such as migration or fertility. Those interested in studies of specific demographic topics will find ample resources in the bibliographies of the works discussed below.

I. MEDIAEVAL ISLAM

There is no reliable demography of Medieval Islam. Materials from which demographic calculations could be made, such as tax registers and military payrolls [see *ḌIḤWĀN*] were kept by mediaeval Islamic governments, but have not survived.

Like the mediaeval Europeans, Muslims were

little interested in population numbers for their own sake. Furthermore, the Muslim world felt no need to keep religious statistics, and so it possesses no analogies to the baptismal and marriage records of Western Europe. Though the great geographers and travellers of mediaeval Islam often mentioned the "great size" of cities, the "large number" of people in an area, or gave fanciful estimates of the size of armies, they did not often offer even rough estimates of population numbers. This was reasonable, because there was no way geographers, travellers or others could have known population numbers. No one had counted the population and, as has been proven by the multitudes of erroneous "estimates" of population made in all areas of the world, the only way accurately to know the size of a population is to count it. The enumerations needed for population analysis were not made in the Islamic world, or at least have not been found, prior to the second great period of Islamic expansion, the Turkish empires. In the empires, the keeping of population statistics was the province of the state. Beginning in the late 14th century, the Ottoman government began to keep accurate counts of households in the Empire for taxation purposes. Similar counts were taken by the emperor Akbar in Mughal India, and may have been taken in Safawid Iran.

Non-statistical sources. While demography is essentially a statistical study, non-statistical sources can be used to illuminate areas of population history for which statistics are unavailable. The most obvious area in which this is true is migration. Large-scale migration of Arabs, Mongols, and Turks in Islamic times were recorded by geographers and historians. The populations of cities can be at least roughly estimated through archaeological evidence and through measurements of contemporaries such as Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, who simply measured the size of city walls to gain a picture of the city's size and (by analogy) its comparative population. (Much evidence of this sort is available in *Le Strange, Lands*.) There are numerous quasi-statistical sources for specific demographic events. An example of this type of material is al-Maḳrīzī on the plagues and famines of Egypt, whose material is analysed by Michael Dols (*The Black Death in the Middle East*, Princeton 1977); for a translation of al-Maḳrīzī's work, see G. Wiet, in *JESHO*, v/1 (1962). Such sources give estimates of numbers dying, being born, or leaving a city or an area. It should be stressed that such sources can be used to gain an impression of the scope of demographic events, no more. Their population numbers are usually suspect. Much information may be available from analyses of geographers' accounts of the amenities of towns—baths, mosques, etc.—but this research remains to be done. As to accuracy, the Muslim commentators, who often knew well the areas of which they spoke, are much to be preferred to European sources.

One source of mediaeval Islamic demography is the system of records of Islamic law. The codes of the schools and fragmentary surviving judicial decisions can at least give an impression of what was religiously-accepted in marriage and divorce and in matters that affect fertility, such as lactation, polygamy, and contraception. Basim Musallam has made good use of this type of material in his work on contraception (*Sex and society in Islam. The sanction and medieval techniques of birth control* (diss., Harvard University 1973). Unfortunately, legal codes and court decisions do not necessarily reflect actual practice of the majority of Muslim society, and for



this reason legal matters have limited usefulness as demographic sources.

The fact that demographic evidence on mediaeval Islam is almost non-existent has not meant that estimates have not been made. Josiah Cox Russell has been in the forefront of those using materials such as estimates of city sizes and poll tax revenues to arrive at population totals. (See *Late ancient and medieval population*, Philadelphia 1958; *Late medieval Balkan and Asia Minor population*, in *JESHO*, iii/3 [1960], 265-74; *The population of medieval Egypt*, in *Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt*, v [1966], 69-82; and others.) Russell's work is often based, however, on unverifiable secondary sources, vague estimates of army sizes and taxation by historians who lived centuries after the fact, the calm acceptance of population figures drawn without examination from sources such as *La Grande Encyclopédie* and *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, and incredible logical jumps that conveniently provide estimates when not even poor data is available. Russell does show that estimates are possible from fragmentary evidence, but this evidence must be much more carefully analysed than he and those who have followed him have done.

The use of non-demographic evidence to find population totals seems to work better for urban than rural areas. A good example of this type of analysis, though for a later period than mediaeval Islam, is André Raymond's *Signes urbains et étude de la population des grandes villes arabes à l'époque ottomane*, in *BEO*, xxvii (1974), 183-93. Ch. Pellat has made a demographic study out of unusual material in *Peut-on connaître le taux de natalité au temps du Prophète*, in *JESHO*, xiv/2 (1971) 107-35, which shows that an exceptional amount of information can be drawn from limited data. Also, his *Quelques chiffres sur la vie moyenne d'une catégorie de Musulmans*, in *Mélanges d'Islamologie*, Leiden 1974, 233-46, is a pioneering study in the use of biographical references for extracting demographic information.

(Many works on mediaeval Islamic history have uncritically used population estimates as part of their descriptions. For examples of this, see two studies by Eliyahu Ashtor, *Histoire des prix et des salaires dans l'orient médiéval*, Paris 1960, esp. 237, 238, 272, and 273, and *A social and economic history of the Near East in the Middle Ages*, Berkeley-Los Angeles-London 1976, esp. 290 and 291, see also his *Un mouvement migratoire au haut Moyen Âge: migrations de l'Irak vers les pays méditerranéens*, in *Annales E.S.C.* (1972/1), 185-214.)

II. OTTOMAN EMPIRE

The 16th and 17th century Ottoman population registers (*defters*) were among the first European state records that can be used as population sources. Since the records were not kept primarily as data on population, however, they must undergo considerable manipulation before they can yield total population estimates, and they do not provide information on other demographic variables, such as fertility and mortality.

The study of Ottoman *defters* was effectively begun by Ömer Lütfi Barkan, who analysed the registers for total population, city size, and economic change (see especially, *Essai sur les données statistiques des registres de recensement dans l'empire ottoman aux xv^e et xvi^e siècles*, in *JESHO*, i/1 (1957), 9-36). Many other scholars have used the *defters* found in the Ottoman archives and local collections in former Ottoman possessions, and the registers have

yielded population data on the empire as a whole, on provinces and on cities. Only a few of these studies can be listed here:

General studies. Barkan, *Osmanlı, imparatorluğunda büyük nüfus ve arazi tahrirleri ve hakana mahsus istatistik defterleri*, in *İstanbul Üniversitesi İktisat Fakültesi Mecmuası*, ii (1940), 20-59, 214-57; idem, *Tarihi demografi araştırmaları ve Osmanlı tarihi*, in *Türkiyat Mecmuası*, x (1951), 1-27; idem, *Research on the Ottoman fiscal surveys*, in *Studies in the economic history of the Middle East*, ed. M.A. Cook, London 1970.

Regional studies. Cook, *Population pressure in rural Anatolia, 1450-1600*, London 1972; W.-D. Hütteroth and Kamal Abdulfattah, *Historical geography of Palestine, Transjordan and southern Syria in the late 16th century*, Erlangen 1977; A. Cohen and B. Lewis, *Population and revenue in the towns of Palestine in the sixteenth century*, Princeton 1978; B. McGowan, *Defter-i Mufasssal-i Liva-i Sirem: an Ottoman revenue survey dating from the reign of Selim II*, diss., Columbia University 1967; Halil İnalcık, *ET² art. ARNAWUTLUK*; Leila Erder and Suraiya Faroghi, *Population rise and fall in Anatolia*, in *Middle Eastern Studies*, xv/3 (1979), 322-45.

Urban studies. H. Lowry, *The Ottoman tahrir defters as a source for urban demographic history: the case study of Trabzon (ca. 1486-1583)*, diss., UCLA 1977; İnalcık, *ET² art. İSTANBUL*. R. Jennings, *Urban population in Anatolia in the sixteenth century, a study of Kayseri, Karaman, Amasya, Trabzon, and Erzurum*, in *IJMES*, vii/1 (1976), 21-57.

The *defters* themselves are described and discussed in *DEFTER-İ KHAKKANI*. Facsimiles and translations of *defters* are given by Cohen and Lewis, Cook, and İnalcık, *Hicri 835 tarihli suret-i defter-i sancak-i Amavud*, Ankara 1954.

Ottoman *defters* were primarily kept as financial and military records and it would be a mistake to consider them to be highly reliable demographic sources. Certain groups were not counted (Barkan, *Essai*, 20-1), certain ones undercounted (C. Issawi, *Comment on Professor Barkan's estimate of the population of the Ottoman Empire in 1520-30*, in *JESHO*, i/3 [October 1958], 329-33). The registers were usually household counts, and comparisons between household numbers in two time periods may be confused because of changing household sizes. Nevertheless, the Ottoman *defters* are an incomparable source for the historical demography of the Middle East, especially when they are used as part of a detailed investigation of local, as opposed to empire-wide, population, society and economy.

After ca. 1700 the *defter* records cease, this being probably a sign of diminished central authority in the Empire.

In the reign of Sultan Mahmüd II, the Ottoman empire once again began to collect population statistics. Unlike the 16th and 17th century *defters*, the new registration was the base of a system of military conscription. Each male in the empire was to be recorded in population registers (*tahrir-i nüfus*), at first by general age group ("youth" and "adult" or "youth", "adult", and "aged"-categories corresponding to one's availability for military service). By the 1840s, though, the registers were being kept, at least in some areas, in much greater detail; each male was recorded by age, household, and his relationship to the head of the household. The *tahrirs* were periodically updated through "events" (*wukû'ât*) registers in which were recorded births, deaths, conscriptions, and migration. During the reign of 'Abd al-Hamîd II,



registrations of females were kept, as well as those of males, but female registration was only successful in northern and western Anatolia and in the European sections of the empire (see Enver Ziya Kural, *Osmanlı imparatorluğunda ilk nüfus sayımı*, Ankara 1940; Fazıla İkbal, *1831 tarihinde Osmanlı imparatorluğunda idari taksimat ve nüfus*, in *Belleten*, xv, no. 60, 617-28; and J. McCarthy, *Age, family and migration in nineteenth-century Black Sea provinces of the Ottoman Empire*, in *IJMES*, x [1979], 309-23).

The totals collected from the Ottoman registration system in provinces were published at intervals in the provincial yearbooks (*sāl-nāmes*), listing population by province, sub-province, and district, and often by religious group and sex. At various times the central government updated the data across the empire and published the data in what have been erroneously been called "censuses". Three of the "censuses" have been translated and reproduced (Kural; Kemal Karpas, *Ottoman population records and the census of 1881/82-1893*, in *IJMES*, ix [1978], 237-74; McCarthy, *International historical statistics: the late Ottoman empire*, Boston 1981). It should be noted that the Ottoman population totals by province uniformly underestimate the number of women and children in the province, and thus totals must be augmented by from 10% to 30%, depending on the province.

The uses of Ottoman figures for the study of the historical population of the Middle East are obvious. Simply stated, no one but the Ottoman government counted the population and no one but the Ottoman government even remotely knew what the population was. Data on total population from *sāl-nāmes* and "censuses" is increasingly being used in population studies. It is, however, the archival records of population that hold the greatest promise. When these records are available and utilised, accurate studies on fertility, mortality, and population change in the Ottoman Empire will be possible.

The 19th century Ottoman registration system has been described by Karpas (*Ottoman population*) and S. J. Shaw (*The Ottoman census system and population, 1831-1914*, in *IJMES*, ix/3 [1978], 325-37). For examples of the uses of *sāl-nāme* and "census" population records, see Vedat Eldem, *Osmanlı imparatorluğunun iktisadi şartları hakkında bir tetkik*, Ankara 1970; Leila Erder, *From trade to manufacture in Bursa*, diss., Princeton University 1976; and McCarthy, *The Muslim population of Anatolia, 1878-1927*, diss., UCLA, 1978.

Contemporary European sources on Middle Eastern population in Ottoman times will only be mentioned briefly here. Those that were accurate were drawn from Ottoman data, and thus are only valuable if they provide population statistics of areas for which the original Ottoman data is unavailable. The most valuable of the European sources are the books of Cuinet (*La Turquie d'Asie*, 4 vols., Paris 1890-4; *Syrie, Liban, et Palestine*, Paris 1896). Cuinet collected, amended, and published Ottoman population statistics, as well as data on the social and economic life of Ottoman Asia. No other European source can in any way compare with Cuinet. (Those interested in European sources should consult N. Michoff, *La population de la Turquie et de la Bulgarie au XVIII^e et XIX^e siècles, recherches bibliographico-statistiques*, 4 vols., Sofia 1919-35, and the various volumes of *Die Bevölkerung der Erde*, a supplement of *Petermanns Mitteilungen*, Gotha, especially vol. xi, 1901, 3-23.)

Nineteenth and early 20th century Ottoman geo-

graphers were not greatly superior to the Europeans. Though they often used data from Ottoman government records, the geographers had little appreciation of the proper use of population statistics. The one exception is the *Kāmūs al-ʿlām* of Shams al-Dīn Sāmī Frāsheri (6 vols., Istanbul 1889-99), which is demographically superior to the others.

III. MIDDLE EAST

Demography is dependent on government statistics, which are produced by individual political units. Perhaps for that reason, there have been few works on Middle Eastern demography that cross national boundaries in their analysis and even fewer that treat the Middle East, or even the Arab world, as a unit. Volumes on Middle Eastern demography (such as J.I. Clarke and W.B. Fisher, *Populations of the Middle East and North Africa* New York 1972) are usually collections of chapters or articles that study each country individually. This is unfortunate, since many phenomena such as nomadism, polygamy, folk beliefs on contraception, and fertility levels would be best studied for the Middle East in general, as well as for individual areas. (Two examples of the broader approach illustrate its benefits: *Muslim attitudes toward family planning*, ed. Olivia Schieffelin, New York 1967; Oladele Olawoyi Arowolo, *Correlates of fertility in Muslim populations*, dissertation, University of Pennsylvania 1973.)

Some studies of the population of the Arab World have been made, though these are usually divided internally by national boundaries. Of them, studies by G. Baer, *Population and society in the Arab East*, Westport, Conn. 1964, and M.A. el-Badry, *Trends in the components of population growth in the Arab countries of the Middle East*, in *Demography*, ii (1965), 140-86, are valuable, but now out of date. A more recent article by Youssef Courbage and Philippe Fargues is an introduction to the demography of the Arab states, *La population des pays arabes d'Orient*, in *Population*, xxx, no. 6 (Nov.-Dec. 1975), 1111-41. K.C. Zachariah has compared the accuracy and availability of data from the Arab states, *The demographic measures of Arab countries. A comparative analysis*, in Cairo Demographic Centre, *Demographic measures and population growth in Arab countries*, Cairo 1970, 279-326. (See also the international analysis of demographic problems in Part I of *Demographic aspects of socio-economic development in some Arab and African countries*, ed. S.A. Huzayyin and T.E. Smith, Cairo 1974, and G. Sabagh, *The demography of the Middle East*, in *MESA Bulletin*, iv/2 [15 May 1970], 1-19.)

Population studies for Middle Eastern nations are published in the international sources listed below and, for 1968 and 1973, in the *Population bulletin* of the United Nations Economic Commission for Western Asia, nos. 10 and 11 (January to July 1976, Beirut 13-26).

Greater Syria. Issawi has collected European statements on the population of Greater Syria in the 19th century (*The economic history of the Middle East, 1800-1914*, Chicago 1966, 209-10), the best of which were based on Ottoman figures. For the period prior to 1918, the best sources on Syrian population are the state records of Ottoman Syria. Of these, the printed population records of Ottoman Greater Syria have been analysed by J. McCarthy (*Population of the Ottoman Fertile Crescent*, in *Proc. of the Congress on the Economic History of the Middle East, 1800-1914*, Haifa 1980). After 1918, Greater Syria was divided into Syria, Lebanon, and Palestine, and



the statistical histories of the three new nations diverged.

In Syria, the French mandatory powers made a population count in 1922, which they updated and published in 1926. This count cannot be called a census, since much of it was based not on actual enumeration, but on population totals given by village leaders. Its totals are too low, as were those of the first census of independent Syria in 1947, which did not count nomads. Modern censuses were taken in 1960 and 1970. (The Syrian government printed, in addition to the results of the census of 1970 itself, volumes of analysis of the census results by K.E. Vaidyanathan.) For an analysis of modern Syrian population and demographic variables, see Mouna Liliane Samman, *La population de la Syrie, étude géo-démographique*, Paris 1978; Samman makes extensive use of Izzat Nouss, *La population de la Syrie, étude démographique*, Paris 1951.

The population of Lebanon in the 19th century has been analysed by Youssef Courbage and Ph. Fargues, *La situation démographique au Liban*, Beirut 1974, ii, ch. I. European estimates are detailed in D. Chevallier, *La société du Mont-Liban à l'époque de la révolution industrielle en Europe*, Paris 1971. Both studies are marred by their lack of consideration of Ottoman statistics, except insofar as those statistics appeared in French works such as Cuinet's *Syrie, Liban, et Palestine*. The bulk of the Courbage and Fargues' work is, however, a good study of modern Lebanese population. The French mandatory administration attempted to enumerate the population of Lebanon in 1921, 1932 and 1941. Even the best of these counts, that of 1932, was deficient and undercounted the Muslim population. For political reasons, no modern census has been taken, and only limited evidence exists on demographic variables such as fertility and mortality (see D. Yaukey, *Fertility differences in a modernizing country*, Princeton 1961). What data exist come from demographic surveys, which are described in *Available demographic data in the Lebanese Republic*, in *Population Bulletin of the United Nations Economic Commission for Western Asia*, nos. 10-11 (Jan.-July 1976), 240-3. J. Chamie, *Religion and population dynamics in Lebanon*, Ann Arbor, Mich. 1977, has described the unusual religious-demographic situation in Lebanon.

In Palestine, the British took an incomplete census in 1922 and a more complete count in 1931. They also recorded migration, an important phenomenon in Palestine, but probably missed much Muslim population movement, especially that of Bedouin. Since the 1948 War and the division of Palestine, Israel has taken censuses in 1961 and 1972, begun a registration system in 1948 (often listed as "the Census of 1948"), and held numerous sample surveys of the population. Jordan has taken censuses in 1952, 1961, 1971, and 1979 and a fertility survey in 1976. The results of the 1952 Jordanian census are very deficient, and those that came from the 1948 Israeli registration count somewhat deficient.

Estimates and census data for Palestine have been presented in great detail by R. Bachi, *The population of Israel*, Jerusalem 1976. Bachi's volume, which is an extremely valuable source, must be used with care for the period 1880-1922. For that period, he avoids using actual Ottoman population statistics and substitutes British and other estimates without justification. Certain other events with large demographic implications, such as the 1948 and 1967 Wars, are also incompletely and, as regards demography,

inaccurately covered. The book is very good, however, on the analysis of Israeli statistics. See also, D. Friedlander and C. Goldscheider, *The population of Israel*, New York 1979, and various analytical volumes published by the Israeli government as part of its census publications.

A. Thavarajah, *Mid-decade demographic parameters of Jordan and population growth*, in *Demographic measures*, 55-75, has adjusted reports on population found in Jordanian censuses and registration records. He provides a good brief introduction to the problems of Jordanian data collection from 1952 to 1965. A much more detailed analysis comes in the Jordanian government's *Analysis of the population statistics of Jordan*, Amman 1966, which describes in detail the country's vital registration system, as well as its censuses, and the accuracy of both.

ʿIrāk. M.S. Hasan wrote the first study of the population of ʿIrāk in the 19th century, *Growth and structure of Iraq's population, 1867-1947*, in *Bulletin of the Oxford University Institute of Statistics*, xx (1958), 339-52. Hasan, however, accepted as accurate and reliable three types of data—Ottoman statistics as presented by Cuinet, European estimates, and the ʿIrākī census of 1947—and none of these can be considered accurate without extensive revision. Three Ottoman provinces made up the area of present-day ʿIrāk—Mawṣil, Baghdād, and Baṣra. Only in Baghdād were Ottoman population statistics fairly accurate, and even in Baghdād there was a significant undercount of women and children, an undercount reflected in Cuinet. European sources had no idea what the population was. Even the 1947 ʿIrākī census was an undercount. As a result, Hasan's figures must be rejected. The best source of total population numbers for Ottoman ʿIrāk is the series of estimates published by the Ottoman government in the *sāl-nāmes* of the ʿIrākī provinces (McCarthy, *Population of the Ottoman Fertile Crescent*).

The ʿIrākī government took censuses in 1927, 1934 and 1947. While the completeness of the censuses improved over time, each one produced an undercount. This was in part due to the use of census records as conscription records. K.C. Zachariah has found numerous errors in the early censuses, *Use of census data for estimating demographic measures of Iraq*, in *Demographic measures*, 27-54. The censuses taken in 1957, 1975, and 1977 are more reliable. See also Faḍīl al-Anṣārī, *Sukūk al-ʿIrāk*, Damascus 1970.

Arabian Peninsula. The best sources on the population of early 20th century Arabia are three geographic works: Shams al-Dīn Sāmī Fraṣherī, *op. cit.*; ʿAlī Dījwād, *Memālik-i ʿOṭhmāniyyenüñ dīğlgrāfyā lughātī*, Istanbul 1895; and J.G. Lorimer, *Gazeteer of the Persian Gulf*, Calcutta 1908-1915. The first two offer estimates based on the reports of Ottoman government officials, the third offers the estimates of British consular and intelligence officers, travellers, and merchants. None of the three is useful for anything but rough approximations of population numbers.

In 1947, Nello Lambardi published what he stated were population figures taken from Yemeni government records, *Divisioni amministrative del Yemen con notizie economiche e demografiche*, in *OM*, xxvii/7-9 (July-Sept. 1947), 143-62. The statistics appear to have been part of a tax register of men and animals. Women and children were surely undercounted, but no figures by age and sex were kept, so the extent of the undercount cannot be determined. The Yemeni data are the only data for South Arabia before the



1970s. The British did keep a register of births and deaths in Aden, but the undercount, especially of mortality, was great.

In most parts of the Arabian Peninsula, no accurate census was taken before the 1970s. Only Kuwait and Bahrain were statistically advanced at an earlier date. The Gulf States have held censuses in the following years: Kuwait—1957, 1961, 1965, 1970, 1975; Bahrain—1941, 1950, 1959, 1965, 1971; Qatar—1970; United Arab Emirates—1968, 1975. Oman expects to take a census in 1981. South Yemen took a census in 1973, followed by North Yemen in 1975. Saudi Arabia discarded as underenumerations the results of a census taken in 1962-3 and has never published the results of its 1974 census (though figures from the census were printed in Abdel Rahman al-Madani and Muhamed al-Fayez, *The demographic situation in the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia*, in *Population Bulletin*, 185-89). See also Zachariah, *Trends and components of population growth in Kuwait*, in *Demographic measures*, 81-114; Fisher, *Southern Arabia*, in Clarke and Fisher, *op. cit.*, 274-90; A.G. Hill, *The demography of the Kuwaiti population of Kuwait*, in *Demography*, xii/3 (Aug. 1975), 537-48, and *The demography of the population of Kuwait*, in *Population Bulletin*, xiii (July 1977), 42-55; Population Division of the United Nations Economic Commission for Western Asia, *An overview of the population situation in Bahrain*, in *Population Bulletin*, xiv (June 1978), 57-69.

Turkey. Rather than continue the Ottoman registration system, the Turkish Republic decided to draw its population enumerations from a system of censuses which followed the Western model. In this it emulated the Balkan countries, each of which had taken a census when it became independent from the Ottoman Empire.

Turkey held its first complete census in 1927 and has held quinquennial censuses since 1935. (For a description of the Turkish censuses, see *A critical review of demographic data obtained by Turkish population censuses*, in *Turkish demography: Proceedings of a Conference*, ed. C. Shorter and Bozkurt Güvenc, Ankara 1969.) The 1927 census is deficient, especially for the eastern provinces of Turkey, but provides useful information and can be adjusted (McCarthy, *Muslim population*, 185-223). From 1935 the Turkish censuses are, along with the Egyptian censuses, the best source of demographic information in the Middle East. Turkey has also held a series of sample demographic surveys, of which the most valuable is the Turkish Demographic Survey. See Nusret Fişek, *Demographic surveys in Turkey*, in *Turkish demography*, 1-18, and the volumes of the Turkish Demographic Survey, Ankara 1965-. The modern Turkish registration system has only produced published statistics for births, deaths, and marriages in the central cities of provinces and these are incomplete due to under-registration and migration.

The best short introduction to Turkish demography is an article by Shorter, *Information on fertility, mortality, and population growth in Turkey*, in *Turkish demography*, 19-42, and in *Population index*, xxxiv/1. More detailed coverage is in Figen Karadayı *et alii*, *The population of Turkey*, Ankara 1974. Turkey's demographers have produced a large and detailed literature in Turkish, French, German and English on Turkish demography. This work is listed and sometimes annotated in the fine bibliographies edited by Behire Balkan, *Türkiye nüfus bibliyografyası*, Ankara 1967, con-

tinuing. See also Necdet Tunçdilek and Erol Tümertekin, *Türkiye nüfusu*, İstanbul 1959; Yakut Bulutoğlu, *La structure par âge et la mortalité de la population de la Turquie*, Paris 1970; and İlhan Tekeli, *Evolution of spatial organization in the Ottoman Empire and Turkish Republic*, in *From Medina to Metropolis*, ed. L. Carl Brown, Princeton 1973, 244-73.

Iran and Afghānistān. There are no reliable demographic statistics extant for Iran until well into the 20th century. In fact, the only contemporary statements on Persian population before World War I that have been published are European estimates, mainly dating from ca. 1900. The Şafawī and Kādjar registers have not been found, or at least not analysed and published. However, G.G. Gilbar has studied critically European estimates of the population of Kādjar Iran and the effects of epidemics and wars on the population and has made projections of population size, in his *Demographic developments in late Qajar Persia, 1870-1906*, in *Asian and African Studies*, xi (Haifa 1976), 125-56. See the comments and reports on Iranian population by Issawi in his *Economic history of Iran, 1800-1914*, 26-35, and in his *Population and resources in the Ottoman Empire and Iran*, in *Studies in eighteenth-century Islamic history*, ed. T. Naff and R. Owen, London 1977, and J. Bharier, *A note on the population of Iran*, in *Population Studies*, xxii, 274-5.

The Iranian government made unsuccessful attempts at population registration from 1928 onwards, and carried out an urban "head count" between 1939 and 1941 in 25 cities (B.D. Clark, *Iran: changing population patterns*, in Clarke and Fisher, 68-96). Censuses were held in 1956 and 1966, but the censuses, while providing the first fairly reasonable population data on many parts of Iran, included significant undercounting of women and of certain geographic areas and minority groups, especially nomadic Kurds and Turks.

Bharier has projected the population of Iran from 1900 to 1970 in his *Economic development of Iran, 1900-1970*, Oxford 1971, 24-8, which incorporates material from his *A note and other articles by Bharier*. Djamchid Momeni, *The population of Iran, a dynamic analysis*, Tehran 1975, 25-30, gives a slightly different set of estimates for the same period. Of the two, Bharier's analysis and estimates are superior. His estimates of total population size, rural and urban populations, and migration give a broad idea of population change in Iran from 1900. Given the paucity of the data, no more can be expected.

The following can serve as an introduction to the modern population and demography of Iran: *The population of Iran, a selection of readings*, ed. Djamshid A. Momeni, Honolulu 1977; Djamshid Behnam and Mehdi Amani, *La population de l'Iran*, Paris 1974; and various publications of the Institute for Social Studies and Research in Tehran.

Afghānistān's geographical features and the nomadic nature of many of its people have made even the rough estimation of population in Afghānistān a great task. Population sample surveys of Afghānistān were taken in Afghānistān in 1960 and 1968-9, the latter providing detailed information on demographic variables.

These surveys have been described by L. Dupree, *Population review 1970: Afghanistan*, in *American Universities Field Staff Reports*, South Asia Series, xv/1 (Dec. 1970), and Hamidullah Amin and Gordon B. Schütz, *A geography of Afghanistan*, Omaha,



Nebraska 1976, 153-64. Amin and Schilz print useful results of the surveys, but they too readily accept survey and registration data in questionable areas, such as records of female population and completeness of registration, and thus their work must be used with care.

Afghanistan conducted a more complete sample survey of sedentary population in 1971-3 (*National Demographic and family guidance survey of the settled population of Afghanistan*, 4 vols. 1975). The survey provided the first accurate data on the majority of the population. It was followed by a census in 1979, the results of which are not available. Government registration of males was begun in Afghanistan in 1952, but has produced no useful statistics and is surely incomplete. The best analysis of the Afghan population appears in the analytical volumes (1, 2, and 4) of the 1971-3 National Demographic and Family Guidance Survey. See also two articles by Dupree, *Population dynamics in Afghanistan*, in *Field Staff Reports*, South Asia Series, xiv/7 (April 1970), and *Settlement and migration patterns in Afghanistan: a tentative statement*, in *Modern Asian Studies*, ix/3 (July 1975), 397-413. J.-Ch. Blanc, *L'Afghanistan et ses populations*, Brussels 1977; J. Trussel and Eleanor Brown, *A close look at the demography of Afghanistan*, in *Demography*, xi/1 (Febr. 1979), 137-51. For Russian articles on Afghanistan, see T. I. Kukhtina, *Bibliografiya Afganistana*, Moscow 1965.

IV. NORTH AFRICA

The populations of North Africa, like those of the Middle East, are usually studied individually, nation by nation. Only a few works have drawn together statistics from various nations into a picture of North African population as a whole. See, for example, Mahmoud Seklani, *Croissance démographique comparée des pays du Maghreb, 1950-1960*, in *Revue Tunisienne des Sciences Sociales*, vi/17-18 (June 1969), 29-51, and J. Vallon, *Les populations de l'Afrique au Nord du Sahara: Maroc, Algérie, Tunisie, Libye, Égypte*, in *Populations*, xxv/6 (Nov.-Dec. 1970), 1212-35. Amor Benyoussef, *Population du Maghreb et communauté économique à quatre*, Paris 1967, uses population as a basis for analysis of social and economic similarities of the Maghrib countries.

Unlike the Middle East, there are few good sources of historical population statistics for the Maghrib. Those that do exist do not go farther back than the 19th century, though one can hope for the future discovery and use of Ottoman registers for earlier periods.

Morocco. The political and statistical situation of colonial Morocco was so fragmented that no reasonably accurate statistics for the entire country exist before 1960. Prior to Morocco's independence and unification in 1956, the Spanish colonial power only attempted one census, in 1950, while the French in their zone took counts in 1921, 1926, 1936, 1947, and 1951-2. All except the French 1947 "census" were undercounts. In 1947 the government counted ration cards to establish population numbers, and war-time illegalities seem to have caused an actual overcount, see G.H. Blake, *Morocco: urbanization and concentration of population*, in Clarke and Fisher, 404-5. The Moroccan censuses of 1960 and 1971 gave more reasonable totals, and the undercount of women and children seen in other censuses of Muslim countries was slight in Morocco in 1971. Two sample surveys of Moroccan population have been held, in 1961-3 and 1971-3.

La population rurale du Maroc by D. Noin (2 vols.,

Paris 1970) gives full analyses of all demographic phenomena, including historical estimates of the population and an excellent bibliography. The work is essential to an understanding of Moroccan demography and demographic history. K. Krotki and R. Beaujot have analysed the accuracy of Moroccan population statistics and arrived at revised figures in *La population marocaine: reconstitution de l'évolution de 1950 à 1971*, in *Population*, xxx/2 (March-April 1975), 335-67. *La population du Maroc* (by the Institut National du Statistique et d'Économie Appliquée of Morocco, Rabat n.d.) is a reasonable summary of basic demographic measures on Morocco, but is disappointing in its lack of detailed analysis or bibliography.

Algeria. Algeria has one of the longest series of censuses of any developing country. The French began enumerating settled Algerian population and nomads (by "tent", not by person) in the entire country in 1856. Before 1886, a certain amount of estimation was used for remote areas, and it was only in 1886 that the French attempted actually to count the entire population. Even then, however, distrust of the colonial government and the difficulties of counting nomads and certain other parts of the population produced a serious under-enumeration; see G. Negadi, *Les sources de la démographie en Algérie*, in *La population de l'Algérie*, Algiers 1974 (?), 1-3. From 1886 to 1911 and from 1921 to 1936 the French held quinquennial censuses of Algeria. After the Second World War, censuses were taken by the French, then by the Algerian government in 1948, 1954, 1960, 1966, and 1977.

Despite their long series, the Algerian censuses only gradually improved in completeness and produced significant undercounts in all censuses prior to 1966. Added to the ubiquitous problems of under-enumeration of women and children, census-takers in Algeria experienced special problems with nomads and with migration to Europe. (For a detailed description of the first reasonably-accurate Algerian census and the problems mentioned above, see Abdelaziz Bouisri, *Technique, méthode, et résultats du recensement de la population Algérienne*, in *Revue Tunisienne*, vi/17-18 (June 1969), 95-125.)

Algeria's vital registration system was begun by the French, but under-registration was extremely high, perhaps 30 %. Since independence this figure has improved to 10-15 % of vital events unregistered; see M.L. Fares, *Population growth and socio-economic development in Algeria*, in *Demographic aspects*, 398-9. The country took a major National Demographic Survey in 1969-71 which has provided the best estimates of fertility and trends available.

In addition to the articles mentioned above, the following can be consulted as basic descriptions of Algerian population and demography: A.M. Bahri, *Population et politique en Algérie*, in *Revue Tunisienne*, vi/17-18, 65-88; Zachariah, *Basic demographic measures of Algeria*, in *Demographic measures*, 1-25; A. Bouisri and F. de Lamaze, *La population d'Algérie d'après le recensement de 1966*, in *Population*, xxvi, numéro spécial (March 1971), 25-46; G. Negadi et alii, *Situation démographique de l'Algérie*, and the other articles and the bibliography in *La population de l'Algérie*, in *Population*, xxviii/6 (Nov.-Dec. 1973), 1079-1107.

Tunisia. Both the Ottoman government and the Tunisian Beylik kept registers of population, mainly as taxation records. J. Ganiage has examined these registers and deduced from them the population of Tunisia ca. 1860; see *La population de la Tunisie*



vers 1860. *Essai d'évaluation d'après les registres fiscaux*, in *Études Maghébines*, Paris 1964, 165-98, and in *Population*, xxi/5 (Sept.-Oct. 1966), 857-62). As is usually the case, the local records are far superior as sources of demographic information than any estimates by travellers or consuls. (For a brief summary of early estimates, see Mahmoud Seklani, *La population de la Tunisie*, Tunis 1974, 13-22.)

The French government of Tunisia and later the Republic held censuses in 1921, 1926, 1931, every ten years from 1936 to 1966, and in 1975. (Censuses of the European population of Tunisia were held earlier than 1921.) The first census seems to have undercounted the population due to the enumerators' dependence on tax registers (Clarke, *Tunisia: population patterns, pressures, and policies*, in Clarke and Fisher, 350; Seklani, *op. cit.*, 18-19), so it is perhaps not proper to call it an actual census. The latter censuses have shown the usual undercount of women and younger children. Various surveys have provided a more detailed demographic picture than seen in the censuses, especially the Tunisian Demographic Survey of 1968 (J. Vallin and G. Paulet, *Quelques aspects de l'enquête nationale démographique tunisienne*, in *Revue Tunisienne*, vi/17-18, 227-48).

Though death registration in Tunisia is very incomplete, since 1958 births seem to have been better recorded; see S. Zaghoul, *Demographic parameters of Tunisia*, in *Demographic measures*, 231, 233.

Tunisia has a well-developed statistical system. M. Picouet describes the system and gives an overview of available data in *Les sources de la démographie tunisienne à l'époque contemporaine*, Tunis 1972. The population itself is described, from the 19th century to 1990, in Seklani's *La population de la Tunisie*. See also: Hachemi Chtioui, *La croissance de la population et des ressources en Tunisie pendant la période coloniale*, in *Revue Tunisienne*, vi/17-18, 53-64; A. Marcoux, *La croissance de la population de la Tunisie*, in *Population*, xxvi, numéro spécial (March 1971), 105-24; and the various publication of the Centre d'Études et de Recherches Économiques et Sociales of the University of Tunis and of the Tunisian Institut National de la Statistique.

Libya. The first population statistics for Libya were the Ottoman registration (males only) records for the Provinces of Benghazi and Tripoli. The Italians took censuses in 1931 and 1935 which under-enumerated the nomadic population, but counted the city regions with greater accuracy, see Pan Chia-Lin, *The population of Libya*, in *Population Studies*, iii/1, 100-25. Independent Libya has held three censuses: 1954, 1964, and 1973. Statistics have improved with time, and an undercount in 1954 had greatly improved by 1973, though the 1973 census was still probably incomplete in coverage of nomads.

Compared to the other North African countries, very little has been written on the demography of Libya. R.G. Hartley, *Libya: economic developments and demographic responses*, in Clarke and Fischer, 315-47, describes population and economy, but provides very little analysis of Libyan demographic data. The best descriptions of the Libyan demography are the short *Demographic parameters of Libya*, by S. Zaghoul, in *Demographic measures*, 115-36, and a monograph by the Libyan census department, *Population growth, fertility, and mortality based on the 1973 Populations Census*, Addis Ababa (UNECA) 1979.

Egypt. Egyptian population before 1800 has been estimated on the basis of taxes paid, land cultivation, and contemporary statements on city sizes, none of

which have resulted in anything but very rough approximations. On these estimates, see W. Cleland, *The population problem in Egypt*, Lancaster, Penn. 1936, 3-6. The first attempt at scientifically counting the Egyptian population was made by members of the French Expedition in 1800. It was followed by an enumeration, based on tax registers, made by Muhammad 'Alī in 1821. Both of these early attempts resulted in considerable undercounts. The first relatively accurate population count in Egyptian history was taken by Muhammad 'Alī in 1846, this time drawn from household registers similar to those mentioned above for the Ottoman Empire in the same period. A census along modern lines was taken in 1882, but its figures were once again too low. See J. McCarthy, *Nineteenth century Egyptian population*, in *Middle Eastern Studies*, xii/3 (Oct. 1976), 1-40, which includes correction factors for the 1882 figures.

The British took decennial censuses from 1897 to 1947. Except for a large undercount in the 1917 wartime census, the British censuses are good population records. The amount of undercounting diminished as the census series went on. Attempts to take a census of the new Egyptian Republic were frustrated in 1957 by war conditions, though preliminary results were reported. The Egyptian government carried out successful censuses in 1960 and 1976, and a sample census in 1966. Registration of births and deaths has been done since the middle of the 19th century and, though it has never been complete, the registration of vital events in the 20th century has been accurate enough to provide a general picture of fertility and mortality patterns. By the standards of the developing world, Egypt has an excellent series of demographic statistics.

An article by A.B. Mountjoy, *Egypt: population and resources*, in Clarke and Fisher, 291-314, is a readable and non-technical summary of the Egyptian population after 1966. For more analytic treatments, see M.S. Khodary, *Use of census age distributions for estimating basic demographic parameters of the U.A.R.*, in *Demographic measures*, 249-78, and V.G. Valaoras, *Population analysis of Egypt (1935-1970)*, Cairo Demographic Centre, Occasional Paper no. 1, Cairo 1972. Atef M. Khalifa, *The population of the Arab Republic of Egypt*, Cairo 1973, is the best comprehensive description of the population. See also Issawi, *Population and wealth in Egypt*, in *Demographic analysis: selected readings*, ed. J. Spengler and O.D. Duncan, Glencoe, Ill. 1957; Egypt, Central Agency for Public Mobilisation and Statistics, *The increase of population in the United Arab Republic and its impact on development*, Cairo 1969, esp. 1-30; Janet L. Abu-Lughod, *Cairo*, Princeton 1971; Egypt, *Ḍjīhāz tanzīm al-Usra wa 'l-sukkān, al-Atlas al-sukkān li-Ḍjūmhūriyyat Miṣr al-'Arabiyya*, Cairo 1977.

The general works on Middle Eastern population cited above usually include the demography of Egypt among their studies. Many monographs on the populations of the Middle East and Egypt are published by the Cairo Demographic Centre.

V. SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

Islam is dominant across North-Central Africa from Mauritania to Somalia, and there are significant Muslim minorities in both East and West Africa. Demographic knowledge of this area only begins with the period of colonial domination. Though a few traveller's accounts of the populations of small areas exist for an earlier period, there are no accurate



figures for the total populations of large areas until well into the 20th century.

The type of demographic statistics available for sub-Saharan African countries depends on whether the colonial ruler of a nation was England or France. England was generally more able to take census statistics of its sub-Saharan possessions than was France. Only at the very end of colonial rule, though, were the English censuses remotely successful counts of population. Before that time, numerous censuses were taken of the non-native populations, or of the populations of cities, or of selected areas, but the first actual censuses of entire countries were only taken after World War II.

Before the War the British did produce a wealth of estimates of African population. These range from simple estimates based on observation to complex approximations made by comparing the characteristics of areas that had been enumerated with those that had not and estimating that similar areas had similar population numbers. Both estimates and censuses made in British Africa are considered in detail and thoroughly analysed by R.R. Kuczynski, *Demographic survey of the British Colonial Empire*, 2 vols., Oxford 1948. Kuczynski collected censuses, estimates, and other data and drew from them accurate estimates of total population, fertility, mortality, and migration. While more recent studies have questioned certain sections of his analyses, Kuczynski's work still stands as a monument to careful scholarship.

The first reliable population data from East African censuses come from the British East African censuses of 1948. These were followed by censuses taken in Kenya in 1962, 1969, and 1979, in Tanzania in 1957-8, 1967, and 1978, and in Uganda in 1959 and 1969. Sample surveys have not been as important in East Africa as in West Africa and the Sahel and population registration has not proved effective.

For an introduction to the demography of East Africa, see Simeon Ominde, *The population of Kenya-Uganda-Tanzania*, Nairobi 1975. Melte Monsted and Parveen Walji, *A demographic analysis of East Africa*, Uppsala 1978, go more deeply into analysis and interpretation of demographic phenomena. An article by J.G.C. Bleeker, *Demography*, in *East Africa: its people and resources*, ed. W.T.W. Morgan, Nairobi, London and New York 1972, 41-58, and the ch. on population in R.M.A. van Zwanenberg and Anne King, *An economic history of Kenya and Uganda*, Nairobi 1975, 3-22, are both brief summaries of the known population history of the area. To date, the most complete and detailed analyses of any country in East Africa are in *The demography of Tanzania*, ed. Rushdi A. Henin, Dar es Salaam n.d., whose articles analyse the results of the demographic survey of Tanzania. On pre-1970 censuses and registration of births and deaths in the area, see the brief description and bibliography by D.A. Lury, *Population data of East Africa*, in *The population of Tropical Africa*, ed. J.C. Caldwell and Chukuka Okonjo, New York 1966, 44-70.

In West Africa, no complete census was ever taken in Nigeria, Ghana, or Sierra Leone while they were under British colonial rule, though in-exact counts were taken in Ghana in 1948. Ghana has held decennial censuses since 1960 and Sierra Leone censuses in 1963 and 1974. In Nigeria, following upon a series of population estimates and partial censuses beginning in 1866, the British took a census in 1952-3 that was relatively reliable. Since then, each Nigerian census has proved to be more

unreliable than the last. See R.K. Udo, *Population and politics in Nigeria*, in Caldwell and Okonjo, 97-105. Nigeria has held censuses in 1952-3, 1962, 1963, and 1973.

Unlike Nigeria, the censuses of Ghana and Sierra Leone have proved to be reliable. Sierra Leone censuses have exhibited only a slight, ca. 5 %, undercount and the Ghana censuses are of a similar level of reliability. See T.E. Dow Jr. and E. Benjamin, *Demographic trends and implications*, and S.K. Gaisie, *Population growth and its components*, in *Population growth and socioeconomic change in West Africa*, ed. Caldwell, New York 1975, 427-54, and 346-66.

S.K. Gaisie and K.T. de Graft-Johnson, *The population of Ghana*, Legon, Ghana 1976, have summarised the demography of modern Ghana, but they mention little on historical population. For historical data, see Marion Johnson, *Census, map, and guesstimate: the past population of the Accra Region*, in *African historical demography*, Edinburgh 1977. See also T.E. Hilton, *Ghana population atlas*, London 1960; *Symposium on population and socioeconomic development in Ghana*, ed. N.O. Addo, et alii, Legon 1968; *Interdisciplinary approaches to population studies*, Proceedings of the West African Seminar on Population Studies, Legon 1972; and the three articles by Gaisie in *Population growth*.

Any studies of Sierra Leone should begin with G.M.K. Kpedekpo and G. John, *A bibliography on population and development planning in Sierra Leone*, Freetown 1979. The best short description of the Sierra Leone population are J.I. Clarke, *Population growth in Sierra Leone*, in Caldwell and Okonjo, 270-7, and M.F. Harvey, *The nature of movement of the population*, in *Population growth*, 455-72.

P.O. Olunsaya has briefly summarised historical and modern data on Nigeria in his *Population growth and its components: the nature and direction of the population*, in *Population change*, 254-74. It is symptomatic of the deficiencies of the Nigerian census system that the only general book on Nigerian population is mainly a study of sample surveys (F.L. Mott and Olanrewaju J. Fapohunda, *The population of Nigeria*, Lagos 1975). I.I. Ekanem, *The 1963 Nigerian census: a critical appraisal*, Benin City 1972, has a good, brief introduction (30-45) to the statistical history of Nigeria. See also H.O. Emezi, *Nigerian population and urbanization, 1911-1974, a bibliography*, Occasional Paper no. 10 of the UCLA African Studies Center, 1975.

The Sudan has held three demographic sample surveys—1955-6, 1964-6 and 1967-8—and one census, in 1973. (The 1955-6 survey is often erroneously called a census.) Registration of births and deaths is extremely deficient. Despite increasing accuracy over time, all statements on Sudan's population have been undercounts, especially undercounts of nomads. Because of flaws in census and survey materials, much of what is known of Sudan's population comes from demographic analyses of defective data. For such analyses, see especially P. Demeny, *The demography of the Sudan*, in W. Brass, et alii, *The demography of Tropical Africa*, Princeton 1968, 466-514, and Zachariah, *Use of population and housing survey data of the Sudan for estimating its current demographic measures*, in *Demographic measures*, 169-93. The most complete picture of the Sudanese population is given in *The population of Sudan*, Khartoum 1958, but the book too often relies on defective data from the 1955-6 survey and even this data is out-of-date. The articles listed above and K.S. Seetharam and A. Farah, *Population trends*



and economic development in Sudan, in *Demographic aspects*, 149-69, give a more accurate picture of the population.

That the French in Africa were not as active as the British in taking censuses was largely a function of the type of colonial territory which they held. The countries of the Sahel—Chad, Niger, Mali, and Mauritania—are ones in which holding an accurate census historically proved to be near impossible. Complete counts of population were hindered by the problems of counting nomads, lack of trained census takers, and the prohibitively high costs of censuses in what were extremely poor nations. Chad has never had a census, and the other three countries only held their first censuses in 1976-7, with uncertain results. Instead of censuses, demographers of the Sahel have relied on "sample censuses" of 5 to 10 % of the population. These have yielded the only fairly reliable data on fertility and mortality of the area. See S.P. Reyna, *Chad*, and Issaka Pankoussa, *et alii*, *Niger*, in *Population growth*. A similar, though more statistically reliable, set of sample surveys and post-1975 censuses has been held in other areas of formerly French Africa. Pre-independence "censuses" of French Equatorial Africa were actually either estimates or what are called administrative censuses. The latter are counts drawn from tax registers, administrative records, or attempts to assemble the population at market towns to be counted and have proved to be uniformly incorrect.

L. Verrière has described Senegal in 1965 (*La population du Sénégal*, Dakar 1965), basing his work on the 1960-1 sample survey, which was highly deficient. See also P. Metge, *Le peuplement du Sénégal*, Dakar 1966. The article by B. Lacombe, B. Lawry, and J. Vaugelade, *Senegal*, in *Population growth*, 701-19, is a better description of the population. A. Podlewski has described the population of Cameroon in *Population growth*, 543-64, but little else has been written on the country's population. See also J.-M. Cohen *et alii*, *Afrique Noire, Madagascar, Comores—Démographie comparée*, Paris 1967; *Demographic transition and cultural continuity in the Sahel*, ed. D.I. Pool and S.P. Coulhaly, Ithaca, N.Y. 1977.

Historical demography of Africa is necessarily hindered by the lack of sources. Unfortunately, the Muslim areas of Africa are often those with the worst potential for historical population statistics, since no "parish registers" or missionary records of conversions exist for African Muslims. Nevertheless, the application of sophisticated techniques of demographic and historical analysis is producing data on African Muslim populations of the past, particularly in the 19th century. An example of scholarly effort on African population, *African historical population*, Proceedings of a Seminar at the University of Edinburgh 1977, includes studies on the Sudan, the Ivory Coast, and French Equatorial Africa, all areas of significant Muslim population, and analyses of population statistics of East and West Africa. G. Ayoub Balamoan, *Migration policies in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, 1884-1956*, Cambridge, Mass. 1977, has demonstrated that limited African data can be used to establish sound historical knowledge on migration, demographic change, Muslim topics such as the Pilgrimage, and even political events. Many of the works mentioned above on modern African demography have sections on historical demography as well. The volumes by Kuczynski are particularly important for identifying historical statistics and their sources.

Most of the new nations of Africa have taken censuses since independence. F. Gendreau has published a list of censuses, and sample surveys, taken in all the countries of Africa between 1946 and 1975, see *La démographie des pays d'Afrique, revue et synthèse*, in *Population*, xxxii/4-5 (July-Oct. 1977), 930-1 (Some of the censuses listed by Gendreau were not complete or accurate enough to be listed as censuses by the United Nations.) More recent censuses are listed in the United Nations Demographic yearbook (described below).

There are not many general works on the demography of sub-Saharan Africa. *The demography of Tropical Africa*, ed. Brass *et alii*, Princeton 1968, is a pioneer work, not only in African demography, but in the study of the populations of developing nations. E. van de Walle's *Characteristics of African demographic data* in the volume (12-87) is an excellent summary of the types of errors found in African censuses and surveys. Gendreau lists the populations of cities and countries in his article *La démographie*, and considers the accuracy of various types of data-gathering techniques—censuses, administrative censuses, and surveys. For a geographic approach to African population, see W.A. Hance, *Population, migration, and urbanization in Africa*, New York 1970. The best source on West Africa is *Population growth and socioeconomic change in West Africa*, the articles of which consider first the demographic variables for the region as a whole, then for specific nations. Nigeria, Sierra Leone, and Ghana are particularly well represented.

For a brief introduction to sub-Saharan African population, see the chapter by J.C. Caldwell in *General history of Africa*, ed. A.H. Boahene, Paris 1975, or Chantal and Yves Blayo, *The size and structure of African populations*, in *Population in African development*, ed. P. Cantrelle, Liège n.d. (The other articles in the Cantrelle volume, papers from a 1971 conference, are detailed studies of specific problems in African demography.) The United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (Addis Ababa) publishes continuing series on African demography, especially the *Demographic handbook for Africa* and the African Population Studies Series. The bibliography by the United States Library of Congress, *Islam in Sub-Saharan Africa* (Washington 1978) mentions few articles specifically on population, but a number of articles cited as ethnographic have demographic uses. See also: *Essays on African population*, ed. K.M. Barbour and R.M. Prothero, London 1961, which should be used only as a source of references on early data, since the articles accept inferior, usually colonial, data in their analyses; *Population growth and economic development in Africa*, ed. S.H. Ominde and C.N. Ejiogu, London, Nairobi, Ibadan 1972; D. Morrison *et alii*, *Black Africa, a comparative handbook*, New York and London 1972.

VI. CAUCASUS AND CENTRAL ASIA

There are no accurate statistics of the number of Central Asian Muslims in what is today the U.S.S.R. until the 19th century. Barthold, *Turkestan*, ch. 1, mentions a few Chinese and Arab statements on the populations of cities and numbers in armies, but these are no more than improbable guesses, e.g. the city of Samarkand having 500,000 citizens. In the late 19th century, travellers such as Curzon (*Russia in Central Asia*, London 1889) and Schuyler (*Turkistan*, New York 1877) occasionally reported city sizes, taken from Russian records, fairly accu-



rately, though not figures on total population. See A. Zeki Velidi Toğan, *Bugünkü Türkîli ve yakın tarihi*, İstanbul 1942-7, 27-8.

The first census of Central Asia was taken in 1897 by the Russian government. The vassal states of *Khîwā* and *Bukhārā* were not included in this census, since they were nominally not included in the Russian Empire, and the populations of the two states are accordingly only known from contemporary estimates. See Timur Kocaoglu, *The existence of a Bukharan nationality in the recent past*, in *The nationality question in Soviet Central Asia*, ed. E. Allworth, New York 1973, 151-8. Estimates of the population of *Bukhārā* and *Khîwā* have been discussed and analysed by F. Lorimer in *The population of the Soviet Union: history and prospects*, Geneva 1946, 129, and more completely by L. Kroder, *Peoples of Central Asia*, Bloomington, Ind. 1963, 172-3. Like all censuses of traditional areas, the 1897 census figures are incomplete, especially for Muslim women and young children. Nevertheless, its data are excellent when compared to the type of poor estimates that must serve for previous periods.

The first complete census of Russian (Soviet) Central Asian Muslims was taken in 1926, followed by censuses in 1939, 1959, 1970, and 1979. Official estimates of the Central Asian population were also made by the imperial government in 1911 and the Soviet government in 1956 (Kroder, 178, 190).

Since the Soviet state is atheistic, it does not recognise religious distinctions and the category "Muslim" does not appear on the Soviet censuses. A student of Muslim population in the Soviet Union must consider instead the population of multitudinous "ethnic groups" whose antecedents were Muslims. Comparison of Imperial statistics on Muslims with Soviet statistics on "ethnic groups" is very difficult, as is analysis of Soviet Muslim population. Most demographic analyses of Central Asia or the Caucasus are done by region or republic, i.e., multi-ethnic or multi-religious subdivisions, or by ethnic or linguistic groups, not religion.

I.M. Matley's *The population and the land*, in *Central Asia: a century of Russian rule*, ed. Allworth, New York and London 1967, is a good general article on Imperial and Soviet Central Asian population, as is ch. 7, *Demography*, of Krader's *Peoples of Central Asia*. General volumes such as *The nationality question in Soviet Central Asia*, and R.A. Lewis *et alii*, *Nationality and population change in Russia and the USSR*, New York 1976, contain large sections on Muslim populations and helpful bibliographies. The best analyses of demographic variables in Central Asia and the Caucasus are in A.J. Coale *et alii*, *Human fertility in Russia since the nineteenth century*, Princeton 1979, ch. 3. Though not a demographic text, A. Bennigsen and Ch. Lemerrier-Quelquejay, *Islam in the Soviet Union*, New York 1967, should be consulted for material on the Muslim family and bibliography. Demographic information, usually on total population, is scattered throughout the articles on the Turkish peoples of Central Asia and the Caucasus in *Türk dünyası el kitabı*, Ankara 1976. Articles on population and modern demography appear in the journal *Vestnik Statistiki* (Moscow).

For sources of demographic information and bibliography, see U.S.S.R., *Akademîya Nauk, Geograficeskoe Obshchestvo Soyuza SSR, Geografiya nseliniya v SSSR, osnoenie problemi*, Moscow 1964, chs. 2-4; G.J. Demko, *Demographic research on Russia and the Soviet Union: a bibliographic review and evaluation*, in *Demographic developments in*

Eastern Europe, ed. L.A. Kosinski, New York 1977, 94-119. Barbara Anderson has compiled an excellent detailed list of Russian and Soviet statistical publications, *Data sources in Russian and Soviet demography*, in *Demographic developments*, 23-63.

VII. INDIAN SUBCONTINENT

The Indian subcontinent, comprising the modern states of Bangladesh, India and Pakistan, has a long and detailed statistical history. The *Mughals* instituted a population, land, and tax registration system, and much demographic information from the *Mughal* period, and perhaps earlier, exists in local archives in the subcontinent (Ajit Das Gupta, *Study of the historical demography of India*, in D.V. Glass and R. Revelle, *Population and social change*, London 1972, 425). Little use has been made, however, of anything but population estimates as they appear in histories and chronicles, which sometimes themselves drew on contemporary government records. The first to make use of these population estimates was W.H. Moreland, *India at the death of Akbar*, London 1920, who based his population estimates on the relation of total population to reports of the area of cultivated land and to reports of the sizes of armies. His figures for total population have been improved on and generally supported by J.M. Datta, *Re-examination of Moreland's estimate of the population of India at the death of Akbar*, in *Indian Population Bulletin*, i/1 (Delhi April 1960), whose historical and demographic methodology was far superior to that of Moreland. K. Davis, *The population of India and Pakistan*, New York 1951, 24, raised Moreland's figures, as did Das Gupta, 425-30.

Estimates of mediaeval Indian Muslim population have been carefully catalogued by K.S. Lal, *Growth of Muslim population in medieval India, A.D. 1000-1800*, Delhi 1973. He has demonstrated that painstaking analysis of all types of sources—geographers' accounts, government records, histories, and censuses and registration records from small areas—can provide useful demographic statistics. Despite the completeness of Lal's work, his conclusions remain rough estimates only, many on the level of informed guesses.

British residents of the East India Company, and later the Empire, made numerous population reports in the 19th century. At first they resorted to devices such as counting houses, ploughs or villages and multiplying by set number, but later censuses of certain areas such as Bombay and Madras were taken, and these formed the basis of British population estimates for wider areas (Das Gupta, 419-35). Lal (224-52) has listed a number of early 19th century British censuses and estimates, but the most complete listing is in E. Thornton, *Gazeteer of the territories under the Government of the East India Company and of the Native States*, 4 vols., London 1854.

The first complete British census of the Indian subcontinent was taken in 1881, following an incomplete census in 1871. Figures in the 1881 census were too low, but have been adjusted by P.C. Mahalonobis and D. Bhattacharya, *Growth of the Population of India and Pakistan, 1801-1961*, in *Artha Vijnāna*, xviii/1 (March 1976), 1-10, and by K. Davis, ch. 4. Up to 1931, British censuses of the subcontinent gradually improved, until by the 1931 and 1941 censuses they were among the best in the colonial world.

On early Indian subcontinent population, see



also Zachariah, *An historical study of internal migration in the Indian sub-continent*, New York 1964; Government of India, *Report on the population estimates of India, 1820-1930*, Delhi 1975; T.G. Kessinger, *Historical demography of India*, in *Peasant Studies*, v/3 (July 1976), 2-8.

After independence, the Indian and Pakistani governments continued the censuses. India kept to the British decennial census plan and held censuses in 1951, 1961, 1971, and is planning a 1981 census. Pakistan took censuses in 1951, 1961, and 1972; Bangladesh in 1974. Of the three countries, India's census totals seem to be the closest to correct. Pakistan's census probably undercounts by 7-8 %. D. Natarajan, *Indian census through a hundred years*, New Delhi n.d., gives a detailed view of the Indian censuses. All three countries have held sample surveys which have been especially valuable in evaluating fertility. See, for example, Bangladesh, Census Commission, *Report on the 1974 Bangladesh retrospective survey of fertility and mortality*, Dacca 1977, and World Fertility Survey, *Pakistan fertility survey*, First report, Karachi? 1976.

India's size and economic situation, as well as its long series of available statistics, makes it the developing country most studied by demographers. Hundreds of articles are written each year on facets of Indian demography, and it is impossible to consider this vast literature here. Kingsley Davis's volume, mentioned above, is a good introduction to the demography of India up to independence. The Indian Registrar General's Office has published a general introduction to Indian population, *The population of India*, Delhi 1974, and a *Bibliography of census publication of India*, Delhi 1972. For a more complete review of the Indian statistical tradition, population, and demography, see Asok Mitra, *India's population: aspects of quality and control*, 2 vols., New Delhi 1978. See also R.H. Cassen, *India: population, economy, and society*, New York 1978.

Information on modern censuses and surveys of Pakistan and its demography is well summarised in Mohammad Afzal, *The population of Pakistan*, Islamabad 1974. L. Bean has written a short introduction to the subject in *The population of Pakistan, an evaluation of recent statistical data*, in *MEJ*, xxviii/2 (1974), 177-84. Though the area of Pakistan has been included in studies on the historical demography of India, studies of purely Pakistani historical demography have been done as well: A.S.M. Mohiuddin, *The population of Pakistan: past and present*, diss., Duke University 1962, and Pakistan Institute of Development Economics, *District Boundary changes and population growth for Pakistan, 1881-1961*, Dacca n.d. Earlier studies of Pakistani demography all include Bangladesh as East Pakistan.

See also *Studies in the demography of Pakistan*, ed. W.C. Robinson, Karachi 1965; A.D. Bhatti, *A bibliography of Pakistan demography*, Karachi 1965; Sultan S. Hashmi, *Main features of the demographic condition in Pakistan*, Karachi 1963; T.P. Schultz and Julie da Vanzo, *Analysis of demographic change in East Pakistan*, United States Agency for International Development Report by the Rand Corporation, Santa Monica, Cal. 1970; K.J. Krotki and Khalida Parveen, *Population size and growth in Pakistan based on early reports of the 1972 census*, in *The Pakistan Development Review*, xv/3 (Autumn 1976), 290-318.

VIII. SOUTHEAST ASIA

Indonesia. In the late 18th and early 19th cen-

turies, European colonial agents estimated the population of Java, basing their figures on records of the Dutch East India Company. These estimates, the first of their kind, were gross underestimates. The first attempts at accurate enumeration of the population were made by the British during their brief rule in Indonesia (1811-16), when population registers were made. The Dutch seem to have maintained these registers fitfully until 1880. At that time they enforced more complete registration, to be used as conscription records for compulsory labor. Probably because all who could do so naturally avoided such a registration, these registers also produced a large undercount of population. Widjojo Nitisastro has analysed early material on the population of Indonesia in his *Population trends in Indonesia*, Ithaca and London 1970, and has concluded that the Dutch figures on total population are generally useless. Their main use should be as part of complete analyses of small demographic areas. Bram Peper has concurred in Widjojo Nitisastro's analysis and has used alternative demographic methods to calculate the population of 19th century Java; see his *Population growth in Java in the 19th century*, in *Population Studies*, xxiv/1 (March 1970), 71-84.

The Dutch colonial government took a census in 1920 in Java, but included few other areas of Indonesia and undercounted Java. Another colonial census was held in 1930, with wider coverage and better results. Independent Indonesia has taken censuses in 1961 and 1971. Some areas were estimated rather than enumerated in 1961 and the 1971 census is superior. A number of sample surveys have also been taken in the 1960s and 1970s.

Widjojo's volume is the most complete description of the Indonesian population (to 1970), but it must depend on the 1961 census. *The population of Indonesia* by the Demographic Section of the University of Indonesia (Lembago Demografi) is more complete for the later period. G. McNeill and Si Gde Made Mamus, *The demographic situation in Indonesia*, Papers of the East-West Institute, no. 28, Honolulu 1973, accurately summarise the available demographic information on the country.

See also J.M. van der Kroef, *The Arabs in Indonesia*, in *MEJ*, vii/3 (Summer 1953), 300-23 (Van der Kroef too readily accepts Dutch colonial estimates of population as accurate); J.N. Bhatta, *A social science bibliography of Indonesia*, Djakarta 1965; N. Iskandar, *Some monographic studies on the population of Indonesia*, Djakarta 1970; and Masri Singarimbun, *The population of Indonesia: a bibliography*, Yogyakarta 1974.

Singapore-Malaysia. The British began to take population counts in the areas of Singapore-Malaysia in 1824, and made 14 enumerations between 1824 and 1860, none of which can be called reliable. Modern censuses were taken in Singapore in 1871 and 1881 and in both Singapore and the Malayan territories decennially from 1891 to 1931. As British colonial power expanded over new areas of Malaysia, the new areas were brought into the census; see Saw Swee-Hock, *The development of Population statistics in Singapore*, in *Singapore Statistical Bulletin*, 1/2 (Dec. 1972), 87-93. After World War Two, the British took censuses in 1947 and 1957. The independent federation of Malaysia held a census in 1970, as did Singapore, which had seceded from the federation in 1965. Though registration of deaths and births in Malaysia has only been reasonably complete since ca. 1970, the census results since 1921 have been reliable. On registration data, see J.A.



Palmore, *et alii*, *The demographic situation in Malaysia*, in *Population and development in Southeast Asia*, ed. J.F. Kanter and L. McCaffrey, New York 1975, 64-6. Sample surveys have been taken in the 1960s and 1970s.

Saw Swee-Hock has briefly described changes in population sizes in Singapore in *Population trends in Singapore, 1819-1967*, in *Journal of Southeast Asian History*, x/1 (March 1969), 36-49, and given a more complete description of Singapore's demography in *Singapore, population in transition*, Philadelphia 1970. Saw's analysis of population by "race" offers an accurate picture of Muslim demography, i.e. the demography of the Muslim peoples of Singapore. Dorothy Z. Fernandez *et alii*, *The population of Malaysia*, is a good introduction to demographic statistics on Malaysia, though it contains little analysis of the population. Those interested in historical population should consult C.A. Vlieland, *A report on the 1931 census and certain problems of vital statistics*, London 1932, esp. chs. 3, 13.

See also T.E. Smith, *Population growth in Malaya: an analysis of recent trends*, London 1952; L.W. Jones, *The population of Borneo*, London 1966. Many monographs and articles on modern Southeast Asian population are published by the United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific.

IX. GENERAL

The populations of Muslim lands have been included as part of the estimates in works on world historical population. The more detailed volumes, such as A.M. Carr-Saunders' *World population: past growth and present trends*, Oxford 1936, or M. Reinhard's *Histoire générale de la population mondiale* (with A. Armengaud and J. Dupaquier, 3rd ed., Paris 1968), contain fairly extensive statements on the populations of Muslim lands. It must be remembered that these estimates have mainly collected and reproduced scholarship that has been done on the various geographic areas of the world by others, so that researchers might be better served by consulting the more primary works, which contain more detailed analyses. The authors of studies of world population history are forced to provide estimates for regions and times for which population numbers are actually unknown. As has been seen above, Muslim lands are often among those whose historical populations are unknown, so estimates of the populations of those lands in world population books must be used with caution. In addition to Carr-Saunders and Reinhard, see the summary article by J.D. Durand, *Historical estimates of world population: an evaluation*, University of Pennsylvania Population Studies Center, Philadelphia 1974, and United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, *The determinants and consequences of population trends*, 1, New York 1973, ch. 2 (vol. ii is a bibliography on world population).

General bibliographies. Many articles on the demography of the Islamic World do not appear in the standard bibliographies on Islam, such as *Index islamicus*, since the bibliographies do not usually include technical demographic journals within their purview. The best source of information on works on any facet of demography is *Population index* (Princeton, quarterly), one of the most thorough and valuable bibliographies in the social sciences. In addition to hundreds of journals, the *Index* examines all relevant bibliographies from other disciplines for materials on demo-

graphy. See also *Bibliographie internationale de la démographie historique* (Paris); *Review of population reviews* (Paris); and *International population census bibliography*, 6 vols. and suppl., Austin, Texas 1965-8, new vols. in preparation.).

General statistics. The best source of recent demographic statistics on a country is usually the published census, sometimes updated by intercensal estimates in the nation's statistical yearbook. The United Nations *Demographic yearbook* (New York, annual) summarises statistics on population, fertility, mortality, and other demographic topics for all nations. Each year's edition of the *Demographic yearbook* also features detailed statistics on special topics such as marriage or international migration. See also the United Nations *Population and vital statistics report*, published quarterly (New York), which contains topical information.

From 1969 to 1978, the Population Council of the United States published short descriptions and statistics on the demography of various nations in its *Country profiles* (New York 1969-78). The United States Bureau of the Census publishes brief descriptions of selected nation's demography in the series *Country demographic profiles*.

(J. McCARThy)

DEMON [see *ḌINN*, *ḤAYTĀN*].

DERBOUKA [see *DARABUKKA*].

DERIVATION [see *ISHTIKĀK*].

DESERT [see *BADW*, *ṢAḤRĀ'*].

DESK, WRITING [see *KITĀBA*].

DESTINY, FATE [see *AL-KAḌĀ' WA-'L-KADAR*].

DEVIL [see *IBLĪS*, *ḤAYTĀN*].

DHABĪHA means both the sacrifices of a victim and the victim itself. In addition to the religious sacrifices studied in the art. *DHABĪHA*, there exist a host of others, meant for special occasions (*dbiḥa* in Maghribī Arabic; Berber *tamoghrist*; etc.), which have been treated at length in the art. *DAM* above. On the blood sacrifices practised before the advent of Islam, see in particular *'ATIRA* and *NADHR*, and also J. Chelhod, *Le sacrifice chez les Arabes*, Paris 1955, and the bibliography cited there.

(ED.)

DHĀT AL-ŠAWĀRĪ, *DHĀT* 'L-ŠAWĀRĪ, *GHAZWAT AL-ŠAWĀRĪ*, "the Battle of the Masts", the names given in the Arabic sources to a naval battle between the Arabs and Byzantines in the latter part of 'Uthmān's caliphate. The locale of the engagement is not wholly certain, but was probably off the coast of Lycia in southern Anatolia near the place Phoenix (modern Turkish Finike, *chef-lieu* of the *kaza* of that name in the *vilayet* of Antalya).

As governor of Syria, Mu'āwiya [q.v.] seems to have inaugurated a policy of building up Arab naval power in order to counter Byzantine control of the Eastern Mediterranean, and in 28/648-9 Cyprus had been attacked [see *KUBRUS*]. The Muslim fleet at Dhāt al-Šawārī comprised ships from the Syrian coastal ports and from Alexandria, and was under the command of either the governor of Egypt 'Abd Allāh b. Abī Sarḥ [see *'ABD ALLĀH B. SA'D*] or of a certain Abu 'l-A'war; the Byzantine fleet was commanded by the Emperor Constans II Pogonatus in person. The exact date of this is unsure, but was either 31/651-2 or 34/654-5 (both dates in al-Tabarī, i, 2865, but 34/655 in al-Balādhurī, *Ansāb*, v, 50); nor are the details of the battle clear, whilst those which we do possess have been given many semi-legendary touches. However, the Muslim forces gained a decisive victory, and Constans had to flee

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to Sicily, where he was assassinated in 668. That the Arabs failed immediately to follow up this triumph, and did not attack Constantinople itself until Mu'āwīya's reign (in 52-8/672-8), was probably the consequence of mounting *fitna* within the caliphate, culminating in 'Uthmān's murder in 35/656 although they were able to sack Rhodes in 33/653-4, just after Dhāt al-Šawārī, if we adopt the earlier chronology for the battle.

Bibliography: For the Arabic, Syriac and Greek sources, see Caetani, *Chronographia islamica*, ii, 360; See also J. Wellhausen, *Die Kämpfe der Araber mit den Römern in der Zeit der Umayyiden*, in *Nachrichten der Königl. Gesell. der Wiss. zu Göttingen*, Ph.-Hist. Kl., iv (1901), 414-47; C.H. Becker, in *Cambridge mediaeval history*, ii = *Islamstudien*, i, 96-7; M. Canard, *Les expéditions des Arabes contre Constantinople dans l'histoire et dans la légende*, in *JA*, ccviii (1926), 61-121; P.K. Hitti, *History of the Arabs*, 200-1; G.F. Hourani, *Arab seafaring in the Indian Ocean in ancient and early mediaeval times*, Princeton 1951, 57-9; Y.'A. Hāshimī, *Dhātu 's-Šawārī, a naval engagement between the Arabs and Byzantines*, in *IQ*, iv (1961), 55-64; E. Eickhoff, *Seekrieg und Seepolitik zwischen Islam und Abendland, das Mittelmeer unter byzantinischer und arabischer Hegemonie (650-1040)*, Berlin 1966, 18-21. For the Byzantine point of view, and especially for the effect of this defeat on subsequent Byzantine naval policy, see H. Ahrweiler, *Byzance et la mer: la marine de guerre, la politique et les institutions maritimes de Byzance aux VII^e-XV^e siècles*, Paris 1966, 17 ff.

(C. E. BOSWORTH)

DHIKRĪS, **ZIKRĪS**, a Muslim sect of southern Balūčistān, especially strong amongst the Balūč of Makrān [q.v.], but also with some representation amongst the Brahūis of further north. The sect's name derives from the fact that its adherents exalted the liturgical recitations of formulae including the name and titles of God, sc. *dhikr* [q.v.], above the formal Muslim worship, the *ṣalāt* or *namāz*.

The *Dhikrīs* were believed by Hughes-Buller to stem from the North Indian heterodox movement of the Mahdawiyya, the followers of Sayyid Muḥammad Mahdī of Džawnpūr (847-910/1443-1505), who claimed to be an *imām* with a revelation superseding that of Muḥammad the Prophet [see *AL-DJAWNPU'RĪ* and *ET* art. *MAHDAWĪS*]. Adherents of the Mahdawiyya would have brought their doctrines to the remote region of Makrān via Farāh in eastern Afghānistān, where Muḥammad Mahdī Džawnpūrī was buried. The rise of the *Dhikrīs* in Makrān is apparently contemporaneous with that of the local line of Bolēday Balūč *maliks* in Makrān (early 17th century); both they and their successors after ca. 1740, the Gičkīs, were strong adherents of the *Dhikrīs*, and their heterodoxy brought down upon them several attacks by the orthodox Sunnī Khān of Kalāt, Mīr Naṣīr Khān (d. 1795) [see *KILĀT* and G.P. Tate, *History of the Ahmadzai Khans of Kalāt*].

Because, as with other unorthodox sects in Islam, its opponents spread slanderous reports about the immorality of the *Dhikrī* sect (incestuous practices, community of goods, etc.), the *Dhikrī* adherents were often driven to practice dissimulation in religion or *takiyya* [q.v.], and it is accordingly not easy to obtain a clear picture of their doctrines and practices. It seems that these were consolidated in the early 18th century by Mullā Gičkī and that they included the idea of *ta'wīl* of the Kur'ān by the Mahdī, whose interpretation had replaced Muḥammad of Mecca's

literal one; the non-necessity of observing the Ramaḍān fast; and the superiority of *dhikr* over *ṣalāt*. These formulae of *dhikr* are to be recited six times daily in special huts called *zikhānas* which are not orientated towards the *qibla*. Instead of pilgrimage to Arabia, the *Dhikrīs* established a Ka'ba or shrine of their own at the Koh-i Murād near Turbat, in the district of Kēč in central Makrān, with a sacred well of its own, the *cāh-i zamzam*. British observers noted that the *mullās* of the *Dhikrī* communities had considerable influence.

Hughes-Buller's information relates to the first decades of this century, when he noted that the sect seemed to be on the decline, and it is difficult to ascertain the present status of the sect, if indeed it survives at all in Balūčistān now; the 1961 Pakistan population census reports mention the existence of *Dhikrīs* in Makrān and Las Bēla [q.v.], but they may be repeating information stemming from British Indian times.

Bibliography: R. Hughes-Buller, *Baluchistan District gazetteers series*, vii. *Makrān*, Bombay 1906, 48-50, 116-21, 304; *Imperial gazetteer of India*, vi, 276-80; and see M. Longworth Dames, *ET* art. *Balūčistān*. Religion, education, etc. (C.E. BOSWORTH)

DIALECT [see 'ARABIYYA and other languages].**DIAMOND** [see *ALMĀS*].**DICTIONARY** [see *KĀMŪS*, *MU'QJAM*].**DIGITAL COMPUTER** [see *HISĀB AL-'AḲD*].**DIKE** [see *MĀ*].

AL-DĪKDĀN, a fortress situated on that part of the eastern shore of the Persian Gulf called the Sif 'Umāra, not far from the island of Kays [q.v.], and famous in the 4th/10th century. It was known under three designations, Kal'at al-Dīkdān, Ḥiṣn Dīkbāya and Ḥiṣn Ibn 'Umāra, as well as the Persian one Diz-i Pīsar-i 'Umāra (*Hudūd al-'ālam*, tr. 126). It stood guard over a village of fishermen and a port which could shelter some 20 ships, and according to Ibn Ḥawqal (tr. Kramers and Wiet, 268-9), following Iṣṭakhrī (140), no-one could get up to it unaided, since one had to be hoisted up by means of cables and a kind of crane or hoist. He adds that it was, for the Banū 'Umāra, an observation post from which they could watch the movement of ships on the sea: "when a vessel approaches, they bring it to a halt and demand a percentage of its cargo". The name of this fortress (= "tripod", "trivet", see Ibn Khurra-dādhbih, Glossary, 211), which al-Mas'ūdī considered as one of the wonders of the world (*Murūdj*, ii, 69 = § 501), is to be explained by the configuration of the land on which it was perched.

The geographers connect it with al-Djulandā b. Kan'an (Ibn Ḥawqal) or K.r.k.r (*Hudūd*, tr. 143; cf. Abu 'l-Kāsim al-Azdī, *Hikāya*, 138 l. 3; but it is probable that these two names are a deformation of al-Mustakīr, see Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, Tab. 216 and ii, 264). The Banū 'Umāra claimed to be descendants of al-Djulandā and stated that their ancestors had established themselves in the district in the time of Moses. Now al-Djulandā and his family are known to have been kings in Yemen (Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, 265, 266; Ibn Ḥaǧǧār, *Isāba*, No. 1295; M. Hamidullah, *Le Prophète de l'Islam*, index; etc.); on this basis, they levied dues on all merchandise and probably indulged too in piracy, since the Kur'ānic verse (XVII, 78/79) "... a king who was behind them, taking every ship by force" was applied to them. In reality, the Banu 'Umara were probably a family of the Azd [q.v.] of 'Umān who had settled in Fārs at an unknown date and who con-

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trolled the Sif 'Umāra during a period difficult to define precisely. Yāqūt (ii, 711) certainly states that the Āl al-Djūlandā (the name of several lords of Fārs) were still powerful in his own time, but he only cites (ii, 966), after al-Mas'ūdī (*loc. cit.*), 'Abd Allāh b. 'Umāra who died in 309/921-2 after having reigned over the island of Zīrbādī for 25 years; his brother (?) Dja'far b. Hamza who reigned six months; and his son Baṭṭāl b. 'Abd Allāh who succeeded his uncle (?), who had been assassinated by his *ghilmān*. At all events, the fortress was in ruins at the time of al-Kāḷashandī (*Subh*, iii, 242).

Bibliography: In addition to the sources mentioned above, see Marquart, *Erānsahr*, 45; Schwarz, *Iran*, 77; Le Strange, 256-7; Barthold and Minorsky, *Hudūd al-'ālam*, 39-40, 377, 396.

(CH. PELLAT)

AL-DILĀ', an ancient place in the Middle Atlas region of Morocco which owed its existence to the foundation in the last quarter of the 10th/16th century of a *zāwiya* [q.v.], a "cultural" centre meant for teaching the Islamic sciences and Arab letters, and at the same time spreading the doctrine of the Shādhiliyya [q.v.] order, more precisely the branch known as the Djazūliyya [see AL-DJAZŪLĪ, ABŪ 'ABD ALLĀH MUHAMMAD], and also sheltering the needy and travellers. In 1048/1638, the *zāwiya dilā'iyya* or *bakriyya* (from the founder's name, Shaykh Abū Bakr Ibn Muḥammad) was moved a dozen kilometres and gave birth to a new complex, enjoying a certain importance, in a spot now occupied by the *zāwiya* of the Ayt Ishāk, 35 km. southwest of Khnifra and 64 km. northeast of Kaṣbat Tādla. Impelled by the founder's drive, who belonged to a family possessing vast estates and rich revenues, the *zāwiya* developed considerably, especially after 1012/1603, for during the troubled period which followed the death of the Sa'did sultan al-Manṣūr [q.v.], it provided a safe haven for students coming from the traditional urban centres and, thanks to its library and to the members of the Dilā'iyyūn family, aided by scholars from outside seeking refuge and staying at al-Dilā', intellectual resources which were quite appreciable. The subjects taught there comprised, in addition to Sūfism, the Kur'ānic readings, *ḥadīth*, *fikh*, logic, grammar, *adab* and a little astronomy for determining the hours of prayer.

Abū Bakr (d. 1021/1612) seems to have limited himself to dispensing his teaching to students of the *zāwiya*, but his descendants have left behind a fairly important work which has been partly reviewed by M. Ḥadjidjī (*al-Zāwiya al-dilā'iyya*, 251-3). His successor Maḥammad b. Abī Bakr (d. 1046/1636) was in particular the author of a *Faḥrasa* (of which one ms. exists in a private library) and of a collection of *ḥadīth*s, *Arba'ūn ḥadīth* (ms. Rabat 1295 Dj.). At his death the direction of the *zāwiya* passed to his son Maḥammad al-Ḥādjī (d. 1082/1671), who very soon transferred the centre to its new site and brought it to its full development. Scholars and literary figures like al-Makḥārī and Ibn al-Kāḍī [q.v.] had already stayed at al-Dilā', but the new *zāwiya* attracted quite a numerous group of scholars, among whom the most remarkable was certainly al-Yūsī [q.v.].

Maḥammad al-Ḥādjī took part in the renaissance of Arabic culture in Morocco which was owed to the *zāwiya dilā'iyya*, although he did not participate very actively in this intellectual movement. Already in his father's lifetime he had undertaken minor expeditions which had been crowned with success, and he now turned resolutely towards military action, taking

advantage of the decadence of the Sa'dids [q.v.]. Operations began in 1048/1638, and the head of the *zāwiya* combatted, in this same year and on the banks of the wādī al-'Abīd, a Sa'did army sent from Marrakesh. Two years later, after various adventures, he had managed to establish his authority over the northwestern quarter of Morocco and, on 1056/1646, he reached as far as Tāfilālt. In 1061/1651 he proclaimed himself sultan of Morocco and established diplomatic relations with various European powers. However, countermovements soon followed in various towns, and after some successes over other claimants to power and over the Spanish, he was finally beaten in 1079/1668 by the 'Alawī sultan Mawlay al-Raṣṣīd [q.v.]. He was forced to submit to the latter, who merely exiled him with his family to Tlemcen, but allowed his troops to plunder the riches of the *zāwiya dilā'iyya* and then had the complex—whose site has only recently been identified—razed to the ground.

The Dilā'iyyūn later established themselves at Fās, where they soon came to form a kind of religious and intellectual aristocracy whose prestige was only surpassed by that of the Fāsiyyūn [see AL-FĀSĪ in Suppl.]. Only a grandson of Maḥammad al-Ḥādjī, Aḥmad b. 'Abd Allāh (d. 1091/1680) tried in 1088/1677 to rebel against Mawlay Ismā'īl [q.v.] in the region of al-Dilā', but he was defeated in the next year on the banks of the wādī al-'Abīd. Some of Abū Bakr's descendants still live today in various towns of Morocco, in particular, at Fās, Casablanca and Rabat (see Ḥadjidjī, *op. cit.*, 255-6, and E. Lévi-Provençal, *Chorfa*, 299, with genealogical tables).

After Maḥammad b. Abī Bakr (see above), his son Aḥmad al-Ḥārithī (d. 1051/1641) composed a grammatical commentary which seems to have been lost, but it was another of his sons, Muḥammad, called al-Murābiṭ from his ascetic way of life, who was apparently the first to enjoy a wide audience beyond the confines of Morocco; he was indeed the author of various works which were in some demand in their time, amongst which have been preserved *al-Ma'ridj al-muntakāt ilā ma'ānī al-warakāt* (*fikh*; Ms. Rabat 276 K), *Natā'idj al-taḥṣīl fī shārḥ al-Taḥṣīl* (of Ibn Mālik; grammatical commentary in 4 vols. known as far as Egypt), *Faḥ al-Laṭīf 'alā 'l-baṣṭ wa 'l-tarīf fī 'ilm al-taṣrīf* (grammar; lith. Fās 1316), and other works (see G. Vajda, in *Hespéris*, xlviii [1956], 215-16). This grammarian survived the destruction of al-Dilā' and died in Fās in 1089/1678. Two other members of the family became especially well-known in Fās. The first, Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad al-Masnāwī b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Masnāwī b. Abī Bakr b. Muḥammad b. Maḥammad b. Abī Bakr (1072-1136/1661-1724), was a preacher and *imām* at the Abū 'Ināniyya *madrasa*, *muftī* and *shaykh al-djāmā'a* (i.e. dean of the professors). He has left behind several works, notably a genealogical treatise on the descendants of 'Abd al-Kādir al-Djilānī [q.v.], the *Natīdjat al-taḥkīk fī ba'd ahl al-sharaf al-waṭṭīk* (lith. Fās 1309/1891; ed. Tunis 1296/1879; partial Eng. tr. T.H. Weir, *The first part of the Natījatu 'l-taḥqīq*, Edinburgh 1903); his output comprises, in addition to treatises on genealogy, law and mysticism, a poem of 40 verses written just before his death in order to seek God's pardon and recited at Fās at burials, and finally *al-Makāma al-fikriyya fī mahāsin al-zāwiya al-bakriyya* (see Lévi-Provençal, *Chorfa*, 301-2; M. Lakhdar, *Vie littéraire*, 152-8 and bibl.). The other Dilā' worthy of note is Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad al-Ḥādjī b. Muḥammad b. Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Bakr, who died accidentally

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between Mecca and Medina after having made the Pilgrimage (1141/1729). Several of his works have been preserved: poems glorifying the Prophet; *Ẓahr al-ḥadā'ik* (ms. Rabat 306 K) and *al-Ẓahr al-nadī fī 'l-khulūk al-muḥammadī* (ms. Rabat 157 D), an urǧūza on the Chorfa *Durrat al-tiǧān* (mss. Rabat 498, 522, 1180, 1244 K; lith. Fās), etc. (see Lakhdar, 166-8).

Bibliography: The basic Arabic sources are still unpublished: *Yāzighī, Ḥadā'ik al-azḥār al-nadīyya fī 'l-ta'rīf bi-ahl al-zāwiya al-dilā'iyya al-bakriyya* (urǧūza; ms. Rabat 261 D). *Tāzī, Nuḥḥat al-akḥyār al-marǧiyyūn fī manāḥib al-'ulamā' al-dilā'iyyūn al-bakriyyūn* (ms. Rabat 1264 K). *Ḥawwāt, al-Budūr al-dāwiyya fī 'l-ta'rīf bi'l-sādāt ahl al-zāwiya al-dilā'iyya* (ms. Rabat 261 D). These sources, the Moroccan historians in general and the documents of various origin which are concerned with the political, diplomatic and military events, during the period of Maḥammad al-Ḥādīdj, have been utilised by M. Ḥādīdjī for his excellent monograph, *al-Zāwiya al-dilā'iyya wa-dawruhā al-dīnī wa 'l-ilmī wa 'l-siyāsī* (Rabat 1384/1964), to which one should in the first place direct the enquirer, who will find there both biographies of the main members of the Dilā'iyyūn and also a detailed bibliography. In his thesis on *L'activité intellectuelle au Maroc à l'époque sa'dide* (Rabat 1976-7, 2 vols.), this same author has devoted a section to the *zāwiya* (551-7), and the index, s.vv. Dilā', Dilā'ī and Dilā'ides, enables one to track down various items of scattered information.; For the period after the destruction of the *zāwiya* at al-Dilā', see E. Lévi-Provençal, *Les historiens des Chorfa*, Paris 1922, 298-303; and M. Lakhdar, *La vie littéraire au Maroc sous la dynastie 'alawide*, Rabat 1971, index s.v. Dilā'ī.

(CH. PELLAT)

DINET, ALPHONSE, Etienne (1861-1929), French painter of oriental subjects and writer who assumed the name NACIR ED DINE (Nāṣir al-Dīn) when he became a convert to Islam.

He was born in Paris on 28 March 1861, and studied under several well-known painters (Galland, Bouguereau, Robert-Fleury). After a first trip to Algeria (1884), he won a scholarship which allowed him to return there in 1885, and from then onwards he led a nomadic life there for several months of each year, until he settled at Bou Saada (Bū Sa'āda) in 1907. It was in this region of the southern part of Constantine province that he met in 1889 an educated Algerian, Sliman ben Ibrahim (d. 1953), who having rescued him, at the risk of his own life, during a local disturbance, became an inseparable friend and constant collaborator of his, even in Paris. Contact with Muslims gradually detached Dinet from the Christian faith, which he renounced in 1913 and discreetly embraced Islam; he renewed publicly his profession of faith in the New Mosque of Algiers in 1927.

His artistic output, considerable in quantity and of high quality, comprises mainly Algerian and Arab scenes and landscapes, which very quickly brought him wide celebrity, even beyond the ranks of the Société des Orientalistes founded in 1887 by Léonce Benedite, which he immediately joined. Before the end of the 19th century, several of his tableaux were on display at various museums: *Les terrasses de Laghouat* (Luxembourg Museum), *Vue de M'sila* (Pau Museum), *Charmeurs de serpents* (Sydney Museum), etc. After having illustrated the 1898 edition of Devic's *Les aventures d'Antar*, he enhanced

with his own compositions texts gathered together or edited by Sliman ben Ibrahim and translated by his own hands, in particular, *Rabia el-Kouloub* [*Rabī' al-kulūb*] ou le printemps des coeurs (three Saharan legends, Paris 1902); *Tableaux de la vie arabe* (Paris 1904, 1928), which contain fine reproductions of 24 oil paintings (including his own portrait and that of Sliman) accompanied by a presentation and commentary by the latter translated into French; *Mirages, scènes de la vie arabe*, Paris 1960; *El Fiafi oua el-kifar* [*al-Fayāfī wa 'l-kifār*] ou le désert (Paris 1911); and *Khadra, danseuse Ouled Nail* (Paris 1909, 1926). His most famous work, again written in collaboration with Sliman and published simultaneously in two parallel versions, French and English, at Paris in 1918, remains nevertheless *La Vie de Mohammed, Prophète d'Allah*. The Algerian painter Mohammed Racim (Rāsim) also contributed to illustrating this luxury work, which has never been re-published in its entirety (a recent reprint only has some colour prints and one of Racim's aquarelles; a standard edition unillustrated, has appeared in Paris 1927, 1937, 1947, 1961, 1975 and 1977).

Two years after his official conversion, Dinet and Sliman ben Ibrahim made together the Pilgrimage to the holy places of Islam. Although he claimed to have taken "no notes, no drawing, no photographs" during his stay in Arabia, there appeared magnificent plates showing scenes of the Pilgrimage as illustrations for the *riḥla* which appeared in French from "El Hadj Nacir ed-Dine E. Dinet et El Hadj Sliman ben Ibrahim Baāmer" and with the double title *al-Ḥādīdj ilā Bayt Allāh al-Ḥarām* (in Arabic script) and *Le Pèlerinage à la Maison Sacrée d'Allah*, together with the date 1347. In fact, this narrative, written on the return from the pilgrimage of 1347 and completed on 6 (*sic*; read 25) Rabī' II 1348/30 September 1929, came off the press in Paris at the beginning of 1930 (2nd edn. 1962), just a few weeks after its principal author's death (24 December 1929). His funeral took place on 28 December at the Great Mosque in Paris (in whose foundation he had himself been concerned) in the presence of leading personalities and of the representatives of several Muslim governments. His corpse was taken to Bou Saada and buried in the tomb which he had made there, and which tourists are still today invited to visit (see Guides Bleus, *Algérie*, s.v. Bou Saada); the house there he lived has been made into a Dinet Museum by Sliman ben Ibrahim.

This highly-talented painter of oriental topics deserves a notice in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* not only because he died a Muslim, but also because he can be considered as a fervent apologist for the faith which he had assumed. Several of his written works caused a certain stir in the Islamic world, especially in Egypt, thanks to his friend Rāshīd Rustum, who in 1929 published at Cairo *Ashī'a khāssa min nūr al-Islām*, the translation of a lecture by Dinet called *Rayons de lumière exclusivement islamiques* (2nd edn. Paris 1966). Tawfīk Aḥmad was to translate, in the *Madjallat Dīam'iyyat al-Shubbān al-Muslimīn*, the latter part of his *Pèlerinage*, and 'Umar Fākhūrī was to issue at Damascus, in *Ārā' gharbiyya fī masā'il shārkīyya*, a version of his *L'Orient vu de l'Occident* (Paris n.d.) under the title *al-Shārk kamā yarāhu al-Gharb*. This last is a very detailed critique of the studies of Lammens, Nöldeke, De Goeje, Sprenger, Snouck Hurgronje, Grimme, Margoliouth, etc., which was subsequently to be extensively used by the Azharī *shaykh* 'Abd

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al-Halīm Maḥmūd in the substantial introduction prefaced to his translation of *La Vie de Mohammed, Prophète d'Allah*, made, in conjunction with his son Muḥammad, from the original edition as *Muḥammad Rasūl Allāh* (Cairo 1956). It is rather surprising that Dinēt's *Sīra* which, as we have seen, had a lively success among French-reading circles, did not draw the attention of the Egyptians during the 1930s, at a time when Haykal was in part inspired, in his *Hayāt Muḥammad*, by *La Vie de Mahomet* of E. Dermenghem published at Paris in 1929; possibly, like this last author (p. IV), they regarded it as too traditionalist. It is a fact that Dinēt and Sliman ben Ibrahim affirmed that they had based themselves exclusively on the works of Ibn Hishām, Ibn Sa'd, etc. and on the *Sīra ḥalabiyya*, and they remark that "the study of innovations" introduced by "modern orientalist" into the Prophet's biography have led them "to assert that, at times, they were inspired by an Islamophobia hard to reconcile with science and little worthy of our age".

It can easily be seen that the detailed criticism which makes up essentially *L'Orient vu de l'Occident* gave 'Abd al-Halīm Maḥmūd valuable arguments against the "orientalists" and in favour of a *sīra* of traditional character which must have been pleasing to its readers, since a second edition of his translation appeared in 1958. The translator analyses Nāṣir al-Dīn's apologetical methods and, basing himself on the latter's writings, demonstrates the superiority of Islam over Christianity. As opposed to the works of the Arabists whose researches tend only to set forth the reality of Islam, without any polemical intentions, Dinēt's principal Islamological works seem to have as their aim less a scientific study of his new religion than a glorification of it and an encouragement to the whole world to follow his example. His viewpoint is very clearly summed up in a paragraph of his *Pèlerinage*, where he affirms that Islam responds "to all the aspirations of different kinds of believers. Having a supreme simplicity with Mu'tazilism, wildly mystical with Sufism, it brings a sense of direction and a consolation to the European or Asian scholar, without stepping on the absolute freedom of his thought, as much as to a Sudanese negro whom it snatches away from the superstitious worship of fetishes. It exalts the soul of the practically-minded English merchant, for whom "time is money", as much as that of the deist philosopher, and that of the contemplative of the East as much as that of the Westerner carried away by art and poetry. It will even seduce the modern medical man by the logic of its repeated ablutions and the rhythm of its bowings and prostrations equally salutary to the care of the body as to the health of the mind. The freethinker himself, who is not inevitably an atheist, will be able to consider the Islamic revelation as a sublime manifestation of that mysterious force called 'inspiration' and will admit it without difficulty, since it contains no mysterious element inadmissible by reason".

Bibliography: F. Arnaudès, *E. Dinēt et el-Hadj Sliman ben Ibrahim*, Algiers 1933; J. Dinēt-Rollin (the painter's sister), *La vie de E. Dinēt*, Paris 1938 (with ill.); Rāshid Rustum, obituary art. in *al-Ahrām* of 29 December 1929; introd. to the Arabic tr. of *La vie de Mohammed*; See also A.E. Dinēt, *Les fléaux de la peinture*, Paris 1904, 1905, 1926; as an official homage to Dinēt *Un maître de la peinture algérienne*, Nasreddin

Dinet (Ar. and Fr. texts, numerous ill.) was published in Algiers in 1977. (CH. PELLAT)

DIRĀR B. 'AMR, ABŪ 'AMR AL-ĠHĀṬAFĀNĪ AL-KŪFĪ (ca. 110-200/ca. 728-815), important Mu'tazilī theologian, disciple of Wāṣil b. 'Aṭā' (d. 131/749). In contrast to many other early Mu'tazilīs, he was of pure Arab extraction; he belonged to the 'Abd Allāh b. Ḡhāṭafān in Kūfa. He founded his prestige, however, through his teaching in Baṣra where Wāṣil had lived. By profession he is said to have been a *kāḍī*. After 170/786 we find him in Baghdād in the circle of the Barmakids, where he took part, together with Hishām b. al-Ḥakam, the Ibādī scholar 'Abd Allāh b. Yazīd, the Zaydī Sulaymān b. Ḍjarīr, and others, including non-Muslim theologians, in the famous debates arranged by Yahyā b. Kḥālīd al-Barmakī, the *wazīr* of Harūn al-Rashīd. This position exposed him to certain suspicions: the *kāḍī* Sa'īd b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ḍjūmahī (d. 174/790 or 176/792) outlawed him because of *zandaqa*. But, in the presence of Barmakī protection, this seems to have been a mere verbal menace. In reality, Ḍirār had attacked the *zanādika* and the *mulhidūn* in several books; he seems to have lent intellectual support to the governmental measurements against the Manichaeans since the time of al-Mahdī (158-69/775-85). He not only applied the methods of dialectical theology (*kalām*); he also analysed them and tried to propagate them among the masses, through a *risāla ilā 'l-amma* (cf. Malaṭī, *Tanbīh*, ed. Dederling 31, ll. 10 ff.), which may have been identical with his *K. Adāb al-mutakallimīn* or his *K. ilā man balagha min al-muslimīn*. He was an extremely prolific writer: 57 titles of books are listed in the *Fihrist*, more than those of any other Mu'tazilī.

This is all the more astonishing as neither Ka'bī in his *Makālāt al-islāmiyyīn* nor the *kāḍī* 'Abd al-Ḍjabbār in his *Fadl al-iftizāl* (nor, consequently, Ibn al-Murtaḍā in his *Ṭabaḳāt al-Mu'tazila*) allow him a biography; they did not consider him a Mu'tazilī. Nor did al-Kḥayyāt, when Ibn al-Rāwandī identified the Mu'tazila with Ḍirār's ideas. But Ibn al-Rāwandī is in line not only with non-Mu'tazilī writers like al-Nawbakḥī or al-Bazdawī and al-Dhahabī, but also with Mu'tazilī authors like Ibn al-Nadīm and al-Nāshī' al-akbar, who count Ḍirār among those numerous Mu'tazilīs who did not exactly correspond to the canonical school dogma established in the *uṣūl al-khamsa*. These five principles were apparently first formulated by Abu 'l-Hudhayl, and it is with Abu 'l-Hudhayl and Bishr b. al-Mu'tamir that opposition against Ḍirār emerged. Their verdict determined the later school tradition, but it did not succeed in suppressing Ḍirār's writings. Those who avowed their indebtedness to his ideas are therefore mostly found outside the Mu'tazila: Ḥaṣṣ al-Fard in Egypt and other Ḥanafīs in Baṣra and elsewhere. A Ḍirāriyya group is attested in Armenia by Nashwān al-Himyārī (*al-Hūr al-'in*, 212, l. 3). His influence in theology as well as in jurisprudence (*uṣūl al-fikḥ*) can be ascertained during at least two generations, although the opposition, Mu'tazilī as well as non-Mu'tazilī, frequently preferred, in such cases, to talk about "Ḍjahmīs" instead of Ḍirārīs.

This was an old reproach: Bishr b. al-Mu'tamir had claimed, in his *Urḍūza* written in prison under Harūn al-Rashīd, that Ḍirār and his school had succumbed to the influence of Ḍjahm b. Ṣafwān. What was true in this was that Ḍirār had reacted against Ḍjahm's rigid determinism: he had conceded



that God creates (*khalāqa*) everything including man's actions, but he also insisted that man, in order to be responsible for his actions, simultaneously does them himself, either immediately or through "generation" (*tawlīd*). In order to describe man's share in them, he used the Qur'ānic term *kasaba* or *iktasaba* which does not yet mean "acquisition" here, but rather the mere performance of the act (cf. M. Schwarz in *Islamic philosophy and the classical tradition, essays presented to R. Walzer*, Oxford 1972 367 f.); he stressed man's freedom of choice (*ikhtiyār*) by assuming a capacity (*istiṭā'a*) already *before* the act. The concept is clearly synergistic; Dīrār openly talked about two "agents", God and man. This is where Abu 'l-Hudhayl and Bishr b. al-Mu'tamir saw a sin against the spirit of the school; they eliminated the idea that God "creates" anything in human actions. Dīrār could, however, argue convincingly with an example like the Qur'ān: when somebody recites the Qur'ān, not only his recitation, *kur'ān*, is heard, but also the Qur'ān as created by God. The equivocalness of the word (*kur'ān* and Qur'ān) added to the suggestiveness of the theory.

Outside the sphere of man, Dīrār supported God's omnipotence by an elaborate metaphysical system based on the exclusively accidental structure of the creation. Each body consists of a network of indispensable accidents, i.e. qualities without which it would not exist, but which may be realised in a spectrum of varieties best described by their extremes: temperature ("hot or cold"), extension ("long or short"), weight ("light or heavy"), consistence ("humid or dry"), nature of its surface ("rough or soft"), colour, taste, odour, etc. In their agglomeration (*ta'rif* or *idtimā'*), they form its nucleus; there is nothing like a "substance". But they do not have a separate existence either; isolated, they are a mere abstraction. Other accidents which are not indispensable like movement, pain (in human beings) etc. may occur, but they do not form "part" of the body. They do not possess any endurance (*bakā'*) and are therefore created anew in every moment (cf. Ash'arī, *Makalāt al-Islāmiyyīn*, 305, ll. 11 f. and 359, ult. ff.). A body for long does not lose its individuality, as less than half of its basic qualities have been replaced by their contrary. Change of any kind may be explained through this process; here Dīrār and his adherents seem to have absorbed certain Aristotelian ideas, especially the concept of ἀλλοίωσις (*istihāla*, cf. *Isl.*, xliii (1967), 254 ff.). The entire model is, of course, not Aristotelian; Dīrār criticised Aristotle for his doctrine of substances and accidents in a separate treatise (cf. *Fihrist*, ed. Fück, in *Shafi comm. volume*, 69, title no. 14). The system does not allow for any self-determining and independent nature of things (*tabī'a*); this is why it was rejected offhand by Dīrār's contemporary Mu'ammār and later on by an-Nazzām, who joined a tradition which was more coloured by Stoic ideas [see KUMŪN]. The consequences were especially visible in the definition of man: he is a conglomerate of "colour, taste, odour, capacity, etc.", but there is no independent and immortal soul.

Using two surprisingly elaborate philosophical terms which were never applied again by the Mu'tazila, Dīrār differentiated in everything which exists between its *amīyya* "existence" and its *māhiyya* "quiddity". Opposition arose when he transferred this distinction to God: we know God's *amīyya*, but we ignore the plenitude of His *māhiyya*. For we can infer the aspects of his essence only through rational

conclusion; but we know from ourselves that an outsider is never able to explore the hidden sides of our nature to the same extent that we are aware of them ourselves. This is why we must be satisfied with negative theology: "God is omniscient" merely means that He is not ignorant. Full knowledge will be attained only in the Hereafter; then God's essence will be recognised, not through the *ru'ya bi 'l-abṣār* as many non-Mu'tazilī theologians believed, but through a sixth sense created for this purpose by God. This theory seems to have been prepared by Abū Ḥanīfā and was taken over by a number of Hanafīs during the following two generations. Later Mu'tazilīs may have seen in it too strong a limitation of revelatory evidence and of the intellectual potential of *kalām*; the theory still depended on Ḍjāhm's concept of the total transcendence of God.

They may have felt more familiar with Dīrār's idea to differentiate between two aspects of God's will: "God's will" may be identical with what happens, but also with what He only wants to happen, in His commandments. The latter alternative leaves room for man's *iktisāb*; sin, the crucial problem of Dīrār's theory of the two "creators", seems to have been explained by him through *khidhlān*, "abandonment (by God)" (ἐγκατάλειψις). On the other hand, God would always be able to make all unbelievers believe, by His grace (*lutf*; cf. Ibn Ḥazm, *Fisal*, iii, 165, ll. 7 ff. and iv, 192, ll. 9 ff.). This may have been a mere theoretical assumption. The idea was given up by most later Mu'tazilīs in favour of the concept of *al-aṣlah*, but Dīrār was still followed in it by Bishr b. al-Mu'tamir.

Ḍjāhmī spirit may also survive in Dīrār's denial of the punishment in the tomb; already Shāhḥām, Abū 'l-Hudhayl's youngest disciple, could pretend that no Mu'tazilī ever shared this radicalism (cf. Ibn al-Murtaḍā, *Tabakāt al-Mu'tazila*, 72, ll. 3 f.; also *Kādī* 'Abd al-Ḍjabbār, *Fadl al-Itizāl*, ed. Fu'ād Sayyid, 201, ll. 17 ff.). Dīrār's doctrine, however, that Paradise and Hell do not yet exist, but will be created during the Last Judgment, and that Adam therefore lived in a terrestrial garden, was accepted by many later Mu'tazilīs like Hishām al-Fuwaṭī, 'Abbād b. Sulaymān, Abū Hāshim, etc. It looks like an inversion of Ḍjāhm's thesis that Paradise and Hell are finite *a parte post*; but its immediate intention may have been to avoid certain pre-destinarian arguments which inferred from the actual existence of Hell the predetermined necessity of Evil (cf. *Mélanges d'Islamologie, Volume dédié à A. Abel*, Leiden 1974, 108 ff., with reference to a longer passage of Dīrārī theology preserved in Ibn Hishām's *K. al-Tiḍjān*). Dīrār's thesis created difficulties not only in Qur'ānic exegesis, but also with respect to several well-known *ahādīth*, for instance about the nocturnal ascension (*mi'rāḡ*) of the Prophet or about the martyrs entering Paradise immediately after their death.

This latter point, however, did not bother him very much: he did not accept isolated traditions (*ahkām āḥād*) as a proof in theological questions (*ahkām al-dīn*), and in his time most *ahādīth* still had this character of *āḥād*. The only epistemological criterion which, besides the Qur'ān, he found safe enough to base upon it religious truth after the death of the Prophet, was consensus (*idmā'*); in this he was followed by al-Aṣamm (*q.v.*), who took over the Mu'tazilī circle in Baṣra after him. Dīrār's attack against *hadīth* had been formulated in his *K. al-Tahrīsh wa'l-ighrā'*; he had pointed to the



fact that all sects used to rely on different and mutually contradicting *ahādīth*. It is possible, though unprovable, that the beginning of Ibn ʿUṭayba's *Ta'wīl mukhtalif al-ḥadīth* reflects ʿDirār's argumentation (cf. *Der Orient in der Forschung. Festschrift O. Spies*, Wiesbaden 1967, 184 f.).

Belief was, according to ʿDirār, closely linked to intellectual understanding; it begins therefore only with mental maturity (*kamāl al-ʿaql*). Simple people who do not rationalise their convictions may always live in unrecognised unbelief (cf. Ashʿarī, *Makālāt*, 282, ll. 2 ff.). But true belief from a Nabataean counts higher than from an Arab, because the Arabs were distinguished by the fact that the Prophet was elected from among them, whereas the Nabataeans always have to transgress the barrier of contempt for not having produced any prophet. If a Nabataean therefore ever entered into competition with a Qurayshī concerning the caliphate, preference should be given to the Nabataean as the more appropriate (*afḍal*) candidate. This would have the additional advantage that a Nabataean does not have a powerful clientele and could therefore more easily be deposed if necessary. The Qurayshī thus do not possess the monopoly of the caliphate, according to ʿDirār; long before him the superiority of neo-Muslims had been defended by similar arguments (cf. A. Noth in *Isl.*, xlvii (1971), 178 f.). Nevertheless, ʿDirār did not doubt that the first four caliphs were *afḍal* in the moment of their election. Judgment becomes difficult only with the Battle of the Camel. In this case, renowned Companions with equally good reputation stood against each other. The result was that both factions for ever lost their trustworthiness, even if met separately. ʿDirār compared this situation with two believing Muslims entering a house and one of them being heard from outside pronouncing a formula of blatant unbelief, but both of them being found dead afterwards; there would be no criterion then to find out the unbeliever among them, and both of them would have to be treated as such. In the context of the simile, the death of the two opponents stood for the impossibility of getting reliable historical information about the events of the First Civil War. This neutralistic attitude had been prepared by Wāsil b. 'Atā' and was continued, with slight variations and a different comparison, by Abu 'l-Hudhayl (cf. al-Nāshī' al-akbar, *Uṣūl al-nihāl*, § 90 and introduction, 46). The Shī'a understood it as a critique of 'Alī; in later times, they transmitted reports about discussions in which ʿDirār had been defeated concerning the problem of *imāma* by Hishām b. al-Hakam or 'Alī b. Mitham (cf. al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā, *al-Fuṣūl al-mukhtāra*, 29, ll. 4 ff., 39, ll. 4-6 ff.).

ʿDirār rejected 'Abd Allāh b. Mas'ūd's and Ubayy b. Ka'b's recension of the Qur'ān on the ground that their *ḥaṭf* was not revealed (cf. Nöldeke-Schwally, *Geschichte des Qorans*, iii, 107).

Bibliography: Sources and further detail are given in J. van Ess, *Dirār b. 'Amr und die "Cahmīya"* in *Isl.*, xliii (1967), 241 ff. and xlv (1968), 1 ff.; Scattered reports are also found in *Kāḍī* 'Abd al-Djabbār, *Faḍl al-ʿitizāl*, ed. Fu'ād Sayyid, Tunis 1974, index s.v.; Ya'kūbī, *Mushākalat al-nās li-zamānīhim*, ed. W. Milward, Beirut 1962, 25, l. 4; Abū Rashīd al-Naysābūrī, *Fī'l-tawḥīd*, ed. Abū Rīda, Cairo 1385/1965, 591, ll. 5 ff.; Abū Ya'la b. al-Farrā', *al-Mu'tamad fī uṣūl al-dīn*, ed. Ḥaddād, Beirut 1974, 101, ll. 8 ff.; al-Ṣabūnī, *al-Bidāya min al-kifāya*, ed. Khulayf, Cairo 1969, 107, ll. 7 ff.; Murtaḍā b. al-Dā'irī, *Tabṣīrat al-*

'awāmm, ed. Iḳbāl, index s.v. None of them brings new material. For studies see also M. Horten, *Die philosophischen Systeme der spekulativen Theologen im Islam*, Bonn 1912, 139 ff.; L. Massignon, *La Passion de Hallāj*, new ed. Paris 1975, index s.v.; A.S. Tritton, *Muslim theology*, London 1947, 69 ff.; W.M. Watt, in *JRAS* (1943), 234 ff.; idem, in *MIW*, xl (1950), 97 ff.; idem, *The formative period of Islamic thought*, Edinburgh 1973, 189 ff. and index s.v.; W. Madelung, *Der Imam al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm*, Berlin 1965, index s.v.; L. Gardet, *Études de philosophie et de mystique comparée*, Paris 1972, 102 ff.; H. Daiber, *Das theologisch-philosophische System des Mu'ammār ibn 'Abbād as-Sulamī*, Beirut 1975, index s.v.

(J. VAN ESS)

DISSOLUTION [see FASKH].

DITCH [see KHANDAK].

DIVINE DECREE [see AL-KADĀ' WA-'L-KADAR].

DĪWĀN-BEGI, the title of high officials in the Central Asian *khānates* in the 16th-19th centuries.

The title appears first, apparently, in the Tīmūrid period, when its bearer, a Turkic *amīr* of one of the tribes of the Čaġatāys, was in charge of military affairs and of the affairs of the Turkic subjects, and stood at the head of *dīwān-i imārat* (or *dīwān-i a'lā*) (see H.R. Roemer, *Staatsschreiben der Timuridenzeit*, Wiesbaden 1952, 169-71). The title had the same meaning in the state of the Ak Koyunlu [q.v.] (see J.E. Woods, *The Agqyunlu*, Minneapolis-Chicago 1976, 11). In the Ṣafawī state in Iran, the *dīwān-begi* was one of the seven *arkān-i dawlat* (members of the *maḍlis-i a'lā*) and was the high jurist, who tried, jointly with the *ṣadr al-sudūr*, the major crimes, as well as civil cases, controlled all *Sharī'a* courts and was a court of appeal for the whole kingdom (see *Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, ed. V. Minorsky, text, 20b-22b, tr. 50-1, comm. 119-20). There is very little information about the *dīwān-begi* in the Shaybānīd [q.v.] state in the 16th century, besides the fact that this title did exist; in the *'Abd Allāh-nāma* by Ḥāfiẓ Tanīsh [q.v. below] it appears very rarely and without definition of its functions.

More detailed information comes only from the time of the Ashtarkhānīds [see DĀNDIS]. The *Bahr al-asrār* by Maḥmūd b. Wālī (second quarter of the 17th century) mentions the *dīwān-begi* in a description of the ceremonial at the court of the Ashtarkhānīds in Balkh as being among the officials who were sitting on the left side of the *khān*, near the tripod (? *si pāya*; see V.V. Bartol'd, *Sochineniya*, ii/2, 391, 396; cf. M.A. Abduraimov, *Očerki agrarnikh otnosheniy v Bukharskom khanstve v XVI—pervoy polovine XIX veka*, i, Tashkent 1966, 73, where a reference is made to an account of a Russian ambassador to Bukhārā in the 17th century, who mentions that the throne of the *khān* of Bukhārā was raised above the level of the floor of the reception room by six steps; probably, the throne of the ruler of Balkh was raised above the level of the floor by three steps, and the expression *ba-kurb-i si pāya* can mean "near the three steps [leading to the throne]". This interpretation, however, remains dubious. Cf. also Quatremère, in *Notices et extraits*, xiv/1, 496, where *si pāya* is explained as "une charpente"). In the administrative manual *Madjma' al-arkām* compiled in Bukhārā in 1212/1798, the *dīwān-begi-yi kalān* is described as an official second in the rank after the *atalik* [q.v. above]; he was entrusted with the state finance, mainly with the collection of *kharaḍj* [q.v.], as well as with the supervision of the irrigation in the region of Kara-kul (see facsimile in *Pis'mennye*

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putyatniki Vostoka 1968, Moscow 1970, 55; Russian tr. by A.A. Semenov, in *Sovetskoye vostokovedeniye*, v [1948], 147). Russian ambassadors in Bukhārā in 1669 also describe the *dīwān-begi* as the second high-ranking official after the *atalik* and mention that he received the credentials from the ambassadors and passed them to the *khān* (see *Nakaz Borisu i Semenu Pazukhinim* . . ., St. Petersburg 1894, 49, 55, 76). The *Ashṭarkhānīd* chronicles confirm that one of the duties of the *dīwān-begi* was the reception of ambassadors (see *Ta'rikh-i Muḳīm-Khānī* by Muḥammad Yūsuf Munshī, Russian tr. by A.A. Semenov, Tāshkent 1956, 89). In the 19th and early 20th centuries, under the Mangit [*q.v.*] dynasty in Bukhārā, the *dīwān-begi* had similar functions, though he was now the second figure after the *kosh-begi* [*q.v.*], and not the *atalik*. He was called also *kosh-begi-yi pāyān* ("the lower *kosh-begi*"), because his residence was at the foot of the *ark* (the citadel) of Bukhārā, and *zakātī-yi kalān* ("head of the collectors of *zakāt*" [*q.v.*]). He was the deputy of "the great *kosh-begi*" (*kull-i kosh-begi*), and in the absence or during an illness of the *amīr* he governed the country together with the *kosh-begi*. Both under the *Ashṭarkhānīd*s and the Mangit's, besides this *dīwān-begi* residing in Bukhārā, there were also *dīwān-begis* of main provincial rulers, such as those of Balkh, Čardjūy, Hišār, with similar functions. Under the Mangit's, the honorary rank of *dīwān-begi* (the third from the top in the hierarchy of Bukhārā) was given also to various officials not necessarily connected with financial affairs, such as governors of some towns. In Karatigin [*q.v.*], both under the independent *shāhs* and under the domination of Bukhārā, *dīwān-begi* was the first deputy of the ruler, and he was in charge of state finance as well as of the ruler's estate (see N.A. Kislyakov, *Očerki po istorii Karatigin*, Stalinabad-Leningrad 1941, 183). In the semi-independent principality of Ura-Tubā [*q.v.*] in the 19th century, *dīwān-begis* were low officials—local tax-collectors, subordinate to the *sarkār*, who was in charge of the collection of *khārājī* and of irrigation in the principality (see A. Mukhtarov, *Očerki istorii Ura-Tyubinskogo vladeniya v XIX v.*, Dushanbe 1964, 53). The title *dīwān-begi* could be given also to supervisors of finance in large private estates, such as those of the *Djūybārī shaykhs* in the 16th century (cf. P.P. Ivanov, *Khhozyaystvo džuybarskikh shaykhov*, Moscow-Leningrad 1954, 60).

In the *Khānate of Khīwa*, the post of *dīwān-begi* was probably established only in the early 19th century. In any case, neither the local historian Mu'nis [*q.v.*] in his *Firdaws al-ikbāl* nor other sources mention this title earlier, and it is not included in the list of 34 dignitaries ('*amaldār*') established by Abu 'l-*Chāzī Khān* [*q.v.*] (cf. *Firdaws al-ikbāl*, MS of the Leningrad Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, C-571, f. 65b). This title is mentioned by Mu'nis for the first time in his account of the events of 1222/1808, when two *dīwān-begis* appear simultaneously (*ibid.*, f. 272a). Also later, there were at least two *dīwān-begis* in Khīwa. They are mentioned among the high officials of the state along with the *kosh-begi* and the *mehter* [*q.v.*]; they were usually of mean origin, often Persian slaves. N. Murav'yev (1821) mentions *dīwān-begis* as unimportant officials subordinate to the *kosh-begi* and the *mehter* (see N. Murav'yev, *Puteshestviye v Turkmeniyu i Khivu*, Moscow 1822, ii, 63); none of other Russian descriptions of the *khānate* compiled in the first half of the 19th century mentions them at all. In the reign of Allāh-Kulī Khān (1240-58/

1825-42), the chief *dīwān-begi* was entrusted with the collection of *zakāt* and customs (see N. Zalesov, in *Voennyi sbornik*, xxii [1861], No. 11, 65), and it remained his main duty till the end of the 19th century. Besides him, there was a *dīwān-begi* in charge of *khān's* estates and a *dīwān-begi* of the governor of Hazārasp (a senior relative of *khān* or his heir). In the reign of Sayyid Muḥammad Raḥīm Khān II (1281-1328/1864-1910), the chief *dīwān-begi* Muḥammad Murād ("Mat-Murad" of Russian sources) became the most influential person among the *Khīwan* dignitaries and was considered as a first minister by Western observers (cf. e.g. H. Moser, *A travers l'Asie centrale*, Paris 1885, 238).

In the *Khānate of Khokand* [*q.v.*], the title *dīwān-begi* is also attested, though no explanation is available about the duties of its bearer. It seems, however, that it was more a rank than an administrative post, and its position was the same as that of *dīwān-begi* in the hierarchy of Bukhārā (between the ranks of *parwānāci* [*q.v.*] and *atalik*). Radjab Dīwān-begi, executed in 1236/1820, is said to have had the highest title in the *khānate*, *wazīr al-wuzarā'* (see V.P. Nalivkin, *Histoire du khanat de Khokand*, Paris 1889, 140-1), which indicates, apparently, that he was considered the head of the civil administration; but before that he is mentioned as a governor (*hākim*) of Tāshkent (*ibid.*, 125, 135).

Bibliography: in addition to the works cited in the text, see: A.A. Semenov, in *Materiali po istorii tadzhikov i uzbekov Sredney Azii*, ii, Stalinabad 1954, 57, 61, 66; M. Yu. Yuldashev, *Khiva khanligida feodal yer egaligi wa dawlat tuzilishi* [in Uzbek], Tāshkent 1959, 263-4. (Yu. BREGEL)

DJABAL SAYS, the name of a volcanic mountain in Syria situated ca. 105 km. southeast of Damascus. Around its west and south sides runs a small valley opening to the southeast into a large volcanic crater. In years with normal rainfall, this crater is filled with water for about eight months. A reservoir near its centre makes Djabal Says one of the few secure waterplaces in the region, where sometimes more than a hundred nomad families camp in autumn. At the mouth of the valley on the south-east-slope of Djabal Says and opposite to it, on the fringe of another slope, remains of numerous buildings are preserved. The site was first visited in 1862 by M. de Vogüé and excavated from 1962 to 1964 by K. Brisch. The ruins consist of a considerable number of houses, a mosque, a church, a *ḥammām*, some storehouses for provisions, *khāns* and/or barracks, and a palace.

The palace is situated on the south side of the valley. It consists of a rectangular enclosure, ca. 67 m. × 67 m., from which eight towers (four at the corners, one in the middle of each side) project. Entrance is given through a door in the central tower of the north-side. Behind the door one enters a tunnel-vaulted vestibule at the back of which is a doorway, opening into a great entrance hall which leads to a courtyard, ca. 31 m. × 31 m. This courtyard is surrounded by ranges of rooms (54 excluding the small rooms in the hollow towers and the entrance hall) most of which are organised into eight groups (*biyūt*) of five or six rooms. In addition to this, there are three pairs of rooms and four isolated rooms, two of which served probably as staircases. An arcade ran around the paved courtyard in front of the rooms. In the centre of the courtyard is a cistern. The lower parts of the walls consist of basalt blocks on the inner and outer faces with fillings of lumps of basalt and mortar rising up at



some places to a height of ca. 2 m. The upper parts of the walls were built of mud bricks. An exception is the entrance tower, the upper parts of which are also of basalt. Most of the basalt sections and some of the brick sections of the walls are preserved. No traces of ceilings were found. De Vogüé, who visited Djabal Says more than a hundred years ago, saw brick vaultings. The building had originally two floors and is stylistically linked with two other palaces, Minya (see *KHIRBAT AL-MINYA*) and *Kharrāna* [q.v.].

The *hammām*, ca. 150 m. east of the palace, measures ca. 16 m. × 17 m. It consists of a large east-room, ca. 10 m. × 4.5 m., with a semicircular exedra in the north. Its south side opens into two rooms, ca. 3.5 m. deep. The east room can be entered by a door from the east. At its west side, it is connected with four smaller rooms, three of which served as the apodyterium, tepidarium and calidarium of the bath. The lower parts of the walls resemble those of the palace. The upper sections are built of burnt brick. All rooms with the exception of the west room seem to have been covered by vaultings or domes of burnt brick. The west room was probably not covered at all. The building resembles closely *Hammām al-Sarākh* [q.v.] in Jordan.

The *mosque*, ca. 70 m. west of the palace, is a square building measuring ca. 9.5 m. × 9.5 m. The preserved lower sections of its walls are built of basalt. It can be entered by two doors from the north and the east. The interior of the building is divided into two equal parts by two arches running east-west and resting on a pier in the centre and on wall piers. Here, as in the palace, the upper parts of the walls seem to have been built of mud bricks. If this was the case, they could only have carried a wooden roof.

Other buildings. Probably the most interesting feature of Djabal Says is that, in addition to the above-mentioned buildings, a considerable number of more modest structures is preserved. At the south-side of the valley in an area stretching from the *hammām* (the easternmost structure), ca. 300 m. to the west, the traces of more than 15 other buildings can be seen. The majority of them are of almost square shape and consist of ranges of rooms around three or four sides of a central courtyard. They are of poorer architectural quality than the palace, the *hammām* and the mosque. Some of these buildings were doubtlessly built at the same time as the palace and served as storehouses and barracks or *khāns*, whereas some are obviously later. The latter seem to be contemporary with a few smaller buildings whose plans resemble those of simple farmhouses (one range of rooms with a courtyard in front of it). Opposite the valley, at the southeastern foot of Djabal Says, in an area stretching ca. 400 m. from southwest to northeast and ca. 100 m. from south-east to northwest, some thirty other buildings are to be found. Almost all of them have courtyards with rooms at one, two, three or four sides. The most conspicuous structures among them are: a building with towers at its corners looking like a palace in miniature, a structure next to it, which Brisch thinks was a mosque, and a one-naved church resembling the large room of the *hammām*.

Literary sources (al-Bakrī and Yāqūt) tell us that the caliph al-Walīd (86-96/705-15) had a residence at Usays, a waterplace east of Damascus, which is doubtlessly identical with our site. This conclusion is supported by inscriptions found on the spot. One

of them bears the name Usays, in some others the names of sons of al-Walīd are mentioned. Hence the palace, the *hammām*, the mosque (which Brisch thinks to be later than the palace) and some of the buildings next to the palace, can be attributed to al-Walīd. Some other buildings are definitely later than the palace, because building material from the palace was used in their construction. It is hard to determine whether there were only two periods of building activity or more. Around the south side of the church a group of very small houses with rather irregular plans is clustered. These differ from the plans of most of the buildings at Djabal Says and might represent a third period of building activity, earlier or later than the two already isolated. A pre-Islamic date is suggested by the church (but we also find a church in the Umayyad settlement of 'Andjar [see 'AYN AL-DJARR] in Lebanon), by an inscription found at Djabal Says with the name of the Ghassānid ruler Hārith b. Djabala, dated 528, and by a Roman coin.

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(H. GAUBE)

DJABALA B. AL-HĀRITH, Ghassānid chieftain [see GHASSĀN] of the pre-Islamic period, who made his début in Ghassānid - Byzantine relations ca. 500 A.D., when he mounted an offensive against Palestina Tertia but was beaten by Romanus, the *dux* of that province. Shortly afterwards in 502, Byzantium concluded a treaty with the Ghassānids and recognised them as its new allies (*foederati*). Throughout the remaining part of the reign of the emperor Anastasius (491-518), the sources are silent on Djabala, who was probably not yet the Ghassānid king but was acting as the general of his father, al-Hārith b. Tha'labā.

In the reign of the emperor Justin (518-27), Djabala came into prominence, now as the king of the Ghassānid federates, whom he ruled from al-Djābiya [q.v.], his seat in the Djawlān. By that time, the Ghassānids had been won over to Monophysite Christianity and had become its staunch supporters. However, the return of Byzantium to the Chalcedonian position and Justin's expulsion of the Monophysite bishops alienated the Ghassānids and their king, who consequently would not take part in the defence of the oriental provinces against the Persians and their Lakhmid allies, and could not come to the succour of their coreligionists in South Arabia during the reign of Yūsuf Dhū Nuwās [q.v.]. But in all probability, it was he who enabled al-Aws and al-Khazraj of Medina to achieve an ascendancy over the Jewish tribes there, Abū Djabayla of the Arabic sources being none other than Djabala himself or one of his relatives.

With the accession of the emperor Justinian (527-65), there was a reconciliation with the Monophysites; the Ghassānids under Djabala returned to service to fight the wars of Byzantium against the Persians and the Lakhmids, but Djabala was not destined to live much longer. His more illustrious son, al-Hārith b. Djabala, is attested as king already in 529, and the presumption is that Djabala died at the battle of Thannuris in Mesopotamia in 528, commanding the Ghassānid contingent in the



Byzantine army against the Persians; the Syriac authors remember him under the nickname of Atfar.

In the list of Ghassānid buildings, three are attributed to Djabala, sc. al-Ḳanāṭir, Adhruḥ, and al-Ḳaṣṭal.

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(I. A. SHAHID)

DJĀBIR B. 'ABD ALLĀH B. 'AMR B. ḤARĀM B. KA'B B. GHANM B. SALIMA, ABŪ 'ABD ALLĀH (or Abu 'Abd al-Rahmān, or Abū Muḥammad) AL-SALAMĪ AL-ḲHAZRADJĪ AL-ANṢĀRĪ, Companion of the Prophet. His father, 'Abd Allāh, was one of the seventy men of Aws and Ḳhazradj who gave the Prophet the oath of allegiance at the 'Aḳaba Meeting [see AL-'AḲABA] and committed themselves to defend him. His father is also recorded in the list of the twelve *mukabā'*, the chosen group from among the seventy; Djābir himself had attended the Meeting as a very young boy, and is therefore counted in the list of "the Seventy" and in the honourable list of those who embraced Islam together with their fathers. His father prevented him from taking part in the two encounters at Badr and Uhūd, leaving him at home to look after his seven (or nine) sisters. A report according to which he attended the battle of Badr and drew water for the warriors is denied authenticity by al-Wāqidī and marked by him as an 'Irāqī tradition. On the Day of Uhūd, Djābir lost his father, his mother's brother 'Amr b. al-Djamūh and his cousin Ḳhallād. Djābir's father distinguished himself in the fight and was the first Muslim warrior killed in this battle. The Prophet did not object to Djābir mourning for him, and gave him permission to uncover his face. 'Abd Allāh was buried according to the Prophet's ruling as a martyr on the spot where he fell, clad in his garment, with his wounds still bleeding. The Prophet personally suggested that he should act as father to Djābir and put 'A'isha in his mother's place. On the day following the battle of Uhūd, Djābir asked, and was granted permission to join the force dispatched by the Prophet to Ḥamrā' al-Asad. After that, Djābir accompanied the Prophet on 18 or so expeditions.

The Prophet showed great concern for Djābir and his family and often came to his dwelling. Djābir's family, who were familiar with his tastes, used to prepare for the Prophet his favourite kind of meal. On one such visit the Prophet blessed the family of Djābir and their abode, on another he cured Djābir of fever by sprinkling on him water which he had used for ablution. The Prophet gave his approval for Djābir to marry a woman who was not a virgin, and who would take care of his sisters. By his blessing, he helped Djābir to pay a debt which his father owed to the Jew Abū Ṣhaḥma, and he invoked God's forgiveness for him when he bought his camel (*laylat al-ba'ir*).

After the death of the Prophet, 'Umar appointed Djābir chief (*arif*) of his clan. During the military

operations of the conquest of Damascus he was sent as a member of an auxiliary force dispatched to Ḳhalid b. al-Walid. On another occasion he was dispatched by 'Umar with a small group to al-Kūfa. When the rebellious Egyptian troops advanced to Medina in order to besiege the house of 'Uthmān, Djābir was among the group sent by the caliph to negotiate with them and appease them. He is said to have fought on the side of 'Alī at Ṣiffin (37/657) and then to have returned to Medina. During the expedition of Busr b. Artāt (40/660), Djābir was compelled to swear allegiance to Mu'āwiya; this he did in precautionary dissimulation (*takīyya* [q.v.]), after having consulted Umm Salama, the wife of the Prophet. This is a new trait of character, indicating Ṣhīrī sympathies, and is one of the earliest cases of *takīyya* mentioned in the texts. As an indication of Djābir's attachment to Medina and to the relics of the Prophet, one may adduce the report that he and Abū Hurayra prevailed upon Mu'āwiya to leave the *minbar* of the Prophet in Medina and not to transfer it to Syria. He is said to have visited the court of 'Abd al-Malik and to have asked him for some grants for the people of Medina. When the force sent by Yazid b. Mu'āwiya against Medina (63/683) entered the city, Djābir openly voiced his objection, circulating an utterance of the Prophet about the punishment which would befall people who afflicted the city. He was saved from death by Marwān when a man, enraged by his words, attacked him intending to kill him. After the victory of al-Ḥadjdjadj over Ibn al-Zubayr (73/692), al-Ḥadjdjadj ordered the hands of some of the opponents of the Umayyad rule to be stamped in the same way as was done to the *dhimmis* and Djābir was among those opponents. Djābir's sharp criticism and unkind words with regard to the rulers, especially al-Ḥadjdjadj, provoked the latter's caustic remark that Djābir displayed the same pride as the Jews (by which, of course, the Anṣār were meant).

Djābir died at 78/697 at the age of 94 (other reports, however, give varying dates). He is said to have been the last survivor of the group of 70 Anṣār who attended the 'Aḳaba Meeting, thus fulfilling a prediction of the Prophet. The prayer over his grave was performed by the governor of Medina, Abān b. 'Uthmān, or according to another tradition, by al-Ḥadjdjadj b. Yūsuf when he came to Medina after his victory over 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr.

Djābir is noted as a most prolific narrator of traditions from the Prophet. The number of those going back to him is estimated at 1,540; al-Bukhārī and Muslim recorded 210 *ḥadīths* transmitted by him in their compilations, and the subject-range of his transmission is extremely wide. Of special interest are Djābir's reports about events which he witnessed and details furnished by him about expeditions in which he took part. Djābir was highly respected by the scholars of *ḥadīth* and is counted in the lists of reliable transmitters and the *aṣḥāb al-futūā*. He used to recite his traditions in the mosque of Medina; his sessions of *ḥadīth*-transmission were attended by a wide circle of students, who would discuss the traditions of their master after leaving the mosque. A composition known as *ṣaḥīfat Djābir* contained a great number of traditions recorded by him. Scholars of *ḥadīth* were eager to circulate traditions on his authority, without always observing the necessary rules of *ḥadīth* transmission. Even a distinguished pious scholar like al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī was suspected of reporting some traditions on the direct authority of Djābir, although he never was



his disciple. The impressive list of those who transmitted his traditions includes the names of three of his sons: 'Abd al-Rahmān, 'Aqīl and Muḥammad. His descendants are said to have settled in North Africa, in a place called al-Anṣāriyya.

In Shī'ī tradition, Djabir was granted an exceptionally high rank. The *hadīths* recorded in Shī'ī sources on his authority touch upon the fundamental tenets of Shī'ī belief: the mission of 'Alī, his qualities, his authority over the believers, the graces granted him by God, the divine virtues of his descendants and the duties of allegiance and obedience incumbent upon the believers. It was the *imām* al-Bākir who asked Djabir about the Tablet which God sent down to Fāṭima and which Djabir got permission to copy. In this Tablet God named the *imāms* and established their order of succession. It is noteworthy that, according to some versions, the *imām* compared the copy of Djabir with the Tablet in his possession and stated that the copy is a reliable and accurate one. In another story, Djabir confirms the accuracy of the unusual report about the *hiǧra* as told him by the *imām*. Djabir is credited with the *hadīth* about the appointment of 'Alī as *waṣī*, which forms the base of the Shī'ī interpretation of Sūra LIII, 1-4. It was he who reported the utterance of the Prophet that 'Alī is the *ṣirāṭ mustakīm*, the right path to be followed. The *imām* al-Bākir stressed that Djabir was privileged to possess knowledge of the correct interpretation of Sūra XXVIII, 85, which, according to him, refers to the *raǧ'a*, the re-appearance of the Prophet and 'Alī. Among further Shī'ī traditions reported on Djabir's authority is the one which states that there are two weighty things left by the Prophet for the Muslim community: the Qur'ān and his Family (*al-'iṭra*). Another tradition has it that the angel Djibrīl bade the Prophet proclaim the vocation of 'Alī and his descendants, the *imāms*, and tell the Muslim community about 'Alī's distinguished position on the Day of Resurrection and in Paradise. The Sunnī version of Djabir's report that the first thing created by God was the Light of Muḥammad had its Shī'ī counterpart, traced back to Djabir, which said that this Light was split into two parts: the Light of Muḥammad and the Light of 'Alī, and that it was later transferred to the succeeding *imāms*. It is on the authority of Djabir that the significant tradition which states that the last persons to be with the Prophet when he died were 'Alī and Fāṭima is reported. Some of his traditions relate the miracles of 'Alī. 'Alī ascended to Heaven in order to put down the rebellion of the wicked *ǧinn*, who denied his authority and a luminous angel prayed in his place in the mosque. Another miracle happened when 'Alī walked with Djabir on the bank of the Euphrates: a very high wave covered 'Alī, when he reappeared completely dry after a short time, he explained that it had been the Angel of the Water who greeted and embraced him.

Djabir is distinguished in the Shī'ī tradition by a significant mission entrusted to him by the Prophet: he was ordered to meet the *imām* al-Bākir and to convey to him the greetings of the Prophet, which he did. This created a peculiar relationship between the elderly bearer of the good tidings and the young recipient, the *imām* al-Bākir. According to tradition, the two used to meet, and some of the traditions transmitted by al-Bākir are told on the authority of Djabir and traced back to the Prophet. It is evident that the idea that the *imām* might have derived his knowledge from a human being is opposed to the

principles of the Shī'a. It had thus to be justified that it was merely done in order to put an end to the accusations of the Medinans, who blamed al-Bākir for transmitting *hadīths* on the authority of the Prophet, whom he had never seen. As the traditions reported by Djabir and those independently reported by the *imām* and revealed to him by God were in fact identical, the insertion of Djabir's name between the name of the *imām* and that of the Prophet was quite a formal act, with no significance. A few traditions are indeed reported with names of some Companions inserted between the *imām* and the Prophet. In one of the traditions it is explained that this insertion may make the *hadīth* more acceptable to people, although it is obvious that the *imāms* knew more than that Companion whose name was inserted between the *imām* and the Prophet.

The close relationship of Djabir with the family of 'Alī is also exposed in the story relating that Fāṭima bint 'Alī asked Djabir to intervene and to persuade Zayn al-'Abidin to cease his excessive devotional practices which might be harming for his health. It was a sign of respect and faith that, when Husayn asked his enemies on the battle-field of Karbalā' to save his life, quoting the utterance of the Prophet that he and his brother were the lords of the youths of Paradise (*sayyidā shabāb ahl al-djanna*), he referred to Djabir who would vouch for the truth of the utterance. Djabir is said to have been present at the grave of Husayn shortly after he was killed and to have met there the family of Husayn who were sent back by Yazīd b. Mu'āwiya. Another Shī'ī tradition reports about his visit to the grave of Husayn and his moving speech over the grave.

Djabir had intimate relations with the family of 'Alī and especially with the two *imāms* Zayn al-'Abidin and al-Bākir. There are some Shī'ī attempts to link him with Dja'far al-Ṣādiq and to fix the date of his death at the beginning of the 2nd century A.H.

Finally, the high position of Djabir in Shī'ī tradition is expressed by the fact that he was placed in the list of the four persons who clung to the true faith and in the list of the nine persons to whom 'Alī promised that they would be in Paradise.

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DJĀBIR al-DJUFĪ, ABŪ 'ABD ALLĀH OF ABŪ MUHAMMAD b. YAZĪD b. al-HĀRITH, Kufan Shī'ī traditionist of Arab descent. His chief teacher seems to have been al-Sha'bī [q.v.] (d. 100/718-19). Among other well-known traditionists, from whom he related, were 'Ikrima, 'Aṭā' b. Abī Rabāh and Tawūs. Initially, he held the moderate Shī'ī views widespread among the Kufan traditionists. Later he joined the more radical Shī'ī circles looking to Muḥammad al-Bākir (d. ca. 117/735) and his son Djāfar al-Ṣādiq for religious guidance. According to some Sunni heresiologists, he became the leader of the extremist Shī'ī followers of al-Mughīra b. Sa'īd after the latter was killed by Khālīd al-Ḳasrī, governor of Kūfa, in 119/737. Imāmī sources, on the other hand, report a statement of Djāfar al-Ṣādiq commending him for having said the truth about the imāms while condemning al-Mughīra for lying about them. This makes it appear unlikely that Djābir actually belonged to the Mughīriyya, who recognised the Hasanid Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh as their imām, but does point to some relationship between him and al-Mughīra. According to another Imāmī report, Djābir first aroused the suspicions of Yūsuf b. 'Umar, governor of Kūfa (120-6/738-44), and then incited the people of Kūfa against his successor, Manṣūr b. Djumhūr (126/744). According to most sources, he died in 128/745-6. Other death dates given for him are 127/744-5 and 132/749-50.

Sunni ḥadīth criticism was divided concerning his trustworthiness. His transmission was evidently accepted at first as reliable and highly accurate but later, as his Shī'ī attitude became more radical, he was shunned. Thus Sufyān al-Thawrī and Shu'ba related on his authority and noted his reliability, though critical judgments are also reported from them. Abū Ḥanīfa is said to have condemned him as a notorious liar who claimed to have a ḥadīth for every legal question. Among the authors of the canonical collections of ḥadīth, Abū Dāwūd, al-Tirmidhī, and Ibn Māḍja quoted a few traditions in which he appears in the chain of transmitters. Al-Bukhārī and Muslim excluded him, the latter quoting negative reports about him in the introduction to his *Ṣaḥīḥ* (Cairo [1963?], i, 15). The standard accusations against him were that he believed in the *radj'a* [q.v.] and that he claimed secret knowledge of many thousands of ḥadīths which



he would not divulge. The Imāmī attitude to him was also ambiguous. While he was considered a loyal supporter of the *imāms* al-Bākir and al-Sādiq, he was described as “mixed-up” (*mukhtalīt*) by scholars opposed to extremist tendencies. Several Imāmī traditionists who related from him, ‘Amr b. Shīmr, Mufaddal b. Šālih, Munakhhāh b. Djamīl and Yūsuf b. Ya’kūb, were accused of extremism and considered weak transmitters. The *ghulāt*, on the other hand, recognised him as the most intimate disciple of Muḥammad al-Bākir, who was fully initiated into the mysteries of the gnostic knowledge and superhuman nature of the *imām*, and they ascribed miraculous qualities and powers to him. It is uncertain to what extent reports later circulating under his name among the *ghulāt* go back to Djabir, whatever his relations with the contemporary *Shīrī* extremists. An early Imāmī source states that ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Hārith, leader of the extremist followers of ‘Abd Allāh b. Mu‘āwiya [q.v.], after the latter’s death in 131/748-9, spread extremist doctrines about metempsychosis, pre-existence of the human souls as shadows (*azilla*) and cyclical history (*daur* [q.v. in Suppl.]), ascribing them to Djabir b. ‘Abd Allāh al-Anṣārī and Djabir al-Dju‘fī “who were innocent of them” (see al-Nawbakhtī, *Firaḡ al-shī‘a*, ed. H. Ritter, Istanbul 1931, 31).

The Imāmī scholar al-Nadījāshī (d. 450/1058) mentions the following books of Djabir as still available to him: *K. al-Tafsīr*, *K. al-Nawādir*, *K. al-Fadā’il*, *K. al-Djāmal*, *K. Šifīn*, *K. al-Nahravān*, *K. Maḡtal Amīr al-Mu‘minīn*, and *K. Maḡtal al-Husayn*. Djabir occasionally appears in al-Tabarī’s Kur’ān commentary and his *Ta’rīkh* as a transmitter of Kur’ān exegesis and in the latter work also as a transmitter of reports on the caliphate of ‘Alī and the death of al-Husayn (see Tabarī, index s.v. Djabir al-Rāwī). It is unlikely, however, that al-Tabarī was quoting directly from any works of Djabir. Extensive quotations of his reports concerning the battle of Šifīn and the caliphate of ‘Alī are contained in the *K. Waḡat Šifīn* of Naṣr b. Muzāḥim. Naṣr’s authority for them was, however, ‘Amr b. Shīmr, who is accused by the *Shaykh* al-Ṭūsī of having made additions to Djabir’s books.

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(W. MADELUNG)

DJABR (A.), compulsion in marriage exercised upon one or other of the prospective partners,

under conditions which vary according to the judicial schools. The right of *djabr* is foreseen neither by the Kur’ān nor by the *Sunna*, and a *ḥadīth* (al-Bukhārī, *Nikāh*, bāb 42) actually declares that neither the father nor any other person may give in marriage without her consent a virgin or a woman who has already been under the authority of a husband; the Prophet himself consulted his daughter Fāṭima before giving her in marriage to ‘Alī, but it seems that the majority of early Muslim jurists preferred to follow an ancient Arab custom. Later traditions confirm their point of view, and all the schools made *djabr* a point of doctrine, without always employing this term, which does not appear with this particular sense in the classical dictionaries.

In general, this right belongs to the master when applied to slaves of both sexes, on condition that they suffer no damage (see ‘ABD), or to the father, grandfather or testamentary guardian (*waṣī*) in other cases; in principle, the *walī* [see WILĀYA] is only considered to exercise this right by the Hanafīs, and by the Mālikīs in the case of an orphan girl who does not have a *waṣī*. Except when subject to impediment [see ḤADJR], boys normally acquired the right to consent to their marriage after puberty [see BĀLIḡH], so that they escaped from *djabr* at an early age, in the legal sense at least. So it is upon girls that the arrangements relative to matrimonial compulsion have the most relevant effect in classical Muslim law.

According to the Hanafīs, even the *walī* may arrange a marriage in the name of children of either sex who are below the age of puberty, and in the case of the girl in particular, this applies whether she is a virgin or not. On attaining puberty boys and girls enjoy a right of choice (*khiyār*) if they have been married by their *walī muḡḡib*, who according to this school may be chosen from among a wide range of agnatic relatives; if it is the father or the grandfather who has exercised the right of *djabr*, however, no annulment is possible. A slave woman given in marriage by her master against her will may also annul her marriage if she is enfranchised.

According to the Shāfi‘īs, the *walī* may not give a virgin girl in marriage without her consent, at least tacit; only the father or the grandfather in fact exercises the right of *djabr*, but in this school, it is the notion of virginity which is crucial, the loss of virginity, whether legal, accidental or illegal, conferring upon the interested party the right to consent to her marriage (or re-marriage) even if she is still below the age of puberty.

For the Hanbalīs, the conditions for the exercise of the right of *djabr* approximate to those of the Mālikīs, who show themselves the most rigorous in combining the notions of impuberty and of virginity. In fact the father has the right to give his daughter in marriage without her consent, not only if she is subject to impediment, as in the other schools, but also, with certain restrictions, if she is a virgin, whether past the age of puberty (she may even be an old maid) or below it; he exercises the right of *djabr* equally over a pre-pubescent girl deflowered after a legal marriage, and over a post-pubescent girl deflowered accidentally or illegally. There is no right of choice, but the father is obliged to respect the principle according to which the partners must be well-suited [see KAFĀ‘A]. So in order to escape the paternal *djabr*, the daughter must be past the age of puberty and legally deflowered (*ṭhayyib*) or, if she has preserved her

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virginity after the age of puberty, she must be emancipated in respect of property, or married for a year or less and divorced, or a widow whose marriage has not been consummated. The *walī* other than the father is never *muḍibir*, that is to say that he only has the right to give a girl in marriage when she is past puberty, but her consent, more or less tacit, is then required; having become *ḥayyib*, she must give an explicit consent through the intermediary of her *walī*.

Among the Imāmī Shī'is, the right of *ḍjabr* belongs to the father, and, with certain reservations, to the grandfather. In early times, it was applied to the virgin daughter whatever her age, but ultimately it was decided that the post-pubescent virgin is no longer subject to it.

Such is the theory. In practice, the governments of the majority Muslim states, whether independent or under foreign protectorate, have long ago attempted to curb the right of *ḍjabr* by fixing the age of marriage at twelve and above for girls and by forbidding the *kādis* to conduct unduly premature weddings; but it has not always been possible to exercise a very strict control. In the states which have modern legal systems, this right has been totally abolished or restrained by the necessity of the mutual consent of the parties, even if the mediation of the *walī* is still required (if the latter refuses, it is possible to have recourse to the judge). There remain, however, vestiges of it in the most modern legal codes, such as that of Morocco which provides (art. 12) that the judge has the right to use compulsion in a case where it is feared that a girl will misbehave if allowed to remain a spinster.

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(CH. PELLAT)

DJABRIDS, a dynasty based in al-Aḥsā' [q.v.] in eastern Arabia in the 9th-10th/15th-16th centuries. The Banū Djabr descended from 'Amir b. Rabī'a b. 'Ukayl.

The founder of the dynasty was Sayf b. Zāmil b. Djabr, who supplanted the Djarwānids of 'Ukayl [see AL-KAṬĪF]. Sayf's brother and successor Adjwad was born in the desert in the region of al-Aḥsā' and al-Kaṭīf in Ramaḍān 821/October 1418. Adjwad in his fifties was strong enough to become involved in

the politics of Hormuz on the other side of the Gulf. He told the Medinan historian al-Samhūdī how he had visited the tomb of Kulayb, the hero of the saga of the war of al-Basūs, in Ḥimā Dariyya [q.v.], a tomb revered by a Bedouin cult. Adjwad extended his authority westwards into Nadjd and towards 'Umān in the east, where he gathered tribute. He won fame as a captain who had suffered many wounds in battle. At the same time he was distinguished for his piety; he diligently collected books of the Mālikī law school to which he adhered, a school with many followers in eastern Arabia. Some of the Mālikī judges whom he appointed were converts from the Shī'a. He made frequent pilgrimages, the last being in 912/1507, when he was said to have led a throng of 30,000. His generosity was such that the Bedouins of eastern Arabia still remember him as a sort of latter-day Ḥātim al-Tā'ī. The traces of a fort near the village of al-Munayzila in al-Aḥsā' are known as Kaṣr Adjwad b. Zāmil.

With the arrival of the Portuguese in the Persian Gulf in 913/1507, Albuquerque learned of the power of the Djabrids. Adjwad had just died, leaving three sons, the eldest of whom was Mukrin. The famous pilgrimage in 926/1520 by Mukrin, whom the Egyptians visiting Mecca regarded as "the lord of the Bedouins of the East", is described in AL-KAṬĪF.

Back from al-Hiǧāz, Mukrin in Sha'bān 927/July 1521 encountered a Portuguese force that had descended on the island of al-Baḥrayn. Having married a daughter of the Amīr of Mecca, Mukrin had brought with him Turkish craftsmen and sailors to build and man a fleet to oppose the Christian enemy and had strengthened his army with 400 Persian archers and 20 Ottoman sharpshooters. The battle took place on land. After a heroic resistance, Mukrin fell gravely wounded and died three days later.

In 928/1521 Ḥusayn b. Sa'īd, the Djabrid field commander in 'Umān, joined the Portuguese in expelling the Persian garrison from Ṣuḥār on the coast of the Gulf of 'Umān, and the Portuguese recognised Ḥusayn as the new governor there, describing him as master of the whole stretch of territory southwards to Zafār on the Arabian Sea.

As the 10th/16th century wore on, the Djabrids grew weaker in the face of an Ottoman advance from the north and incursions by the Shāriḥ of Mecca from the west. Rāshid b. Muḡhāmīs of the Muntafiq, an Ottoman subject, dealt the Djabrids a crippling blow in 931/1524-5. An inscription in Masjid al-Dibs in al-Hufūf, the capital of al-Aḥsā', bears the name of the first Ottoman governor, Mehmed Farrūkh Pasha, and the date 963/1556.

In 986/1578-9 the Shāriḥ Hasan b. Abī Numayy, while besieging Mi'kāl in the oasis of al-Riyāḍ, captured a number of the leading figures there, among whom there may have been members of Banū Djabr. Three years later the same Shāriḥ took towns and forts in al-Khardj and al-Yamāma. On the way home, the Shāriḥ was attacked by Bedouins of Banū Khālīd, whom he routed. This incident lends credence to the likelihood of a direct connection between the Djabrids and this tribe, particularly its section named the Djabūr.

Bibliography: al-Samhūdī, *Wafā' al-wafā'*, Cairo 1326; al-Sakhāwī, *al-Daw' al-lāmi'*, i, Cairo 1353; 'Uḥmān b. Bishr, *Unwān al-maḍīd*, n. pl. 1391; A. de Albuquerque, *Comentarios*, Coimbra 1923; J. de Barros, *Decades da Asia*, Lisbon 1628;



M. von Oppenheim, *Die Beduinen*, iii/i, ed. W. Caskel, Wiesbaden 1952; W. Caskel, *Ein "unbekannte" Dynastie in Arabien*, in *Oriens*, ii (1949), 66-71; 'Abd al-Laṭīf Naṣīr al-Humaydān, *al-Ta'rikh al-siyāsī li-imārat al-Djūbūr fī Naǧd wa-shark al-djāzira al-'arabiyya*, 820/1417-931/1525, in *Maǧallat Kulīyyat al-Ādāb, Džām'at al-Baṣra*, No. 16 (1980) (detailed study; includes genealogical table); idem, *Nuṣūḥ al-Djūbūr fī shark al-djāzira al-'arabiyya ba'd zawāl saltatihim al-siyāsīyya*, 931/1525-1288/1871, in *op. cit.*, No. 17 (1980). (G. RENTZ)

DJĀDJARM, a town in the western part of mediaeval Khurāsān in Persia, now a town and also a *bakhsh* or sub-district in the *shahrestān* or district of Buǧnurd in the Khurāsān *ustān*. It lies at the western end of the elongated plain which stretches almost from Bisṭām in the west almost to Nīshāpūr in the east, which is drained by the largely saline Kāl-i Shūr stream, and which is now traversed by the Tehran-Nīshāpūr-Mashhad railway.

The mediaeval geographers, up to and including Hamd Allāh Mustawfī (see Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 392-3, 430), advert to the fertility of the region of Djādjarm, which they describe as a well-fortified town, with cereals and fruit, and with water from springs which was conveyed to the field by *kanāts*. The *Hudūd al-'ālam* (372/982), tr. Minorsky, 102, describes it as "the emporium of Gurgān, Kūmis and Nīshāpūr". It lay on an important caravan route which ran westward from Nīshāpūr through Djuwayn, along the plain and then by the Dīnār-Sārī defile through mountains down to the Caspian lowlands; it was this route which Mas'ūd of Ghazna's army took in 426/1035 when that ruler marched against the Ziyārid prince of Gurgān and Tabaristān Manūčīhr b. Kābūs, see Bayhakī, *Ta'rikh-i Mas'ūdi*, ed. Ghanī and Fayyād, 448-9. In the Mongol and Il-Khānid periods this route was particularly well-traversed, and the Spanish envoy Clavijo gives a detailed account of his journey via Djādjarm, see *Embassy to Tamerlane 1403-1406*, tr. Le Strange, London 1928, 176.

In Ṣafawid and Qājār times. Djādjarm clearly declined, and the earlier fertility largely disappeared; the region doubtless suffered until the later 19th century from the insecurity engendered by Türkmen incursions into northern Khurāsān. C.E. Yate in the 1890s estimated that Djādjarm had 500 houses; B. Spooner in 1961 estimated that the town had 800 households or *ca.* 5,500 persons. It seems, therefore, that the town has received a modest amount of prosperity in recent decades; the main cash crop of the district today is cotton.

Bibliography: In addition to the references given in the text, see B. Spooner, *Arghiyān. The area of Jājarm in western Khurasan, in Iran, Jnal. of the British Inst. of Persian Studies*, iii (1965), 97-107, and J. Aubin, *Réseau pastoral et réseau caravanier, les grand'routes du Khurassan à l'époque mongole*, in *Le monde iranien et l'Islam*, i, Geneva-Paris 1971, 105-30 (corrects certain errors of Le Strange and Spooner, especially the wrongful identification of the mediaeval district of Arghiyān with Djādjarm). For the 'ulamā' of Djādjarm, see Sam'ānī, *Ansāb*, ed. Hyderabad, iii, 160-1, and Yākūt, *Buldān*, ed. Beirut, ii, 92. (C.E. BOSWORTH)

DJĀDJARMĪ, a *nisha* referring to Djādjarm [*q.v.* above] in western Khurāsān, the name of two Persian poets, father and son, who flourished in the Mongol period.

1. The elder, Badr al-Dīn b. 'Umar, made his career under the patronage of the Djuwaynīs [*q.v.*], a clan originating from the same area, which came to political power under the early Il-Khāns. He was in particular connected with the governor of Iṣfahān, Bahā' al-Dīn Muḥammad Djuwaynī (d. 678/1279). The contemporary poet Maǧd-i Hamgar, who also belonged to the circle of this patron, is said to have been his teacher. Badr al-Dīn used as his pen-name either Badr or Badr-i Džādjarmī. He wrote elegies on the death of Bahā' al-Dīn, of Shams al-Dīn Šāhib-Dīwān and on the death of the mystic Sa'd al-Dīn Hammū'ī, another close relation of the Djuwaynīs. His own death occurred in Džumādā II 686/August 1287. Fragments of his poetry have been preserved in the anthology compiled by his son, but he also retained the attention of the *tadhkira*-writers (cf. e.g. Dawlatshāh, 219 ff.; see further Šafā, *Ta'rikh*, 558). Although the pretentious title *malik al-shu'arā'* has become attached to his name, his works represent the average of the poetry of his age. Notable are two poems of a didactic nature: a short *mathnawī* in the metre *khafīf* on palmoscopy (*ikhṭilāḍī* [*q.v.*]), and a *kašida* dealing with prognostics (*ikhṭiyārāt* [*q.v.*]) based on the position of the moon in the various *burūǧ* (cf. *Mu'nis*, ii, 861-75 and 1218-21).

2. Muḥammad b. Badr, the son, is only known through his extensive anthology of poetry entitled *Mu'nis al-aḥrār fī daḳā'ik al-aṣḥār*, which was completed in Ramaḍān 741/February-March 1341. It is distinguished from the works of the *tadhkira* type by the lack of any biographical data concerning the poets whose works are represented in the collection, as well as by its method of arrangement. The collection contains poems of about 200 different poets from various periods, but the emphasis is on the 7th-8th/13th-14th centuries. The anthologist frequently quotes his father, and has inserted some specimens of his own work as well. Apart from that, the Iṣfahānī poet Kamāl al-Dīn Ismā'il [*q.v.*], one of the early masters of the so-called "Irākī style", appears to be a distinct favourite. The poems have been arranged into thirty chapters according to their subject-matter, genre or poetical form. Most of them are unabridged. This anthology constitutes a valuable source for the study of mediaeval Persian literature in many respects. It has preserved much material from the Il-Khānid period, but also from earlier periods, that otherwise would have been lost. Chapter xxvii, on *rubā'īyyāt*, contains a special section devoted to 'Umar Khayyām, with a group of thirteen quatrains (added as an appendix to the edition of the *Roba'īyyat-e Hakīm 'Umar Khayyām* by Fr. Rosen, Berlin 1925). The nature of its arrangement provides a number of starting-points for the investigation of poetical genres.

The *Mu'nis al-aḥrār* has already been used as a source by Riḍā Kulī Khān Hidāyat (cf. *Maǧma' al-fuṣahā'*, lith. Tehran 1295, i, *muḥaddama*). But it became widely known only through the discovery of an autograph, dated Ramaḍān 741/February-March 1341, which formerly belonged to the Kevorkian Collection. This manuscript at first attracted the attention of art historians on account of a series of pictures illustrating, firstly, a poem entitled *aṣḥār-i muṣawwar*, especially composed for illustration by *ustād* Muḥammad al-Rāwandī, and, secondly, the *ikhṭiyārāt-i kamar* by Badr al-Dīn. The miniatures have been attributed to the Indjū school of painting at Shiraz. The manuscript has been described in detail in the catalogue of the *Exhibition of the Kevorkian Collection ... exhibited at the Galleries of Charles*



of London . . . New York, March-April 1914, no. 264. After the auction of the collection in 1927, the six folios containing these paintings were dispersed to several public and private collections (cf. K. Hilter, *Zentralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*, liv (1937), no. 48, and H. Buchtal, O. Kurz and R. Ettinghausen, *Arts Islamica*, vii (1940), 155, no. 48; see also Basil Gray, *La peinture persane*, Geneva 1961, 60 ff., but the interpretation of the pictures there is to be corrected). The literary contents of the manuscript were examined by M. Kaẓwīnī (*Biṣṭ makāla*, ed. by 'Abbās Ikbāl, Tehran 1313/1934, 138-55; ed. Tehran 1332/1953, ii, 184-206; in English in *BSOS*, v (1928-30), 97-108). Several other copies, all, however, of a much later date, have since come to light (cf. e.g. A.J. Arberry, in *JRAS* (1939), 380-1; M.-T. Dānīshpazhūh, *Madjalla-yi dānīshkada-i adabiyāt-i Tihān* viii (1339/1960), 504 ff.; Tabībī in the introduction to the second volume of his edition). The text has been edited by Mir Šāliḥ Tabībī (2 vols., Tehran 1337-50/1958-71), who has supplied most of the lacunae in the autograph from the later manuscripts as well as from other sources.

Bibliography: In addition to the works quoted in the article, see F. Meier, *Die schöne Mahsati*, Wiesbaden 1963, 117 f.; G. Lazard, *Les premiers poètes persans*, Tehran-Paris 1964, 6; Dh. Šafā, *Ta'rikh-i adabiyāt dar Irān*, iii/1, Tehran 1353/1974, 558-67; Sotheby's Spring Islamic Catalogue, Monday 23rd April 1979, 84, no. 144.

(J.T.P. DE BRUIJN)

DJĀ'FAR B. ABĪ YAḤYĀ, SHAMS AL-DĪN ABU 'L-FADL B. AHMAD B. 'ABD AL-SALĀM B. ISHĀK B. MUHAMMAD AL-BUHLŪLĪ AL-ABNĀWĪ, Zaydī, scholar and *kādī*. His ancestors, including his father, were Ismā'īlī *kādīs* of Sanā' under the Sulayhids and Hātimids. His brother Yahyā (d. 562/1167) served the Ismā'īlī Zuray'ids of 'Adan as a panegyrist and judge. Djā'far converted to Zaydism at an unknown date and at first adhered to the doctrine of the Muṭarrifiyya [q.v.]. After the arrival of the Khurāsānīan Zaydī scholar Zayd b. al-Ḥasan al-Bayhaḳī in Sa'da in 541/1146, Djā'far studied with him. Al-Bayhaḳī represented the doctrine of the Caspian Zaydiyya and, with the support of the Zaydī Imām al-Mutawakkil Ahmad b. Sulaymān (d. 566/1170), who also studied with him, vigorously fought the Muṭarrifi heresy. In 545/1151, when al-Mutawakkil temporarily succeeded in wresting Sanā' from Hātim b. Ahmad, he appointed Djā'far *kādī* of the town. *Kādī* Djā'far accompanied al-Bayhaḳī, when he left the Yaman, in order to pursue further studies with him and, after al-Bayhaḳī's unexpected death in al-Tihāma, continued his journey alone. He is known to have studied and received authorisation for the transmission of books in Mecca, in Kūfa, where he was present in Dhū l-Ḥijja 550/February 1156, and in Rayy, where he received an *idjāza* on 1 Djumādā I 552/13 June 1157. His chief teacher in Rayy was the Zaydī scholar Abu 'l-'Abbās Ahmad al-Kannī, from whom he later transmitted numerous works in the Yaman. In 554/1159 he returned to the Yaman and renewed his service to the Imām al-Mutawakkil. In this year he stirred up Sunnī antagonism in Ibb by propagating Mu'tazilī theology. He settled in Sanā' near Sanā' and taught in his *madrasa*, attracting numerous students as well as the strong opposition of the Muṭarrifiyya, who built their own *madrasa* next to the mosque of the town. In Wakāsh, the centre of Muṭarrifi learning, he debated with the prominent Muṭarrifi scholars Muslim al-Laḥḍī and Yahyā b. al-Ḥusayn al-Yahīrī.

In Djumādā I 556/May 1161 he preached at the funeral of the son of the Imām, who continued to support him in his struggle against the Muṭarrifiyya. He died in 573/1177-8 and was buried in Sanā'.

Kādī Djā'far played the most conspicuous role in the introduction of the religious literature of the Caspian Zaydī community to the Yaman. Through his transmission of this literature as well as through his own works, said to number more than thirty, in all fields of religious learning, he became the founder of a school which recognised the Caspian Zaydī Imāms as being equally authoritative teachers with the Yamanī Imāms, and he espoused the Baṣran Mu'tazilī doctrine in theology and legal methodology already adopted by most Zaydīs outside the Yaman, thus restoring ideological unity within the Zaydiyya. His school became predominant in the Yamanī community under the Imām al-Manšūr 'Abd Allāh b. Ḥamza (d. 614/1217), who supported its views in his own many writings and waged a war of extermination against the Muṭarrifiyya.

Bibliography: Anonymous Yamanī chronicle, ms. Ambrosiana H 5, fols. 21b, 23b, 40b, 43b, 45; Ibn Samura, *Ṭabakāt fukahā' al-Yaman*, ed. Fu'ād Sayyid, Cairo 1957, 180; Ibn Abī 'l-Riḍjāl, *Maṭla' al-budūr*, i, ms. Ambrosiana B 130, fol. 139; Yahyā b. al-Ḥusayn b. al-Kāsim, *Ghāyat al-amānī*, ed. Sa'id 'Abd al-Fattāḥ 'Aṣḥūr, Cairo 1388/1968, i, 302; al-Siyāghī, *al-Rawḍ al-naḍīr*, Cairo 1347-49/1928-30, i, 12-14; al-Djundārī, *Tarāḍim al-riḍjāl*, in Ibn Miṭṭāḥ, *al-Muntazā' al-mukhtār*, i, Cairo 1332/1913, 9 f.; Brockelmann, I, 508, S. 1 344, 699 f.; W. Madelung, *Der Imam al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm*, Berlin 1965, 204, 212-16. (W. MADELUNG)

DJĀ'FAR B. MANŠÜR AL-YAMAN, Ismā'īlī author and partisan of the Fātimids [q.v.]. He was the son of the first Ismā'īlī missionary in Yaman, al-Ḥasan b. Farah b. Ḥawshab b. Zādān al-Kūfī, known as Manšūr al-Yaman [q.v.]. When in the year 286/899 the chief of the Ismā'īlī propaganda, 'Ubayd Allāh, claimed the imāmate, Manšūr al-Yaman acknowledged him; the letter by which 'Ubayd Allāh tried to prove his 'Alid descent has been preserved in Djā'far's *al-Farā'id wa-hudūd al-dīn* (see H.F. Hamdani, *On the genealogy of Fatimid caliphs*, Cairo 1958). When after the death of Manšūr al-Yaman (302/914-15) his sons were excluded from the leadership of the community in Yaman, they fell away from allegiance to the Fātimids, except Djā'far (see Mālik al-Yamānī, *Kashf asrār al-Bāṭiniyya*, ed. al-Kawtharī, 217). He came to the Maghrib during the reign of the second Fātimid caliph al-Kā'im (322-34/934-46); and under al-Manšūr (334-41/946-53) he fought against the Khāridjī rebel Abū Yazīd [q.v.]. The merits of his father secured him the financial support of the caliph al-Mu'izz (341-65/953-75), when he was forced to pledge his house in al-Manšūriyya (Sabra) to a creditor (see *Strat al-Ustādḥ Ḍjawdhār*, ed. M. Kāmil Ḥusayn and M. 'A. Sha'ira 126 f.). The date of his death is not known; possibly he composed his *Ta'wīl al-zakāt* only in the last year of al-Mu'izz (see W. Madelung, *Imamat*, 96). The date 280/990 for his *Asrār al-nuṭaqā'* has certainly no solid basis (see Madelung, *loc. cit.*); there is therefore no reason to take him for a grandson of Manšūr al-Yaman, and all sources agree that he was his son.

Djā'far's works (see W. Ivanow, *Ismaili literature*, Tehran 1963, 21 f.; P. Kraus, in *REI*, vi (1932), 486 f.; F. Sezgin, *GAS*, i, 578 f.) mostly treat of the allegorical exegesis (*ta'wīl*) of the Qur'ān and of the ritual duties (e.g. *al-Ridā' fi 'l-bāṭin*; *Ta'wīl*



al-hurūf al-mu'djama; Ta'wīl al-farā'id; Ta'wīl al-zakāt; Ta'wīl sūrat al-Nisā'). His *Asrār al-nuṭakā'* is a collection of legends of the prophets from Adam to Muḥammad. The gist of the "Book of the intervals and conjunctions" (*K. al-Fatarāt wa 'l-kirānāt*) ascribed to him, which P. Kraus (*loc. cit.*) incorrectly assigns to the later Tayyibiyya [*q.v.*] literature, consists of prophecies which expect as the Mahdī [*q.v.*] "the Fourth, the Seventh of the second heptad" (sc. of the three hidden *Imāms* and the four Fātimid caliphs), i.e. al-Mu'izz. The *Kitāb al-Kaṣf* ascribed to Dja'far contains six older treatises from early Fātimid times which have been clearly put together in the time of al-Kā'im (see Madelung, *op. cit.*, 52 ff.).

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(H. HALM)

DJAGHATAY [see ČAGHATAY].**DJALĀL AL-DĪN MANGUBIRTĪ** [see DJALĀL AL-DĪN KH'ĀRAZM SHĀH].

DJALĀLĀBĀD, a town of eastern Afghānistān, situated in lat. 34° 26' N. and long. 70° 27' E. at an altitude of 620 m./1,950 ft. It lies in the valley of the Kābul River some 79 miles from Peshāwar to the east and 101 miles from Kābul city to the west, and is on the right bank of the river. As well as being roughly midway along the historic route connecting Kābul with the beginning of the plains of northern India, Djalābād is also strategically situated to command routes into Kāfiristān [*q.v.*] (modern Nūristān) and today, routes run northwards from it up to the Kānur and Laghmān River valleys.

The area around Djalābād is that of the ancient Nangrahar (contemporary pronunciation, Nungrihar or Ningrahar; the name has now been revived, in the latter version, as the name of a modern Afghān province, see below), which was a flourishing region culturally and religiously, forming part of the Gandhara of the Sakas and then Kushans. Buddhism was strong there, and the early 7th century Chinese Buddhist pilgrim Hsüan-Tsang records it as Na-ka-lo-ho = *Nagarahāra; cf. G.H. Macgregor, in *JASB*, xiii (1844), 867-80, T. Watters, *On Yuan Chuang's travels in India, 629-645 A.D.*, London 1904, 182-90, and *Hudūd al-'ālam*, tr. Minorsky, comm. 252-3. The Buddhist antiquities of the region have been exploited and looted since the 19th century; serious archaeological investigation dares from the work of the Délégation Archéologique Française en Afghanistan 1923-8 at Hadda a few miles south of Djalābād, mainly at Tepe Kalan stupa (J. Barthoux, *Les fouilles de Hadda*, Méms. DAFA, iv, Paris 1933, and vi, Paris 1930), and this has recently been continued by Sh. Mustamandī (*Nouvelles fouilles à Hadda (1966-1967) par l'Institut Afghane d'Archéologie*, in *Arts Asiatiques*, xix (1969), 15-36, cf. L. Dupree, *Afghanistan*, Princeton 1973, 306). This region of Nangrahar has also at times been included in the eastern part of that of Lamghān or Lamghānāt [*q.v.*].

The comparatively low-lying and sheltered valley here of the Kābul River gives Djalābād what Dupree has called a "Mediterranean, dry-summer, sub-tropical climate" (this is in fact more accurate than Humlum's term "monsoon climate"). Rain falls mainly in the three winter months, and the mild

climate has meant that Djalābād has for long been a winter residence place for many Kābulis and a winter haven for tribesmen of the climatically harsh slopes of the Safīd Kūh to the south of the river valley and of the Kāfiristān fringes. At present, Djalābād is the centre of a rich area for the growing of sugar cane by irrigation, rice, fruits, etc., and a Ningrahar irrigation project, built around a dam in the Darunta gorge, has recently been undertaken. Ethnically, the Djalābād region comprises some Tadjik villagers but mainly Pushtūns of the Ghilzay, Shinwari, Khugiyani, Mohmand and Safi tribes.

The actual town of Djalābād only appears in Islamic history during the Mughal period, and Akbar is said to have founded it in ca. 978/1570. Nādir Shāh Afshār campaigned in the district, and defeated the Pushtūn tribes at nearby Gandamak. It is during the 19th century that the town really comes into prominence. The American traveller Charles Masson was there in ca. 1826-7, and states that he discerned the ruinous mud walls of two earlier towns on the site, the contemporary town being the smallest of the three. The then governor of Djalābād was Nawāb Muḥammad Zamān Khān b. As'ad Khān, a nephew of Dōst Muḥammad [see DŪST MUHAMMAD], and the revenue of the whole province of Djalābād, including that from the Tadjik villages and from Laghmān, amounted to three lakhs (i.e. 300,000) of rupees (*Narrative of various journeys in Balochistan, Afghanistan and the Panjab*, London 1842 (repr. Karachi 1974), i, 174-80; Sir Thomas Holdich, *The gates of India*, London 1910, 352 ff.).

Shortly after Masson's visit, Djalābād was seized and sacked by Dōst Muḥammad in his expansion from Kābul (1834). It then played a crucial role in the First Afghan War (1839-42). It was occupied by Major-General Sir Robert Sale's brigade of the British forces ("the illustrious garrison") from November 1841 till April 1842 against the attacking Afghān army of Muḥammad Akbar Khān, and fortified by the British troops, despite a severe earthquake there in February 1842 which damaged the defences. It was Djalābād that the remnants of Major-General William Elphinstone's ill-fated army straggled back from Kābul in January 1842, the town being only relieved three months later by Major-General George Pollock (see J.A. Norris, *The First Afghan War 1838-1842*, Cambridge 1967, 371 ff.). During the Second Afghan War (1879-80), Djalābād was again occupied by British troops, who built a defence post, Fort Sale, one mile to the east of the town. It had now become a favoured winter residence of the *amirs* of Kābul, and in 1892 'Abd al-Rahmān Khān [*q.v.*] built a palace and garden near the western gate of the walled town. When in 1919 the *amir* Habīb Allāh [*q.v.*] was assassinated in the Laghmān district, his brother Naṣr Allāh was briefly proclaimed king at Djalābād, but abdicated in favour of his nephew Amān Allāh b. Habīb Allāh. During the Third Afghan War, which followed these events almost immediately, Djalābād was bombed from the air by the British (cf. L.W. Adamec, *Afghanistan 1900-1923, a diplomatic history*, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1967, 107-8, 117, 122). It was amongst the Shinwaris and other Pushtūn tribes of the Djalābād region that the *amir* Amān Allāh [*q.v.*, in Suppl.] endeavoured in 1928 to exert his centralised authority and to end the extortion of protection money (*badraka*) from caravans travelling to Peshāwar, provoking a rising of the Shinwaris in which, amongst other things, the rebels sacked the British consulate in Djalābād; this rising, and the poor performance



of the royal Afghān army against it, were contributory causes of Amān Allāh's downfall and abdication in 1929 (cf. L.B. Poullada, *Reform and rebellion in Afghanistan, 1919-1929, King Amanullah's failure to modernize a tribal society*, Ithaca and London 1973, 162 ff.).

The modern town has since 1964 been the provincial capital of Ningrahar; its population was estimated by J. Humlum at 20,000-30,000, swollen during the winter by the influx of Kābulis and others (*La géographie de l'Afghanistan, étude d'un pays aride*, Copenhagen 1959, 140). It has by now lost the protective wall and the bazaars of the old city, and the modern town has expanded towards the west. Djalālābād also possesses a military airport, originally built with US aid for civil purposes.

Bibliography (in addition to sources given in the article): *Imperial gazetteer of India*, Oxford 1908, xiv, 11-13; *Area handbook for Afghanistan*, Washington D.C. 1973, index; and the general histories of Afghānistān (Fraser-Tytler, Masson and Romodin, Klimburg, etc.), especially for the events of the 19th century.

The name Djalālābād occurs elsewhere in the Central Asian and Indo-Afghān worlds. For the Djalālābād in the modern Kirghiz SSR, see the article s.v. in *EF*². For the Djalālābād in Sīstān (= Dōshak), see Holdich, *op. cit.*, 335, 497. For the Djalālābād in the Shāhjahānpūr District of Uttar Pradesh in India, situated on the Ganges and in lat. 27° 43' N. and long. 79° 40' E., said to have been founded by the Tughluqid Djalāl al-Dīn Firūz Shāh, and the Djalālābād in the Muzaḥfarnagar District of Uttar Pradesh, in lat. 29° 37' N. and long. 77° 27' E., said to have been founded by one Djalāl Khān under Awrangzīb, see *Imperial gazetteer of India*, xiv, 13-14.

(C.E. Bosworth)

DJALĀLĪ, a term in Ottoman Turkish used to describe companies of brigands, led usually by idle or dissident Ottoman army officers, widely-spread throughout Anatolia from about 999/1590 but diminishing by 1030/1620. The term probably derives from an earlier (925/1519) political and religious rebellion in Amasya by a Shaykh Djalāl. Official Ottoman use appears in a petition (*ʿard*) as early as 997/1588 (Divan-i Kalemī 997-8-C), where the term identifies unchecked rebels (*aşkıya*) engaging in brigandage. Analysis of the three-decade period of Djalālī revolts indicates that these leaders had in common certain objectives which arose through deteriorating social and political conditions in Anatolia.

First, constant warfare for decades on the Ottoman boundaries expended men and treasure, leaving large areas of the Anatolian heartland without proper protection from local outlaws. By the later 10th/16th century, the Ottomans found themselves unable to move militarily beyond the lines generally established by Sultān Sulaymān Kānūnī, both in Hungary and in Persia. Hostilities continued with the Habsburgs from 1002/1593 until the Treaty of Zsitvatorok (11 November 1606); war in the east with the Šafawid Shāh ʿAbbās [q.v.] continued from 1012/1603 until the Treaty of Amasya in 1021/1612.

Second, deterioration in the economic stability of the Empire brought about serious imbalances. Monetary inflation, due largely to Mexican silver from Europe, caused a rapid increase in prices which affected daily-wage soldiers who, when pay was in arrears, increasingly either refused to fight or revolted. When the central government found itself without funds to disperse, it devised new sources

of cash: sale of offices to wealthy purchasers, demands for increased tribute from subject nations, the sale of lands formerly administered by cavalrymen (*timārs* [q.v.]), debasement of the coinage, and the increase of peasant taxes. Food shortages, even widespread famine, occurred due to limited agricultural technology, a decade of drought (985-1577 to 993/1585), increase in population, heavy demands by Ottoman armies in both Europe and Persia, scorched-earth policies by the Ottoman and Persian armies in eastern Anatolia, and illegal sale of grain to European markets.

Third, as in other areas of the Mediterranean, Ottoman lands experienced unrest and banditry among classes normally quiescent. Peasants (*reʿāyā*) on cavalry lands sold as *iltizām* [q.v.] found their new absentee landlords interested more in profits than traditional patronage. Legally tied to their lands, peasants felt the oppression of the new landowners, whose excesses could not be bridled, and that of the tax collectors, many of whom could hardly be differentiated from brigands. With technological changes in warfare, increased numbers of Muslim *reʿāyā* enlisted as daily-wage musketeers (*sekbān*), returning to Anatolia after their campaigns jobless but expert in the military arts. Another normally tranquil group were students training in *madrāsas* [q.v.] for positions in the Ottoman bureaucracy. Frustrated especially because their number far exceeded available positions, they wandered in groups across rural Anatolia, some preaching religious revival, and most of them participating in anti-social violence against small villages and lonely travelers (Akdağ, *Celālî isyanları*, 85-100).

Fourth, misguided leadership within the Ottoman government kindled the great Djalālī rebellions. After the astonishing Ottoman victory over the Habsburgs at Hăč Owasi (Mező-Keresztes [q.v.]) in Hungary on 23 October 1596, the newly-appointed grand vizier Çiğāla-zāde Sinān Pasha [q.v.] declared forfeit the property and the lives of all who deserted (*firārī*) from the battle. The *Firārīs*, whose several thousands included many high-ranking officers, fled to Anatolia where they joined the forces of the Djalālī leader Karāyazidjī ʿAbd al-Halīm and fought successfully against Ottoman armies for several years. The unsuccessful actions of important Ottoman generals, including Naşūh Pasha against the Djalālī Tawīl Khālil at Bolvadin (1014/1605), and Farhād Pasha's [q.v.] anti-Djalālī campaign of 1015/1606, demonstrated the need for greater military organisation and discipline in recognition of the seriousness of the rebellions.

Where Ottoman leadership often failed because of personal incompetence, bureaucratic sluggishness, and court intrigue, local Djalālī chiefs proved themselves master strategists and attractive leaders, with objectives in many ways unique in Ottoman history. Unlike most rebels, they did not attempt to establish a bureaucratic state and a taxation system, to coin money, or to have their names read in the Friday mosque prayer (*khutba*). The Djalālī leaders primarily desired a place for themselves in the established Ottoman order, usually accepting a pardon from the weak government, leading to the offer of positions as *sandjak begis* or *beglerbegis*. At such a time, their rank and file became salaried and, as *ʿaskerīs* [q.v.], non-taxed. When they failed to obtain governmental recognition, both leaders and led lived on plunder, pillaging villages or outlying city districts, demanding enormous ransoms of the urban dwellers and incurring the hatred of the coun-



tryside. *Djalālī* bands ruled wide areas of Anatolia, communicated with one another, and occasionally acted in unity. Though commonly branded as proponents of the Persian *Shāh* 'Abbās and of *Shī'a* Islam, sectarian fervour played little part in their activities. Neither the Persian monarch nor any other foreign power gave them official recognition.

A different kind of rebellion occurred contemporaneously in northern Syria and is often erroneously considered to be a *Djalālī* revolt, possibly because of a short-lived alliance with some *Djalālī* leaders (*Shidyāk, Akhbār al-ayān*, 133). *Djānbūlādoghli* 'Alī Pasha based his revolt on the power of his well-known Kurdish family and Turkoman retainers, as well as on regional loyalties in Aleppo and Damascus. Official recognition came in the form of an alliance with the Grand Duke of Tuscany (Fondo Archivisto Mediceo, No. 4275 is the Italian copy of the treaty) and a vague understanding with the *Şafawid* *Shāh* (Wāsiṭī, *Talkhīsāt*, f. 11b).

The dangerous international implications of *Djānbūlādoghli*'s revolt were not missed by the newly-appointed (1015/1606) grand vizier, the nonagenarian Kuyudju Murād Pasha. On the occasion of peace in Hungary, he immediately marched toward Aleppo, established military discipline, used a variety of loyal non-Anatolian as well as *dewşirme* [q.v.] forces, whom he paid promptly, and smashed the Syrian rebel *Djānbūlādoghli* at Oruç Owasi near Lake 'Amīk (1016/1607). Six months later he turned against the great *Djalālīs*, took advantage of their fickle individualism, pardoned some, executed most, and routed the army of *Kalenderoghli* Mehmed at Göksün Yaylası, though the rebel leader fled to Persia. A year later Murād Pasha executed the last great *Djalālī* leader, Muslu Çawuşh.

In the years following Kuyudju Murād Pasha's death (1020/1611), though *Djalālī* faded from official use in the *Muḥimme defterleri*, the term remained in Ottoman historical writing to identify certain Anatolian rebels. Ewliyā Çelebi in the mid-11th/mid-17th century mentions the "*Djalālī Pashas*" (*Seyāhat-nāme*, viii, 104), and Na'imā (*Ta'rikh*, v, 155) describes the activities of a 12th/18th-century rebel as *Djalālīlik* ("like a *Djalālī*"). Today, the memory of the *Djalālīs* remains only in the folk songs of the Anatolian hero *Köröghlu* [q.v.].

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DJAMĀL AL-DĪN IŞFAHĀNĪ, MUḤAMMAD B. 'ABD AL-RAZZĀK, Persian poet of the later Saldjūk period, and father of a better-known poet Kamāl al-Dīn Ismā'il [q.v.]. A goldsmith and miniature painter in his early years, he left his workshop, as his son tells us, to study, acquiring extensive theological knowledge, traces of which are to be found as characteristics in his 'Irākī-styled poetry. Continuous eye troubles, a speech impediment, a large family of at least four sons, and a short tour through Ādharbāydzjān and Māzandarān, very likely in search of more generous patrons, constitute all the details we know from his personal life. Besides local grandees of the Āl-i Şā'id and Āl-i Khudjand, to whom he dedicated flattering *kaşidas*, his other patrons included some Saldjūk princes of 'Irāk and a number of local rulers of Ādharbāydzjān and Māzandarān. Among contemporary poets, he paid equivocal lip-service to Khākānī [q.v.], held friendly correspondence with Zāhīr-i Fāryābī, and wrote mordant satires against Mudjīr-i Baylaḳānī. He also paid homage to

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Anwarī and Raṣhīd-i Waṭwāt [*q.v.*], who seem to have ignored him rather disdainfully. Djamāl al-Dīn's ascetic ideas—including the idea of renunciation—are best presented in the *kaṣīdas* which he wrote in the fashion of Sanāʿī, though these are far inferior to Sanāʿī's ones. His *Diwān*—comprising *kaṣīdas*, quatrains, and *ghazals*—contains no less than 10,000 verses and displays the lucid and flowing 'Irākī style. Djamāl al-Dīn is said to have died either in 588/1192 or in 600/1203, the former being more likely.

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(A.H. ZARRINKOOB)

DJAMĀL KARSHĪ, sobriquet of ABU ʿL-FADL DJAMĀL AL-DĪN MUHAMMAD B. ʿUMAR B. KHĀLID, scholar and administrator in Turkeṣtān during the Mongol era. He was born at Almalīgh around 628/1230-1, his father a *hāfiẓ* of Balāsāghūn and his mother originating from Merw. He enjoyed the patronage of the local Turkish dynasty founded at Almalīgh [*q.v.*] by Būzār (or Uzār), and obtained a position in the chancellery there. In 662/1264, however, he was obliged to leave Almalīgh, and for the remainder of his life resided at Kāshghar, though travelling widely in western Turkeṣtān.

In 681/1282 he composed a Persian commentary (*surāh*) on the great lexicon *al-Sihāh* of Dīawharī [*q.v.*], subsequently adding to it a historical and biographical supplement. Djamāl Karshī's *Mulḥakāt al-Surāh* is in fact the only historical source we possess emanating from the Central Asian state founded by Kaydu [*q.v.*]. Extracts of the work, which includes particularly valuable sections on the Karakhānids [see ILEK-KHĀNS] and the Mongol rulers of Turkeṣtān [see ĀGHATAY KHĀNATE], surveys of various Central Asian cities, and biographies of local divines, were edited by Barthold in *Turkestan*, Russ. ed., i, 128-52. The *Mulḥakāt* was completed soon after the accession of Kaydu's son Čapar [*q.v.*] in 702/1303, the latest date mentioned.

The date of Djamāl Karshī's death is unknown. The surname is due to his connection with the rulers of Almalīgh (*karshī* = "palace"), and is not a *nişba* from *Kuraysh* as was formerly supposed.

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AL-DJĀMĪʿA AL-ʿARABIYYA, the Arab League. Established at the end of the Second World War, this reflects the desire to renew the original unity, a desire which has continued to be active in Muslim communities following the decline and subsequent collapse of the Arab-Islamic empire.

It was during the final years of the 19th century and before the First World War that Arab nationalists became aware of their national homogeneity, based on a common language and destiny, and on a similar way of life and culture (*kaumiyya* [*q.v.*]).

Egypt, reverting to the cause of Arabism between the two World Wars, in order to put an obstacle in

the way of Hāshimite designs (a plan for a Greater Syria conceived at ʿAmmān, or for a Fertile Crescent, put forward by Baghdād) took the initiative of assembling in Alexandria representatives of the Arab States regarded as being independent. This meeting, marked by the signing of a protocol (7 October 1944), laid the foundations of a unity which was ratified the following year in Cairo, where on 22 March 1945 the Pact of the Arab League was signed by Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Iraq, Lebanon, Syria, Trans-jordan and Yemen.

Subsequently, the League has been joined by the following countries: Libya (1953), Sudan (1956), Tunisia and Morocco (1958), Kuwait (1961), Algeria (1962), South Yemen (1967), the United Arab Emirates, Kaṭar, Bahrayn and ʿUmān (1971), Mauritania and Somalia (1974) and Djiboutī (1977). Furthermore, the Palestine Liberation Organisation has been admitted, first in the capacity of an observer (1965), then as a full member (1976).

The text adopted by the founders after long discussion, is remarkable for its flexibility and its simplicity. It specifies that the object of the League is "the forging of links between the member States and the coordination of their policies" with the aim of fostering collaboration in respect of each one of them.

The components of the Organisation are currently the following:

— The Council of the League, the supreme body, which can meet at the level of Heads of State, Prime Ministers or Foreign Ministers. Summit meetings composed of Heads of State since 1964 have been:

1. Cairo (13-17 January 1964).
2. Alexandria (5-11 November 1964).
3. Casablanca (13-18 January 1965).
4. Khartoum (29 August-2 September 1967).
5. Rabat (21-23 December 1969).
6. Algiers (24-29 November 1973).
7. Rabat (26-29 October 1974).
8. Cairo (25-26 October 1976).

The council decides questions of administration by a simple majority, but in all important cases, decisions are only binding if they have been taken unanimously. Conversely, they are binding only on the States that have voted for them (art. 7).

— Five other councils, at ministerial level (common defence, economics, information, health, youth) were instituted in 1950.

— Ten permanent committees are charged with studying various questions entrusted to them and submitting in various cases projects for resolution or recommendations.

— An administrative tribunal and a committee of financial control are directly responsible to the Council of the League.

— Seventeen specialised agencies have been instituted by particular agreements to investigate common technical problems.

— The permanent Secretariat-General, which is directed by a Secretary-General elected by a two-thirds majority, himself assisted by a number of additional secretaries, comprises several departments and controls specialised bureaux, institutes and social centres. Three Egyptians have successively held the office of Secretary General of the Arab League:

- ʿAbd al-Rahmān ʿAzzām Paṣḥa (March 1945-October 1952),
- ʿAbd al-Khālīk Hassūna (October 1952-May 1972).
- Maḥmūd Riyād (since 1 June 1972).

The Secretariat-General maintains permanent delegations to the United Nations in New York and



Geneva, as well as Information Offices in the principal foreign capitals (Washington, New York, Ottawa, Paris, London, Bonn, Geneva, Brussels, Rome, Madrid, Buenos-Aires, Brasília, Tokyo, New Delhi, Dakar, Lagos, Nairobi and Addis Ababa).

Since the creation of the Organisation various plans for reform have been proposed by different states: Syria (1951), Iraq (1954), Morocco (1959, 1963), Algeria, Iraq and Syria (1964). These projects have never come to fruition. Since June 1967 this subject has only been tackled by experts.

Conflicts between member States have not been lacking, leading to almost constant disputes between two or more of the partners. These have been motivated by various factors: frontier disputes, local subversion, differences over the choice of foreign policy, differences of approach concerning the manner of conducting the war or of obtaining peace in the Israeli-Arab conflict, abortive attempts at union, ideological rivalries, personal antagonisms and a permanent struggle for supremacy. Generally, the States concerned have avoided referring their quarrels to the Council of the League. They have preferred to solve their differences by seeking the arbitration either of bilateral diplomacy or of other, larger organisations, such as the U.N.O. or, since its inception in 1963, the O.A.U. In a number of cases, certain members have failed to attend meetings. Sometimes the tactics adopted by Egypt, by the very fact that the latter is host to the League, paralyse its activity. But to this day no decisive schism has interfered with its workings.

The League, which has supplied a considerable quantity of aid to liberation movements and has assisted the emancipation of Arab nations, serves in fact as a forum where mutual aggressions and rivalries may be diminished, and where, after the confrontation, a measure of co-existence develops.

In the economic sphere, it has given birth in 1948 to a bureau for the boycott of Israel, in 1950 to the Union of Chambers of Arab Commerce, Industry and Agriculture and in 1957 to the Council of Arab Economic Unity. It has played a not inconsiderable role in the matter of oil, organising congresses and providing facilities for meeting and observation attended by experts from all parts of the world, sessions which have themselves led to the establishment of groups of producing States such as O.P.E.C. (Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries) in 1960 and O.P.E.A.C. (Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Arab Countries) in 1968.

It is in the name of the League that attempts have been made since 1964 to organise an Arab Common Market, which has never got beyond the stage of a free-trade zone limited to Egypt, Iraq, Syria and Jordan.

More recently there have been founded the A.F.E.S.D. (Arab Fund for Economic and Social Development) (1973), the Union of Arab Banks (1975), the Arab Institute for the Guarantee of Investments (1975) and the Arab Bank for Economic Development in Africa (1975). Since 1973 the League has played a major role in the Arab-European dialogue and in Arab-African co-operation.

Handicapped by the weight of mentalities whose evolution remains very slow, paralysed by the political rivalry of member States, affected by the turbulence of an unstable international world, the League nevertheless plays a role that often goes unnoticed as a centre for contacts, exchanges and studies where Arabs may meet, learn to understand one another, overcome their difference and arrive at common solutions [See also the Addenda and Corrigenda].

Bibliography: Studies on the League are numerous but often partial. As the basis for a bibliography, one may consult A.M. Gomaa, *The foundations of the League of Arab States. Wartime diplomacy and inter-Arab politics, 1941 to 1945*, London-New York 1977; R.W. McDonald, *The League of Arab States, a study in the dynamics of regional organization*, New Jersey 1965; A. el-Telawi, *Le Secrétariat général de la Ligue des États Arabes*, Paris II thesis (goes up to 1971). The activities of the League may be followed in specialist journals like *Cahiers de l'Orient contemporain*, Paris 1945-69; *Orient*, Paris 1957-69; and *Maghreb-Machrek*, Paris, since 1964. An overall view is given in the *Fiches du monde arabe*, Beirut. A recent publication by the League in Cairo is the monthly bulletin in Arabic, *Djāmī'at al-duwal al-'arabiyya*, from January 1978.

(R. SANTUCCI)

DJAMMĀL (A.) camel-driver or camelier, also an owner of and hirer of camels (hence synonymous here with *mukārī*) and a dealer in camels; Persian equivalent, *ušturbān*.

During the pre-Islamic and post-Islamic periods camel caravans travelled enormous distances between the main centres of population and trade. Our sources indicate that relatively high wages were earned by the *djammālūn* during the 'Abbāsid period. The *djammāl*, it also seems, came under the jurisdiction of *ḥisba* [q.v.] officials in Islamic towns. The conduct of the camel-men came under some criticism from writers like *Djāhīz* and Ibn al-Djāwzī. Ibn Sa'd cites a tradition that 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb chastised a *djammāl* for overburdening a camel. However, the great expansion of international trade between regions during the 'Abbāsid period gave the camel-men a significant role to play in Arab society, and they were one of the most important groups of transport-workers. It was during this epoch of greatness of Islamic civilisation that we find some *djammālūn* among the transmitters of the Prophetic traditions (*ahādīth*). *Ibshīhī* [q.v.] tells a tale that the caliph al-Mu'tamid awarded a pious *djammāl* a monthly allowance of 30 *ḍinārs*, besides a royal gift of 500 *ḍinārs* in cash. In contrast to their mediaeval glory, the modern camel-men's trade is regarded as demeaning and low (*danī*), and on some of the pilgrim roads to Mecca, one could hear a lot of critical comments about the conduct of the *djammālūn* until very recent times.

Bibliography: Ibn Sa'd, *Tabakāt*, Beirut 1958, vii, 127; al-Shaybānī, *al-Makhārīj fī'l-ḥiyāl*, Leipzig 1930, 12; *Djāhīz*, *Ḥayawān*, iii, 307-8; *Thā'alibī*, *Lata'if al-ma'ārif*, Cairo 1960, 128; Ibn al-Djāwzī, *Sifat al-safwa*, Cairo 1970, ii, 341, 408; Sam'anī, *Ansāb*, Hyderabad 1963, iii, 319-25; *Ibshīhī*, *Mustatraf*, Cairo 1952, ii, 81; Kalyūbī, *Hikāyāt*, Calcutta 1856, 168; M.S. al-Kāsimī, *Dictionnaire des métiers damascains*, Paris 1960, i, 83.

(M.A.J. BEG)

DJAMMŪ, a region of northern India, lying between lat. 32° and 33° N. and long. 74° and 76° E. and extending east of the Čenāb. It is bounded on the south by the Sialkōt district of the Pandjāb and on the north by Kashmīr, of which it now constitutes a province, covering an area of 12,375 sq. miles. Its capital, the town of the same name, is situated on the right bank of the Tavī.

The original name of this ancient principality, which lay in the valleys of the Tavī and the Čenāb, was Durgara, from which is derived the ethnic term Dogrā for its mountaineer inhabitants. Even the name Durgara, however, figures for the first time only

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in copper-plate grants of the early 10th century, and Djammū appears to be referred to in Kalhana's *Rājataranginī* as Babbapūra (Babor). During the reign of the great Kashmir king Kalāśa (1063-89), Djammū was tributary to Kashmir, and his subordination continued into the 12th century, when the decline of their powerful neighbour enabled the *rājās* to assert their independence.

At this time, Čakradeva, ruler of Djammū, played a part in the struggle between the last Ghaznavid sultan in the Panjāb, Khusraw Malik b. Khusraw Shāh (555-82/1160-86) and the rising power of the Ghūrids [q.v.]. Čakradeva allied with the Ghūrid Mu'izz al-Dīn Muhammad against Khusraw Malik and his Khokar allies, who had been harrying Djammū and refusing allegiance to its ruler, their suzerain (see C.E. Bosworth, *The later Ghaznavids, splendour and decay: the dynasty in Afghanistan and northern India 1040-1186*, Edinburgh 1977, 129-30).

The *vamsāvalī* of the *rājās* of Djammū supplies a long list of rulers, often with very few details of their reigns, and the chronology can only occasionally be fixed by reference to external sources. Tīmūr, in the course of his invasion of this region in 801/1398-9, forcibly converted the *rājā* of Djammū to Islam, and this is probably the Bhīm-dēv (d. 1423) whom we find on the throne over the next few decades; but his successors reverted to Hinduism. This did not preclude co-operation with Ḥasan Shāh of Kashmir in resisting the invasion of Tatar Khān Lūdī, governor of the Panjāb, around 1480, while during the troubled reign of Muhammad Shāh (1484-7), Parasramdēv of Djammū intervened in Kashmir's internal politics, putting to death a great number of *sayyids*.

In the 16th century Djammū was divided into two states, Djammū and Bahū (Bao), separated by the Tavī. Both principalities, which were reunited in the next century, followed the other hill states in accepting the suzerainty of the Mughal emperor Akbar, and remained subject to his successors until the 18th century. With the transfer of power in the Panjāb after 1165/1752 to the Afghāns, whose authority was weaker, the hill chiefs were able to recover a certain independence. Under Randjit-dēv (d. ca. 1780), who reduced Kishtwār to subjection, Djammū extended as far as the Ravī in the east and in the west even beyond the Čenāb. Randjit-dēv himself, however, was obliged to pay tribute to the Sikhs, and after his death the disputes among his sons enabled him to consolidate their hold upon the region. In 1819 the Sikh ruler Randjit Singh conquered Kashmir, and for his services during the campaign Dulāb Singh, a descendant of Randjit-dēv's brother, was in the following year made Rājā of Djammū. He embarked on an energetic programme of conquest, reducing Ladākh (1834) and Baltistān (1841). With the death of Randjit Singh in 1839, the Sikh empire fell into decline, and Gulāb Singh stood aloof from the first war with the British (1845-6), acting subsequently as mediator. By the treaty of Amritsar of 16 March 1846 he received from the British, for the sum of 75 lakhs, Kashmir and all the mountainous territory between the Indus and the Ravī. For the later history of Djammū, see KASHMIR.

Bibliography: F. Drew, *The Jummo and Kashmir Territories*, London 1875; *Imperial gazetteer of India*, Oxford 1907-9, xv, 94 ff.; J. Hutchison and J.P. Vogel, *History of the Panjab hill states*, Lahore 1933, ii; G.M.D. Sufi, *Kashir: a history of Kashmir*, Lahore 1949, ii; R.K. Parmu,

A history of Muslim rule in Kashmir 1320-1819, New Delhi 1969.

(P. JACKSON)

DJĀMŪS (Ar., fem. *djāmūsa*, pl. *djāwāmīs*) designates the Indian buffalo or water buffalo (*Bubalus bubalis*), with, in other regions, the species *arni*, *fulvus* and *kerabau*; it is the βούς ἄγριος or βούβαλος mentioned by Aristotle as found in the wild state in Arachosia, the present-day Balūčistān (see *Hist. Anim.*, ii, 1 (4) and French translation by J. Tricot, Paris 1957, i, 115-6). The African buffalo (*Syncerus caffer*), which is unsuitable for domestication and which the Sudanese call *djāmūs al-khalā* "Buffalo of the wilderness", is quite unknown to the Arab writers. The term *djāmūs* (in Berber *talhamust*, pl. *tilhamusin*) is an arabisation from the Islamic period of the Persian composite noun *gāv-i mīsh* "bull-sheep" (which al-Djāhīz transcribes as *kāwmāsh/kāwmīsh* in *Hayawān*, i, 152, ii, 182, v, 459, vii, 243), given to this domesticated bovine whose facial profile is reminiscent of that of the ram, with the short and upturned muzzle, the narrow and slightly arched forehead and the long, flat, ringed horns, set very far apart and curving horizontally towards the rear; the long tail has earned the beast, in some localities, the dialectical name of *dhanbūb* (from *dhanab* "tail").

The domestication of the Indian buffalo took place relatively recently in the historical era, since we note that Aristotle speaks of it as a wild species which corresponded to the bull as the wild boar corresponds to the pig. As for Europe, the historian Paul Warnefrid, according to Paul the Deacon, states that it was in 596, during the reign of the Lombard king Agilulf, that the first buffaloes appeared in Italy, in the Pontine marshes; they had already been introduced some time previously into Eastern Europe, notably in the lower Danube valley, whence they rapidly spread towards the North. In the time of Albert the Great, who describes them perfectly, they were to be found not only in Hungary where they had remained, but in all the Slavonic regions and in the neighbouring Germanic provinces. As for the Arabs, they did not really discover the animal until after the 1st/7th century, with the Islamic expansion into Persia and Afghānistān. As soon as the Muslim conquest reached India, the new rulers were quick to exploit the buffalo, a creature in which they discovered special qualities not possessed by the bull, qualities which contributed to a great extent to the cultivation of vast tracts of low-lying and marshy ground that were hitherto unexploitable. The semi-aquatic nature of the Indian buffalo, whose natural habitat is marshland, added to a powerful physical constitution and a strong herd instinct, made it the ideal instrument for clearing these impenetrable areas of the ferocious animals, lions especially, which infested them. In fact, as al-Djāhīz so rightly says (*Hayawān*, vii, 119-120), the buffalo, the elephant [see *FIL*] and the rhinoceros [see *KARKAD-DĀN*] are the three "great herbivores" (*nū'asā' al-bahā'im*), daring to confront and overpowering the "carnivorous lords" (*sādāt al-sibā'*). In groups, buffaloes become formidable, posing to the danger that threatens them the moving rampart of their massed horns, forming a protective ring around the females, the calves, and even their human masters (see al-Damīrī, *Hayāt*, i, 183). Moreover, the buffalo is an extremely distrustful creature with a vigilance that cannot be cheated, to such an extent that the ancients claimed that it never slept on account of a worm lodged in its brain (see al-Ḳazwīnī, *ʿAdā'ib* . . . , in the margin of al-Damīrī, *op. cit.*, ii, 203). The intrepid resistance posed

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by the buffalo to the lion, defined by the admiring al-Djāhīz as "stout-heartedness" (*ṣaḥḥā'at al-kalb*, *Hayawān*, vii, 142) very soon came to the attention of the herdsmen, then to that of the Muslim rulers who, taking advantage of this fighting instinct, reinforced it by sheathing the horns of the animals in copper or iron, thus improving their armament before sending them out against the great beast (see al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāyat al-arab*, x, 124).

The earliest introduction of buffaloes into the Near East is attributed to the powerful governor of Syria Mu'āwiya b. Abī Sufyān [*q.v.*] who used his political skill to transfer *en masse* the Zuṭṭ [*q.v.*], and their large herds of buffalo, from the eastern frontiers of the Tigris, to which point they had already penetrated, into the region of the 'Awāšim [*q.v.*] and of the 'Amk [*q.v.*] of Antioch which was infested by lions. These Zuṭṭ or Dījat [*q.v.*] (pl. Dījtān, see *Hayawān*, v, 407, n. 2), semi-nomadic Indo-Aryans from Sind, a people highly rebellious in the face of any constraint, were at that time essentially breeders of buffaloes, and their steady progress westward was to be an important factor in the proliferation of these Indian bovines around the Mediterranean basin. The northern frontier region of Syria received a second influx of buffaloes, 4,000 according to Ibn al-Fakīh (see *Abrégé du Livre des pays*, French tr. H. Massé, Damascus 1973, 137), under the caliphate of al-Walīd I and for the same reason, sc. danger and instability caused by lions. Then the caliph Yazīd II repeated the operation for the benefit of Cilicia and the lower Orontes (see al-'Aṣṭī). Finally, it was again from these same regions that the 'Abbāsīd caliph al-Mu'taṣim was obliged, in 222/837, to deport the entire Zuṭṭ nation, which was settled along with its buffaloes in the vast Mesopotamian lowland region of al-Baṭīḥa [*q.v.*]; this draconian measure came as a result of the raids and acts of brigandage indulged in by these turbulent and perpetually rebellious Indo-Aryans, a large number of whom had been transplanted thither by the energetic Umayyad governor al-Ḥaḍḡjādī b. Yūsuf al-Thakafī, who transported them by sea from Daybul [*q.v.*], after their capture in 94/712 by the general Muḥammad b. al-Kāsim al-Thakafī. They were to give their name to the Nahr al-Zuṭṭ, one of the marshes situated between Wāsiṭ and Baṣra (see Yāqūt, *Mu'djam*, iv, 840, and *Hayawān*, v, 399); these are the same people who, seven centuries later, arrived in western Europe and were nicknamed, according to the various countries, "Tsiganes", "Bohemians", "Egyptians/Gypsies/Gitanos", "Romanies", etc. After this deportation, buffaloes did not however disappear from Lower Mesopotamia since, following the Zuṭṭ, Arab tribes, including the Bāhila [*q.v.*] and the Banu 'l-'Anbar [see TAMIM], continued to breed them; this species of bovine prospered exceedingly and, in the 4th/10th century, al-Mas'ūdī could write (*Murūdj*, ii, § 870): "As for buffaloes, in the Syrian border region, they draw chariots of the greatest size; like the bulls... [of al-Rayy/Rages]... they bear in their nostrils a ring of iron or of copper. The same custom is observed in the province of Antioch... large numbers of buffalo are also found in 'Irāk, and especially in the *tufūf* of Kūfa and of Baṣra, in the *Baṭā'ih* and the neighbouring regions." In our own times, some Shī'ī Arab tribes, including the Āl Bū Muḥammad and the Ma'dān, still make their livelihood through the rearing of the buffalo to the south of al-'Imāra (Amara) on the approaches to the Hawr al-Ḥammār, and the butter which they produce supplies the market of Baghdād.

In Egypt, the domesticated buffalo (in dialect *gāmūs*, *gāmūsa*) guaranteed the prosperity of agriculture in the Nile valley from the Delta to Aswān. Its introduction into the ancient kingdom of the Pharaohs was owed to the Muslims, and seems to have been contemporary with that experienced by Syria and the 'Awāšim; the major Arab historians make no mention of the question, but it may be supposed that the first creatures arrived there carrying or drawing equipment in the rearguard of military contingents coming to take up garrison duties. Whatever the case may be, the fellah whose livelihood was bound up with the periodic flooding and subsiding of the great river found in the buffalo the ideal partner for the efficient agricultural exploitation of the muddy soil left by the receding of the water; there, as in the rice swamps of the Far East, the buffalo manoeuvres easily and its docility makes it the best draught-animal for this kind of terrain. Furthermore, it is able to defend itself against the irritations of mosquitoes by wallowing in the mud of the tributaries in the manner of the pachyderms, and it spends the hottest hours of the day agreeably, submerged up to the nostrils in the tidal waters; its presence along the banks of the Nile proved decisive in the elimination of the crocodiles which infested them (see al-Kazwīnī, *op. cit.*, ii, 203). The number of buffaloes in Egypt grew so quickly and so extensively that in the 7th/13th century, al-Makrīzī tells us (*Khīṭat*, i, ch. xxxix) certain sultans, in their constant quest for increased revenue, imposed an excessive annual tax of three to five *dīnārs* per head, which at that time represented half of the value of the animal; this crushing burden on the fellah was fortunately abolished in the following century. It was in the course of the 8th/14th century that the intrepid Moroccan traveller Ibn Baṭṭūta became acquainted with and appreciated, first at Damietta and then in the Indies, the excellent milk of the buffalo (*Rihla*, Cairo 1928, i, 17, ii, 12). In Ceylon (*ibid.*, ii, 136) he consumed buffalo steaks, then, putting into port at Kaylūkārī (ii, 158) while on his way to China, he was offered, among other presents, two female buffaloes by the local princess.

To the many advantages offered by the buffalo to the peasantry dependent on the great rivers of Islam, an additional asset that should be mentioned was the use by craftsmen of its hide, which was particularly resistant and ideal for the manufacture of shields (see *Hayawān*, vii, 86). It was much in demand by the savage Bedjā herdsmen [*q.v.*] for their nomadic journeys between the Upper Nile and the Red Sea (see *Khīṭat*, ii, ch. xxxii); from terms such as "buffeterie" (French), "buff-belts" (English) we know of the high value placed upon this leather for the equipment of European soldiers up until the last century. In mediæval oriental medicine, fumigations making use of this leather were recommended for the elimination of house-bugs, while the salted fat of the animal was held to be an ointment effective in the prevention of scabies and leprosy.

In the Maghrib, the buffalo (in dialect: *zāmūs*) is hardly known except in one small herd of about fifty animals living wild on the banks of the Tunisian lake of Ischkeul. The origin of this herd is obscure; the general opinion is that these buffaloes were imported from Italy at the beginning of the 13th/19th century, during the reign of Ahmad Bey [*q.v.*]. But the studies of L. Joleaud and L. Lavauden (see *La chasse et la faune cynégétique en Tunisie*, Tunis 1920, 14) tend to show that these animals are



the last remnants, having reverted to the wild, of the buffaloes once the property of the Carthaginians; such a thesis seems extremely hazardous, in spite of everything. In Algeria, finally, where the buffalo is not present, the term *ḡāmūs* (or *zāmūsh*) designates women's bracelets carved from the horns of the animal. In reference to this term, it is to be noted that some authors have given the title *ḡāmūs al-baḥr* "river buffalo" to the hippopotamus (see FARAS AL-MĀ').

Bibliography: Besides the sources quoted in the article, see R. Thévenin, *L'origine des animaux domestiques*, Paris 1960, 78; L. Guyot and P. Gibassier, *Les noms des animaux terrestres*, Paris 1964, 38-9; Yarkin İbr., *Büffelzucht und Büffeltypen in Anatolien*, in *Ann. Univ. Ankara*, iii (1948-9), 209-40.

(F. VIRÉ)

AL-DJANBĪHĪ, MUHAMMAD B. 'ABD AL-NABĪ (other forms are *Djimbayhī* and *Djunbayhī*), Egyptian author of a variety of tracts of which the majority have as a central theme the denunciation of what is seen as the various manifestations of decay of Islamic civilisation in Egypt.

He was born in 1842 in the village of *Djimbawāy* (*Djimbawāy*, *Djimbaway*) in the *markaz* of *Itāy al-Bārūd* in al-Buḥayra province. After a period of study at al-Azhar, he held the office of *khatīb* in al-Muṭahhar mosque in Cairo. He resigned from this office at an early age and returned to his village (cf. *P'tilaf al-ma'ānī wa 'l-mabānī fī takhṣīs ḡasīdat Abī Firās al-Ḥamdānī*, Cairo n.d., 16), where he devoted himself to what he saw as his mission: to struggle for the victory of Truth, i.e. of Islam as conceived by him, and to exhort the Islamic world to this end (cf. *Tasliyat al-ṣādara wa 'stinhād al-wizāra*, Cairo n.d., 13). These exhortations were set forth in a number of books and pamphlets permeated with a strong mystical strain, and supported by quotations from authors belonging to the *Shādhiliyya* order [q.v.] into which al-Djanbīhī himself had been initiated. They were directed against Christian missionary activity (cf. *Taṣṭīḥ al-tarḡīḥ bayn Muḥammad wa 'l-Masīḥ*, Cairo 1321/1903-4; *Muthabbūt al-akl wa 'l-dīn fī 'l-radd 'alā suḡfahā' al-mubashshirīn*, Cairo n.d.; and *Masmūm al-asinna wa 'l-shihām fī 'l-radd 'alā man shawwashū al-afkār bi-da'wā tanwīr al-afḥām*, Cairo n.d.), against journalism (cf. *Kaṣṣf al-izār 'an mushawwahāt al-awzār*, Cairo 1902, *passim*; *al-Sirāḡ al-wahhādī fī 'l-dalāla 'alā aṣḡraf minḥādī*, Cairo n.d. 73 f.; *Asḡaf al-naṣā'ih al-nahī 'an al-mubīkāt wa 'l-kabā'ih*, Cairo n.d., 159), against the foundation and character of the Egyptian University (*Balāyābūz al-ʿasriyya tanṣuruḥā al-Djāmi'a al-Misriyya*, Cairo n.d.), and against Western science and scholarship (cf. *Risālat al-Ḥabīb wa-dalālat al-ṭabīb*, Cairo n.d., 68, 99; *al-Razāyā al-ʿasriyya liḡubbān al-umma al-Misriyya*, n.p., n.d. (approx. 1923), 32). In addition, he denounced the 'ulamā' for not being able to counter the decay enveloping Islamic civilisation (cf. *Asḡaf al-naṣā'ih*, 13; *Hāfiḡat al-ādāb wa-mawḡizat al-albāb*, Cairo 1316/1898-9, 30), and condemned demands for independence as un-Islamic and political demonstrations as *bida'* to which in the past only the *Khawāridj* [see *KHĀRIDJIS*] had delivered themselves (cf. *al-Razāyā al-ʿasriyya*, 52 f.). At the same time, he criticised Lord Cromer (cf. *al-Amal al-mabrūr fī radd'at ahl al-ghurūr*, Cairo n.d., 136; *Risālat al-Ḥabīb*, 29), whom he saw as not just aiming at maintaining political domination, but as directed in the final resort at establishing religious domination (cf. *Asḡaf al-naṣā'ih*, 147); wrote against the calls for *islāḥ* of those belonging

to the reformist movement—which he saw as not being different from al-Wahhābiyya [q.v.; cf. *al-Razāyā al-ʿasriyya*, 60 ff., 147]—and attacked and denounced its inspirers *Djamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī* and Muḥammad 'Abduḥ (cf. *Zahḡahat al-zā'ighīn 'an munā-waṣṣha al-mutawassilīn*, preceeding *Irshād al-Shaykh Mahmūd Khattāb*, mentioned below, 18, 63; *Asḡaf al-naṣā'ih*, 120 ff.; *al-Razāyā al-ʿasriyya*, 46 ff.), as well as its representatives such as Kāsim Amīn and Muḥammad Farīd Wajḡdī (cf. *Irshād al-umam ilā yan-bū' al-hikam*, Cairo 1338/1919-20, 90; *al-Amal al-mabrūr*, 49 f.; *Asḡaf al-naṣā'ih*, 110 f.). The most provocative of his publications (which are still awaiting a proper evaluation) is a book entitled *Irshād al-Shaykh Mahmūd Khattāb ilā ṭarīḡ al-māba wa 'l-matāb*, Cairo 1336/1817-8. It contains a lengthy and profound attack upon Mahmūd Khattāb al-Subkī [q.v.], the founder of the *Djam'iyya al-Shar'iyya li-Ta'āwun al-ʿĀmilīn bi'l-Kitāb wa 'l-Sunna al-Muḥammadiyya*, commonly known as al-Subkiyyūn. It must be considered as one of the more significant treatises written against al-Subkī's conception of Islam (cf. F. De Jong, *Turuq and turuq-opposition in 20th century Egypt*, in F. Rundgren (ed.), *Proceedings of the Vth Congress of Arabic and Islamic Studies*, Stockholm-Leiden 1975, 87 f.). Muḥammad al-Djanbīhī died in 1927.

Bibliography: A biography by Badawī Tāhā 'Allām is prefaced to Muḥammad al-Djanbīhī, *Hamm baṭnī 'abaṭanī*, Cairo 1954 (2nd ed.). See also the biographical notes by 'Abd al-Karīm Salmān in the postscript to the edition of *P'tilaf al-ma'ānī* mentioned in the article. This booklet is the only one of al-Djanbīhī's publications mentioned by Brockelmann, S I, 440. To the works referred to in the article and the ones listed by Sarkis, 714 f. must be added *Karam al-rubūbiyya wa-sharāf al-'ubūdiyya*, Cairo 1927; and *Nashr al-asrār al-baṣḡariyya min ṭawāyā al-akhḡāk al-muḥammadiyya*, Cairo 1319/1901-2.

(F. DE JONG)

DJAND, a mediaeval town on the lower reaches of the Sir Daryā in Central Asia, towards its debouchure into the Aral Sea, in what is now the Kazakhstan SSR; its fame was such that the Aral Sea was often called "the Sea of Djand".

Djand is first mentioned by certain Muslim geographers of the mid-4th/10th century, in particular, by Ibn Hawḡal, and following him, by the anonymous author of the *Hudūd al-ʿālam* (wrote 372/982). Ibn Hawḡal mentions three settlements on the lower Sir Daryā amongst the Oghuz Turks of that region: Djand; the "New Settlement", (al-Ḳarya al-ḡadīṭha, appearing in the Persian sources as Dih-i Naw, and in later Turkish contexts as Yengikent (*Kāshgharī*, tr. Atalay, iii, 149-50: Yenikend) or Shahr-kent (e.g. in the *K. al-Tawassul ilā 'l-tarassul*, Nasawī's *Sirāt Sultān Djalāl al-Dīn* and on certain coins); and *Khuwāra*. Of these, al-Ḳarya al-ḡadīṭha was the largest, being provisioned with corn from Transoxania when there was peace between the Turks and Muslims, and lying on the left bank of the river at 10 stages from *Kh'ārazm* across the Kizil Kum [q.v.], at two stages from the Aral Sea shore, and 20 stages from Fārāb or Pārāb, the later mediaeval town of Otrār [see FĀRĀB]. This town was the winter residence of the ruler of the Oghuz, the Yabghu. The ruins of al-Ḳarya al-ḡadīṭha probably lie at the modern *Djānkent-kal'a*, near the old *Kh'īwan* fort of *Djān-kal'a* and 22 km./14 miles downstream from Kazalinsk. Djand lay further upstream, on the right bank of the river, not far from the modern Qyzyl-Orda (the

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Perovsk of Tsarist Russian times); the Russian archaeologist P. Lerch and the American traveller E. Schuyler identified its site with an old Kirghiz cemetery and the ruins at Khorkhut, a station on the Orenburg-Tashkent postroad (now the track also of the railway), but this identification is not entirely certain (see Schuyler, *Notes of a journey in Russian Turkistan, Khokand, Turkistan, Bukhara, and Kuldja*, London 1876, i, 62-3; E. Bretschneider, *Mediaeval researches from eastern Asiatic sources*, London 1910, ii, 95-6). The site of Khuwāra is totally unknown, and it disappears from mention after the end of the 4th/10th century.

The three settlements were important as entrepôts for trade with the Inner Asian steppes, and Gardīzī (mid-5th/11th century) mentions the route which ran from Fārāb to Yengi-kent and thence to the lands of the Kimāk [q.v.] on the banks of the Irtysh (Zayn al-akhbār, ed. Habībī, 258). All three settlements had a population of Muslim traders in the 4th/10th century. Barthold assumed that these Muslims had themselves founded the settlements as trading-posts, independent of any policy on the part of the Sāmānids to extend their power into the pagan Turkish steppes (cf. his *Histoire des Turcs d'Asie Centrale*, 49, and *Four studies on the history of Central Asia*, iii. *A history of the Turkmen people*, 92). Recently, however, the results of investigations by Soviet archaeologists in the lower Sīr Daryā area have suggested that these places had a pre-Islamic history; S.P. Tolstov has spoken of these in his *Goroda Guzov*, in *SE*, iii (1947), 55-102, as "Hunno-Turkish" settlements, resettled and reformed in the 4th/10th century, whence the name "New Settlement". As well as these three places on the lower Sīr Daryā, there is mention in the sources of other Turkish towns on the middle course of the river, such as Šawrān and Sighnāk (the latter on the site of the present-day ruins of Sunaq-qurghan), and Idrīsī, possibly utilising information of over two centuries before from Djayhānī, names over ten settlements of the Oghuz on the Sīr Daryā; other sources mention that the Oghuz already in the 4th/10th century included both nomads and sedentaries (see Tolstov, *Auf den Spuren der altchoresmischen Kultur*, Berlin 1953, 263-4; O. Pritsak, *Der Untergang des Reiches des Oğuzischen Yabghu*, in *Fuad Köprülü armağanı*, Istanbul 1953, 399-401; Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids, their empire in Afghanistan and eastern Iran*, 211-13).

At all events, Djand was an important centre of the Oghuz towards the end of this century, and it plays a rôle in the semi-legendary accounts of Saldjūk origins, those called in Mirkhānd and the *Malik-nāma*. The eponymous founder of the family, Saldjūk b. Dukāk, is said to have come to Djand with his followers, to have become a Muslim and to have relieved the Muslim population of the town of the tribute levied on them by the still-pagan Oghuz Yabghu; finally, he was buried there. From these events dated the hostility between the two branches of the Oghuz, that of Saldjūk and that of the Yabghu (Ibn al-Athīr, *Mirkhānd*, etc., utilised in Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*², 178, 257, Cl. Cahen, *Le Malik-Nameh et l'histoire des origines seldjukides*, in *Oriens*, ii (1949), 43-4, and Bosworth, *op. cit.*, 219-21). The conversion of the Yabghu nevertheless followed ca. 390/1000, and he assumed the Islamic name of 'Alī; Gardīzī records this conversion under the year 393/1003 and states that 'Alī contracted a marriage alliance with the last Sāmānid Ismā'il al-Muntaṣir [q.v.] (Zayn al-akhbār, ed. Nāẓim, 64, ed. Habībī, 176; Pritsak, *op. cit.*, 405-6).

Djand now became for some 50 years the centre of an Oghuz principality which played an important part in the diplomatic and military policies of the great powers of the region, sc. of the Ghaznavids, who after 408/1017 controlled Khārazm, and the Karā-Khānids or Illek-Khāns [q.v.] of Transoxania. As for Yengi-kent, the original seat of the Yabghu, we can only assume that it must have passed into the hands of the Kīpčak [q.v.], who were at this time expanding their power within the steppes and who came to control much of the middle Sīr Daryā as far up as the Isfīdjāb-Shāsh region, which accordingly long remained a pagan area. The Ghaznavid historian Bayhaqī in his *Tārīkh-i Mas'ūdī*, and a later source like Abu 'l-Ghāzī's *Shadīra-yi Tarākima*, mention the ruler in Djand Shāh Malik b. 'Alī, sc. the son and successor of the Yabghu, and the local historian of Bayhaq, Ibn Funduk, gives him the full name of Abu 'l-Fawāris Shāh Malik b. 'Alī al-Barānī (concerning this *nisba*, see Z.V. Togan, *Umumi türk tarihine giriş*, i, Istanbul 1946, 181), with the honorifics of Ḥuṣām al-Dawla and Nizām al-Milla. The hostility between the two branches of the Oghuz, the line of the Yabghu in Djand and the Saldjüks in Transoxania and the northern fringes of Khurāsān, made Shāh Malik the natural ally of Mas'ūd of Ghazna against his rebellious governors in Khārazm and against the Karā-Khānids, and in 429/1038 the sultan appointed Shāh Malik as his governor in Khārazm; but when, in Sha'bān 432/April 1041, the latter was triumphant and occupied Khārazm, Mas'ūd had already been deposed and was dead (see Barthold, *Turkestan*, 297-303; Cahen, *Le Malik-Nameh*, 49-55; Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids*, 238-9, 241).

The fortunes of the Saldjüks were, however, in the ascendant after their victory at Dandānkān in 431/1040. By 435/1043-4 they had secured Khārazm, and Shāh Malik was forced to flee from Djand, which also passed under Saldjūk control. Yet the subsequent pre-occupations of the Saldjüks in Persia and the west apparently allowed Djand to slip from their hands, doubtless into those of the local Kīpčak. In 457/1065 Alp Arslan had to lead an expedition to Djand and Šawrān; the ruler of Djand submitted, and was confirmed there as governor on behalf of the Saldjüks (Barthold, *op. cit.*, 298, 302; Pritsak, *Der Untergang des Reiches des Oğuzischen Yabghu*, 408).

Under the Khārazm-Shāhs [q.v.], Djand and the middle Sīr Daryā reaches, together with the Manghishlak peninsula [q.v.] to the east of the Caspian Sea, were regarded as important frontiers (*thughūr*) against the pagan Kīpčak. Atsīz led a campaign from Djand into the steppes early in his reign, probably ca. 527/1133. Because of Atsīz's humiliation at the hands of his suzerain, the Saldjūk sultan Sandjar, who in the winter of 542/1147 had invaded Khārazm, Djand was lost to the Shāhs, and passed to Kamāl al-Dīn b. Arslan Khān Maḥmūd, the grandson of Sandjar's Karā-Khānid nephew Arslan Khān Muḥammad, ruler of Samarkand. According to Djuwaynī, Atsīz and his army appeared at Djand in the spring of 547/1152, on pretext of organising an expedition against the Kīpčak, and Kamāl al-Dīn was seized and deposed. The Shāh's eldest son II Arslan was now appointed governor of Djand, an indication of the importance attached to it, and the allotting of this governorship to a Khārazmian prince became henceforth frequent; Tekish was governor at his father II Arslan's death, and under Tekish, the prince Malik Shāh was governor. Various expeditions from Djand against the Kīpčak are recorded in the later 6th/12th and early 7th/13th centuries, e.g. in



the winter of 577/1181-2 by Malik Shāh b. Tekish, in the winter of 591/1194-5 by Tekish himself against Sighnāk and Kayir Buku Khān, chief of the Oran tribe of the Kīpčak, and in the autumn of 606/1209 by the Shāh 'Alā' al-Dīn Muḥammad (Barthold, *Turkestan*, 324, 328-9, 337, 340, 361-3). It was during the course of an expedition northwards from Djand into the Kīpčak steppes that Khārazmian troops first clashed accidentally with Čingiz Khān's Mongols, according to Nasawī, in 612/1215-16, although the exact chronology is uncertain here (see Barthold, *op. cit.*, 369-71).

In the strategy of their invasions, the Mongols regarded Djand as an important point. The Khārazm-Shāh's governor in Djand and Shahr-kent or Yengikent was Kutlugh Khān, who had 10,000 cavalrymen in the latter town. The Mongol commander Čin-Temūr was at first repulsed from Djand, but returned in the spring of 617/1220. Djand surrendered peacefully, but was sacked, and the official of the Mongols 'Alī Khādzja from Kizhduwān near Bukhārā was appointed governor, retaining this office, according to Djuwaynī, till his death. Yengi-kent (the Iankint of John of Plano Carpini) was likewise taken, apparently without resistance, as was the town of Barčigh-kent or Barč-kent (Carpini's Barchin) at a so-far unidentified spot on the Sīr Daryā between Djand and Sighnāk. Čingiz's eldest son Djoči then used Djand as a base for the attack on Gurgāndj in Khārazm in the next year (Djuwaynī-Boyle, i, 83, 86-90; Barthold, *Turkestan*, 415-16; Bretschneider, *op. cit.*, i, 277-8). It was around this time that Yākūt wrote about Djand, mentioning that its population was of the Ḥanafī *madhhab* and that one of its famous men was the poet and stylist, resident in Khārazm, the *Kādī* Ya'kūb b. Shīrīn al-Djandī, pupil of Zamakhsharī and contemporary of Sam'ānī (cf. Sam'ānī, *Ansāb*, ed. Hyderabad, iii, 350); Yākūt noted that the town was now in the hands of the Tatars, and nothing was known of the fate of its inhabitants (*Buldān*, ed. Beirut, ii, 168-9).

In fact, Djand continued to enjoy a modest prosperity under the Mongol Great Khāns and then under the Čaghatayids, and it appears on an early 14th century Chinese map as Jan-di. An 8th/14th century Čaghatay source attributes the construction of mosques, *madrasas*, etc. in Djand, Barč-kent, Otrār and Šawrān to the Özbek Khān Ergen, son of Sašī Buqa; but Djand and Barč-kent apparently ceased to exist as towns towards the end of that century (see Barthold, *Four studies*, ii. *Ulugh Beg*, 101).

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(C.E. BOSWORTH)

DJANDJĪRA, the Marāthā corruption of the Arabic word *djazīra* "island", is the name of a former native state in the heart of the Konkan on the west coast of India. It actually owes its name to the fortified island of Djandjīra (lat. 17° 45' N. and long. 73° 05' E.), lying at the entrance of the Rajapuri creek, half a mile from the mainland on the west and 48 km. south of Bombay. The impregnable fort, which has an excellent command over the Arabian Sea, rose to prominence under the Nizām Shāhī [q.v.] rulers of Ahmadnagar towards the end of the 9th/15th century when a Ḥabshī or Abyssinian adventurer named Sīdī Yākūt, in the service of Ahmad Nizām Shāh (892-915/1487-1509), was made commander of the fortress island, which was also consequently called Ḥabsān. The ruler of the island used to be a Sunnī Muslim known as Sīdī, but later on he came to be known also as Wazīr

and Nawāb. The Sīdīs of Djandjīra were a prosperous community of skilled seamen, noted for their tenacity and fighting spirit, expressed in the warfare and activities of a long and chequered career extending over four-and-a-half centuries.

By the middle of the 11th/17th century, the Sīdīs of Djandjīra were firmly established as an effective, though small, naval power on the west coast maintaining on behalf of the Sultān of Bidjapūr a powerful fleet for protecting the maritime trade and for providing transport for Muslim pilgrims bound for Mecca. Later on, the Sīdīs transferred their fleet to the service of the Mughals, who were more willing than the Sultāns of Bidjapūr to offer them protection against the mounting menace of the Marāthās. Hence in 1080/1670 Awrangzib made the Sīdī Admiral of the Mughal navy and gave him an annual grant of four lakhs of rupees (400,000) for the maintenance of the fleet.

The most remarkable aspect of Djandjīra's history was its invincibility in the face of determined onslaughts by the Marāthās under three generations of their chieftains, i.e., Sāhādī, Sīvādī and Sambhādī—father, son and grandson—to whom conquest of the tiny Djandjīra was a matter of prestige. The concerted attempts of the Peshwa and the Angres in the early 18th century failed to diminish Djandjīra's power of resistance. It survived all native challenges and continued to hold its own even as the country passed under the British paramountcy, which adopted a policy of non-interference in the Sīdī's administration. Moreover, the Djandjīra ruling power obtained possession of the port of Dja'farābād on the south coast of Kathiawar. This singular independent status of the state continued till 1287/1870 when, following a breakdown in law and order there, the Sīdī had to conclude a treaty with the British government, resulting in the introduction of a Resident British Officer.

The erstwhile state of Djandjīra, which consisted of three municipalities—Murud, Shriwardhan and Dja'farābād—merged with the state of India when the sub-continent attained independence in 1947. At present, Djandjīra proper is included in the Murud municipality of the Kolaba district of Maharashtra state.

Bibliography: D.R. Banaji, *Bombay and the Sīdīs*, London 1932; 'Alī Muḥammad Khān, *Mir'at-i Ahmadi*, Baroda 1927-30; *Maharashtra State Gazetteer (Kolaba District)*, Bombay 1964.

(ABDUS SUBHAN)

AL-DJARĀDATĀN "the two locusts", the name given to two slave singing girls who, according to legend, lived in the time of the people of 'Ad [q.v.] and belonged to a certain Mu'āwiya b. Bakr al-'Imlākī (see al-Ṭabarī, i, 235-6 and al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, index). When the delegates of the people of 'Ad came to make the pilgrimage to Mecca in order to obtain rain, the two girls so charmed them that Mu'āwiya had to make up some verses to recall them to the object of their mission; but they forgot in the end to make the *ṭawāf*, and it was this failure of duty which led to the destruction of the people of 'Ad. The names of these two legendary slave girls vary considerably in the sources. According to al-Ṭabarī (*Tafsīr*, Cairo 1315, ii, 250-1), one was called Warda and the other Djarāda; according to Ibn Badrūn (65), they were called Ka'ādī and Ṭhamādī (or Nafādī and Ta'ādī), but the sole point of interest in these indications is the form *C'a C'ādī*, characteristic of a certain number of feminine names. It is possible that just one of them was called Djarāda,



since al-Djafādī (*Shifā'*, 85) says that this name was later applied to all singing girls [see KAYNA], and that the dual was formed according to a well-known principle (cf. al-Baṣratān¹, etc.).

Bibliography: *Djāhiz, Tabrī'*, § 151; Tabarī, i, 234-6; Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, index; Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, *Ikḍ*, vii, 28; Kisā'i, *Kisā*, 107; Maydānī, i, 138-9 (three proverbs arising out of the girls); *Aghānī*, index; Ma'arrī, *Ghuṣṣān*, index; Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Asad, *al-Kiṣān wa 'l-ghinā' fī 'l-ʿaṣr al-djāhili'*, Cairo 1968, 73-5.

Also, 'Abd Allāh b. Djud'ān [q.v.] is said to have possessed two singing girls known as al-Djarādatān¹, called Zabya and al-Ribāb. Ibn Djud'ān allegedly gave them to Umayya b. Abī 'l-Ṣalt [q.v.] as a reward for the poet's addressing eulogies to him.

Bibliography: *Djāhiz, Tabrī'*, index; Caussin de Perceval, *Essai*, i, 351; Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Asad, *op. cit.*, 84-5 and index. See also KAYNA.

(CH. PELLAT)

DJARĪDA

i-vi.—See Vol. II.

VII.—INDIA AND PAKISTAN

This article defines the Muslim press as those newspapers both owned and edited by Muslims. The definition does not include either newspapers in languages normally associated with Islam, for instance Persian and Urdu, with which Muslims have had nothing to do, or newspapers edited by Muslims but owned by men of other faiths.

The Muslim press originated in the government and private newsletters of the Mughal period. There was the *wakā'ī*, a confidential letter by which the emperor was informed of developments in his dominions, and the *akhbār*, a semi-public gazette by which information was transmitted to the court. Amongst other groupings in Indian society, based on common political or commercial interests, private newsletters circulated. They were handwritten and several copies of each were produced. Large numbers were noted leaving Dihli in the 1830s and they were influential in Oudh (Awadh) up to 1857.

Muslim newspapers in modern form began to emerge in the 1830s. Among the first were the *Samachar-Sabharajandra*, a weekly in Bengali and Persian published by Shaykh 'Alim Allāh from Calcutta between 1831-5, and the *Sayyād al-akhbār* published in Urdu from Dihli in 1837 by Syed Mohammad Khan (Sayyid Muhammad Khān), the elder brother of Syed Ahmed Khan (Sayyid Ahmad Khān [q.v.]). The introduction of Urdu lithography in 1837 gave a boost to the development of the press in north India, and by the 1840s several Muslim newspapers were being published.

In the second half of the 19th century, the Muslim press grew steadily. It flourished primarily in north India, though it had outposts in the Madras and Bombay Presidencies. Its major centres were Lahore, Dihli, Lucknow and Calcutta, and its major languages Urdu and Bengali. Very few specifically Muslim newspapers were published in English, though the *Punjab Observer* is worthy of note. Most leading newspapers were weeklies, and only the *Paisa Akhbār* founded in Lahore in 1888 sustained daily publication over a long period. Among the most influential newspapers, though not those with the largest circulation, were the two edited by Syed Ahmed Khan from 'Aligarh, the *Tahdhib al-Akhbār* and the *Aligarh Institute Gazette*. The former educated its readers primarily in the religious and social aims of the 'Aligarh movement, and the latter instructed them in its educational and political aims. The range of subjects

which these publications covered indicated a general trend; newspapers were becoming less concerned with literary exercises and sectarian religious polemic, and more with local, national and international affairs.

During the 19th century, the Muslim press, like the Indian press generally, grew in response to the increasing activity of government and the citizen's increasing awareness of the world beyond his locality. Nevertheless, nothing contributed more to the foundation of new Muslim publications, and to major increases in the circulation of newspapers already in existence, than upheavals in the world of Islam. Indian Muslims had powerful pan-Islamic sympathies. This point is made graphically by the striking expansion of the Muslim press which coincided with the last years of the Ottoman empire, in fact from the Italian invasion of Tripoli in 1911 to the abolition of the caliphate in 1924. Newspapers were founded: in 1911 Muhammad 'Alī's *Comrade*, in 1912 Abu 'l-Kalām Āzād's *al-Hilāl*, Hamīd al-Anṣārī's *Madīna* and 'Abd al-Bārī's *Hamdam*, in 1913 Muḥammad 'Alī's *Hamdard*. These new publications and established ones sold on a hitherto unknown scale; the weekly *al-Hilāl* achieved a circulation of 25,000, while Zafar 'Alī Khān converted his *Zamīndār* from a weekly selling 2,000 copies into a daily selling 30,000. There was a dramatic improvement in the quality of production; both *al-Hilāl* and *Hamdard* were printed rather than lithographed. There was a similar improvement in journalism; *al-Hilāl* was written in new and forceful Urdu, while *Comrade* was the equal of any contemporary Anglo-Indian weekly. These newspapers greatly stimulated and even created political agitations, and government acknowledged their influence by gagging them. They also brought their editors, men such as 'Abu 'l-Kalām Āzād and Muḥammad 'Alī, to the forefront of Muslim politics.

During the 1920s and 1930s the Muslim press, though never as strong or as vociferous as the Congress or Hindu press, continued to grow. Some of the great newspapers of the pan-Islamic era died, for instance *al-Hilāl* and *Comrade*, but others such as *Zamīndār* and *Madīna* continued. Fresh newspapers were founded; in 1922 *Muslim Outlook*, the first English-language Muslim daily of importance, and in 1927 *Inkilāb*, the leading Urdu daily of the 1930s. Both were published in Lahore.

It was not until the 1940s that the Muslim press began to compete on equal terms with that of the Congress. Muslim newspapers played a major role, a role which still has adequately to be evaluated, in winning support for the All-India Muslim League's campaign for Pakistan. As in the pan-Islamic era, it showed that it was most effective when religious and political issues were combined. Among the leading League newspapers were *Andām* in Urdu and *Dawn* in English from Dihli, *Nawā'-i Wakt* in Urdu from Lahore, *Hamdam* in Urdu from Lucknow, and *Āzād* in Bengali and *Star of India* in English from Calcutta. Not all Muslim newspapers supported the League, for instance *al-Djam'iyyat*, the voice of *Djam'iyyat al-'ulamā'*, and *Madīna* were distinctly pro-Congress, but by the 1940s pro-League newspapers both in numbers and in circulation far outstripped their Congress Muslim rivals.

The partition of the subcontinent in 1947 in large part destroyed the Muslim press as it had existed. In India, despite the country's vast Muslim population, a specifically Muslim press has been unimportant; among the leading Muslim newspapers are *Radiance* and *al-Djam'iyyat*. Pakistan, on the other hand,



has developed a press of considerable dimensions both in English and in the various regional languages. In West Pakistan the leading newspapers in English are *Dawn* and *Pakistan Times* and in Urdu *Nawāʾ-i Wakt* and *Mashriq*; in East Pakistan up to 1971 the leading English newspaper was *Morning News* and the leading Bengali newspaper *Azād*. By the late 1960s the Pakistan press was producing 800,000 newspaper copies daily, of which more than three-quarters were in languages other than English. This vigorous newspaper industry existed in spite of heavy restrictions upon press freedom imposed by government and in spite of growing competition from commercial radio and television.

Bibliography: There is no work devoted specifically to this subject. The newsletter is dealt with by J.N. Sarkar in S.P. Sen, ed., *The Indian press*, Calcutta 1967; A.S. Khurshid examines the growth of the Pakistan press in his contributions to A.S. Khurshid, ed., *Press in Muslim world*, Lahore 1954, and J.A. Lent, ed., *The Asian newspapers' reluctant revolution*, Iowa 1971. Aspects of the provincial Muslim press are treated in N. Gerald Barrier and Paul Wallace, *The Punjab press 1800-1905*, Ann Arbor 1970, and M.N. Islam, *Bengali Muslim public opinion as reflected in the Bengali press 1901-1930*, Dacca 1973. For the Indian press generally, see J. Natarajan, *History of Indian journalism*, Part ii of the *Report of the Indian Press Commission*, Delhi 1955; and M. Chalapathi Rau, *The press*, Delhi 1974.

(F.C.R. ROBINSON)

viii.—EAST AFRICA

The history of the press and its development and use among East Muslims is very brief. The Muslim intelligentsia, however, have received and read newspapers and journals from other parts of the Muslim world, particularly from Egypt, from the closing years of the 19th century until the present.

It was such connections that helped develop the first interest in establishing local media. The first Muslim to do so was Shaykh al-Amīn b. ʿAlī b. Nāʿī Al-Mazrūʿī [see KENYA, MUSLIMS IN], a Muslim scholar of Mombasa who was familiar with the works and publications of al-Afghānī, Muḥammad ʿAbduh and Rashīd Riḍā. Newspapers and journals like *al-Manār* were regularly read by Shaykh al-Amīn and a coterie of Muslim scholars on the East African coast. Concerned about the low status of Muslims and Islam in this region, Shaykh al-Amīn decided to use the press to raise the level of Muslim religious, cultural and political consciousness, very much along the lines of the Middle Eastern reformers.

First he founded a modest-sized paper called simply *al-Sahifa*. Shortly afterwards, in 1932, he established a more substantial paper, appropriately called *al-Islāh*. The paper was financed by the founder, with contributions from well-wishers, and was published in two parts, a Swahili one and an Arabic one, the former being often a virtual translation of the latter. Thus a wider readership was achieved through the use of Swahili, the *lingua franca* of Eastern Africa. It discussed issues relevant to the political, economic and religious situation of the East African coast and regularly included news from the rest of the Muslim world, with which the editor of the paper often called for greater solidarity.

In 1932, Shaykh al-Amīn was appointed *Kāḍī* of Mombasa. His new duties compelled him to hand over the running of *al-Islāh* to another Muslim scholar, Shaykh ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḥas. There developed a notice-

able difference in approach and style in the paper, which was not now as popular and effective, so that the paper declined and its publication ended soon afterwards. Shaykh al-Amīn had continued to write and published booklets on Islam after his appointment as *Kāḍī*, and, in 1937, as Chief *Kāḍī* or *Shaykh al-Islām* of Kenya. One such booklet was a reproduction of selected articles from *al-Islāh* which was published under the title of *Uwongozi* (Swahili "Guidance").

Even so, it was left to the Aḥmadiyya sect [q.v., and see KENYA, MUSLIMS IN] to expand the publishing of newspapers. Their arrival in the 1930s had earned them the immediate hostility of the orthodox Muslim communities, and Shaykh al-Amīn himself carried out a campaign to discredit them in East Africa. Nevertheless, in Tanzania they founded two newspapers, one in Swahili, *Mapenzi Ya Mungu* ("The Love of God") and one in English, *East African Times*. Both papers reflected the characteristic militant defence of Islam, lengthy exposition of its teachings and their relevance to modern society, and regular theological challenges to Christians and Christianity. It is certain that these two papers have contributed to the relative success of the Aḥmadi sect in Tanzania.

It was in Tanzania also that a Muslim monthly journal, *The Light*, was founded in the 1960s by the Ithna ʿAshari community, modestly printed and completely financed by members of the community.

A general comment to be made about these publications, including the other journal irregularly produced by the Ismāʿīlī community, *Africa Ismaili*, is that each one of them has a limited distribution. The two journals hardly go beyond the communities concerned. The two Aḥmadi newspapers are regarded as heretical propaganda, and thus not appreciated by other Muslims as representing authentic religious views or the ideal way of reflecting the image of Islam in East Africa. An acceptable, popular Muslim press has yet to emerge.

(A.I. SALIM)

ix.—SOUTH AFRICA

The implantation of Islam in the extreme south of the African continent took place in three stages. The first Muslims arrived there in 1667, Malayan slaves whom the Dutch had imported as manual labour to improve their new colony of the Cape. Their slave status prevented these Malays from practising their Islamic religion and from possessing land, and they only obtained a place of worship in 1797. They were unable also freely to move about and were compelled to stay in the Cape, so that Islam was unable to expand beyond this limit.

However, the importation after 1860 of a second wave of manual labourers was necessitated by the growing development of new crops in the territories of the white settlers (Boers) at the time of the "great Trek" or migratory movement of 1834-9. Hence from 1860 until the beginning of the 20th century, the owners of sugar cane plantations, a crop which was very prosperous in Natal, brought in Indian farm workers, some of whom were Muslims. Islam was thus implanted at two points in what became after 1910 the Union of South Africa, one in the south and one in the west. The economic crisis which began in 1929 threw a considerable number of Indian farm workers out of a job and compelled them to seek another living. Some of them settled in Durban, the capital of Natal, whilst the remainder spread throughout the land towards the Cape, Johannesburg, Pretoria, Port Elisabeth

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and other South African towns. Thus the third and last phase of the implantation of Islam in South Africa was completed.

The opening of the 1960s was an important period for the Muslim community there, and it marks the beginning of its organisation and its expansion. This process was inaugurated by certain Indian Muslim leaders, who aimed at stimulating the feelings of the diverse ethnic elements of the Muslim community into a consciousness that they were above all Muslims and that, in the light of this, they should work for the progress of the Muslim community. In effect, the Malay and Indian Muslims had previously thought of themselves as belonging rather to their own ethnic community, and their activities, above all those of the very active Indians, had taken place within the framework of their original communities.

This movement brought about the creation after 1960 of several Muslim organisations, such as the association of South African Muslim women or even the association of South African Muslim butchers. It was also during this period of intense activity that the Muslim press came into being, thanks to its launching by a Muslim of Indian origin, M. Sayyed, in the shape of a fortnightly called *Muslim News*. Its first number appeared at the beginning of January 1961, and had 12 pages, eight in English and four in Urdu, and was edited and printed at Athlone, a district on the eastern edge of Cape Town where many Muslims live. In 1971 the four Urdu pages disappeared, and since that date, *Muslim News* has contained only eight pages in English. It styles itself the only South African Muslim newspaper; however, there exist two bulletins, the *Ramadan Annual* and the *Muslim Digest*, published both by one press group, the Makki one.

Muslim News was meant essentially to inform South African Muslims about religious and cultural activities of the community, and likewise to give exhortation on the practices of the Islamic faith. Without departing from these original aims, it evolved in 1973 in another direction by assuming a distinct political aspect. Condemnation of *apartheid* and of white domination was expressed in the course of articles which became more and more specific and violent in tone, a condemnation which arose from a lively denunciation of the very difficult living conditions of the non-white population of South Africa. After the publication of articles criticising government policy on these topics, the direction and editorship of *Muslim News* were in December 1975 and again in March 1976 brought before the courts in the Cape; but the journal has nevertheless continued to appear.

A perusal of *Muslim News* allows one to appreciate the efforts made by the Muslim community of South Africa to improve their precarious conditions of living. Great improvements have actually been achieved in various fields, such as health and education. An orphanage has been built, health services have been set up in districts where they were lacking, and finally, numerous mosques and *madrasas* have been constructed and a programme of Islamic studies organised. All this has come to fruition from contributions and from the gifts of a few very rich Muslims.

Finally, *Muslim News* at times highlights in its columns the lack of unity within the Muslim community of South Africa, one mainly due to dissensions between the three great national Muslim associations, the Muslim Judicial Council, the Muslim Assembly and the Ashura (< *shūrā*). These are essentially quarrels between personalities trying to assert

their own pre-eminence. They have no effect at all on the South African Muslim community's sense of solidarity, and are in fact tending now to disappear; this can only strengthen the community's determination, for despite its numerical smallness (200,000 members out of a total population of 22 millions) it is certainly one of the most vigorous Muslim communities of the southern hemisphere.

(P. GOROKHOFF)

x.—THE KUMUK [see KUMUK].

DJĀWARS (< Persian *gāwars*) is millet, *Panicum miliaceum* L. (Gramineae), one of the oldest cultivated plants. While in Europe it is now almost only used as fodder, millet plays a prominent role as cereal and victuals in many areas of Asia and Africa. Although the ancient Spartans ate millet, Dioscorides considers millet as the least nutritious of all cereals (*De materia medica*, ed. Wellmann, i, 1907, 173 f. = lib. ii, 97). This is adopted by the Arab translator (*La "Materia medica" de Dioscorides*, ii, ed. Dubler and Terés, Tetuan 1952, 179), who renders the Greek κένυρος with *kankharūs* (and variants). But already Ibn Māssa, a contemporary of Hunayn, says that millet, cooked in milk, or broth mixed with millet flour and fat, is an excellent food (see Ibn al-Baytār, *Djāmiʿ*, Būlāḡ 1291, i, 156, 15-16). On the nomenclature, the following can be remarked: occasionally, *kankharūs* is understood as both *djāwars* and *dhura*, and the first of these is equated with the Mozarabic *banīshuh*; cf. Anonymous (Ibn al-Rūmiyya?) *Nuruosmaniye* 3589, fol. 89b, 21; on *banīshuh* (Romance *panizo*), see M. Asin Palacios, *Glosario de voces romances*, Madrid-Granada 1943, no. 406. Others consider *djāwars* as a kind of *dukhn* (also *alūmus* < ἄλμος), by which may be meant the small sorghum (*Pennisetum spicatum*), widespread in the Sudan and also called Moorish millet, while *dhura*, also called *djāwars hindī* "Indian millet", indicates the great sorghum (*Sorghum vulgare*). In his book on plants, Abu Ḥanīfa equates *dukhn* with *djāwars* and considers it as a kind of *dhura* (*The book of plants*, ed. B. Lewin, Uppsala-Wiesbaden 1953, no. 405). In the course of time, *dhura* has become the leading expression for millet. Bīrūnī knows already the Turkish term *dārī* for this (*Saydala*, ed. Ḥakīm Muḥ. Saʿīd, Karachi 1973, Arab. 130, Engl. 106), and names the Indian synonyms.

As a foodstuff, *djāwars* has the inconvenience of causing constipation, of being hard to digest and of promoting urine, but the constipation effect can be removed by adding fat or purgatives, and also by diluted wine or by baths. On the other hand, when applied in a warm compress, it proves to be a good remedy against gripes and cramps. It has an astrigent effect and is therefore suitable to be used as nourishment for those suffering from dropsy, whose stomachs should be contracted and whose bodies should be "desiccated".

Bibliography (apart from the titles already mentioned) : Rāzī, *Hāwī*, xx, Ḥaydarābād 1387/1967, 248-51 (no. 207); *Die pharmakolog. Grundsätze des Abu Mansūr . . . Harawī*, tr. A. Ch. Achundow, Halle 1893, 177; Zahrāwī, *Tasrīf*, Ms. Beṣir Aga 502, fol. 502a, 7-8; Ibn Sīnā, *Kānūn* (Būlāḡ), i, 288; Ibn ʿAbdūn, *Umdat al-ṭabīb*, Ms. Rabat, Bibl. Gén. 3505 D, fols. 33a, 5-6; 36a, 16-19; Ibn Bīklārīsh, *Mustaʿīmī*, Ms. Naples. Bibl. Naz. iii, F. 65, fol. 29b; Ghāfīkī, *al-Adwiyā al-mufrada*, Ms. Rabat, Bibl. Gén. k. 155 i, fol. 116a; P. Guigues, *Les noms arabes dans Sérapion*, in *JA*, 10ème série (1905), v, s.v. *Ieuers* (no. 285); Mai-



monides, *Sharh asmā' al-ṣukkār*, ed. Meyerhof, Cairo 1940, no. 70; Ibn al-Bayṭār, *Djāmi'*, i, 156, tr. Leclerc, no. 460; Yūsuf b. 'Umar, *Mu'tamad'*, ed. M. al-Sakkā, Beirut 1395/1975, 63; Suwaydī, *Simāt*, Ms. Paris ar. 3004, fol. 59a (cf. also A. Dietrich, in *Mélanges d'islamologie dédiés à A. Abel*, Leiden 1974, 105); Dāwūd al-Anṭākī, *Tadhkirā*, Cairo 1371/1952, i, 102 f.; *Tuḥfat al-aḥbāb*, ed. Renaud and Colin, Paris 1934, no. 96; I. Löw, *Die Flora der Juden*, i, 1928, 738-46; *El Libro Agregá de Serapiom*, ed. G. Ineichen, ii, Venice 1966, 137, s.v. *iocuers*.

(A. DIETRICH)

AL-DJĀWBARĪ, 'ABD AL-RAḤĪM (not 'ABD AL-RAḤMĀN) b. 'UMAR b. ABĪ BAKR DJĀMĀL AL-DĪN AL-DIMASHQĪ, dervish and alchemist from Damascus who travelled and wrote in the first half of the 7th/13th century. He spent some time in Egypt (before 613/1216, and in 620/1223, 623/1226 and 624/1227) and in Northern Syria (Āmid, Anṭakiya, Harrān, Konya, al-Ruhā) and travelled through the Biḳā' and the Hijāz (Djidda, al-Madīna). He claims to have been also in Cyprus, Bahrayn and India.

Al-Djāwbārī wrote between 629/1232 and 646/1248-9 upon the request of the Arṭuqid al-Malik al-Mas'ūd (in 629/1232 ruler of Āmid and Ḥiṣn Kayṣā) his book *al-Mukhtār fī kashf al-asrār* ("The selection in the unveiling of Secrets"). This is a concise encyclopedia of tricks, practices and devices used by fraudulent Ṣūfīs, false alchemists, beggars, impostors, drug-sellers, jugglers, quacks etc. i.e. the mediaeval Islamic underworld, known as the Banū Sāsān [see SĀSĀN, BANŪ]. The book is modelled after the *Kashf al-dakk wa-idāh al-shakk* of Ibn Shuhayd [q.v.], which is lost. Al-Djāwbārī lived himself by some of these practices, and the *Mukhtār* is a colourful mine of first-hand information for the social and cultural history of the Islamic Middle Ages. Al-Djāwbārī's entertaining personality also caught the interest of some of the political rulers of his time; he proudly relates that he blackmailed a fraudulent alchemist from the Maghrib out of 'Izz al-Dīn Aybak al-Mu'azzami's (died 646/1248-49) court by threatening to divulge the secret of his competitor's method to make gold. The book combines realism and psychological insight, a certain knowledge of mechanics medicine and botany with a familiarity with alchemistic and hermetic writings and an enlightened, if naive, scepticism towards many things miraculous.

The *Mukhtār* falls outside the scope of traditional mediaeval Islamic literature and scholarship and is written in careless "Middle-Arabic", full of jargon and dialectal expressions. It has been printed several times (Damascus 1302/1885; Istanbul n.d., Cairo 1316/1898 and several times n.d.). All printings are incomplete, expurgated and unreliable. The author of this article is preparing an edition, based on the available manuscripts. Two further books of al-Djāwbārī, a treatise on geomancy and *al-Ṣirāṭ al-mustakīm fī 'ilm al-rūḥāniyya wa'l-tanqīm*, a work on the occult sciences and astrology, are lost. The *Kutāb al-Siḥr al-halāl fī'l-aḥbāb al-simawīyya wa-ba'd faṣā'id sinā'iyya muḍarraba*, printed after some of the Cairo editions, has been erroneously ascribed to al-Djāwbārī, and is in reality a translated extract of a 19th century French treatise on "magic naturelle".

Bibliography: All information concerning al-Djāwbārī has to be gathered from his *Mukhtār*. Al-Djāwbārī's importance has already been noted by M. Steinschneider, *Gaubari's "entdeckte Geheimnisse, eine Quelle für orientalische Sittenschilderung,*

in *ZDMG*, xix (1865), 562-77; idem, *Polemische und apologetische Literatur in arabischer Sprache, zwischen Muslimen, Christen und Juden*, Anhang II: *Gaubari's "entdeckte Geheimnisse"*, in *Abhandlungen für d. Kunde des Morgenlandes*, vi/3, Leipzig 1877; and M.J. de Goeje, *Gaubari's "entdeckte Geheimnisse"*, in *ZDMG*, xx, (1866), 484-510; A considerable part of the *Mukhtār* has been translated by E. Wiedemann, who stressed, perhaps overmuch, al-Djāwbārī's importance for Islamic natural sciences, cf. the list of translated passages in S. Wild, *Jugglers and fraudulent Sufis*, in *Proceedings of the VIth Congress of Arabic and Islamic Studies. Visby 13-16 August, Stockholm 17-19 August 1972* = *Kungl. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademiens Handlingar, Filologisk-filosofiska serien 15*, Uppsala 1975, 58-63; Cf. further C.E. Bosworth, *The mediaeval Islamic underworld. The Banū Sāsān in Arabic society and literature*. Part One. *The Banū Sāsān in Arabic life and lore*, Leiden 1976, 14-15, 24, 106-18, and M. Ullmann, *Die Natur- und Geheimwissenschaften im Islam (Handbuch der Orientalistik, 1. Abteilung, Ergänzungsband VI, 2. Abschnitt)*, 254, 367. (S. WILD)

DJAWHAR

(i) Substance. [see Vol. II].

(ii) Jewel, jewelry

Whether or not *djawhar* had the meaning "jewel" from the beginning of this word's usage in the Arabic language is uncertain, but this meaning is well-attested from early in the Islamic era. For example, both *djawhar* and the plural *djawāhir* are used in the Paris manuscript of the *Kutāb al-Aḥdīṭ li-Aristatālīs* (publ. with tr. and comm. in 1912 by J. Ruska as *Das Steinbuch des Aristoteles*—see p. 92 for the above-mentioned terms), a work which Ruska dated to some time before the middle of the 3rd/9th century. The Arabic lexicographers from at least as early as the 4th/10th century give "jewel" as a meaning for *djawhar* (e.g. in the *Tahdhīb al-luḡa* of al-Azharī [q.v.]). This usage continues throughout the centuries to the present day, traceable both in historical literature and in, for example, the 12th/18th century dictionary *Taḍqīd al-arūs* (for a more complete listing of the definitions by the Arabic lexicographers, see Lane's *Lexicon*, s.v. *dj-h-r*).

The word *djawhar* makes no appearance in the Qur'ān, even though there are specific references to both jewelry (gold bracelets, XVIII, 31 and XLIII, 53; silver bracelets, LXXVI, 21; bracelets of gold and pearls, XXII, 23 and XXXV, 33) and precious stones (*yākūt*, ruby, LV, 58; *marḡān*, small pearls or coral, LV, 22 and LV, 58; and *lu'lu'*, pearls, XXII, 23, XXXV, 33 and LV, 22). In four of the five passages mentioning the wearing of bracelets the verb *yuhallauna* is used. From its root, which means "to adorn", another common word for jewelry in general (*ḥabḥ*) is derived (see Lane, s.v. *ḥ-l-y*). However, *djawhar* was clearly the most important single term for jewelry or jewels in the Arabic language during its reign as the *lingua franca* of the Islamic world.

Let us now turn from the consideration of words used for jewels to an attempt to form a picture of the objects themselves. That is, what kinds of jewels did the peoples of the regions under consideration make, collect, wear or otherwise use in the various historical periods in which they lived? This art-historical question, an extensive, as opposed to intensive, definition of the word *djawhar*, shall

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constitute our main concern in what follows. This will mark the first attempt ever made at a survey of Islamic jewelry, and thus must be regarded as provisional in certain respects.

1. Early Islamic jewelry (1st-4th/7th-10th centuries)

Any history of Islamic jewelry ought to begin with examples from the earliest centuries of Islām. However, to the best of our knowledge, there are very few extant pieces datable to before the first half of the 5th/11th century in either the eastern or western parts of the Muslim world. Consequently, in attempting to reconstruct a picture of the jewelry in vogue during the first three hundred and seventy-five years of the Islamic period we are forced to turn to pictorial or sculptural representations in addition to literary descriptions.

The available representations show that the jewelry and other body-adorning and costume elements worn during the period were very strongly influenced by the Roman, Byzantine and Sāsānid ornaments found current in the countries conquered by the Muslims. A few examples should suffice to illustrate this point.

The ball-shaped earrings depicted on the sculpture from Khirbat al-Mafjar (R. W. Hamilton, *Khirbat al-Mafjar*, Oxford 1959, Pl. XXII, 4) and the teardrop shaped examples in the paintings at Sāmarrā' (E. Herzfeld, *Die Ausgrabungen von Samarra*, Berlin 1927, Pl. LXXI, top) compare very closely with those found on Sāsānid rock reliefs and coins (S. Fukai and K. Horiuchi, *Taq-i-Bustan*, Tokyo 1972, ii, Pl. IX and A.U. Pope, *A survey of Persian art*, London and New York 1938, iv, Pl. 251 F, H, J, K, N, O). Sāsānid prototypes (Fukai and Horiuchi, *op. cit.*, i, Pl. XX) can also be found for some of the head ornaments depicted in a manuscript of al-Sūfī of 399/1009 (E. Wellesz, *An early al-Sūfī manuscript in the Bodleian Library in Oxford*, in *Ars Orientalis*, iii, Fig. 10) and for the belt fittings in a wall painting from Nishāpūr datable to before 1000 A.D. (Fukai and Horiuchi, *op. cit.*, i, Pl. LXIV, and W. Hauser and C.K. Wilkinson, *The Museum's excavations at Nishapur*, in *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* [April 1943], Fig. 45).

Western influence, on the other hand, can readily be seen in some of the jewelry depicted in the wall paintings at Qusayr 'Amra. The heart-shaped pendants worn by one of the female figures (M. Almagro, L. Caballero, J. Zozaya and A. Almagro, *Qusayr 'Amra*, Madrid 1975, Pl. XXVII, top) bear very close comparison to Roman pieces (*Allen Memorial Art Museum Bulletin*, xviii/2-3, Oberlin, Ohio—hereinafter abbreviated *Allen*—Fig. 68), as does the shorter necklace of oval elements worn by the same figure (L. Pollak, *Klassisch-Antike Gold-schmiedearbeiten*, Leipzig 1903, Pl. XVI, No. 396). A scalloped and jewelled necklace worn by one of the male figures as well as one consisting of a series of pendant elements adorning a female figure (Almagro *et alii*, *op. cit.*, Pls. XI and IX) have close Byzantine parallels (A. Greifenhagen, *Schmuckarbeiten in Edelmetall*, i, Berlin 1970, Pl. 49, and Metropolitan Museum of Art No. 17.190.1667).

The vogue for breast ornaments held in place by crossed straps, seen so often on the figures in Qusayr 'Amra, (Almagro *et alii*, Pl. XVII, top) probably entered the Islamic repertoire from the West also (for a Greek example, see H. Hoffman and P. Davidson, *Greek gold*, 1965, Fig. D), although the earliest example known to these authors is from 2nd century

B.C. India, the country which also seems to be the ultimate source for the waist ornaments seen in the paintings in our late 1st/early 8th century Jordanian bath (S. Swarup, *The arts and crafts of India and Pakistan*, Bombay 1957, Pl. 88, left and 104 left).

Thus during the earliest centuries of the Muslim era, the jewelry traditions of the Roman, Byzantine and Sāsānid realms seem to have been important as models for Islamic jewelry. Having seen how close the Islamic representations often are to their apparent models, one is tempted to speculate that, to some extent, the scarcity of early Islamic jewelry may be due to our ignorance, and that many of the pieces now classified as Roman, Byzantine and Sāsānid are in fact Islamic in date. Another major factor accounting for the "disappearance" of jewels, especially when it comes to the larger and more valuable stones and pearls, was their re-use in new stringings or settings in accord with the taste of the times. From the remarkable series of large stones, especially diamonds and spinel "rubies", which were inscribed with the names of Persian and Mughal rulers, we know that such stones had considerable histories (discussed in greater detail below); for example, the inscriptions in the name of Nādir Shāh in two large spinels and a teardrop-shaped emerald show concretely how in these cases stones from one treasure were re-used by a subsequent owner (in one case as an armband, and in the other, on a string of prayer beads—see V. Ball, *A description of two large spinel rubies, with Persian characters engraved upon them*, in *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy*, iii/3, 380-400 and Pl. X; V.B. Meen and A.D. Tushingham, *Crown jewels of Iran*, Toronto 1968, 46, 64-5 and 67).

We know from a number of literary accounts concerning the period at present under discussion not only that early Islamic rulers collected precious stones, but that they also used them in ways similar to those which we can verify from much later periods.

In one of the most informative and detail-laden works among those which deal with notable treasures, the *Kitāb al-Dhakhā'ir wa 'l-tuhaf* of al-Kādī al-Rashīd b. al-Zubayr (ed. M. Hamidullah, Kuwait 1959), we have in § 18 the following: "al-'Alā'ī recounted in the *Kitāb al-Aḡwāb* that Šabāh, the secretary, said that 'Umar b. Yūsuf (i.e. Yūsuf b. 'Umar) al-Thakafī sent to Hishām b. 'Abd al-Malik a red ruby which was bigger than his palm and a pearl of the greatest possible size. The messenger came in to him. He could not see the face of Hishām because of the height of his throne and the number of cushions. He took the stone and the pearl from him and said: Has he written down their weight? Then he said: Where are the likes of these two to be found?" What is particularly interesting about the above account is that it is such large stones and pearls which were considered appropriate for the ruler and that he was fully aware that the real way of recording such items was by weight. Hishām's questions become even more meaningful when we know that, according to al-Bīrūnī [q.v.], al-Rashīd, who also received many comparable gifts, was a great admirer of valuable stones and that he sent the jeweller Šabāh, the grandfather of al-Kindī [q.v.], to Ceylon to buy stones (see Mohammad Jahia al-Haschmi, *Die Quellen des Steinbuches des Bīrūnī*, Bonn 1935, 14). Not so incidentally, these gifts (sc. the ruby and the pearl) were appropriate to kings not only because of their size but also because they were among the most valued gems in the Islamic world from earliest to latest times, although one often suspects that the huge red rubies, *yākūt*,



cited are either red tourmalines or spinels, even though there were those competent to differentiate. For an example of methods used for such differentiation, we may point to al-Bīrūnī who recorded the specific weights of stones in relation to sapphire, which he gave the arbitrary value of 100. Thus the pearl “is 65 and a third and a quarter” (see F. Krenkow, *The chapter on pearls in the book on precious Stones by al-Bīrūnī*. Part II, in *IC*, xvi/1 [1942], 26-7).

Specific literary accounts and numerous recorded gifts and purchases as well as pictorial evidence exist which establish the prevailing hierarchy of value in stones. According to al-Bīrūnī in his *Kitāb al-Djauhār fi ‘l-djauhār* (as cited by E. Wiedemann, *Über den Wert von Edelsteinen bei den Muslimen*, in *Isl.*, ii [1911], 348), there are three outstanding precious gems, the ruby (*yākūt*), the emerald (*zumurrud*) and the pearl. Wiedemann (*op. cit.*, 348 n. 1) also informs us that in f. 5a of the *Steinbuch des Aristoteles* it says that the pearl, the *yākūt* and the *zabardjad* (topaz) and their kind are preferred by people over other precious stones. For a concrete example, we may cite another passage from the *K. al-Dhakhā‘ir* (§ 33) which recounts gifts given to al-Mutawakkil by a favourite slave girl consisting of twenty tamed gazelles, with twenty Chinese saddles with small saddle-bags containing musk and ambergris and other perfumes, “And each gazelle had a female slave attendant with a golden belt, having in her hand a golden rod, at whose tip was a jewel, a ruby or an emerald or some other from the jewels of high value.”

It is hardly possible to estimate real prices; thus that given for the famous *Djabal* (see al-Mas‘ūdī, ed. Pellat, index) varies considerably according to the sources. Wiedemann states, in *op. cit.*, 346, and following al-Dimashqī, that it must have weighed 14½ *mithkāl*s (according to Kahle’s conversion figures, in *Die Schätze der Fatimiden*, in *ZDMG*, N.F. xxxiv [1935], 336, this would amount to about 64 gr. or 320 carats) for 80,000 *dinārs*. Furthermore, according to the same source, al-Rashīd is said to have paid 90,000 *dinārs* for a pearl named *al-Yatīma*, “the Orphan”. The weight is not given, although weights for pearls of this name are mentioned in several other accounts of the early Islamic period. In the light of the comments of al-Bīrūnī as cited by Krenkow (*art. cit.*, Part I, 407) and of the passage, also from al-Bīrūnī, cited below, it would seem that this name, along with *Farīda*, “Unique”, was given to any large pearl, perhaps especially to those pear- or teardrop-shaped, for which no match could be found.

Further accounts of the early Islamic period indicating the value placed on certain stones are the following, all taken from the above-cited *K. al-Dhakhā‘ir*:

(i) In the time of the caliph Hishām b. ‘Abd al-Malik, the “king of India” sent as a present to *Djunayd* b. ‘Abd al-Rahmān, the then governor of Sīnd, a jewel-studded camel mounted on a silver, wheeled under-carriage, and its udders were full of pearls and its throat was full of rubies, both of which could be made to pour forth. *Djunayd* sent this on to Hishām, who appreciated it highly. “It amazed Hishām and everyone who was in his company, and it remained in the Umayyad treasury until it passed to the ‘Abbāsids” (§ 15).

(ii) There is an account (§ 27) of a gift sent to al-Rashīd, by “one of the kings of India”, of “an emerald rod longer than a cubit. At its head was the image of a bird of red rubies, and it was invaluable.” We are told that this bauble passed down through the ‘Ab-

bāsīd family, serving for at least part of the time as a plaything for royal children, to al-Mu‘taṣim, who ordered a search for the (at that point) missing ruby-encrusted bird (valued, we are told, at 100,000 *dinārs* by one ‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad) which had become separated from it but which was found, under threats of punishment, by the treasurers.

(iii) We read (§ 29) that al-Ma’mūn corresponded and exchanged gifts with a king of India, and that the Indian king’s letter to al-Ma’mūn mentioned the gifts he was sending: “And the gifts were a cup of red ruby, the opening of which was one span wide by one finger thick, full of pearls, each of which weighed a *mithkāl*. They totalled 100 pearls...”

For the actual use of precious stones in jewelry, there is considerable evidence that in this early Islamic period, as in the previous Roman and Byzantine periods as well as in much later periods such as the Mughal one in India, many of the larger precious stones were bored and strung on cords, chains, wires or whatever was appropriate. Remarkably graphic literary confirmation of this is afforded by al-Bīrūnī’s treatment of the emerald, as cited by Wiedemann (*op. cit.*, 351), when he says that emerald jewels or beads (*kharaṣa*) are called reeds or tubes (*kasaba*) because of their long form and because one bores through them. This has a remarkable ring of veracity because of what we know of the longish crystalline formation of the emerald, as well as the great number of presumably Byzantine necklaces which incorporate just such bored sections of emerald crystals. This practice of boring and stringing precious stones as beads was not confined to emeralds. The following passage from the *K. al-Dhakhā‘ir* (§ 37) does not furnish certain proof of this, but gives an indication of its likelihood. We are told that when al-Mutawakkil was returning from Damascus, in 244/858, he was met by his mother’s servant, with gifts from “al-Sayyida” Kabiha, the mother of al-Mu‘tazz. Their amount was 400,000 *dinārs*. This enormous treasure included “a string of beads of jewels of an unknown value.” From the same work (§ 14), we hear again of “beads of great jewels” in a casket of jewels which had been brought by the Fātimid caliph al-Mu‘izz when he came to Cairo from his previous capital in Tunisia.

Occasionally we are fortunate enough to find passages which describe or unconsciously indicate not only the precise kind of gem involved, but also the arrangement or manner of stringing of these jewels. Once more from the *K. al-Dhakhā‘ir* (§ 22) we learn that “Mu’nisa, the slave girl of al-Ma’mūn bil-lāh, gave to Mutayyam, the slave girl of ‘Alī b. Hishām ... with the knowledge of al-Ma’mūn, a necklace whose central pearl was like an egg of a sparrow, and black beads whose value was 10,000 *dinārs* (at this value the only imaginable black beads are black pearls of fine quality—we know that, according to al-Bīrūnī, on the authority of al-Hasan and al-Husayn of Rayy, court jewellers to Maḥmūd of Ghazna, Maḥmūd’s treasury included black pearls—see Haschmi, *op. cit.*, 15), and four stones of red rubies and four stones of emeralds on its right and left, between them the precious beads of gold. The continuing necklace had dates (*balah*—here surely meant to indicate the shape of the beads) anointed with perfume (*ghāliya*). Mutayyam found the dates anointed with perfume (*ghāliya*) elegant and delightful; her joy could not be increased by the remaining jewels.” Although we cannot be absolutely certain of the arrangement here, the general picture is quite clear; that called up in the imagination by this and



the passage to follow is amazingly like that which one gets from the accounts of the likes of Tavernier (see *Travels in India*, tr. V. Ball, London 1889, ii, 150) as well as what one actually sees being worn by Mughal rulers in their miniature paintings (see below in section on Mughal India). Another very graphic passage from the early Islamic period is found in al-Bīrūnī's chapter on pearls (Krenkow, *op. cit.*, II, 25), in a section discussing the egg-shaped pearl: "The pearl called al-Yatīma weighed three *mithkāls* and it was called al-Yatīma (orphan) because its shell had gone before a sister [pearl] could be born [in it]. Likewise, a similar one was called Farīd (unique) when its equal could not be found and it was necessary to make it the centre of a necklace which is called *qilāda*." Elsewhere in the same work (Krenkow, *op. cit.*, Part II, 33), al-Bīrūnī is arguing against "coral" and for "small pearls" as being the correct understanding of the term *marjān*, and we get an idea of his sense of what is proper as regards the combination of stones with pearls. He quotes a passage from Abū Nuwās and then comments: "'Crowned with pearls and marjān like a rose betwixt red anemones.' So he thinks that the white pearl is adorned in the necklace between two reds, meaning the ruby and the coral. Such a necklace would be uncommon and of bad taste. On the contrary, the small pearls are put between every large pearl and two encompassing rubies filling the place between them, holding them apart; then on account of their polish, the redness of the ruby glistens and can be compared with the redness of gold."

Other such accounts about the combination of rubies, emeralds and pearls of various sizes could be given, but perhaps those cited above are sufficient to indicate something of the nature of a type of jewelry that seems to have had currency throughout the centuries in most of the Islamic world and of which we have nothing but the literary accounts and pictorial representations, together with some of the stones (in such repositories as the Iranian crown jewels and the Topkapi in Istanbul). What we do have left to us in something of its original form, although of less intrinsic value, is of greater historical importance, for it provides us with a better picture of the changes in artistic taste from period to period.

As regards those few objects datable to the early Islamic period, they fit very well into the pattern established for those adornments found in the paintings and reliefs discussed at the outset, i.e. they exhibit a dependence on Roman, Byzantine and/or Sāsānid models. However, these objects also show a development away from the older objects in terms of decorative motifs or principal designs, an Islamisation of their pre-Islamic models. Perhaps the most striking example of this is an amulet case excavated at Nīshāpūr which can be dated before 1000 A.D., on the basis of its epigraphic decoration (Fig. 1). Sāsānid as well as Byzantine prototypes exist for the general shape (M. Negro Ponti, *Jewelry and small objects from Tell Mahuz (North Mesopotamia)*, in *Mesopotamia*, v-vi [1970-1], Fig. 85, No. 36, and W. and E. Rudolph, *Ancient jewelry from the collection of Burton Y. Berry*, Bloomington, Indiana 1973, Fig. 153), but its elaborate yet beautiful integration of form and decoration are peculiarly Islamic, as is its nielloed Kūfic inscription.

Also datable to the same period on epigraphic grounds are two belt fittings excavated at Nīshāpūr, one of which is shown in Fig. 2. Unlike the smooth-edged and undecorated fittings on the depiction of

the horseman in the Nīshāpūr wall painting discussed earlier, these two sculpted and decorated objects may have been part of a set like that in Fig. 3. The latter should be dated to the 3rd/9th century on the basis of its close comparison with the fittings depicted in a painting from Sāmarrā' (E. Herzfeld, *op. cit.*, Pl. LXV, right).

Some of the finger rings from Nīshāpūr also seem to be datable to this period. The silver as well as the gold ring pictured in Fig. 4a and b both show a dependence on Roman models (E.H. Marshall, *Catalogue of the finger rings, Greek, Etruscan and Roman, in the Departments of Antiquities*, British Museum London 1907, Pl. XV, 526, Pl. XIII, 469), and as will be discussed later, the silver ring can be seen as a precursor of a type of Saldjūk Persian ring.

2. Early mediaeval jewelry (5th-7th/11th-13th centuries)

Once we move into the early mediaeval period, not only do we have many more extant jewelry examples than we did for the early Islamic period, but we are also able to establish firmer dates for them. The reasons for the survival of these relatively large groups of objects, as well as the explanations of the lines of development which brought the art to this brilliant flowering during the early mediaeval period, continue to elude us. The jump from the few early objects just discussed to the objects we are about to present is often a very large one indeed.

Pivotal pieces for the study of early mediaeval jewelry in greater Iran are a pair of bracelets, which are illustrated in Fig. 5a-b. Each of the four hemispheres flanking the clasp of each bracelet bears a flat disk of thin gold at its back, which was decorated by pouncing it over a coin, in this case a coin bearing the name of the 'Abbāsīd caliph al-Kādir billāh (381-422/991-1031). The late Dr. George Miles was of the opinion that the style of the coins used was that of those minted in 390/1000, 397/1007 and 419/1028, during the rule of Maḥmūd of Ghazna, and that they were probably struck in the mint of Nīshāpūr. As the gold discs were most probably embossed over relatively new coins, a dating to the first half of the 5th/11th century seems quite secure.

There are a large number of extant bracelets in both gold and silver which are analogous to these, although none are as fine or as elaborate. The main characteristics of this group of bracelets are the four hemispheres flanking the clasp, the tapering of the shank toward the clasp and the twisted effect of the former; or alternatively, a non-tapered shank is subdivided into ball-shaped sections.

Pre-Islamic jewelry has again served as a model for these bracelets, which show a continued conservatism and traditionalism in the medium. Examples of coins and imitation coins on jewelry are quite numerous in the Byzantine period; and the twisted effect of the shank must ultimately derive from Greek bracelets with similar shanks (Metropolitan Museum of Art, No. 45.11.10—see Hoffman and Davidson, *op. cit.*, Fig. 61b). Those with shanks subdivided into ball-shaped sections must have had as their ultimate models Roman rings and bracelets as well (Allen, Fig. 107).

The hollow gold and silver rings from Nīshāpūr with stone settings which we saw earlier seem to have given rise to the type of ring seen in Fig. 6. Its epigraphic and vegetal decoration in niello place it very neatly in the early mediaeval period, more particularly in the 6th/12th or 7th/13th centuries; and furthermore, the type of setting with its heavy



claws is very typical for Persian jewelry of this period. The bracelet illustrated in Fig. 7a-b, whose mate is in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, shares many of the features seen in the last object discussed. Four of its elements take the form of truncated pyramids (as does the bezel of the ring), and bear the heavy claws to hold the now-missing stones. It also prominently features epigraphic decoration in niello.

The granulated treatment of the border on the obverse of the pendant in Fig. 8a-b, the settings with heavy claws and the niello-like decoration, relate this object to the bracelet just discussed. A feature we have not met with before, however, is that found on the reverse—a double twisted wire decoration laid on the gold sheet. This method of decorating a plain gold surface was very popular in Iran during the period in question and can be seen on a pair of earrings, one of which is shown in Fig. 9, which bear close comparison with a pair found in Russian excavations (in the region between the Sea of Azov and Moscow) whose finds can be dated between the 1170s and 1240 (G.F. Korzukhina, *Russkie kladi IX-XIII vv.*, Moscow 1954, pl. LX). The open-work beads decorating the upper part of these earrings were also an important feature of Iranian jewelry at this time. Another pair of earrings, seen in Fig. 10, are composed of three such beads. There are many variations of such three-bead earrings from 6th/12th and 7th/13th century Iran, and a large number of similar ones were found in the Russian excavations already mentioned (for example, Korzukhina, *op. cit.*, pls. XLV, XLVIII, XXXI, XXXIII, etc.).

Fig. 11a-b illustrates a type of ring which seems not to have been in vogue in the Islamic world before the second half of the 6th/12th century. However, once introduced, it enjoyed great popularity and variety. The most essential features of this ring type are a cast shank, often with anthropomorphic terminals, and polygonal bezels. The prototypes, again, are to be found in Greek as well as Roman rings (Marshall, *op. cit.*, fig. 61, and pl. XVI, 552). The ring chosen to illustrate the type is a particularly fine example, with four of the six corners of the bezel decorated with human heads, the crown itself consisting of a repeating geometric pattern executed in openwork filigree and the shank bearing harpies and terminating in double-bodied harpies. Although not as elaborate as our example, many rings of this type were found in the Russian excavations mentioned above whose finds can be dated between the 1170s and 1240 (Korzukhina, pls. XXXVII, 3, XXXVIII, 3, XLV, 4, etc.). The style of the animals as well as the technique employed on the belt fittings in Fig. 12 relate this object very closely to the above ring.

Because the geometrical design and its mode of execution on the two hair ornaments in Fig. 13 are identical to that on the ring in Fig. 11a-b, these objects must be dated to the same time, if not to the same workshop. Between the bronze core and the gold exterior of these ornaments there was a textile which was probably brightly coloured, and this must have heightened the impact of these striking pieces. Hair ornaments had a long pre-Islamic history, and tubular ones are still current in the Middle East today.

The earrings featuring polyhedral beads in Fig. 14 must also be similarly dated, since two hair ornaments with closely related beads were found in the Russian excavations mentioned above (Korzukhina, pl. LIX). Their sophisticated and ingenious transformation of the spherical bead into a pentagonal

dodecahedron is quite in keeping with the extraordinary amount of sophistication at the time in the usage of geometric solids as the forms of beads, weights, etc., especially notable in the finds from the Metropolitan Museum's excavations at Nishāpūr.

A cache of jewelry and 82 gold coins found in Tunisia about 50 years ago allows us to establish relatively firm dates for certain types of jewelry executed in the Fāṭimid realms (G. Marçais and L. Poinssot, *Objets kairouanais, notes et documents*, xi/2, Tunis 1952, 467-93, and Marilyn Jenkins, *Fāṭimid jewelry, its sub-types and influences*, in *Kunst des Orients*, in press); and this in turn allows us to date certain closely related objects from the Fertile Crescent.

Marçais and Poinssot have shown that the jewelry in this cache was made before the end of the year 436/1045, and Jenkins has demonstrated that it was very likely produced in Egypt. She has also delineated a number of characteristic features of this jewelry, thus permitting a considerable broadening of the group. On the basis of these works, it seems likely that the gold objects about to be discussed, as well as many others closely related to them, were all produced in a relatively short period of time before 436/1045.

Each sub-type enumerated below will be introduced by one or more Fāṭimid objects datable by means of the Tunisian cache. These groupings grew out of Marc Rosenberg's theory of "the battle of granulation and filigree", in which he suggests an historical progression proceeding from those pieces on which granulation, consisting of grains of more than one size—most often set on paired wires—was the dominant decorative device, to those on which grains are also placed on paired wires but on which the granulation and filigree could be said to be on an equal footing. The third sub-type incorporates only a small amount of granulation; and the final phase shows the complete displacement of granulation by filigree (see Rosenberg, *Geschichte der Goldschmiedekunst auf technischer Grundlage, Granulation*, iii, Frankfurt 1918, 96-104). The closely similarity among the objects comprising the various sub-groups makes it highly likely that the "battle" was a quick one, at least in the case of Fāṭimid Egypt.

Examples of the finest and most decoratively complex type of Fāṭimid gold work are the openwork biconical and spherical beads in Fig. 15 exhibiting filigree work and granulation with grains of more than one size. Another example of this particular phase of Fāṭimid jewelry is a gold bracelet with a tapered tubular shank and heart-shaped terminals in the Archaeological Museum, Istanbul (G. Breitling *et alii*, *Das Buch vom Gold*, Lucerne and Frankfurt 1975, 239, No. 6). The area where the shank meets the terminals bears three large grains, or more properly, shot. This bracelet bears close comparison with one in the Damascus Museum, also with heart-shaped terminals but with a twisted-wire shank (*Catalogue du Musée National de Damas*, Damascus 1969, Fig. 119, right). The latter may in turn be compared with several excavated in Russia in finds datable to the 5th/11th and turn of the 6th/12th centuries (Korzukhina, *op. cit.*, pl. XIV). All this confirms that this group of bracelets with tubular or twisted-wire shanks and heart-shaped terminals, whether made in Egypt or somewhere in the Fertile Crescent (as is probably the case with the bracelet in the Damascus Museum), were contemporary with the beads illustrated in Fig. 15 (which are datable by means of the Tunisian cache) and consequently must date before 436/1045.



Another bracelet which must be placed in this finest and decoratively most complex phase is that seen in Fig. 16a-b, which has a mate in the Damascus Museum. The twisted effect of its tapered shank and the four hemispheres flanking its clasp, as well as the treatment of the area where the shank meets the clasp, relate it very closely to the Persian bracelet illustrated in Fig. 5a-b, which is probably datable to the early 5th/11th century. However, the type of bosses on the clasp, the style of wirework on the back of the clasp and the treatment of the shank relate the Freer bracelet more closely to contemporary objects made in Egypt. We therefore attribute this bracelet to a workshop in the Fertile Crescent, most probably in Syria, where both Egyptian and Persian influences would very likely be found.

Also contemporary and made either in Egypt or the Fertile Crescent are a group of six bracelets with twisted-wire shanks whose clasps bear granules in two triangular arrangements, flanked on two sides by groups of three contiguous shot, on either side of a set stone (*Catalogue du Musée National de Damas*, Fig. 119, second from right; *Collection Hélène Stathatos*, iv, *Bijoux et petits objets*, Pl. XI, and p. 73, Figs. 11 and 12; and the European art market). The manner of usage of the grains on the clasps of these bracelets is closely related to that on the "blimp-shaped" beads on the necklace in Fig. 15.

The next Fātimid sub-type is illustrated in Fig. 17a-b. Unlike the beads discussed above, this pendant bears grains of only one size, and the filigree and granulation can be said to be equally important.

Those objects exhibiting filigree with only a very sparse use of granulation, such as the bracelet in Fig. 18 with repoussé shank, are examples of the next sub-type. Bracelets with repoussé shanks bearing geometric designs, sometimes filled with human figures, were a later development of such bracelets (Metropolitan Museum of Art No. 58.37, and A. de Ridder, *Collection de Clercq catalogue*, vii/1, pl. XII, No. 1279).

Another example of this phase is the pair of earrings in Fig. 19. However, the use of undecorated hollow hemispheres as well as the tapering of the edges to a point take them out of the Egyptian milieu and, as was the case with the bracelet in Fig. 16a-b and several other objects mentioned above, perhaps a provenance in the Fertile Crescent should be suggested for them (cf. Zakiyya 'Umar al-'Alī, *Islamic jewelry acquired by the Iraq Museum* [in Arabic], in *Sumer*, xxx, Pl. 8; Paris, Grand Palais, *L'Islam dans les collections nationales*, Paris 1977, No. 363; and Metropolitan Museum of Art, No. 95.16.2-3). Closer to its Egyptian prototypes than the above, but incorporating Persian elements as well, is another earring which also must have been made in the Fertile Crescent (Hayward Gallery, *The arts of Islam*, London 1976, No. 239).

As we have said, the final phase in Fātimid jewelry is represented by those objects with no granulation at all, their decoration being executed solely in filigree or in filigree combined with a technique other than granulation, such as cloisoné enamelling. Two examples can be seen in Figs. 20 and 21. The latter may be compared with the biconical bead in Fig. 15 (see also L.A. Mayer Memorial Institute for Islamic Art, Jerusalem, No. J75, the wirework of which is closely related to that on the back of the clasp of the bracelet in Fig. 16a-b), but here three biconical beads are combined to form a necklace spacer, a type of combination also seen in the material

from Ur (C.L. Wooley, *Ur excavations*, ii. *The Royal Cemetery*, Oxford 1934, pl. 146a), as well as from Cyprus of the first half of the first millennium B.C. (Metropolitan Museum of Art, No. 74.51.3297). Another type of tripartite spacer can be seen on the necklace in Fig. 15.

In the medium of silver, the earring shown in Fig. 22 has a shape and the box-like construction which we have seen often in the jewelry from the Fertile Crescent. These features, in addition to the style of its nielloed vegetal and epigraphic decoration, place it in the early part of the period under discussion.

Towards the end of what we have called the early mediaeval period, one of the Islamic lands west of Iran (probably Syria) produced the silver and gilt bronze belt illustrated in Fig. 23, other elements of which are in the Benaki Museum, Athens. According to Mr. Benaki's records (see Berta Segall, *Museum Benaki, Katalog der Goldschmiede-Arbeiten*, Athens 1938 No. 323, and p. 190) the inscription on the buckle is in the name of al-Malik al-Šālih 'Imād al-Dīn Ismā'il, who was twice the Ayyūbid ruler of Damascus and who was killed in battle at Cairo in 648/1250 (mistakenly said in Segall to have taken place in 1266). Although there was a Mamlūk sultan of the same name who ruled in the 8th/14th century (743-6/1342-5), the titular formulae which one can read on the buckle do seem closer to those of the Ayyūbid ruler than of the Mamlūk one.

3. Late mediaeval jewelry (8th-11th/14-17th centuries)

For reasons still largely unclear to us, when attempting to deal with the jewelry art of the late mediaeval period, we are faced with a situation similar to that in the early Islamic period. That is, there are very few extant pieces from any part of the Muslim world datable to this period, and therefore we are again forced to turn to pictorial representations in addition to literary descriptions for our main picture of the jewelry of this important four-hundred-year period.

It is probable that the representations of jewelry in Persian miniatures do not give us a full and adequate picture of the jewelry in vogue at the time, even for the upper classes. This is partly due to the very limitations of the Persian miniature art itself in terms of what it could show; and one gets the feeling that convention played some part in what jewelry the painter chose to decorate his figures, just as painters' conventions had a part in the architectural forms and decoration represented in these miniatures. However, it does seem on the other hand that the representations do reflect in a general way the types and, as will be seen, the changing styles of jewelry worn. With Mughal miniatures, the representations are more detailed, and give a feeling of being less fanciful, more indicative of a specific time, place and object.

The necklace in Fig. 24a-b is one of two extant pieces of 8th/14th century gold jewelry known to the present authors (the other is a head ornament in the Staatliche Museen, Berlin-Dahlem, No. 565, which is very closely related to the gilded silver head ornament found in a 14th century tomb at Novorossiisk, for which see R. Zahn, *Sammlungen der Galerie Bachstitz*, ii Berlin 1921, pl. 123). The shapes used in the wire and stone work on the obverse of the necklace's two principal elements, as well as the contours of these elements themselves, relate it closely to the crown of Anūshīrwan in a page from



the Demotte *Shāh-nāma* (Metropolitan Museum of Art No. 52.20.2, see I. Stchoukine, *La peinture iranienne sous les derniers 'Abbasides et les Il-Khans*, Bruges 1936, ms. no. XV, no. 24), and the style of the chased design as well as the motifs on the reverse of these elements clearly point to the same period. In addition, the overall Chinese feeling is in line with what we might expect at this time.

To come back to the miniature mentioned above, we might point out that both of the principal figures wear simple gold hoop earrings and that this fashion can be seen in other representations of the period. For example, in a miniature probably painted in 'Irāk in ca. 771-81/1370-80 (R. Ettinghausen, *Arab painting*, New York 1962, 178) we see very similar earrings worn by the Archangel Isrāfil.

We may take this occasion to say that the wearing of earrings by men is a custom with a very long history in the Near East, being well-attested in for example, Assyrian, Achaemenian and Sāsānid reliefs. We have already referred in section I above to a man wearing earrings in a wall painting from Sāmarrā', and we have literary evidence that earrings were worn by pre-Islamic Arabs: al-Bīrūnī in his chapter on pearls (Krenkow, *op. cit.*, I, 407) quotes an extract from al-Aswad b. Ya'fur [*q.v.*] which contains the phrase "... runs a man with two pearls [in the lobes of his ears] ...". This custom continued in the Islamic world, although not universally, until the beginning of the modern period, as attested by, for example, paintings of the Mongol, Tīmūrid, Ṣafawid and Mughal schools.

A belt of gilded silver consisting of 62 elements was found in the 14th century tomb at Novorossiisk mentioned above (R. Zahn, *op. cit.*, pls. 121, 122). The overall style of the belt, as well as the decoration on the triangular and rectangular pieces, relate it to two earlier belts illustrated in Figs. 12 and 23.

Turning to the more western part of the Muslim world, several gold bracelets can be quite securely placed in 8th/14th century Mamlūk Egypt or Syria. Continuing the bracelet tradition in this part of the world as discussed above, these have hollow shanks—plain or giving a twisted effect—but they now terminate in animal heads. The clasp is round and tabular, and the one in the Benaki Museum, Athens, is decorated with an Arabic inscription (B. Segall, *op. cit.*, No. 319, and Cairo, *Islamic art in Egypt 969-1517*, April 1969, No. 20).

At the turn of the 8th/14th and 9th/15th century in Iran we not only see the continued use of the type of belt already discussed (M.S. Ipsiroğlu, *Painting and culture of the Mongols*, New York n.d., fig. 47) but we also begin to see the use of a new belt type consisting of a large gold roundel or roundels on a cloth or leather strap, a type which appears soon to have superseded the older style and which was to remain in vogue in Iran for centuries to come (Metropolitan Museum of Art, No. 57.51.20, *MMA Bulletin*, N.S., xvi [1957], 56, and No. 33.113, *MMA Bulletin*, xxix [April 1934], 59-60, fig. 2).

One of these latter miniatures (57.51.20) also shows a new fashion in the decoration of the female visage: strings of beads framing the face, being secured by the headcloth at the top of the head and passing under the chin. As we shall see, this type of ornament was still in vogue in Iran in the Kādjar period. This popular Tīmūrid fashion is also in evidence in two other miniatures, one from ca. 829/1426 and the other from between 1470 and 1480, which also show us examples of Tīmūrid earrings. These appear to be either plain gold hoops, hoops

with a single pendant tear-drop pearl (seen earlier in paintings from Sāmarrā') or gold hoops with four pendant paired pearls (Metropolitan Museum of Art, No. 13.228.13, fol. 17b; see New York, Asia House Gallery, *Muslim miniature paintings from the XII to XIX century*, 1962, 58, no. 41, and No. 57.51.24; *MMA Bulletin*, N.S., xvi [April 1958], 232).

As regards the fashion in bracelets during the Tīmūrid period, a miniature from a *Haft paykar* manuscript shows bathing women wearing simple strings of beads at their wrists (Metropolitan Museum of Art, No. 13.228.13, fol. 47a, *MMA Bulletin*, N.S., xxv [May 1967], 325, fig. 16). One of a pair of cast silver bracelets with dragon-headed terminals and bearing on the top an Arabic inscription can be seen in Fig. 25. At least two other examples of this type are extant, and it may represent a simpler and later version of the Mamlūk bracelets discussed above with animal heads flanking their clasps.

The cast gold and jade seal ring illustrated in Fig. 26 may have developed out of the type of ring illustrated in Fig. 11a-b, as they have several important features in common: the technique of casting, followed by a significant amount of chasing; shanks which have anthropomorphic terminals and which are decorated with designs on two levels; and a lozenge adorning the centre of the shank (for the universal importance and use of the seal ring throughout Islamic history, see KHĀTAM and MUHR).

The necklace seen on the woman in the detail of a miniature from a manuscript dated 853/1450-1 in Fig. 27 points both backward and forward in time. The central element is related to one of those on the necklace in Fig. 24a-b, whereas the overall composition is identical to what we shall see is the most popular type of Ṣafawid necklace represented in miniatures, although the rosettes here are two-dimensional elements instead of spherical beads as in the case of the Ṣafawid necklace.

Naṣrid Spain is better represented by extant jewelry than other areas during this period. The necklace illustrated in Fig. 28 consists of five pendant elements and five beads. The pendant elements show an indebtedness to Fāṭimid jewelry in their box-like construction, the use of gold loops on their circumference for stringing pearls or semi-precious stones, and their combination of gold and cloisonné enamel as well as of filigree and granulation. However, they are not as laboriously executed as the best Fāṭimid pieces, and the work has been further decreased by simply pouncing a gold sheet over the decorated front side of the pendant to produce the decoration on the back, a peculiarity of Naṣrid jewelry.

As indicated earlier, the vogue for beads framing the face continued in the Ṣafawid period but, in addition, two other types of head ornament—whose sources of inspiration were probably earlier crowns—were very popular during this period. Examples are to be seen in Figs. 29 and 30, both of which appear to be of gold set with stones.

The necklace shown in Fig. 27 was the immediate precursor of that worn by the woman in Fig. 30. The elements and their arrangement are identical, except that the flat rosettes set with a single stone in the 853/1450-51 miniature have, seventy-five years later, become what appear to be granulated spheres set with multiple stones. The central element has also changed from an apparently carved or painted piece to a gold pendant set with stones. Another type of necklace which we see represented in Ṣafawid paintings, worn as a choker or close to the throat, consisted of a central triangular, sometimes bejewel-



led, gold element flanked by two smaller gold elements on a string of pearls; and we see Iranian women in paintings of this period wearing a series of strings of beads, plain or bearing a single pendant (Metropolitan Museum of Art No. 52.20.6, unpublished, and a wall painting from the Čihil Sutūn (1057/1647) in Isfāhān, unpublished). These paintings also show a continued vogue for bracelets consisting of simple strings of beads.

Also at the Čihil Sutūn, we encounter on the statues at the edge of the pool an early example of the bejewelled tripartite armband which was to have such popularity in the Kādjar period (Fig. 31).

The new belt type, which was first observed in Persian miniatures dating to around 1400 A.D., was further elaborated upon in the Šafawid period. The elements are jewelled and the number represented on a given belt is increased (Fig. 32). Two complete Šafawid belts and a buckle are extant (Pope, *Survey of Persian art*, vi, pl. 1394a-c).

The types of earrings current in Šafawid Iran show, for the most part, a continued conservatism at least as far as the representations are concerned. We find gold hoop earrings and gold hoops with a single shot at the bottom or at the bottom and two sides. There are also variations on the type of earring consisting of a gold hoop with a pendant pearl which in one case consists of three pendant stones, blue, white and red (Fig. 33). In addition to these, we also see more complex pendant earring varieties couposed of gold, pearls, rubies or garnets and emeralds or in some cases composed of the aforementioned stones, but depicted in the miniatures in a way that is not detailed enough to permit a description.

Some of the ring types represented in the miniatures of this period include: archer's rings, usually indicated in black; seal rings and others represented with white and green stones (we may mention the one depicted with a white stone—in Metropolitan Museum of Art No. 1970.301.7, unpublished—which very much resembles in style that illustrated in Fig. 26); plain gold rings with rectangular bezels; and gold thumb rings.

Another Šafawid fashion seen depicted is the wearing of bandleriers, an example of which can be seen in Fig. 33. This one incorporates gold beads, amulets, a rosette and a gold pendant. Others of the period bear jewelled elements (Metropolitan Museum of Art No. 12.224.4, miniature unpublished).

Recognisable representations of jewelry in Ottoman miniatures are almost non-existent. A rare instance shows Mehmed II wearing a white archer's ring and a ring set with a blue stone (N. Atasoy and F. Çağman, *Turkish miniature painting*, Istanbul 1974, pl. 1). A hint of the kinds of treasures on hand in Tavernier's time (in addition to arms, utensils and the like enriched with diamonds, rubies, emeralds and other precious stones), can be had from the following:

"But what is most precious in that Chamber and transcends all the rest, is a strong Coffre all of Ironwork, which contains another, of about a foot and a half square, wherein there is a vast Treasure. When this Coffre is open'd you see a kind of Gold-Smiths Jewel Box, wherein are ranked all sorts of Jewels of highest value, as *Diamonds, Rubies, Emeralds*, a huge number of excellent *Topazes*, and four of those *Gems*, call'd *Cats-eyes*, which are so beautiful, that they are not to be valu'd. Having satisfy'd your curiosity with the former, you come next to certain little Drawers full of several Jewels, great *Roses of Diamonds*, *Pendants*, other *Roses*

of *Rubies and Emeralds*, *Strings and Chains of Pearls and Bracelets*. There stands aside by itself a *Cabinet*, where are the *Sorgouges*, or the things wherein are fasten'd the *Heron-tops*, which the *Grand Seigneur* wears in this *Turbant*. They are as it were little handles, made in the fashion of *Tulips*, cover'd over with the most precious *Stones of the Seraglio*, and 'tis into this that the *Heron-top* enters, that rich *Plume of Feathers* . . . Of these *Handles*, some are higher and more precious than others: and my *Overseer* of the *Treasury* assur'd me, that, of all sorts of them, great and small, there are above a hundred and fifty. The lesser ones serve only for the *Campagne*, and the great ones, which are the richest, are reserv'd for the *Pomps and Magnificences of the Court*, and when the *Grand Seigneur* marches in Ceremony to *Constantinople*. If he has a desire to satisfy his sight with the lustre of his precious *Jewels*, he Orders the *Coffre* to be brought into his own *Chamber*; but if he calls for some particular Piece of the *Treasury*, he gives order to the *Chasnadarbachi*, to fetch it, and that *Chief Officer of the Treasury* cannot enter it, without abundance of mysterious precautions" (*The six voyages of John Baptista Tavernier* . . . (and) . . . *The description of the Seraglio*, made English by J.P., London 1678, ch. viii, "A relation of the *Grand Seigneur's Seraglio*", 46-8). Aside from the familiar strings of pearls, it is of interest to note that the treasury contained at this time a number of rose-cut diamonds, rubies and emeralds.

One such rose-cut diamond adorns the top of an hexagonal box, at present in the Hazine, the body of which is formed from a huge hollowed-out emerald crystal. According to an inscription on a mounting for one of its suspension hooks, this box was made by order of Sultan Ahmed I in 1025/1616. The settings employed in this piece are extremely similar to those used in contemporary western Europe, while other objects in the Topkapı Hazine bear close comparison with Persian and Indian objects as regards techniques employed. For example, a dagger with a solid emerald handle which purportedly was presented to Mehmed IV by his mother Turkhān Sulṭān during the consecration of the Yeñi Dījami' in 1073/1663 exhibits not only enamelling very similar to that which we associate with Kādjar Iran, but also the type of thickly encrusted surface which gives the impression of the stones having been pushed through the thin gold sheet from the back. A further closer study of the jewel treasures in the Topkapı would no doubt prove instructive regarding the nature if not the origins of the Ottoman style in jewelry.

Although few major pieces of Mughal jewelry from before the late 18th century remain extant, we are for a number of reasons in a better position to formulate an idea of the jewelry art of the earlier centuries of the Mughal period than we were in attempting to arrive at some picture of the jewelry of, for example, Tīmūrid and Šafawid Iran or of Ottoman Turkey. First of all, there is a large body of extant material dating from the late 18th to the 20th centuries, which, given the amazing tenacity of forms and traditions in Indian jewelry, gives us a rich context in which to consider the bits of evidence for the jewelry of the earlier centuries of the Mughal period. Secondly, for those curious about the jewels of this period, the miniatures produced under the Mughals are almost invariably much more detailed and therefore contain much more information for those who study the objects depicted. And thirdly,



we have a wealth of precise verbal accounts of the jewels, thrones, etc., of the Mughal court, especially those of the sharp and knowledgeable J.B. Tavernier.

One real disadvantage for the would-be student of Mughal jewelry is the lack of available information about the jewelry of India during a very long period prior to the one with which we are here concerned. It may have been noticed that this article has not include any discussion of jewelry made under the Dīhlī Sultanate. Pieces must exist, perhaps unrecognised or unpublished, in Indian museums or private collections; but we do not know definitely about such jewelry and have no real notion from any source as to its nature. Despite the absence of extant pieces from some extensive periods of time, it seems safe to say, on the basis of observation of recent and contemporary work and of study of such pictorial records as the highly detailed sculptures, that India has the longest unbroken jewelry tradition of any nation on earth, as well as the greatest variety of jewelry forms, functions and techniques. For the period from the beginning of British domination to the present, there are many studies of particular regional and/or technical types and styles, and we will make no attempt to survey or summarise this material here. We shall content ourselves rather with a presentation of some of the notable features of the adornment associated with the period of the glory of the Mughal Empire, and their continuation into the later period, namely the 18th and 19th centuries.

Aside from whatever may have been the tradition at the time of the Mughal conquest in the 10th/16th century, we may safely assume that a considerable amount of Timūrid tradition passed southward with the royal family, its treasures and entourage, and that Timūrid tradition in turn represented an amalgamation of other Islamic, and to some extent Central Asian and Chinese traditions.

Our best evidence for the jewelry styles of the periods of the emperors Akbar until Awrangzīb (963-1119/1556-1707) are the miniatures painted under their patronage. A striking confirmation of the veracity of these paintings is afforded by a statement of Tavernier concerning what he saw during the reign of Awrangzīb (*Travels in India*, ii, 150), that there is "no person of any quality that does not wear a Pearl between two color'd stones in his Ear." Although the following paintings are somewhat earlier (e.g. Metropolitan Museum of Art No. 30.95.174, no. 11, "Akbar giving audience . . .," ca. 1590-1600, unpublished; and Metropolitan Museum of Art No. 55.121.10.29, portraits of three nobles, all of whom have this type of earrings, and a huntsman, from the Shāh Djahān Album, period of Djahāngīr, 1014-36/1605-27, unpublished), they invariably show earrings with a precious stone (ruby or emerald) between two pearls, confirming the style of earring described by Tavernier. The discrepancy of detail may be due to a change in the arrangement by Awrangzīb's time, or may result from a confusion on Tavernier's part, as he had just been describing a pearl in the emperor's collection, the largest perfectly round one he had ever seen and one for which the emperor was unable to find a mate. If he could have paired it, Tavernier says, he would have made of them earrings, each with a pair of rubies or emeralds on each side, "according to the custom of the Country" (*loc. cit.*). This preference for the combination of pearls, rubies and emeralds coincides with what was said above in section I, and one sees the combination everywhere in Mughal

(as indeed, in Timūrid, Šafawid and Kādjar) paintings. The only other colour commonly seen is blue (sapphire), but this latter occurs much less often than the other three.

Of course, we know that from ancient times India was the land of precious stones, and that even stones which did not originate in India itself, such as the rubies of Burma, often found their way to other countries by way of India. Furthermore, India herself was a major market for stones from early times, even for those stones which had to come from considerable distance, such as the emerald (coming from Egypt). India and her immediate neighbours such as Ceylon, "Indo-China" and the mountains of Badakhshān produced an amazingly large variety consisting of most of the precious stones known up to this day. The *Ratnaparikṣa*, or "Appreciation of gems", a compilation of Indian tradition about gemstones, their varieties, qualities, sources, etc., which was apparently compiled as a technical guide before the 6th century A.D. (L. Finot, *Les lapidaires indiens*, Paris 1896), exhibits a surprising degree of knowledge and a surprisingly systematic approach in dealing with a wide variety of stones. In it, we find the canonisation of the "nine gems": the ruby, the diamond, the cat's-eye (chrysoberyl), the "hyacinth" (zircon?), the topaz, the sapphire, the pearl, the coral and the emerald (Finot, *op. cit.*, 171). Despite this great variety, there is already expressed in this compilation a strong hierarchy of preferences, with the diamond considered first among gems. The order of treatment of our other major stones is: pearl, ruby, sapphire, and emerald.

Thus it is not at all surprising that we see Mughal rulers and noblemen represented as wearing earrings, turban ornaments, bracelets and necklaces of a variety of lengths and arrangements consisting almost solely of large pearls, rubies, sapphires and emeralds. For example, in Fig. 34 we see a painting from the Shāh Djahān Album which depicts Djahān with his son Shudjā'. Aside from the jewelry worn by the pair, which consists of pearls, emeralds and rubies, the painting is of additional interest as it shows Djahān with a ruby between the fingers of his right hand and other rubies and emeralds in a dish held in his left hand. We are making no assumptions in interpreting the red stones as rubies, the green as emeralds, etc., as the following passage from Tavernier (*loc. cit.*) shows. He describes and offers a line drawing of a large pearl belonging to Awrangzīb: "Numb. 4. Is a great perfect pearl, as well for its Water as for its form, which is like an Olive. It is in the midst of a Chain of Emeralds and Rubies, which the Great Mogul wears; which being put on, the Pearl dangles at the lower part of his Breast."

Perhaps something should be said here about the diamond, in light of its mention in connection with the *Ratnaparikṣa* as well as Tavernier's ample testimony not only to the presence of diamonds in the Ottoman Treasury (see above), but the great amount of mining, cutting and use of diamonds in India in his time (*op. cit.*, ii, *passim*).

As is well known, India was the great source of diamonds up until their discovery in Brazil and South Africa, and as the *Ratnaparikṣa* and other early Indian texts indicate, the Indians were using the diamond as a jewel well before Muhammad's time. Indeed, even as early an author as Pliny (Book xxxvii, 15) seems to speak of the diamond under the term *adamas* and he calls it the most valued of human possessions, having been for long only known to kings.



But he also seems to confuse it with other stones; and his assertion that it cannot be broken even by hammer blows on an anvil has the status of mere legend. He does speak of its use to engrave other stones and such usage probably has a more ancient history than we shall ever be able to establish.

According to Finot (*op. cit.*, p. xxx), certain of the early Indian texts with which he deals indicate that it is undesirable to cut diamonds and that the ideal form is the perfect octahedral crystal (*op. cit.*, p. xxvii). What is most important to notice here, however, is that the practice of cutting the diamond was known to them. Even as late as Tavernier's time (see ii, 56, of Ball's translation), such an expert on gems as he could say of cleaving diamonds (to avoid wastage by simply grinding away material) that the Indians "are much more accomplished than we are."

Al-Bīrūnī, cited by Wiedemann (*op. cit.*, 352), seems to offer contradictory information regarding the use of the diamond in the early Islamic period. He says on the one hand, that the people of Khurāsān and 'Irāk only use the diamond for drilling (and cutting) and poisoning, and on the other, that a "drachme" of diamond in one piece costs one thousand *dīnārs*, whereas if in small pieces the price is one hundred *dīnārs*. This price quotation seems to clearly indicate a gemstone usage, not an abrasive one, where only small pieces are used anyway. In any case, according to al-Bīrūnī in another place in his stone book (as cited in Haschmi, *op. cit.*, 28-9), the diamond is mentioned by poets of the D̲j̲āhiliyya and the Umayyad period (Imru' al-Qays and Abu 'l-Nadīm respectively). Again from al-Bīrūnī (Haschmi, *op. cit.*, 13), in citing a treatise by Naṣr b. Ya'kūb al-Dīnawarī comes much more solid and detailed information, according to which the Buwayhid Mu'izz al-Dawla Aḥmad b. Buwayh (ruler in 'Irāk 334-56/945-67) gave his brother Rukn al-Dawla a ringstone of diamond which weighed three *mithkāl*s. Furthermore, he says (*loc. cit.*) that Maṣṣūr b. Nūḥ al-Sāmānī (either Maṣṣūr I 350-65/961-76 or Maṣṣūr II 387-9/997-9) had several ringstones, of which one was a diamond, and that "one never saw a larger diamond".

Thus it seems fairly certain that the diamond was known as a gemstone throughout the Islamic Middle Ages. How these diamonds were cut and set we do not know. Even the Mughal miniatures show nothing which to our knowledge can be identified as a diamond. The earliest inscription on a diamond of which we are aware is one in the name of Niẓām Shāh with the date 1000/1591-2, now in the Iranian crown jewels (Meen and Tushingham, *op. cit.*, 46, unpictured "rose-cut" diamond, 22.93 ct.).

To return to our discussion of the forms of Mughal jewels, another ubiquitous item in Mughal paintings is finger rings which come in some variety, although their details are generally not possible to ascertain, except for the colour (and by deduction, the type) of the gemstones. One well-known type of ring that is identifiable is the archer's ring (discussed above under Ṣafawid Iran), which we know from many extant examples, usually of jade and often inlaid with gold and precious stones. Another form of jewel usually associated with men is the *subḥa* or string of prayer beads. These beads were of course made of every variety of material from wood and bone to stones of all sorts. The passage cited above (in section 1) about the inscribed stones in the Iranian crown jewels shows that Nādir Shāh had a *subḥa* with emeralds, and there are in fact representations in Mughal miniatures of precious stone *subḥa*. For

example, a painting of Akbar done in the period of D̲j̲āhāngīr (1014-36/1605-27), a detail from which is seen in Fig. 35, shows Akbar fingering a string of prayer beads consisting of large rubies, sapphires and pearls. Although the number of beads is not correct for Muslim prayer beads (being neither 33 nor 99), this must be attributed to a mistake, casual or otherwise, on the part of the artist.

Certain fashions already noted in 9th/15th to 13th/19th century Iran are also to be seen in the Mughal miniatures. Among these are the bandolier, which passes over one shoulder and down under the opposite arm, on which is strung various jewelled charms, including amulet cases of a form similar to that from Nīshāpūr (Fig. 1) and those in Iranian miniatures (see Fig. 33) and of which numerous Mughal examples from the 18th and 19th centuries exist (e.g. Metropolitan Museum of Art No. 15.95.137 and 138, unpublished).

In another miniature in which we can observe such bandoliers (Fig. 36), we see a profusion of clearly-depicted jewelry. Most of the ladies shown have chokers fitting high on the neck which consist of a central jewel (a large ruby or emerald set in a square or rectangular gold "box") held by three rows of pearls which complete the circuit of the neck. Another type of choker seen is one consisting of a series of closely-placed rectangular gold and stone jewels forming a continuous band bordered on top and bottom by a single row of pearls. Most persons also have intermediate-length pendants, apparently held by silk cords, which also consist of large central stones (rubies or emeralds) set in a simple rectangular or elliptical gold box, with pendant pearls. In addition, one sees the strings of large and small stone beads and pearls which are universally represented and described. We see here also a lady wearing the type of jewelled tripartite armband discussed above as seen on a statue from the Čihil Sutūn (extant Mughal examples from the 18th and 19th centuries include Metropolitan Museum of Art No. 15.95.40, 41 and 41.100.118, both unpublished). Other types of arm decorations seen in this rich miniature include: apparently solid gold armbands which fit at the elbow; a wide tapered close-fitting bracelet set with pearls, sapphires and rubies; another bracelet very similar to a choker described above, with a large ruby set in gold and held by two rows of pearls; and an upper-arm band which is similar to another of the chokers, with a series of stones set in rectangular gold settings and bordered with rows of pearls. Finally, we may mention some of the types of ear and nose rings seen. There are several examples of the type of ear-ring with the stone between two pearls discussed above, but there they have also a pendant teardrop-shaped pearl. The same type of ring, but without the pendant pearl, occurs as a nose ring. The other major type of earring is a large, disc-like one of gold set with stones large and small and sometimes with a pendant pearl. Some of these (particularly that on the lady in the centre) bear a rather close resemblance to the star-like element on the head-ornament (Fig. 37a). The position also was similar since this element rested at the side of the head at the ear.

The detail of this piece (Fig. 37b) shows that granulation was an art which continued at a high technical and artistic level in India. This technique has existed in India from at least the 1st-2nd centuries A.D., as the jewelry excavated at Sirkap, Taxila, now in the Central Asian Antiquities Museum, Dihli, shows (see *The art of India and Pakistan*,



catalogue of an exhibition held at the Royal Academy of Arts, London 1947-8, ed. Sir Leigh Ashton, New York [1948?], figs. 180 and 186).

The way in which the elements in the necklace from Taxila (Ashton, *op. cit.*, fig. 180) fit together almost in the manner of a jigsaw puzzle has striking parallels in any number of 18th and 19th century Indian necklaces, (one example of which is shown in Fig. 38). In these and a myriad of other ways, the jewelry art of India displays an astounding tenacity for the preservation of traditions.

Another striking demonstration of this traditionalism is to be found in the pair of bracelets in Fig. 39. Bracelets of this type are well-known and exhibit an ingenious type of pivoting clasp closed with a threaded pin. The universally-used type of clasp pin in Islamic jewelry outside India and in one or two isolated examples of the 8th/14th century, is one which is held in place by friction. But a pair of bracelets found at Pusztá Bakod in Hungary (now in the National Museum, Budapest, see Franz M. Feldhaus, *Die Technik der Antike und des Mittelalters*, Potsdam 1931, 221-2 and Figs. 252 and 254; and M. Rosenberg, *op. cit.*, i, 123 and Figs. 141-3) and dating from the period of the tribal migrations (perhaps 5th-7th centuries A.D.), displays not only terminals of snout-to-snout beasts in a manner very reminiscent of our Indian ones, but they, like the Indian ones, are closed by a counter-clockwise threaded screw. This type of screw closure is found on a variety of types of Indian jewelry, and almost invariably the threads are made not by cutting but, like those on the much earlier bracelets just mentioned, by soldering on to the pin and into the hole which receives it coils of wire with regular spaces between (Feldhaus, *op. cit.*, 221-2, traces the screw closure in jewelry back to at least the 5th century A.D., as it is found in a fibula from the grave of Childerich, d. 481). It should be noted that all of the above mentioned jewelry found in Europe which exhibits the screw closure is of the type with hammered-in garnets, a type which was widespread in Europe and Asia between about the 4th and (depending on the region) the 10th or 11th centuries. The screw pin may have come to India with some of these migrating peoples.

Our pair of bracelets exhibits two other features for which Mughal and post-Mughal India is justly celebrated. The white jade shanks are inlaid with gold forming graceful floral patterns, the leaves and flowers of which are formed by stones set into the gold. Although sporadically practised in Turkey and Iran, possibly under Mughal influence, this art in those areas did not rival that in India either in level of technique and artistry or in longevity.

The gold terminals of these bracelets are covered with brilliant enamels which demonstrate a masterful control of the medium. Jaipur is best known for this type of enamelling, which is perhaps best described as "encrusted", in which three-dimensional forms are covered. Additionally, details are sometimes cut into the metal under transparent enamels to contribute to the liveliness of the effect. The literature on the subject of Indian arts and crafts from the 18th to the present century contains much information on Indian enamelling, and we will not dwell upon it, beyond saying that the art here reached one of its greatest consummations. These enamels, of course, like other precious techniques from time immemorial, adorned and jewelled a whole array of objects which were not jewelry in the modern sense such as arms, thrones, utensils and the like, and as such they constitute a branch of jewelry.

As we suggested at the outset, the subject of Indian jewelry is an enormous and complex one, especially because of the wealth of evidence in the sculptures and paintings and the variety of recent and contemporary forms. And this situation, combined with the great dearth of known pre-18th century pieces, leaves one in a great state of puzzlement about where all the older pieces went. We can of course explain this to some extent by remembering that even within families it was customary to reset stones in the latest style, especially after passage from one owner to another, and in the process to melt down the precious metals for re-use. To cite a particularly notorious case of radical and wholesale change of ownership, that of the Mughal royal treasures, we know that most of what was on hand when Nādir Shāh took Dīhlī was immediately transformed into ingots for ease of transport (Meen and Tushingham, *op. cit.*, 11); and of course the stones and pearls were hauled away, either to be remounted or simply deposited in the Iranian treasury. Such "radical and wholesale changes of ownership" have of course been taking place throughout Islamic (and other) history, and we can well imagine that many of the stones that were in the Mughal treasury at the time of Nādir Shāh's visit had in turn formed part of the treasuries of various earlier houses. The Mughal treasury may for instance have included stones that had once belonged to some 'Abbāsid or Fātimid caliph. Such would be impossible to prove in the absence of inscriptions on the stones; but there are tantalising bits of information to be found. For example, when one compares the weight reported (23 *mithkāl*s, which by Kahle's precise formula of one *mithkāl* = 4.414 gr.—and not 4.5 gr., to which he rounds it off—gives 101.5 gr. or 507.5 carats) for a large balas ruby which was part of the enormous loot dispersed from the Fātimid treasury during the chaotic period in al-Mustansir's reign (see Kahle, *op. cit.*, 336, 356) with that of the largest known balas ruby in the world, now in the Iranian crown jewels (reported as 500 ct. by Meen and Tushingham, *op. cit.*, 46, 47, 67), one is struck by the agreement in weight. Of course it may be a coincidence, but the embers of hypothesis are fanned when we know that Nāsir al-Dīn Shāh told Dr. Feuvrier, his physician in the 1890s, that "the hole . . . was pierced to take a cord by which it hung around the neck of the Golden Calf" and that "this ruby came from a king of Abyssinia, and had been brought back from India by Nādir Shāh" (Meen and Tushingham, *op. cit.*, 67).

Despite the various reasons for and the mechanisms of the transformation and transfer of jewels from one period and region to another, one is still left in a quandary. In the case at hand, where are all the pieces of the period which were not in the Mughal royal treasury? Surely some were kept as family heirlooms or got buried, to be found later?

We must believe that future excavations, in conjunction with heightened awareness on the part of researchers in museums and on historical texts, will continue to provide information on this as well as other periods where we are faced with these hard-to-explain lacunae.

4. The final phase of the tradition (18th and 19th centuries)

The conservatism in style which has been noted as a major characteristic of the three broad periods covered so far continues in the final phase of the Islamic jewelry tradition which is to be treated here.

In Kādjār Iran, bandoliers were still fashionable



for men and women (S.J. Falk, *Qajar paintings*, London 1972, pls. 2, 26, 46, 47), although instead of the metal amulets and pendants sometimes set with stones seen on the Šafawid examples, the Kādjar ones seem to have consisted solely of pearls or of elements composed of pearls and/or precious stones. The style of the belts in Iran during this period remained essentially the same.

Strings of beads were still worn on the wrists (Falk, pls. 26 and 43), in addition to bracelets composed of precious stones set into square bezels hinged one to the other, as well as plain gold bangles (Falk, pls. 17, 23, 25).

One of the latter paintings referred to above (that in pl. 17) also shows a continuation of the vogue for a string of pearls framing the face. In the Kādjar period, however, the pearls only appear to have extended from ear and the strings are longer so as to serve as necklaces (Falk, pls. 19, 20). There was also an elaboration of jewelled head ornaments, especially for women, in the Kādjar period. These were worn either pendant from their head cloths or in combinations serving as simple or elaborate head-dresses (Falk, pls. 5-7, 18-21). An example of one of these pendant elements can be seen in Fig. 40a-b. The small and large elements are hinged together and a ring is attached to the top of the former. The two projecting ornaments are removable, for decorating the top of a feather (Falk, pls. 5, 20). A similar object, in this case used to decorate the foreheads of Jewish and Muslim brides in the region of Bukhārā, can be seen in Fig. 41a-b. Influence from the Indian sub-continent is very obvious on this subject, as on much Kādjar jewelry, particularly in the manner of setting the stones.

A very popular type of earring in Iran during the 18th and 19th centuries consisted of a series of hemispheres or cones, hung one below the other, with pendant elements (Falk, fig. 1). These were executed in enamel, sheet metal or in filigree, with either pendant pearls or balls, repoussé- or wire-decorated metal sheets of a combination of both (see Fig. 42). A prototype for this kind of earring is to be found in 1st or 2nd century India (The Royal Academy of Arts, London, *The art of India and Pakistan*, pl. 22, No. 185). Another popular earring type can be seen in Fig. 43. This variety consists of a semi-circular lower part often decorated with dragon-headed terminals and spherical or knob-like protrusions around its circumference (Falk, figs. 3, 4). Again, these were executed alternatively in enamel, sheet metal and filigree.

A very fine example of the ubiquitous Kādjar arm-band, referred to earlier in connection with the Šafawid example, can be seen in Fig. 44a-b, here executed in gold, enamel and precious stones.

Aside from a continued vogue for strings of beads at the neck (Falk, pls. 14, 38), pendants or roundels set with precious stones on strings of pearls or beads were a popular necklace type during the Kādjar period (Falk, fig. 7, pls. 17-19). The last painting also shows a necklace bearing a central element very similar in shape to that seen in Fig. 27.

To the best of our knowledge, aside from the new pieces in the Topkapı Hazine (most of which are either turban ornaments or belt buckles of well-known types), very little Ottoman jewelry of any significance made and used in Turkey itself has survived from the period in question. However, we can learn a considerable amount about fine Ottoman jewelry of this period from that made in the more distant regions of the Ottoman empire and even from Morocco.

When one compares pieces which can be attributed to Istanbul (*Collection Hélène Stathatos. ii. Les objets byzantins et post byzantins*, Limoges 1957, pl. XI, nos. 79, 80, 82 and pl. XIII, nos. 107-9) with the gold jewelry from Morocco of the same period, one feels quite justified in stating that the provincial craftsmen were drawing at least some of their inspiration from the Turkish capital. The similarity is so great, in fact, that one can safely use such Moroccan pieces to fill in the large gaps in the Istanbul jewelry.

The style of the gold work on the Moroccan head ornaments in Fig. 45 is very close to that on the diadem and the oval pendant in the Stathatos collection. That iconography was also shared can be seen on the necklace in Fig. 46. The double-headed bird, whose body is set with stones and from whose tail extend pendants of pearls and precious stones, is very close to a pendant in the Stathatos collection. The two enamelled cylindrical beads on this necklace, however, are descendants of those seen on the Našrid necklace in Fig. 28.

The necklace in Fig. 47a-b combines precious stones on the obverse with enamelling on the reverse, which is another feature of the Istanbul jewelry.

The largest body of Muslim North African material, however, has a series of styles all its own assuming a myriad of forms and drawing its inspiration from a variety of periods and areas. There is a rather detailed literature on the subject which can be studied by those with a particular interest (see *Bibl.* below). A study of the literature on this jewelry, which extends into the 20th century, as well as the later Indian jewelry, provides insights into the ways various earlier pieces and types were worn, and gives an idea of their overall effect. The same can be said for ethnographic studies, which often provide the best documentation of recent and contemporary jewelry from the various regions whose earlier jewelry productions have been discussed above.

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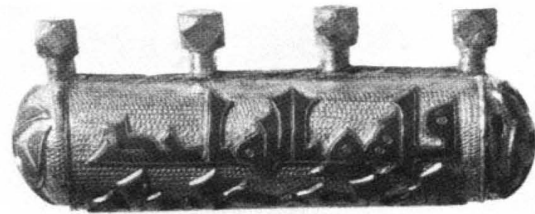
(M. KEENE and M. JENKINS)

DJAWHARĪ, ṬANTĀWĪ, modernist Egyptian theologian. He was born in 1278/1862 in the village of Kafr 'Awaḍ Allāh Ḥidjāzī in the Nile Delta to the south-east of al-Zakāzīk. He studied at al-Azhar [q.v.] and at Dār al-'Ulūm [q.v.] from 1889 until 1893 when he graduated. After his graduation, he worked as a school-teacher at various primary and secondary schools until his retirement in 1922, except for the period between 1908 and 1914 when he taught at Dār al-'Ulūm (ethics, *tafsīr*, *ḥadīth* and grammar) and at the Egyptian University (Islamic philosophy).

He is the author of an impressive oeuvre of nearly thirty published books—some of which were translated into a number of other Oriental languages—and numerous articles on a variety of subjects published in different periodicals throughout the Islamic world. The majority of his writings constitute an effort to show how the teachings of Islam, and in particular, the contents of the Qur'ān, were in accordance with human nature, and with method, theory and findings of Western modern (19th and early 20th century) science, with which he had familiarised himself mainly through popular accounts in English.

His principal work is his Qur'ān commentary, *al-Djāwāhīr fī tafsīr al-Kur'ān al-karīm*, Cairo 1923-35, in 26 volumes, which was analysed extensively by J. Jomier, *Le Cheikh Ṭantāwī Jawharī (1862-1940) et son Commentaire du Coran*, in *MIDEO*, v (1958), 115-74. The scope and nature of Ṭantāwī's writings and the extensive learning displayed by him, drew the attention of European orientalists like D. Santillana, M. Hartmann and Carra de Vaux, who gave mostly eulogising analytical accounts of some items (cf. Carra de Vaux, *Les penseurs de l'Islam*, Paris 1926, v, 275-284; M. Hartmann, *Schaich Ṭantāwī Dschauharī. Ein moderner ägyptischer Theolog und Naturfreund*, in *Beiträge zur Kenntnis des Orients*, xiii (1916), 54-82; D. Santillana, *Kitāb ayna 'l-insān* (review), in *RSO*, iv (1911), 762-3).

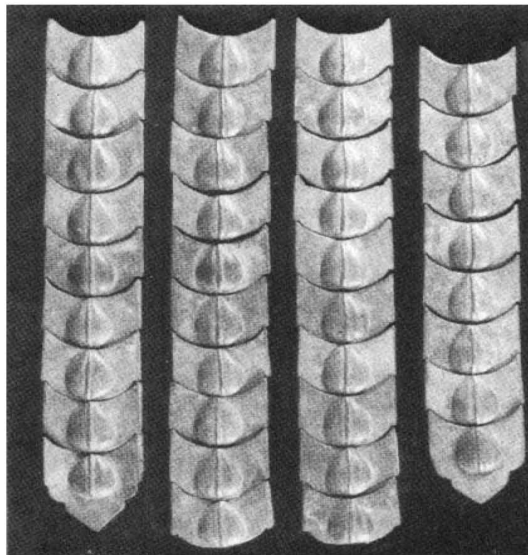
Throughout his life, Ṭantāwī Djawharī showed a theoretical as well as practical interest in spiritism, as appears from passages in many of his writings and in particular from his books *Kitāb al-Arwāḥ*,



1



2



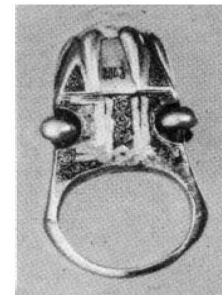
3



4a



4b



6

1. Silver amulet case worked in repoussé with cast elements and niello inlay. From the excavations of the Metropolitan Museum of Art at Nishāpūr, Rogers Fund, 1939. Probably Nishāpūr, probably 4th/10th century. Tehran, Mūzeh-i Irān-i Bāstān.

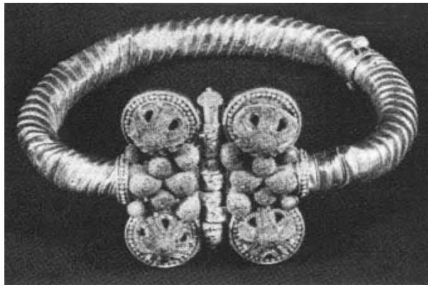
2. Bronze belt fitting, cast, from the excavations of the Metropolitan Museum of Art at Nishāpūr, Rogers Fund, 1939. Probably Nishāpūr, probably 4th/10th century. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, No. 40.170.214, Rogers Fund 1939.

3. Bronze belt fittings, cast. Probably Irāk or Iran, 3rd/9th century. Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Everett Birch, St. Thomas, V.I.* (Illustrations marked with an asterisk are photographs by courtesy of Patti Cadby Birch.)

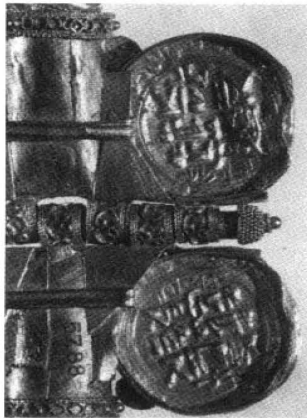
4a-b. (a) Silver ring, hollow, fabricated from sheet. From the excavations of the Metropolitan Museum of Art at Nishāpūr, Rogers Fund, 1939. Probably Nishāpūr, probably 4th/10th century. Tehran, Mūzeh-i Irān-i Bāstān.

(b) Gold ring, hollow, fabricated from sheet. From the excavations of the Metropolitan Museum of Art at Nishāpūr, Rogers Fund, 1939. Probably Nishāpūr, probably 4th/10th century. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, No. 40.170.156.

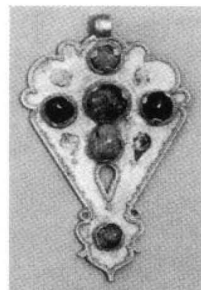
6. Gold ring, decorated with niello and set with turquoise and pearls. Iran, 6th-7th/12th-13th centuries. Freer Gallery of Art, No. 57.3. Courtesy of the Smithsonian Institution, Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.*



5a



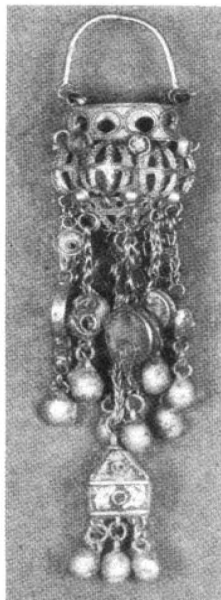
5b



8a



8b



9



7a



7b

5a-b. Pair of gold bracelets, fabricated from sheet with applied twisted wire and granulation. Eastern Iran, probably early 5th/11th century. (a) Freer Gallery of Art, No. 58.6. Courtesy of the Smithsonian Institution, Freer Gallery of Art, Washington D.C.

(b) Metropolitan Museum of Art, No. 57.88, Harris Brisbane Dick Fund, 1957 (detail of underside of clasp).

7a-b. Gold bracelet, hollow, fabricated from sheet, decorated with niello and granulation. Iran, 6th-7th/12th-13th centuries. Freer Gallery of Art, No. 50.21. Courtesy of the Smithsonian Institution, Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.*

8a-b. Gold pendant, fabricated from sheet, decorated with engraving, twisted wire and granulation, set with garnets, turquoise and other precious stones. Iran, 6th-7th/12th-13th centuries. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, No. 1977.9, Purchase, Richard Perkins Gift, 1977.

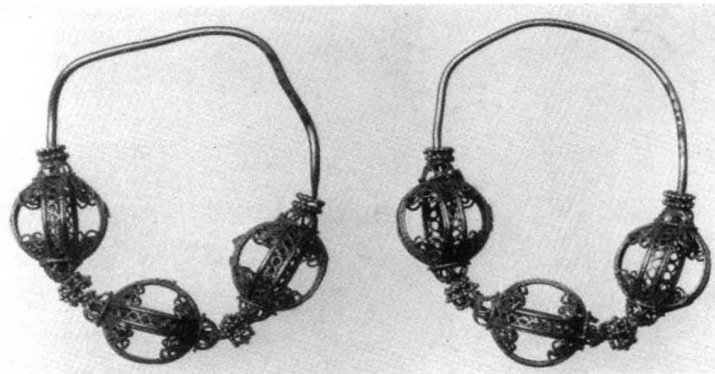
9. Gold earring, one of a pair, fabricated from sheet, decorated with twisted wire and granulation and incorporating loop-in-loop chains. Iran, 6th-7th/12th-13th centuries. Staatliche Museen, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Museum für Islamische Kunst, Takustrasse 40, 1 Berlin 33-Dahlem, No. J 57/71.*



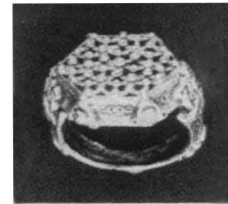
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DJAWHAR

PLATE XXXI



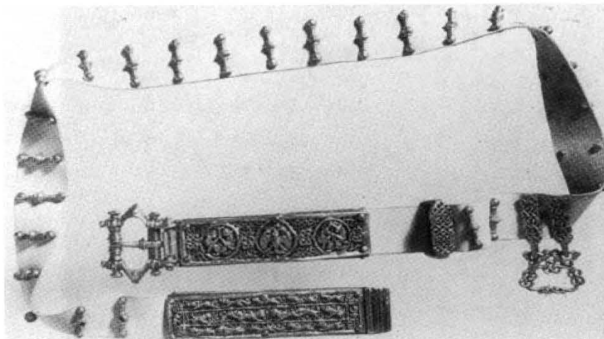
10



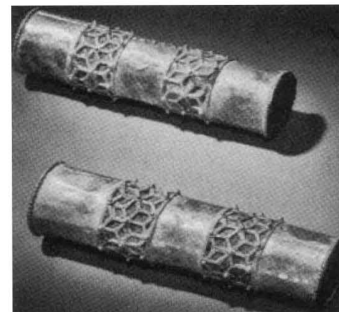
11a



11b



12



13

10. Pair of gold earrings, fabricated entirely from wire and granules. Iran, 6th-7th/12th-13th centuries. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, No. 52.4.5-6, Rogers Fund, 1952.
- 11a-b. Gold ring, cast, fabricated and engraved. Iran, 6th-7th/12th-13th centuries. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, No. 1976.405, Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Everett Birch, 1976.
12. Set of silver-gilt belt fittings, cast and chased. Iran or Anatolia, 6th-7th/12th-13th centuries. Reproduced by courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum, No. 1959 7-22 1-5.*
13. Pair of gold hair ornaments with bronze core, decorated with twisted wire and granulation and (formerly) coloured cloth. Iran, 6th-7th/12th-13th centuries. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, No. 52.32.9,10, Rogers Fund, 1952.

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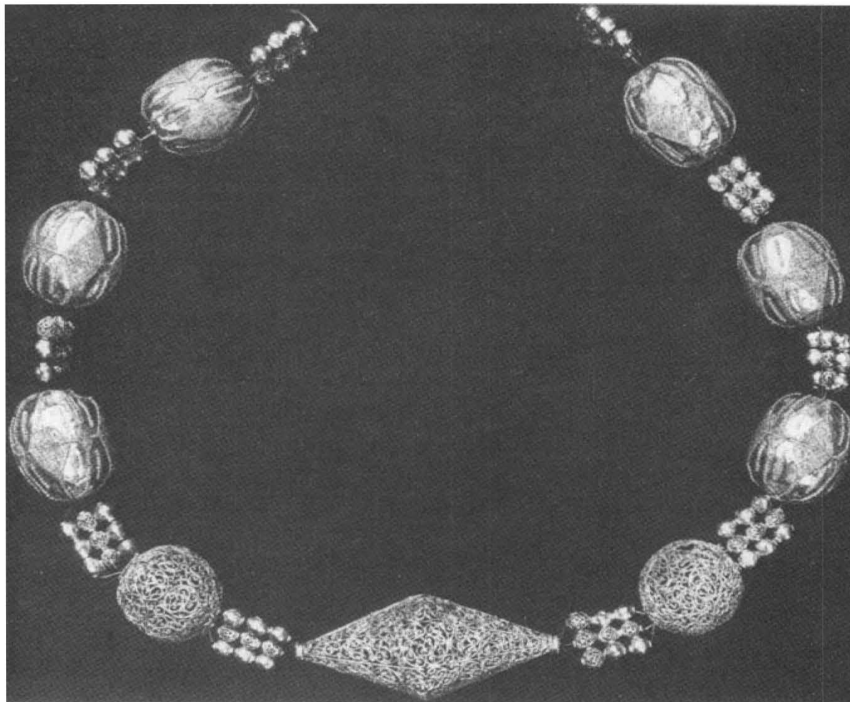
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PLATE XXXII

DJAWHAR



14. Pair of gold earrings, fabricated from sheet, decorated with twisted wire and granulation. Iran, 6th-7th/12th-13th centuries. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, No. 1979.7.3ab, Purchase Richard S. Perkins Gift, Rogers Fund, Louis E. and Theresia S. Seley Purchase Fund for Islamic Art, Norbert Schimmel, Jack A. Josephson, and Edward Ablat Gifts.



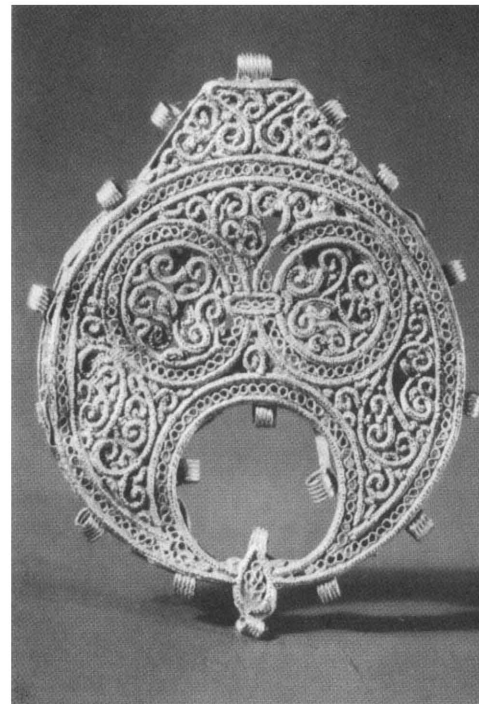
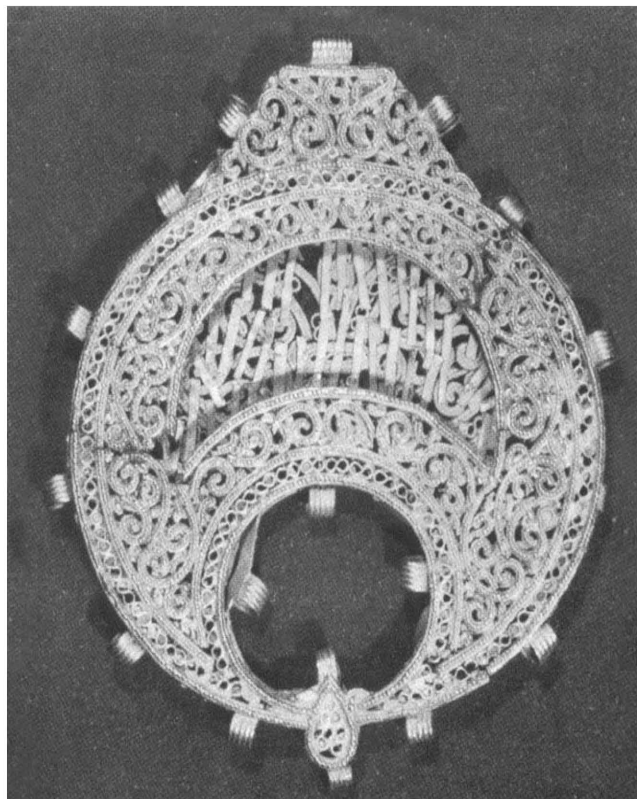
15. Group of gold beads, fabricated from sheet, and/or twisted wire decorated with granulation. Egypt, 5th/11th century. Israel Museum, Jerusalem.

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17a-b. Gold pendant, constructed of twisted wire on flat strips of gold, decorated with granulation and (formerly) cloisonné enamel and pearls and/or semi-precious stones. Egypt, 5th/11th century. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, No. 1974.22, Purchase, The Friends of the Islamic Department Fund, 1974.

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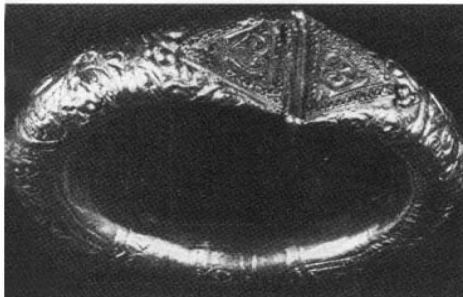
PLATE XXXIII



16a



16b



18



19

16a-b. Gold bracelet, fabricated from sheet and twisted wire, decorated in repoussé and granulation. Probably Syria, 5th/11th century. Freer Gallery of Art, No. 48.25. Courtesy of the Smithsonian Institution, Freer Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.*

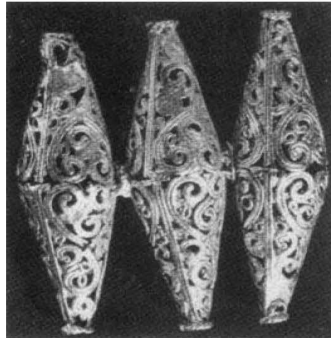
18. Gold bracelet, fabricated from sheet and decorated with twisted wire, repoussé and shot. Egypt, 5th/11th century. L.A. Mayer Memorial Institute for Islamic Art, Jerusalem.



20

19. Pair of gold earrings, fabricated of wire and decorated with shot and hollow hemispheres. Probably Syria or 'Irāk, 5th/11th century. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, No. 39.157.1,2, Rogers Fund, 1939.

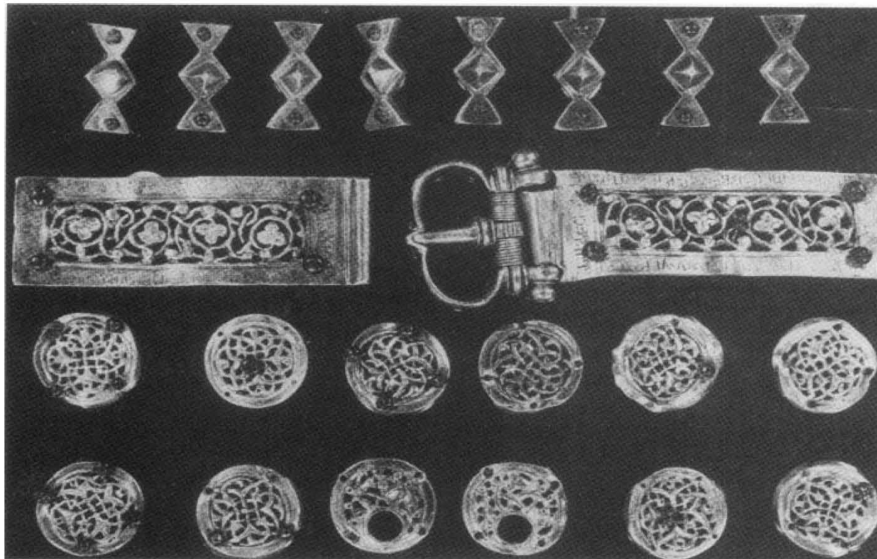
20. Gold pendant, fabricated from wire and strips of sheet, set with cloisonné enamel and unidentified green stone. Egypt, 5th/11th century. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, No. 30.95.37, The Theodore M. Davis Collection, Bequest of Theodore M. Davis, 1915.



21



22



23

21. Gold "spacer" bead, constructed of wire. Egypt, 5th/11th century. Israel Museum.
22. Silver earring, fabricated and decorated with niello. Syria or Egypt, probably 5th/11th century. Israel Museum.
23. Set of silver and gilt bronze belt fittings. Cast, fabricated and *ajouré*. Probably Syria, 7th/13th century. L.A. Mayer Memorial Institute for Islamic Art.



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24a-b. Gold necklace, fabricated from sheet, embossed and set with turquoise, glass and unidentified stones. Iran, 8th/14th century. Private Collection, New York.

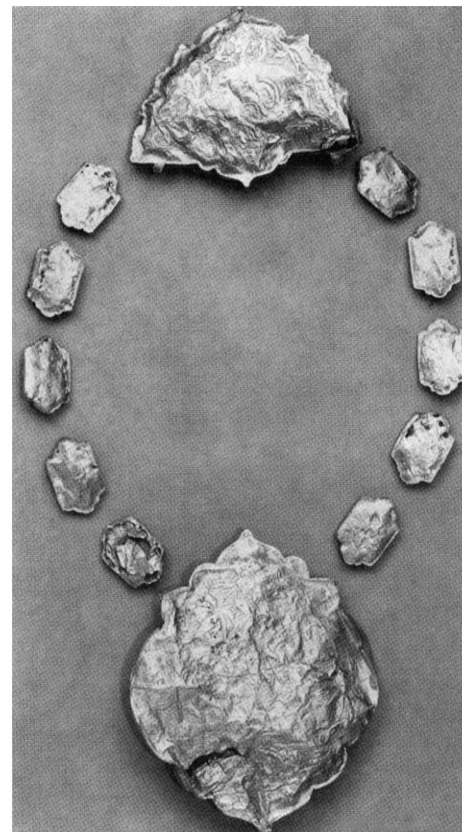
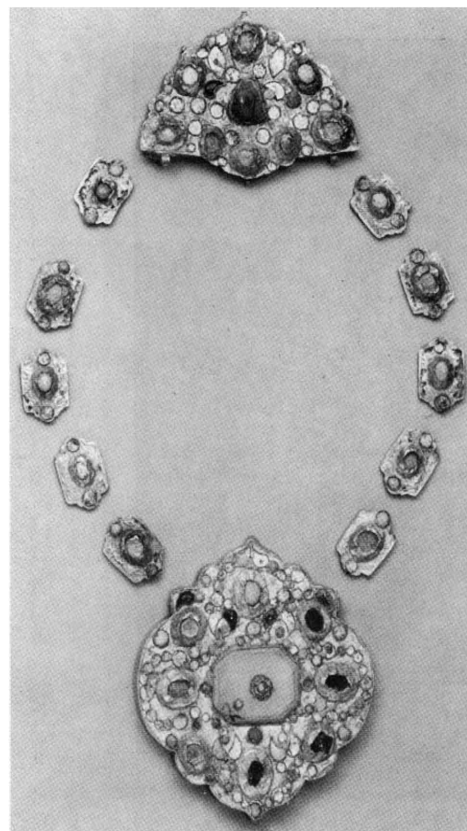
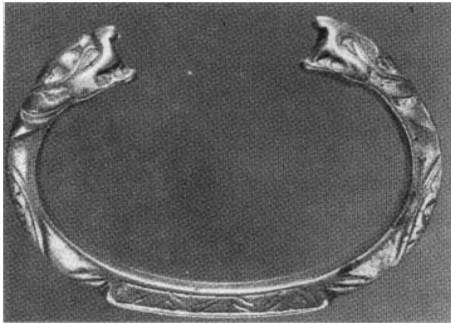


PLATE XXXVI

DJAWHAR



25



26



29



27

25. Silver bracelet, cast and chased. Iran or Transoxiana, probably 9th/15th century. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, No. 64.133.3, Fletcher Fund, 1964.
26. Gold ring, cast and chased, set with jade sealstone. Iran or Transoxiana, probably 9th/15th century. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, No. 12.224.6, Rogers Fund, 1912.
27. Detail from a miniature from a manuscript of the *Khawar-nāma*, 1450-51. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, No. 55.125.2, Rogers Fund, 1955.
29. Detail from "Bahrām Gūr in the Red Palace", page from the *Khamsa* of Nizāmī, 931/1524-5. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, No. 13.228.7, fol. 220a, Gift of Alexander Smith Cochran, 1913.

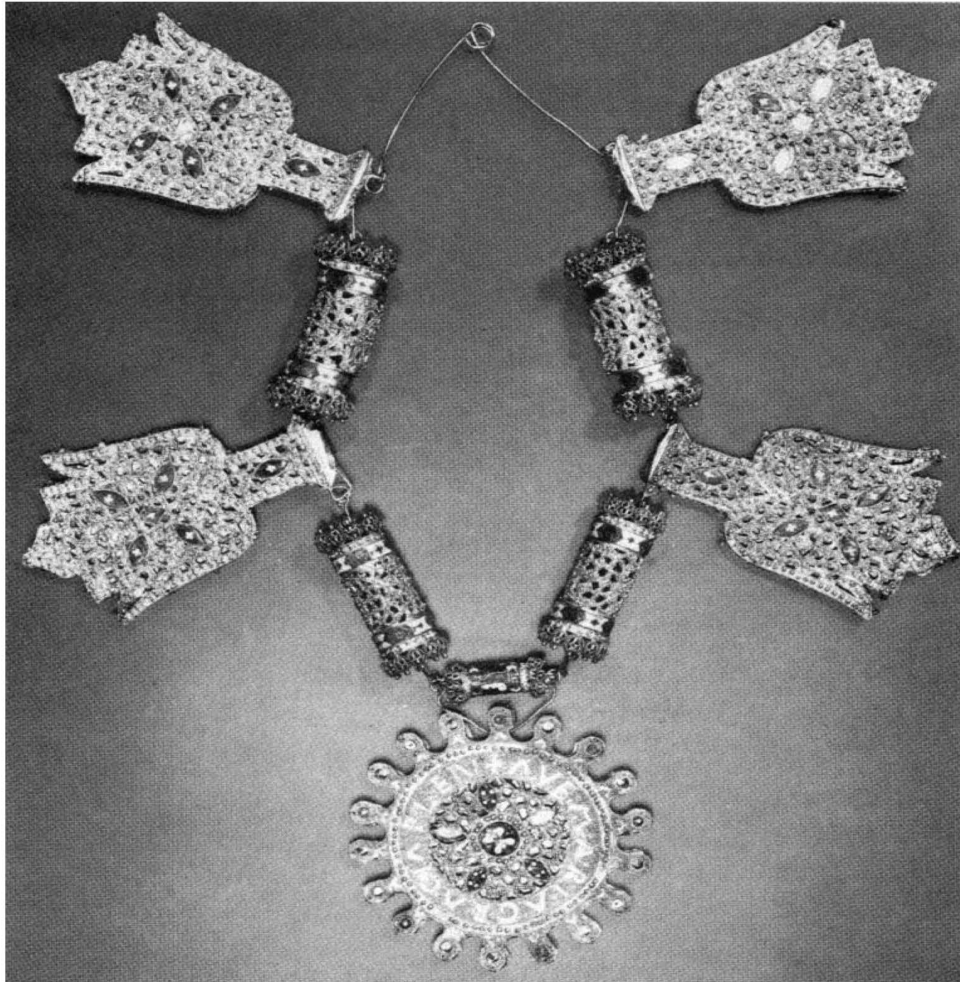


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PLATE XXXVIII

DJAWHAR



28. Elements from a gold necklace, fabricated from sheet and wire, decorated with granulation and cloisonné enamel. Spain, probably 9th/15th century. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, No. 17.190.161, Gift of J. Pierpont Morgan, 1917.

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30



31



32

30. Detail from "Bahram Gūr in the Yellow Palace", page from the *Khamsa* of Nizāmī, 931/1524-5. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, No. 13.228.7, tol. 213a, Gift of Alexander Smith Cochran, 1913.

31. Detail from arm of statue, Čihil Sutūn, Iṣfahān, Ṣafawid period.

32. Detail from "An old woman complains to Sulṭān Sandjar", page from the *Khamsa* of Nizāmī, 931/1524-5. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, No. 13.228.7, fol. 17a, Gift of Alexander Smith Cochran, 1913.



33



34

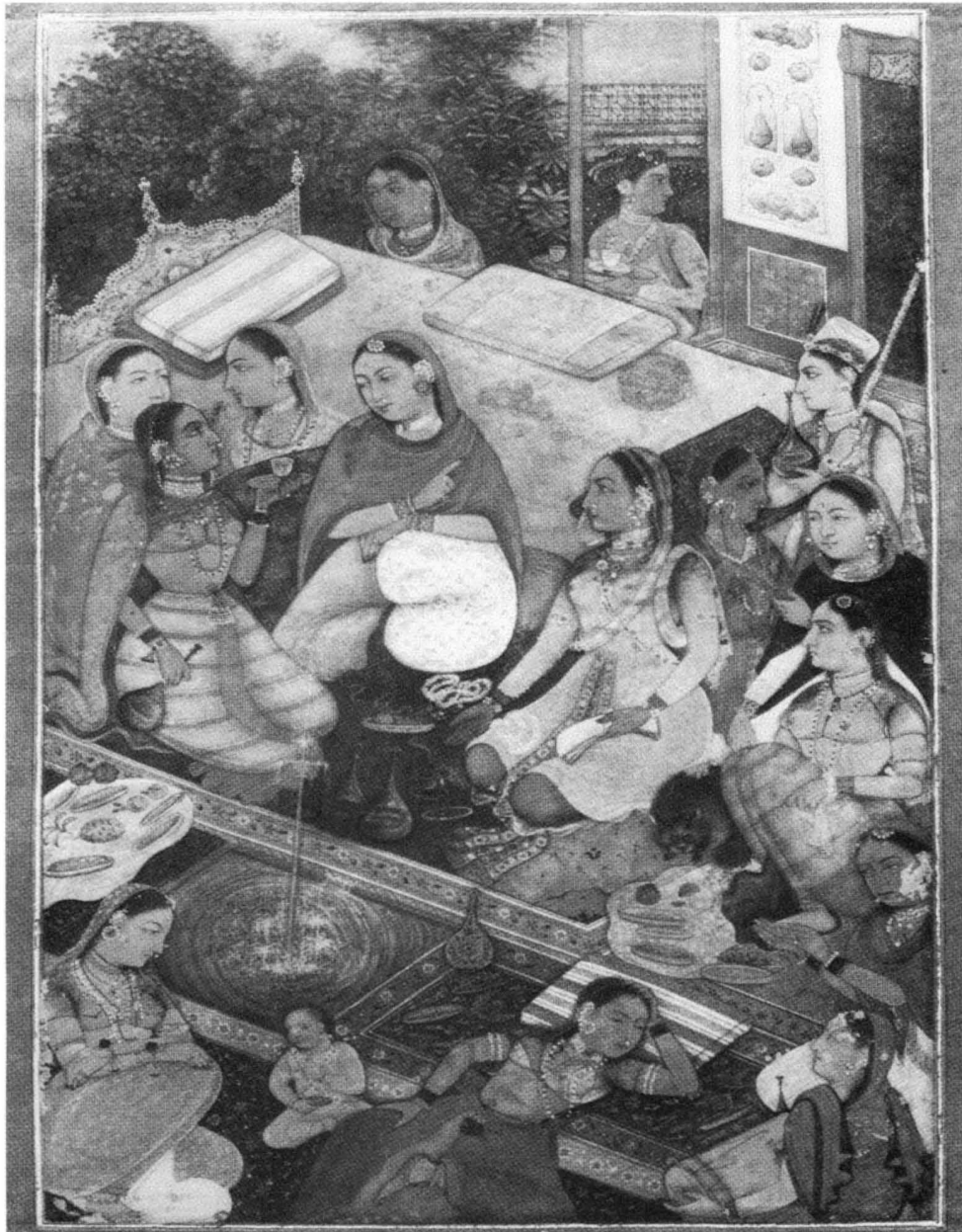


35

33. Detail from a drawing of a youth. Kazwīn, ca. 988/1580. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, No. 1973.92, Fletcher Fund, 1971 and Rogers Fund, 1972.

34. Detail from a miniature painting depicting Shāh Djahān and his son Shudjāʿ, from the Shāh Djahān Album, India, period of Djahāngīr (1014-37/1605-27). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, No. 55.121.10.36, Rogers Fund and the Kevorkian Foundation gift, 1955.

35. Detail from a miniature painting depicting "The glorification of Akbar", from the Shāh Djahān Album, India, period of Djahāngīr. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, No. 55.121.10.22, Purchase, Rogers Fund and the Kevorkian Foundation gift, 1955.



36. Ḥarīm scene, from an album, Mughal India, Period of Shāh Ḍjahān (1037-68/1628-57). The Metropolitan Museum of Art, No. 30.95.174, no. 26, The Theodore Davis Collection, Bequest of Theodore M. Davis, 1915.



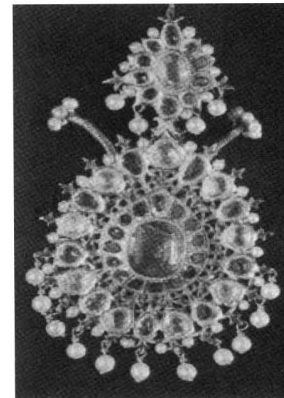
37a



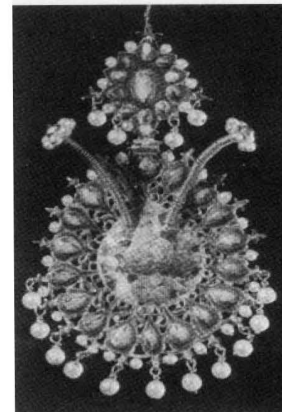
37b



38



40a

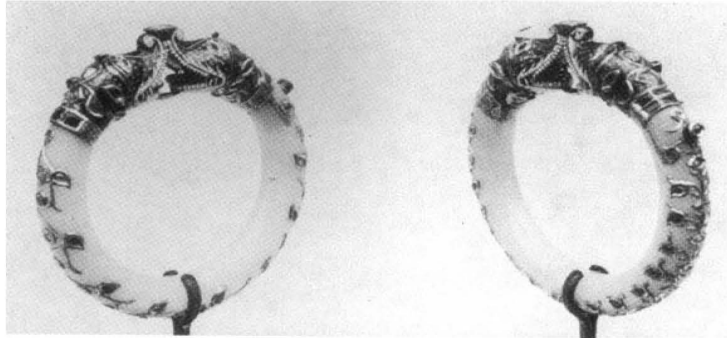


40b

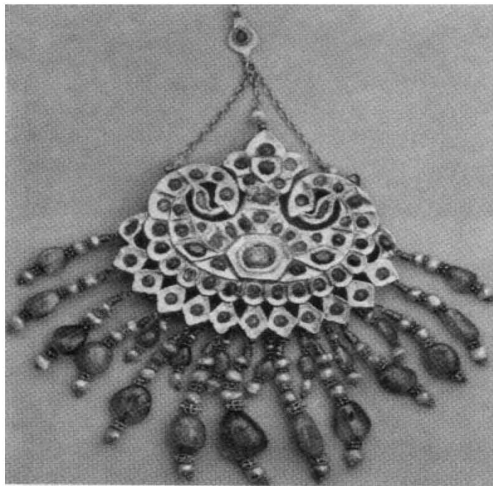
37a-b. Gold head ornament, fabricated of wire and sheet, decorated with granulation and set with various stones. Northwestern India, 18th-19th centuries. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, No. 15.95.105, Kennedy Fund, 1915.

38. Gold necklace set with various stones, back enameled, probably Jaipur work, 18th century. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, No. 19.111.3, Rogers Fund, 1919.

40a-b. Gold head ornament, set with precious stones and pearls, back enamelled. Iran, 19th century. Collection of Joseph Benyaminoff, New York.



39



41a



41b

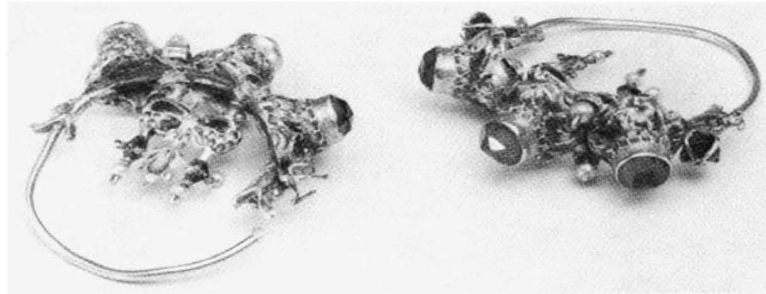


42

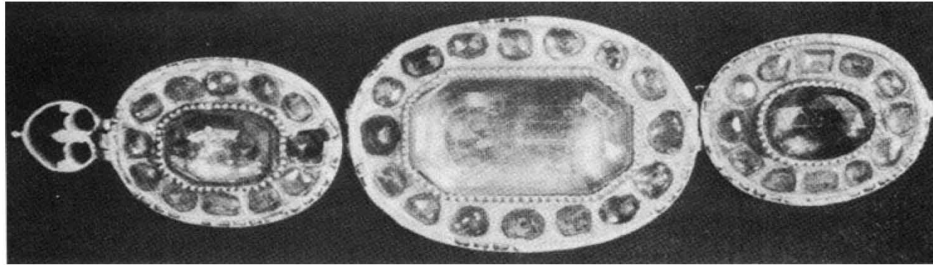
30. Pair of bracelets, shanks of white jade, inlaid with gold and set with precious stones, terminals gold with enamel, India, 11th-12th/17th-18th centuries. The Metropolitan Museum of Art, No. 02.18.770,771, Gift of Heber R. Bishop.

41a-b. Gold head ornament fabricated from sheet, shot and wire, back worked in repoussé, set with precious stones. Bukhārā, 19th century. Collection of Joseph Benyaminoff.

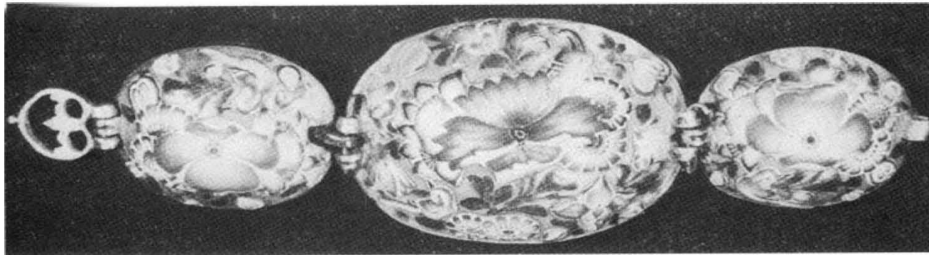
42. Pair of gold earrings, enamelled and with pendant pearls. Iran, 19th century. Collection of Joseph Benyaminoff.



43



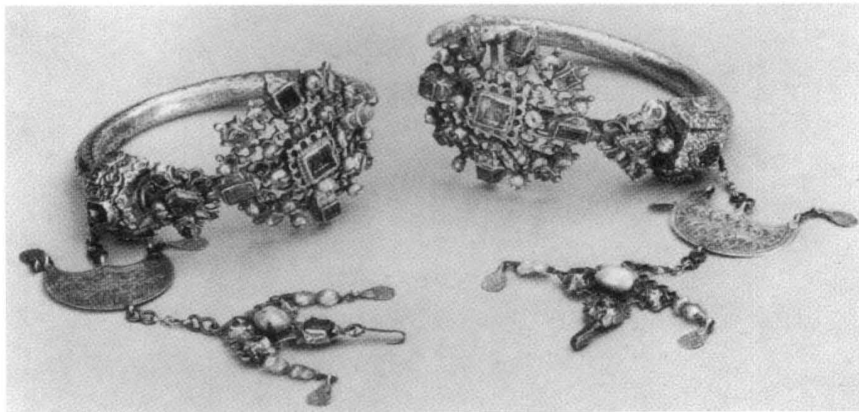
44a



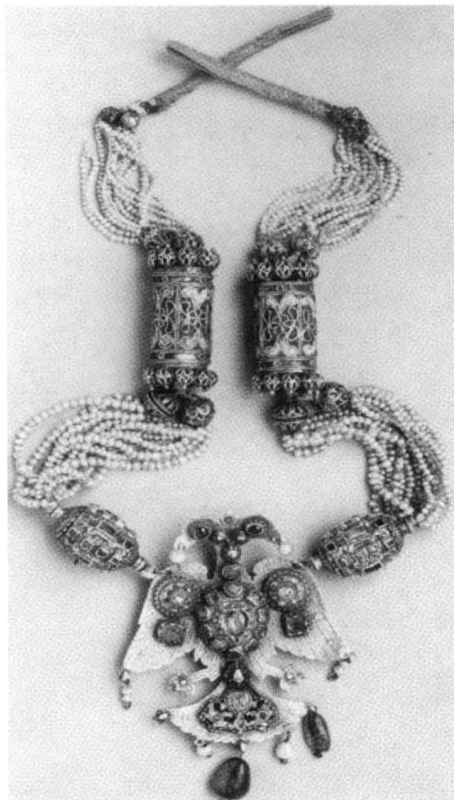
44b

43. Pair of gold earrings, enameled and set with faceted, coloured glass "stones". Iran, 19th century.
Collection of Joseph Benyaminoff.

44a-b. Gold armband, set with precious stones, back enameled. Iran, 19th century. Negārestān Museum,
Tehran.



45



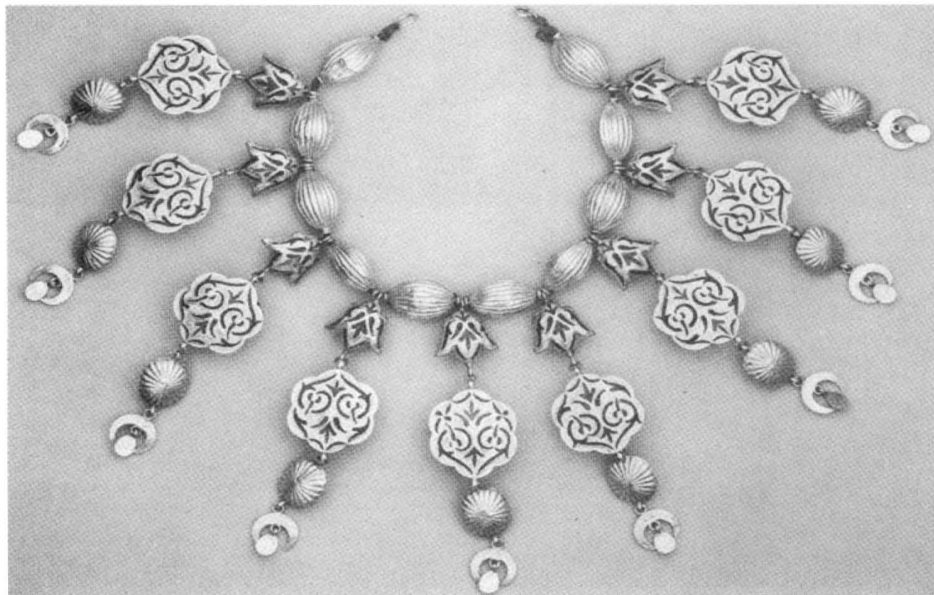
46

45. Pair of gold head ornaments, set with precious stones and pearls. Morocco, 18th-19th centuries. Collection of Joseph Benyaminoff.

46. Gold necklace, with enamelled elements and strung with (probably original) pearls, set with precious stones. Morocco, 18th-19th centuries. Collection of Joseph Benyaminoff.



47a



47b

47a-b. Gold necklace, decorated with enamel and set with precious stones. Morocco, 18th-19th centuries.
Collection of Joseph Benyaminoff.



Cairo 1910, 1920, 1931, *Barāʾat al-ʿAbbāsiyya Ukht al-Rashīd*, Cairo 1936, which is a defence of al-ʿAbbāsa's innocence of adultery, in defiance of the contentions presented by Dīrdjīr Zaydān in his similarly-named novel, written upon instruction from the spirit of Harūn al-Rashīd, and *Ahlām fi ʿl-siyāsa wa-kayfa yatahaḥḥak al-salām al-ʿamm*, Cairo 1935, in which he presents in a series of revelations an all-enfolding view of the fundamental order, in accordance with which human existence should ideally be. Ṭantāwī Djawharī was an active member of the spiritistic association of Ahmad Fahmī Abu ʿl-Khayr (d. 1960) known as *Ḍamʿiyyat al-Ahrām al-Rūhiyya*. Because of this profound commitment to spiritism, his writings were criticised and shunned by Azhar circles (cf. ʿAbd al-Laṭīf Muḥammad al-Dīmīyātī, *al-Wisāṭa al-rūhiyya*, Cairo 1368/1949, 57-9), but no formal action aimed at the prohibition of any of his books has ever been taken. Outside Egypt, however, his works were forbidden for some time at the end of the 1920s by the Dutch censor in the Netherlands Indies (cf. *Mirʾāt al-shark*, *Madjalla adabiyya akhlākiyya idjtimāʿiyya* (Djakakarta), iv-v (Oct.-Nov. 1928), 63-5), while his unconventional Kurʾān commentary was banned in Saudi Arabia (cf. Muḥammad Ḥusayn al-Dhahabī, *al-Tafsīr wa ʿl-mufaṣṣirūn*, 3 vols., Cairo 1961-2, iii, 174).

He was the official Egyptian candidate for the Nobel Prize (cf. *al-Riāla* (Cairo), vii (1939), 188, 326) when he died in January 1940.

Bibliography: In addition to the references given in the text, see the literature mentioned in the article by Jomier. The latter article contains a biography of Ṭantāwī pieced together from the biographical material scattered throughout the *tafsīr* and supplemented by oral information obtained by Jomier from members of Ṭantāwī's family in the early 1950s. See for additional biographical material, F. de Jong, *The works of Ṭantāwī Jawharī* (1862-1940). *Some bibliographical and biographical notes*, in *Bibliotheca Orientalis* xxxiv/5-6 (1977). This article also gives details about Ṭantāwī's books not mentioned by Brockelmann, *GAL*, S III, 329 ff. and in the article by Jomier. In addition, see Ilyās Zakḥūrā, *Mirʾāt al-ʿaṣr fi taʾrīkh wa-rusūm akābir riḍāl Miṣr*, Cairo 1897, ii, 225-8; C.C. Adams, *Islam and modernism in Egypt. A study of the modern reform movement inaugurated by Muḥammad ʿAbduh*, London 1933, 245-7 (based upon M. Hartmann's article mentioned in the text); ʿAlī al-Djānbalātī, *Fī dhikrā Ṭantāwī Djawharī*, Cairo 1962, and Raʾuf ʿUbayd, *al-Insān ruh lā ʿqasad*, Cairo n.d., 299 ff.

(F. DE JONG)

DJĀWĪDHĀN KHIRAD (P.) "eternal wisdom", the title of a kind of Iranian *Fürstenspiegel* whose earliest known mention, occurs in a work by al-Djāhīz, now lost, containing the memorable sayings of wise men and poets (see al-Khaḥāḍjī, *Tirāz*, 108), the *Istīlāl al-fahm*. Judging by an extract which has been preserved, this author recounts, on the authority of al-Wākīdī, the conditions in which the *Djāwīdhān khirad*, the spiritual testament written "just after the Flood" by the mythical king Hūshang [q.v.] for his sons and successors, was allegedly rediscovered. When al-Ma'mūn was proclaimed caliph in Khurāsān, the king of Kābulistān sent to him a *ḥaykh* called Dhūbān bearing a letter in which the ruler stated that he was sending him the most magnificent present in the world in the person of this wise man

who, adds al-Djāhīz, used the *saḍq* of the diviners (!) and gave apposite replies to questions put to him. When al-Ma'mūn arrived in Baghdad, Dhūbān pointed out to him the hiding-place at Ctesiphon/al-Madā'in of a casket of black glass containing a piece of brocade in which were preserved one hundred leaves. Dhūbān informed the caliph's secretary, al-Hasan b. Sahl [q.v.], that it was the *Djāwīdhān khirad* translated from the language of Hūshang into Persian (= Pahlavi) by Gandjivar b. Isfandiyār, vizier of the king of Irānshahr. Al-Hasan b. Sahl had each leaf read out and explained, one after the other, by a certain al-Khidr/al-Khaḍīr b. ʿAlī, then put the text into Arabic. However, since the leaves as given to him were in a state of disorder, he had to pass by a great part of them. The tradition adds that al-Ma'mūn, when he heard about this translation, could not prevent himself from expressing his admiration.

Such is the legend concerning the discovery of the *Djāwīdhān khirad*, the fate of whose Pahlavi original is unknown. Neither is anything known about what happened to al-Hasan b. Sahl's Arabic text, which must have been in circulation for a certain period before being itself translated into Persian. R. Henning (in *ZDMG*, cvi [1956], 73-7) thinks that it could possibly have been preserved in the *Yatīmat al-sultān* attributed to Ibn al-Mukaffāʾ (ed. Kurd ʿAlī, in *Rasāʾil al-bulaghāʾ*?, Cairo 1365/1946, 145-72) which displays several points in common with the *Djāwīdhān khirad* of the historian-philosopher Miskawayh [q.v.].

The latter avers that, after having been struck, when a youth, by the enthusiastic judgment on the *Djāwīdhān khirad* by al-Djāhīz, he felt compelled to bring it to light again, and that his untiring researches at last enabled him to find a copy with a *mōbedhān mōbedh* of Fārs. Even conceding that this information has a base in reality, it is regrettable that Miskawayh gives no indication as to what language it was written in. It might be supposed *a priori* that it was a copy of the Pahlavi original, but such a hypothesis seems hardly plausible if one gives attention to the complete harmony, in Arabic, between the wording of an important number of sentences of the *Yatīmat al-sultān* and this author's own *Djāwīdhān khirad*, for in this latter case, Miskawayh certainly did not retranslate a Pahlavi text, even though he was capable of this, as his usage of other Iranian texts inaccessible in Arabic demonstrates.

The interest of this anthology of Miskawayh (ed. ʿA. Badawī, Cairo 1952, under the title *al-Hikma al-khālida*) consists essentially in the author's clearly-manifested intention of inculcating that "among all the nations, intelligences concur in following the same way, and neither differ according to the countries involved nor change with the elapsing of time", after having pinpointed many resemblances between the wisdom of the ancient Iranians, illustrated by the document which he claims to have rediscovered and the Pahlavi texts which he has utilised, and that of the Indians, Arabs and Greeks. In order to achieve his aim, he conveys to the reader "a rambling succession of moral reflections or philosophical discourses borrowed from various sources" to which the libraries of Ibn al-ʿAmīd and ʿAḥud al-Dawla [q.v.] had enabled him to find easy access (on these sources, see M. Arkoun, *Contribution à l'humanisme arabe au IV^e/X^e siècle: Miskawayh philosophe et historien*, Paris 1970, 146-58; from a more general point of view,

realpatidar.com



Arkoun has devoted an extended study to Miskawayh's work, *Introduction à la lecture du Kitāb "Jāwīdān khīrad"*, as a preface to the Persian version of Shushtārī, in *Wisdom of Persia*, xvi, Tehran 1976, 1-24). Miskawayh's extensive readings provided him with a rich documentation on the wisdom of the Persians (5-88), the Indians (89-100), the ancient Arabs (101-208), the Greeks (282-4) and the "modern Muslims" (285-342). Especially worthy of note is the Table of Cebes (229-62), and this Arabic adaptation has since a long time back attracted the attention of orientalisks (Span. tr. P. Lozano y Casela, *Parafraſis árabe de la Tabla de Cebes*, Madrid 1793; ed. and tr. Suavi, *Le Tableau de Cébès ou l'image de la vie humaine*, Paris 1873; R. Basset, *Le Tableau de Cébès*, Paris 1898; and see Arkoun, *Contribution à l'humanisme arabe*, 158-60).

Bibliography (in addition to works cited above): S. de Sacy, *Mémoire sur le Djavidan Khired*, in *Mém. Acad. des Inscr. et B.-L.*, ix (1831), 1-31; Ethé, in *Gr. Iran. Phil.*, ii, 346; 'Abd al-'Azīz Maymanī, in *MMIA*, ix (1929), 129-39, 193-200 (reprinted in Kurd 'Alī, *op. cit.*, 469-85); Brockelmann, I, 242, S I, 584; A.J. Arberry, *Javidhan khīradh*, in *JSS*, viii (1963), 145-58; for a more detailed analysis, see MISKAWAYH.

(CH. PELLAT)

DJAWZ is the nut in general, and in particular the class of the walnut (*Juglans regia* L.), rich in varieties. Term and object are of Persian origin (*gawz*), as correctly recognised by the early Arab botanists (Abū Ḥanīfā al-Dīnawarī, *The book of plants*, ed. B. Lewin, Uppsala-Wiesbaden 1953, 86, l. 14). They also relate that the walnut-tree is widespread in the Arab peninsula, especially in the Yemen, and that its wood is appreciated because of its firmness; shields made from wood of the walnut-tree are mentioned also in poetry because of their hardness: *ṣahīfatu tursin ḡawzuḥā lam yuthakkabi* (*op. cit.*, 16, l. 2 and 86, l. 17; *Ḍhayl Dīwān Ibn Muḡbil*, ed. 'Izzat Ḥasan, Damascus 1381/1962, no. 4). In Islamic times, Iran remained an important area for the cultivation of the walnut-tree. Geographers occasionally describe the differences in climate in view of the trees that are found: walnut-trees grow in cold regions, date-palms in hot regions, according to Muḡaddasī, 459, 463. For the cultivation areas in particular, see P. Schwarz, *Iran im Mittelalter nach den arabischen Geographen*, new impr. Hildesheim 1969, 29, 38, 72, 98, 159, 272, 421, 882, and B. Spuler, *Iran in früh-islamischer Zeit*, Wiesbaden 1952, 402, 406. In Andalusia the walnut was also called by the Romance term *nuez* = *nuwāḏī* in Anonymous, *Nuruosmaniye* 3589, fol. 88a, l. 24, *nūḏī*(ī) in M. Asīn Palacios, *Glosario de voces romances*, Madrid-Granada 1943, no. 383.

Since the walnut had allegedly been imported by the Persian kings, the Greeks called it κάρυα βασιλική (plur.), *kāriyā bāsīlikā* (and variants) in the Arabic translation of Stephanos. It was considered hard to digest and noxious to the stomach; when taken on an empty stomach, it causes nausea, expels tape-worms and, when taken with figs and rue, it is effective against deadly poisons. In the course of the centuries, the Arab physicians and pharmacists acquired considerable new knowledge about the healing power of the nut; the fresh fruit, crushed and mixed with honey, is a proved collyrium against the dimness of the eyesight; shell and leaves are astringent and therefore effective against the trickling of urine. By applying a mixture of walnuts and onions, the poison introduced by the bite of a

rabid dog can be extracted. Blonde hair can be dyed black by a mixture of pulverised iron and the fresh nut shells, crushed while still green. Other preparations are effective against psoriasis; by washing the mouth with decoctions, soft gums are strengthened. The juice of the leaf removes suppurations of the ear, the ashes of the shell staunch internal and external bleedings, and the fruit pulp of old, grilled nuts is effective against boils on the head. Walnut oil acts as a solvent and alleviates pain. Certain noxious secondary effects of the walnut, such as headaches and yellow gall, can be avoided by taking oxymel or by sucking sour pomegranates, etc. It was generally believed that sleeping under a nut-tree had a slimming effect.

In a more general sense, *ḡawz* is synonymous with *thamar* and indicates the fruits of a whole range of plants of oriental origin. The latin *nux* may have taken this meaning from Arabic pharmacology in the same way as *granum* took the meaning of *ḡabb*; one might compare the combinations of these terms in Dozy, *Suppl.*, i, 233 and 239-41 respectively. Here may be enumerated, after Ibn al-Bayṭār, *Ḍjāmi*, i, 175-8, tr. Leclerc, nos. 526-38, only the fruits most frequently combined with *ḡawz*: 1. *ḡawz bauwā* or *ḡawz al-ṭib*, the nutmeg, *Nux moschata*.—2. *ḡawz māṭṭil*, the thorn-apple, *Datura stramonium* L.—3. *ḡawz al-ḡay*, the nux vomica.—4. *ḡawz al-ruḡa*, another kind of nux vomica, *Elcaia iemanensis* Forsk.—5. *ḡawz al-khums*, an Indian nut which is not further definable.—6. *ḡawz 'abhar*, undefined.—7. *ḡawz al-ḡaṭā*, a kind of succulent herb, *Sedum cepaea*.—8. *ḡawz al-zandī* (perhaps to be read *al-rīḥ* because it is said that the fruit is effective against *al-ḡawlandī al-rīḥ*, the windy colic), probably *Sterculia acuminata*.—9. *ḡawz al-anḡar*, probably synonymous with *ḡawz al-ḡaṭā*, above no. 7.—10. *ḡawz al-shark*, the Abyssinian nut, *Unona aethiopica* (?).—11. *ḡawz al-ḡawṭḡal*, an Indian nut, *Gardenia dumetorum* (?).—12. *ḡawz armāniyūs*, the Abyssinian nut, = 10 (?).—13. *ḡawz ḡundum*, fruit of the *Garcinia mangostana*. For further material, see Dozy, i, 233; M. Meyerhof's commentary on Maimonides, *Sharḥ asmā' al-'uḡḡār*, no. 82; F.A. Flückiger, *Pharmakognosie des Pflanzenreiches*, Berlin 1891, Index s.v. Nux.

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(A. DIETRICH)



AL-DJAWZĀ' [see MINṬAKAT AL-BURŪĠ].
AL-DJAYHĀNĪ, surname of viziers of the Sāmānids [q.v.], of whom one at least wrote a famous *Kūlāb al-Masālik wa 'l-mamālik* which has never been found in spite of the hopes raised by S. Janicsek (*al-Djayhani's lost Kitab al-masalik valmamalik: is it to be found at Mashhad?* in *BSOS*, v/1 (1926), 14-25; see also V. Minorsky, *A false Jayhānī*, in *BSOAS*, xiii (1949), 89-96). The identity of the author of this work poses a problem difficult to solve.

Ibn Faḍlān (*Risāla*, ed. A.Z.V. Togan, *Ibn Faḍlān's Reisebericht*, Leipzig 1939, text § 4, tr. 6, tr. M. Canard, in *AIEO Alger*, xvi (1958), 54) relates that a Djayhānī, who bore the title *al-shaykh al-'amid*, obtained for him an audience with the young Sāmānīd Naṣr b. Aḥmad (301-31/913-43 [q.v.]) and arranged for his lodging at the time of his journey to Bukhārā in 309/922; he refers only to the *nisha* of this individual and makes no mention of any literary activity whatsoever. In 336/947, when revising the *Murūq*, al-Mas'ūdī as yet had no knowledge of the *Kūlāb al-Masālik*, but he mentions it in the *Tanbih* (ed. Šawī, 65) some years later (before 346/957), and summarises its contents: a description of the world, marvels, cities, capitals, seas, rivers, peoples and the places that they inhabit, without reference to the relevant itineraries (cf. Yāqūt, *Buldān*, i, 7), and without passing judgment; for him, the name of the author is Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad.

Ibn al-Nadīm, in 377/987-8, four times mentions a Djayhānī (*Fihrist*, Cairo ed. 198², 219, 473). In the first passage, Abū 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. Naṣr, vizier of an unspecified ruler (*sāhib*) of Khurāsān, is the author of the *K. al-Masālik*, of a *K. al-Rasā'il* written wholly on behalf of a secretary of state, and of two other works, the titles of which are unclear; without doubt the titles that should be expected (cf. Dodge's translation, i, 302) are: *K. al-Uḥūd li 'l-khulafā' wa 'l-umara'* (which was apparently a formula) and *K. al-Ziyādāt fī K. al-Nāshī' fī 'l-Makālāt* (which might have been a supplement to the *Makālāt* of al-Nāshī' al-Akbar, a text of which has been published and annotated by J. van Ess in *Frühe mu'tazilī-tische Hāresiographie*, Beirut 1971). Immediately after, Ibn al-Nadīm devotes to al-Balkhī (d. 322/934 [q.v.]) quite a long article in which he describes the circumstances under which the latter lost the protection of the vizier of Naṣr b. Aḥmad, Abū 'Alī al-Djayhānī, who was a dualist (but Abū 'Alī was no longer vizier at the time of the death of al-Balkhī; see below); D.M. Dunlop, (*ET* art. AL-BALKHĪ) makes this Djayhānī "the son of the geographer". Subsequently (219) Ibn al-Nadīm accuses Ibn al-Fakīh [q.v.] of having plagiarised al-Djayhānī's book; apparently it is the *K. al-Masālik* which is in question, but this source is not mentioned in the *K. al-Buldān*, which is extant, and it is impossible to assess the degree of truth in an assertion of this kind. Finally, in the fourth passage (473), it is Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Djayhānī who appears among those ostensible Muslims who were secretly *zindīks* [q.v.]; it is not impossible that this Djayhānī is the same as the one previously described as a dualist and also the same as the one whom al-Tawḥīdī (d. 414/1023) quotes (*Imtā'*, i, 78-90) in order to refute the opinions violently hostile to the Arabs which this writer had expressed "in his book".

So far, we possess only a date (309/922), two *kunyas*, Abū Allāh and Abū 'Alī, and two names, Muḥammad b. Aḥmad and Aḥmad b. Muḥammad.

With the same *kunya* and the same name as those in the *Tanbih* of al-Mas'ūdī, Yāqūt (*Udabā'*, xvii, 156-9) introduces the Djayhānī who exercised to some extent the functions of regent at the court of the Sāmānīd Naṣr b. Aḥmad from the time of his accession in 301/913; it is evidently of this vizier that Ibn Faḍlān speaks (see above). Yāqūt, who was well acquainted with the *K. al-Masālik* (*Buldān*, i, 7 and 394, with reference to Soghdia), does not mention its title and confines himself to indicating the *kunya* of the author, Abū 'Abd Allāh; it is in any case remarkable that, in his article on Djayhān (ii, 181), he mentions only one Djayhānī, Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad, vizier of the Sāmānids at Bukhārā and the author of works, in regard to which he refers the reader to his *K. al-Akhbār*. It is nevertheless under the name of Abū 'Abd Allāh Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Naṣr that, copying Ibn al-Nadīm, he places, in his *Mu'djam al-udabā'* (iv, 190-2), the biographical article regarding the Djayhānī who wrote the *K. al-Masālik*; he borrows from a *K. Farid al-ta'rikh* on the history of Khurāsān some verses composed against this vizier, of whom he says that after having served under Maṣṣūr b. Nūh (350-65/961-76 [q.v.]), he was dismissed by Nūh b. Maṣṣūr (366-87/977-97 [q.v.]) in 367/978. For the first time, we have two dates: 301 and 367. Al-Safādī (*Wāfi*, ii, 80-1, no. 389, and viii, 53-4, no. 3463) copies, under the same headings (in other words, respectively, Aḥmad and Muḥammad) the two articles of Yāqūt which he nevertheless considers suspect; the correct reading seems to him to be Aḥmad b. Muḥammad. Hādjdjī Khalifa (no. 1664) opts for Abū 'Abd Allāh Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, but Kaḥḥāla, while following this last biographer (*Mu'djam al-mu'allifin*, ii, 165) and attributing to Aḥmad, who was still alive in 367/978, the *K. al-Masālik*, the *K. al-Rasā'il* and the *K. al-Uḥūd*, has no scruples about a contradiction and makes Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad (ix, 25) the author of the *Rasā'il* and the *Masālik*, following the *K. Hadiyyat al-'arifin* of Ismā'il Pasha al-Baghdādī.

It is not unusual for the commonness of names such as Muḥammad and Aḥmad to lead writers and their copyists astray, but here, we have the clear impression that the Sāmānids employed three viziers bearing the *nisha* of al-Djayhānī: the first (I), who served in the entourage of Naṣr b. Aḥmad at his accession, must have been called Abū 'ABD ALLĀH MUHAMMAD B. AHMAD B. NAṢR; he was replaced, no doubt in about 310/922, by Bal'amī [q.v.], Abū 'l-Faḍl Muḥammad b. 'Ubayd Allāh, whose successor was Abū 'ALĪ MUHAMMAD B. MUHAMMAD AL-DJAYHĀNĪ (II); this last was vizier from 326 to his death in 330/937-42 (Ibn al-Athīr, viii, 283), that is, at the end of the reign of Naṣr b. Aḥmad, and there is no reason to suppose that he was not the son of (I); no doubt it was his own son, Abū 'ABD ALLĀH AHMAD B. MUHAMMAD B. NAṢR (III) who was deprived of his office, according to Yāqūt, in 367/978, and replaced by al-'Utbi.

Among these three individuals, who clearly seem to belong to the same family, one should attempt to ascertain which is the author of the *K. al-Masālik* (the other three works mentioned are too little known to be taken into consideration). V. Minorsky (preface to the *Hudūd al-'ālam*, xvii), V.V. Barthold (*ibid.*, 16, 23) and A. Miquel (*La géographie humaine du monde musulman*², Paris-The Hague 1973, xiii-xxiv) opt, with D.M. Dunlop and Sartou (*History of science*, i, 635-6), for no. I, which seems however unlikely, since it is probable that his book would



have been known to al-Masʿūdī—who is in fact the only one to refer to the name of Muḥammad b. Aḥmad—before the revision of the *Murūjī* (332/943). The association of no. II with al-Balkhī would incline us to attribute the *K. al-Masālik* to him, but his *kunya* of Abū ʿAlī rules out such an identification, since the author of this work is always Abū ʿAbd Allāh.

In these circumstances, it is legitimate to suggest, as a hypothesis, that the *K. al-Masālik* is a family work, perhaps begun by Muḥammad b. Aḥmad (I), continued by his son Muḥammad b. Muḥammad (II) and completed by his grandson Aḥmad b. Muḥammad (III) in the years immediately following 330/941-2. Examples of this kind are not rare in Arabic literature (see AL-BARKĪ in Suppl., IBN SAʿĪD AL-MAGHRIBĪ, etc.) and it is probably the plurality of authors which gives rise to confusions which the other exploitable sources do not enable us to solve, although they supply some information regarding the work in question.

Ibn Hawkal (writing in ca. 375/985) declares (*Ṣūrat al-aqd*, text 329, tr. Kramers-Wiet, 322) that he took with him in the course of his travels, which certainly began in 331/943 but stretched over a long period, the books of Ibn Khurradādhbih, of al-Djayhānī and of Kudāma, but he regrets possessing the first two which have monopolised too much of his attention, and he does not seem to rate them very highly, although he does not hesitate to exploit al-Djayhānī (453/438) insofar as regards Khurāsān, visited by him in the third quarter of the 4th century. Al-Mukaddasī (375/985), who also utilises him on a number of occasions, is more explicit; in his *Aḥsan al-taqāsīm* (3-4; tr. Miquel, Damascus 1963, §§ 10-11), he describes Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Djayhānī (without further qualification) as a philosopher, astronomer and astrologer and adds that he gathered together people “who were acquainted with foreign countries in order to inquire from them concerning the different states, their resources, their access routes, the height at which the stars revolve there, and the position occupied there by the shadow . . . For him this was a means of conquering these countries, of getting to know their resources and of perfecting his knowledge of the stars and of the celestial sphere”. While acknowledging his merits, al-Mukaddasī seems subsequently to reproach al-Djayhānī for having developed at length the physical geography of the countries described, thus neglecting some important facts. Finally, Gardīzī, who was writing between 440 and 443/1049-52, confirms al-Mukaddasī’s suggestion by declaring (*Ẓayn al-akhbār*, ed. Nāzim, Berlin-London 1928, 28-9) that al-Djayhānī was in contact with correspondents residing in areas stretching from Byzantium to China, obtaining written information and making selective use of the material.

The *K. al-Masālik* perhaps consisted of seven volumes (cf. note on ms. C. of al-Mukaddasī, tr. Miquel, *op. laud.*, 14), but the information supplied by this note is confusing and should be treated with all the more caution seeing that it is hardly likely that Ibn Hawkal would have encumbered himself with such a voluminous work (unless, of course, it was an abridged version that he carried about with him). It must in fact have supplemented the *K. al-Masālik* of Ibn Khurradādhbih, with which moreover it appears sometimes to be confused. On account of this, some authors attribute to this work a particular political stamp, but the information consists above all of purely geographical data, unpublished

and difficult to obtain otherwise, which must have been of interest to other writers, and we cannot but be astonished as the disappearance of a work so widely exploited. The debt of the author of the *Hudūd al-ʿālam*, of Gardīzī and others to al-Djayhānī has been the object of scholarly speculation on the part of Minorsky and of Barthold (see prefaces to the *Hudūd*, xvii-xviii and 23-6), but it is clear that too many uncertainties remain for absolutely firm conclusions to be reached.

Bibliography: in addition to the sources mentioned in the article, see also Marquart, *Streifzüge*, xxxi-xxxii and *passim*; A. Miquel, *Géographie humaine*, xxiii-xxv, 92-5, and index.

(CH. PELLAT)

AL-DJAZARĪ, BADĪʿ AL-ZAMĀN ABU ʿL-ʿIZZ ISMĀʿĪL B. AL-RAZZĀZ, engineer who worked in al-Djazira during the latter part of the 6th/12th century. His reputation rests upon his book, *Kūtāb fī maʿrifat al-ḥiyāl al-handasiyya* (ed. and tr. D.R. Hill, *The book of knowledge of ingenious mechanical devices*, Dordrecht 1974), which he composed in 602/1206 on the orders of his master Nāṣir al-Dīn Maḥmūd, a prince of the Artukid dynasty [q.v.] of Diyār Bakr. All that we know of his life is what he tells us in the introduction to his book, namely that at the time of writing he had been in the service of the ruling family for twenty-five years. The book is divided into six categories (*nawʿ*), the first four of which each contains ten chapters (*ṣakl*), but the last two only five each. The categories are as follows: (1) water-clocks and candle-clocks; (2) vessels and pitchers for use in carousals; (3) vessels and basins for hand-washing and phlebotomy; (4) fountains and musical automata; (5) water-lifting machines; and (6) miscellaneous. There are many illustrations, both of general arrangements and detailed drawings, and these are of considerable assistance in understanding the text, which contains many technical expressions that have since fallen into disuse. Some thirteen manuscript copies, made between the 7th/13th and the 12th/18th centuries, are extant to bear witness to the widespread appreciation of the book in the Islamic world (listed in Hill, 3-6; to which must be added Topkapı Saray mss. H 414 and A 3350). There are, however, no references to al-Djazarī in the standard Arabic biographical works of the Middle Ages, and there is no known translation into a European language before the 20th century.

Only one of the complete machines, a twin-cylinder pump driven by a paddle-wheel, can be said to have direct relevance to the development of mechanical technology. Many of the devices, however, embody techniques and mechanisms that are of great significance, since a number of them entered the general vocabulary of European engineering at various times from the 7th/13th century onwards. Some of these ideas may have been received directly from al-Djazarī’s work, but evidence is lacking. Indeed, it seems probable that a large part of the Islamic mechanical tradition—especially water-clocks and their associated mechanisms and automata—had been transmitted to Europe before al-Djazarī’s book was composed [see *HIYAL*, in Suppl.]. Even leaving aside the question of direct transmission, we still have a document of the greatest historical importance. First, it confirms the existence of a tradition of mechanical engineering in the Eastern Mediterranean and the Middle East from Hellenistic times up to the 7th/13th century. Al-Djazarī was well aware that he was continuing this tradition and was scrupulous in acknowledging the

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work of his predecessors, including Apollonius of Byzantium (?), the Pseudo-Archimedes, the Banū Mūsā (3rd/9th century), Hibat Allāh b. al-Husayn (d. 534/1139-40), and a certain Yūnus al-Aṣṭurlābī. Other writings and constructions, whose originators were unknown to al-Djazarī, are also mentioned. Secondly, his use of and improvement upon the earlier works, together with his meticulous descriptions of the construction and operation of each device, enables us to make an accurate assessment of the level of achievement reached by the Arabs in mechanical technology by the close of the 6th/12th century.

Bibliography: Eight valuable articles on al-Djazarī's work were published in the early years of this century by E. Wiedemann and F. Hauser, listed in *Der Islam*, xi (1921), 214; see also Wiedemann, *Aufsätze zur arabischen Wissenschaftsgeschichte*, Hildesheim 1970, ii, index, 846; The miniature paintings from two of the manuscripts are discussed in A.K. Coomaraswamy, *The treatise of al-Jazarī on automata*, Boston 1924; See also Brockelmann, S I, 902. For the other writers mentioned, see *ḤIYAL*, in Suppl.

(D.R. HILL)

AL-DJAZARĪ, SHAMS AL-MILLA WA 'L-DĪN ABŪ L-NADĀ MA'ADD B. NAṢR ALLĀH, 'Irāqī composer of *makāmāt*; a native of Djazīrat al-'Umar, he died in 701/1301. His *al-Makāmāt al-Zayniyya*, which were written in 672/1273 for the author's son Zayn al-Dīn Abū'l-Faṭḥ Naṣr Allāh, are a good example of the imitations of the *Makāmāt* of al-Ḥarīrī. The external form of the work follows that of al-Ḥarīrī precisely: there are 50 *makāmāt*, most of which are named after towns. The various episodes are linked together by a common hero, Abū Naṣr al-Miṣrī, and a common narrator, called al-Kāsim b. Ḍjiryal al-Dimashkī. The narratives of al-Djazarī's *makāmāt* are overwhelmed with the ingenious puns, elaborate rhymes and other forms of wordplay for which they provide the vehicle. The lavish use of rare words to provide long series of phrases ending in the same rhyme makes an immediate understanding of the *makāmāt* difficult. They copy the form of their famous model to the point of exaggeration, but do not have the inspired wit of its contents.

Brockelmann records six surviving MSS of *al-Makāmāt al-Zayniyya* (II, 205, S II, 199). In addition there are 13 selections from al-Djazarī's work in the Leeds Ar. MS 169, whose principal contents are the *Makāmāt al-Ḥarīrī*. The selections from al-Djazarī are from the following *makāmāt*: *al-Kudsiyya*, *al-'Aniyya*, *al-Ḍimīyya al-Shīrāziyya*, *al-Iskandariyya al-Khayfā'*, *al-Dimashkiyya*, *al-Dabīfā'*, *al-Djāmāliyya al-Ḍūniyya*.

Bibliography: Ḥadīdjī Khalifa, ii, col. 1785; Brockelmann, *loc. cit.*; for some specimens of Djazarī's rhymed prose and verse, together with English translations, and a full list of the 50 titles of his *makāmāt*, see R.Y. Ebied and M.J.L. Young, *Shams al-Dīn al-Jazarī and his Al-Maqāmāt al-Zayniyyah*, in *The Annual of Leeds University Oriental Society*, vii (1975), 54-60.

(R.Y. EBIED and M.J.L. YOUNG)

DJAZZĀR (A.), "slaughterer", of camels, sheep, goats and other animals. These formed a distinct group of workers in mediaeval Arab society, quite apart from the *kaṣṣāb* and *laḥḥām*, the two terms used for the butcher. In modern times, however, the *djazzār* is synonymous with the latter terms. Ḍjāḥiz and other writers use the words *djazzārūn* and *kaṣṣābūn* alongside each other to

show them as separate groups; there were *dār al-djazzārīn* in Medina and Mecca during the 1st century A. H.; while there were many *sūk al-djazzārīn* as well as *sūk al-kaṣṣābīn* in Baghdad and other Islamic cities throughout the Middle Ages. The word *djazzār* seldom appears as a *nisba* with Arabic names, though *kaṣṣāb* is often used as an occupational surname among the Arabs.

The *djazzār* was required to be an adult (*bāligh*) and a sane (*ʿāqil*) Muslim who would utter the name of God at the time of each slaughter. The *muhtasib* saw to it that the *djazzār* slaughtered animals free from illness or defects. The non-Muslim (*dhimmī*) butchers practised their trade side-by-side with their Arab colleagues in the Middle East and North Africa. Friday was the weekday when most slaughtering of animals took place, according to Ḍjāḥiz.

Unlike craftsmen of low prestige like tanners and coppers, the slaughterers and butchers were not socially ostracised in Arab society. The Prophet forbade one of his relatives to employ a *khādim* [q.v.] in the trades of a slaughter (*djazzār*), or butcher (*kaṣṣāb*), copper (*ḥadīḍī*) or goldsmith (*sa'igh*), (al-Kattānī, *al-Tarātib*, ii, 106). The *djazzār* was usually a free person (*ḥurr*). The slaughterers were disliked by Arabs for the uncleanness (*najāsā*) of their work. Ibn al-ʿImād cites a case of an unscrupulous *djazzār* who utilised a dead animal for selling its meat, and the case was perhaps not untypical. Some Arab *udabā'* discussed the professions of the nobility (*shimāt al-ashraf*) and cited the names of many Quraysh [q.v.] like al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām, ʿAmr b. al-ʿAs, ʿAmir b. Kurayz, and Khālīd b. Asīd, among *djazzārūn* in their early careers. The *djazzārūn*, according to Ḍjāḥiz, could never be rich, and their economic condition remained unchanged in Arab society over a long period. During the Buwayhid period, the slaughterers, butchers and other tradesmen had to pay additional imposts (*maks*), although they were usually exempt from taxation. The daily earnings of a *djazzār* in Egypt during the reign of al-Ḥākim bi-Amr Allāh (386-411/996-1020) was one *dīnār*, which was an exceptionally high income for a worker.

The slaughterers and butchers are portrayed in Arabic history books as groups of persons with violent tempers. The butchers were expelled from the Round City of Baghdad by Abū Ḍja'far al-Manṣūr for their tendency towards violence. Tabarī records that the *djazzārūn* rioted in Mecca in 262/875-6, producing 17 casualties and jeopardising the pilgrimage of many people. For this and other reasons, a minor Arab poet echoed the sentiments of the public by saying that he did not wish to live in a locality where a slaughterer would be his neighbour. Al-Lubūdī, a jurist of the Mamlūk period, came to the conclusion that the occupation of the *djazzār* was undesirable (*makrūh*), because it bred hard-heartedness among men. Despite these criticisms, however, one gets the impression that the slaughterers were not generally despised in Islamic society.

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Ansāb, Hyderabad 1963, iii, 268; Ibn al-Athīr, *al-Lubāb fī taḥḍīb al-ansāb*, Beirut n.d., i, 276; Ibn Bassām, *Nihāyat al-rutba fī ṭalab al-hisba*, Baghdād 1968, 34-36; Ibn al-Ukhuwwa, *Maʿālim al-kurba*, London 1938, 97-105; Ibn al-ʿImād, *Shadhārāt al-dhahab*, iv, 208; al-Samhūdī, *Wafāʾ al-wafāʾ*, Beirut 1971, ii, 765; al-Kattānī, *Nizām al-hukūma al-nabawiyya* (known as *al-Tarātib al-idāriyya*), Beirut n.d., ii, 105-6; H.H. Abdul Wahab, *Waraqāt*, Tunis 1965, i, 238-41 (writes about a Banu ʿl-Djazzār, of Tunis, in the 4th/10th century, who bore the *nisba* of *al-djazzār*, but they ceased to be slaughterers; instead they became famous by practising medicine (*ṭibb*)); ʿAbbās al-Azzāwī, *Taʾrīkh al-darāʾib al-ʿIrākiyya*, Baghdād 1959, 25-7; *Alf layla wa-layla*, Beirut 1909, iii, 16-19; ʿAlāʾ al-Dīn al-Lubūdī, *Faḍl al-iktisāb*, Chester Beatty Ms., 4791, f. 57b.

(M.A.J. BEG)

AL-DJAZZĀR PASHA, AHMAD, the dominant political figure in southern Syria (the *eyālets* of Sidon and Damascus) during the last quarter of the 18th century and the early years of the 19th. A Bosnian by origin (some sources assert that he was of Christian parenthood), he was born *ca.* 1722; the story of his early life is confused with legend. He apparently began his career at the age of sixteen as a soldier of fortune in Istanbul, where he entered the service of the Grand Vizier Ḥakīm-Oḡlū ʿAlī Pasha. In 1756, when his master was sent to attend to the affairs of Egypt for two years, he accompanied him there and stayed behind to attach himself to the local Mamlūk military system. His Mamlūk patron, ʿAbd Allāh Bey, was administering the Buḥayra district in the Delta region as *kāshif* when he was murdered by the local Bedouins in the course of a rising. The *shaykh al-balad* ʿAlī Bey (1760-73) appointed Djazzār to succeed his master as *kāshif* of the district, raising him to the rank of Bey. It is alleged that Djazzār came to be so-called (*djazzār* = "butcher") as a result of the ferocity with which he proceeded to subdue the Bedouins of the Delta; it is possible, however, that Djazzār was his original surname, or that it was a *nom de guerre* which he adopted at the start of his career to promote his image as a competent professional soldier.

Djazzār remained attached to ʿAlī Bey in Egypt for several years. By 1768, however, he had become dangerously compromised in Mamlūk political intrigues. Fleeing Cairo, he returned for a short while to Istanbul; it was probably then that he first became officially attached to the Ottoman state as an agent. He then proceeded to settle in Syria, where he set out to establish for himself a large *mamlūk* household and a private army of Bosnian, Albanian, North African and other mercenaries which became the basis of his personal power.

Between 1768-74 the Porte was involved in a war with Russia; in the course of the hostilities, a Russian naval squadron appeared in the eastern Mediterranean, and Russian agents were sent to Acre (ʿAkkā) to encourage the powerful chieftain of Galilee, Ḍāhir al-ʿUmar, to join ʿAlī Bey of Egypt in a revolt against the Porte (Ḍāhir had successfully usurped power in the southern parts of the *eyālet* of Sidon, with Ottoman acquiescence, since the 1730). It was after Ḍāhir rose in revolt that Djazzār was sent in 1772 by the governor of Damascus to defend Beirut, which had shortly before been bombarded and pillaged by Ḍāhir's Russian allies. Since 1749, Beirut had been controlled by the Shihāb *amirs* of Mount Lebanon; technically, however, it was part of the

eyālet of Sidon (as was, indeed, the whole of the Shihāb domain). The ruling Lebanese *amir*, Yūsuf Shihāb (1770-88), was opposed to Ḍāhir, and happy at first to see Djazzār established in Beirut. However, when Djazzār refused to honour the Shihāb claim of suzerainty over Beirut, Yūsuf Shihāb turned to his old adversary Ḍāhir for help, and the latter summoned the services of the Russian squadron against Djazzār. Beirut was bombarded for a second time in 1773 and besieged by land and sea for four months before its garrison was starved into surrender. Djazzār fled the town and was given refuge for a time by Ḍāhir in Acre. Betraying his host at the first opportunity, he fled to Damascus, smuggling out with him a convoy of Ḍāhir's munitions. Delighted by his persistent loyalty, the Porte raised him to the rank of Pasha and appointed him *beylerbeyi* of Rumelia, then *mutesarrif* of the *sandjak* of Karā Ḥiṣār in Anatolia in 1775. Later in that same year, when Ḍāhir al-ʿUmar was finally defeated and killed by his own men, Djazzār was appointed *beylerbeyi* of the *eyālet* of Sidon, and established the seat of his government in Acre. In the following year, he was confirmed in the government of the *eyālet* with the rank of *wazir*, and continued in the office and rank until his death in 1804.

In Acre, Djazzār used his *mamlūk* household and his private army to set up a régime of remarkable stability; his policy of ruthless repression, and the cruelty with which he meted out punishments, made him the object of general fear. On one occasion, in 1790, a group of his officers and *mamlūks*, supported and possibly prompted by his political enemies in Istanbul and by the French traders in Acre, staged a rebellion against him which was almost successful, but the rebellion was crushed by a surprise action and never repeated. Despite the constant intrigues against him in Istanbul, Djazzār's mandate in the *eyālet* of Sidon was annually renewed, without interruption, for twenty-nine years—a record without precedent in the history of Ottoman provincial administration. On four different occasions (in 1785, 1790, 1799 and 1803), the *eyālet* of Damascus was also entrusted to his care. At a time when the general decline of the Ottoman state was encouraging rebellion and the usurpation of power in the provinces, an efficient and loyal governor in Syria, which was an area particularly prone to insubordination, was badly needed, and Djazzār was just the man for the job. In the coastal *eyālet* of Sidon, which was already overshadowing the inland *eyālet* of Damascus in importance because of the increasing European (and particularly French) maritime trade with the Levant, Djazzār suppressed the unruly Mitwālīs (Twelvev *Shīʿīs*) and other tribes of the hill country of Galilee and northern Palestine, and established his administration firmly in the area. While he was not able to destroy the Shihāb emirate in Mount Lebanon, he did manage to exploit the Maronite-Druze confessional jealousies and the political factionalism prevailing there to reduce the Shihāb *amirs*, who had once fought successful wars against the governors of Damascus, into docile and subservient fiscal agents. In Acre, Sidon and Beirut, he was careful to keep the lucrative commercial activity going, but at the same time took strict measures of control to derive the maximum profit from it for himself. He established a personal monopoly over the cotton and grain trade in his territory, and also made heavy impositions on the silk trade; as a result, he amassed a huge fortune, which contributed to the perpetuation of his power. His payments of the required tribute to the Ottoman



treasury, though at times unpunctual, were always correct. In 1799, when General Bonaparte advanced northwards from Egypt to occupy Syria, Djazzār, assisted by the British, successfully repelled his attack on Acre and forced him to retreat; he thereby set the seal on the failure of Bonaparte's eastern venture, and paved the way for the final expulsion of the French from Egypt two years later.

Despite the great power which he came to wield in southern Syria, Djazzār administered the *eyālet* of Sidon in strict loyalty to the Porte, and not in the manner of the *mutaghalibā*—the tribal chieftains and military adventurers who seized the opportunity of Ottoman decline to establish autonomous principalities in the provinces. In Syria, the *mutaghalibā* (like Dāhir in Galilee, and the Shihābs in Mount Lebanon) normally sought to promote their power by catering politically to the fierce particularism of the local tribes and sects, of whom the Maronites and Druzes of Mount Lebanon and the Mitwālī and other tribesmen of Galilee and northern Palestine were prime examples. They also tended to identify themselves with the interests of the new and predominantly Christian merchant class which thrived on the import-export trade with Europe. In Mount Lebanon and Beirut, the close association of the Shihāb *amīrs* with the Maronite silk merchants was reflected by the conversion of an increasing number of the *amīrs* from Sunnī Islam to Christianity; in Acre, Dāhir had favoured the Christians generally, and surrounded himself with Christian agents and advisers. Like Dāhir, Djazzār by necessity employed competent Christians (of the Sakrūdī, Iddī, Kālūsh and Mārūn families) as secretaries, treasurers and stewards; he was careful, however, not to pamper the Christians as a community, and most Christians who served him ended up in prison, in the torture chamber, or on the gallows, with their fortunes confiscated and their families reduced to destitution. Likewise, Djazzār cared little for the support of the tribesmen and peasants of the mountain hinterland, whom he knew to be venal and fickle, and ultimately undependable. Instead, he appears to have sought popularity among the Sunnī Muslim populace of the towns by appealing to their instinctive sentiments. At a time when the Ottoman state, as the universal Muslim state, was suffering repeated defeats and humiliations at the hands of Christian powers, the high-handed manner in which Djazzār dealt with the local Christian bourgeoisie, and with the French and other European traders in Acre and Sidon, could only have met with strong approval among the urban Muslims, particularly those of the lower classes. The Pasha's repressive policy towards the crypto-Maronite Shihābs and the heterodox Druzes and Mitwālīs must certainly have had the same effect. As governor of Beirut in 1772-3, Djazzār had armed the Sunnī Muslims of the town to help in its defence against the Russians. As ruler of the *eyālet* of Sidon, his unwavering championship of the Ottoman cause, which was the cause of Islam, probably secured for him some popularity among the lower Muslim classes of the coastal towns. Whatever the extent of this popularity was, it has remained unrecorded, because the available accounts of his régime were not written by his supporters but by the Christians, the foreigners and the Muslim notables who, as communities and sometimes possibly as individuals, had suffered at his hands and were unanimous in branding him as a bloodthirsty tyrant.

On the whole, the Djazzār régime represents the last reassertion of the Ottoman imperial prerogative

in the traditional manner against the particularist tendencies in Syria, before the radical social and political changes of the 19th century. His determined efforts to break the stubborn local autonomies foreshadowed the policy of centralisation of the *Tanzimāt* period.

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DJEBEDJİ (T. "armourer"), the name given to a member of the corps of "Armourers of the Sublime Porte" (*Djebedjīyān-i dergāh-i 'ālī*), a *Kapı Kulu* [q.v.]. Corps closely associated with the Janissaries [q.v.]. Their function was to manufacture and repair all arms, ammunition and other equipment belonging to the Janissaries and, on campaign, to transport this equipment to the front, distribute it to the Janissaries and to collect it at the end of the campaign, keeping a record of losses and repairing damaged items.

The Corps was presumably founded shortly after the Janissaries and, until the late 10th/16th century, its recruits came from the *penḍi-yek*, the principle by which the state took one in five of prisoners of war and the *dawshirme* [q.v.]. However, the system broke down when the *djebedjīs*, like the Janissaries, received permission to marry and recruit their own children and native Muslim to the Corps.

Like the other *Kapı Kulu* Corps, the *djebedjīs* were divided into thirty-eight divisions (*orta*), the first of which was divided into 59 sections (*bölük*). Each *orta* represented a different craft in the repair or manufacture of guns, gunpowder and other war materials. The chief officer of the Corps was the *djebedjī bashī*, under whom came the *bash ketkhudā*, who usually succeeded him if his post fell vacant, and four other *ketkhudās*. Another officer was the *djebekkhāne bash çavuşu*. A *bölük bashī* commanded each *orta*, and under him was the *oda bashī*, and the chief craftsmen, called *usta*. The central barracks of the Corps was in Istanbul, but its members served in turn in the frontier fortresses of the Ottoman Empire. A group of *djebedjīs* would always accompany a Janissary garrison. Their total strength varied according to the size of the Janissary Corps; there were about 500 *djebedjīs* in the mid-10th/16th century and their numbers fluctuated between about 2,500 and 5,000 in the 12th/18th century.

The Corps was abolished, together with the Janissaries, in 1241/1826.

Bibliography: see İ.H. Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devleti teşkilâtında kapukulu ocakları*, ii, 3-21, of which the foregoing is a summary. (Ed.)

DJEBEL [see DJABAL].

DJELAL ED-DİN ROUMI [see DJALĀL AL-DĪN RŪMĪ].

DJEZZAR [see DJAZZĀR].



AL-DJILDAKĪ, 'IZZ AL-DĪN AYDAMIR B. 'ALĪ B. AYDAMIR, Egyptian alchemist, who died in 743/1342 or later. He was the last outstanding Muslim adept of his art, of encyclopaedic, though rather uncritical, learning. Almost nothing is known of his life; he himself, however, tells that he spent more than 17 years on extensive travels, which lead him to 'Irāk, Asia Minor, the Maghrib, Yemen, Hijāz, Syria, and Egypt, where he ultimately settled. Al-Djildakī represents the mystical and allegorical trend in Muslim alchemy, but there is evidence that he had real experience in practical operations and chemical substances. His interests extend also to the *khawāṣṣ*, i.e. the magic properties of things, and to pharmacology, medicine and astrology, especially the attribution of metals and other substances to the seven planets. He often reflects on the parallels between natural and alchemical processes, and he attacks Ibn Sīnā who denied the possibility of artificial transmutation (see *Avicennae De congelatione et conglutinatione lapidum*, ed. E.J. Holmyard and D.C. Mandeville, Paris 1927, 6-7). His very numerous works, which still exist in many manuscripts, are valuable for the history of alchemy through his philologically-accurate quotations from his predecessors. He is familiar with Djābir b. Hayyān's theory of balances as well as with his biography (see P. Kraus, *Jābir ibn Hayyān, in Mém. de l'Inst. d'Égypte*, xlv (1943), xlv (1942), indexes). Among other Greek, Indian and Persian authorities he refers to Hermes [see HIRMI], Cleopatra (see M. Ullmann, in *WZKM*, lxiii-lxiv (1972), 161-73), the caliph 'Alī and Khālīd b. Yazīd [q.v.], and he also composed lengthy commentaries on writings of Apollonius (see BALINŪS), Ibn Umayl [q.v.], Ibn Arfa' Ra's, and al-Sīmāwī.

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DJISR MANBIDJ [see KAL'AT NADJIM].

DJIRGA (Pashto; cf. H.G. Raverty, *A dictionary of the Pukhto, Pushto, or language of the Afghāns*, London 1867, 330b), an informal tribal assembly of the Pathāns in what are now Afghānistān and Pakistan, with competence to intervene and to adjudicate in practically all aspects of private and public life among the Pathāns.

In the course of his abortive mission to Shāh Shu-djā' and the Durrānī court of Kabūl in 1809 [see AFĠHĀNISTĀN. v. History (3) (A)], Mountstuart Elphinstone described the *djirga* system as alive and vital, with assemblies at various levels, from the village at the bottom up through the clan or *khāl* to the tribe or *ulus* at the top, with a *djirga* of subordinate chiefs around the tribal *khān*; but he

observed that it was a model frequently modified or disrupted rather than a neat hierarchy of institutions. He noted too that the *djirga* was the principal means of administering criminal justice, where an offended party had not already avenged his wrongs in blood, and of determining amounts of compensation due to a victim; and he adjudged it a useful and tolerably impartial institution (*An account of the kingdom of Caubul*³, London 1839, i, 215-26). At the very apex of the system, the Amir of Afghānistān might summon a "great (*loya*) *djirga*" of leading chiefs for consultation at critical junctures.

The political division of the Pathāns in the course of the 19th century into those to the east of what became the Durand Line and in British India and those to the west in the independent kingdom of Afghānistān eliminated the *loya djirga* as an effective expression of feelings of the whole Pathān nation, although the institution was eventually incorporated into the political structure of modern Afghānistān as a representation of all ethnic and social groups with the state, and not merely of the Pathāns; for the *djirga* in Afghānistān of the last two centuries, see MADJLIS. 2. Afghānistān.

On the British side of the Frontier, the *djirga* has continued as an instrument of democratic tribal expression; it was, for instance, tribal *djirgas* which in November 1947 signified the adhesion of the North-West Frontier Province to the nascent Pakistan, and in February 1980 a *djirga* of Pathān and Balūč chiefs and notables met at Sibi in northern Balūčistān to affirm opposition to further Soviet Russian encroachment after the latter power's occupation of Afghānistān towards the end of 1979. As far back as the second half of the 19th century, a modified and less authentic type of *djirga* had been made part of the Frontier Crimes Regulations, originally promulgated in 1872. Under this arrangement, cases involving tribal honour, blood feuds and women could be withdrawn from the magistrates' courts and arbitrated upon by a *djirga*, which was however in this case a group of tribal elders appointed by the magistrate and acceptable to both parties. Here the *djirga* was an ancillary of British Indian law, though after ca. 1880 in the recently-pacified parts of northern Balūčistān and the newly-administered tribal areas of the North-West Frontier Province, the *djirga* was adopted as a substitute for the formal legal system, thus in effect enshrining Pathān custom.

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DJUDHĀM (A.), leprosy or Hansen's disease.

I. Terminology. A number of Arabic terms that may refer to leprosy were created on the basis of the symptomatology of the disease. Aside from the distinctive symptoms of advanced lepromatous leprosy, various terms were adopted that were descriptive of leprosy lesions, but they were not restricted exclusively to leprosy. No clinical cases of leprosy are reported in the mediaeval medical literature that might clarify the terminology. There can be little doubt, however, that *djudhām* referred to leprosy, particularly of the lepromatous type. The term was used in pre-Islamic Arabia; it was derived from the Arabic root of the word, meaning "to mutilate" or "to cut off," and is descriptive of serious disfigurement that occurs in cases of lepro-



matous leprosy. Thus, *adjudham* (pl. *djudhmā*) may mean "mutilated" from having an arm or foot cut off, or "leper" and "leprous" (al-Murtaḍā, *Ghurār al-fawā'id*, Cairo 1954, i, 5). Conversely, the use of this root would strongly suggest that the lepromatous form of the disease existed in pre-Islamic Arabia. Considerable confusion exists concerning terms other than *djudhām*; the difficulty is certainly due to the numerous forms that leprosy may take, particularly in its early stages and its mimicry of other skin diseases. The term *baraṣ* was definitely used to name leprosy, but it could be applied to other skin disorders. This term was also used in pre-Islamic Arabia. It was derived from the Arabic root that may mean "to be white or shiny." Emphasis on the whiteness of the skin in the Arabic medical accounts of *baraṣ* and *bahak* may have referred to the hypo-pigmentation occurring in the early stages of dimorphous leprosy or the macules and infiltrated lesions of tuberculoid leprosy. Depending on the context, white and black *baraṣ*, white and black *bahak*, *wadah*, and *kawābī* were often used to name leprous symptoms. In addition, the following terms could apply to leprosy, but they were rarely used—some are clearly euphemistic: *akka'*, *akshar*, *arḳat*, *asla'* (sul'), *barash*, *bayād* (baydā'), *dā'* *al-asad*, *dā'* *al-ku'tāl*, *murakka'*, *sū'* (aswā').

II. *Medical history.* There is no persuasive evidence that true leprosy occurred in ancient Egypt, Mesopotamia, or Persia before the time of Alexander the Great. It must have existed much earlier in India, the Far East, and probably central Africa. *Sora'at*, the so-called leprosy of Leviticus, does not correspond to any modern diagnosis of the disease; it was a non-specific condition and essentially a non-medical notion. The *lepra* (Gr. *leprōs*, "scaly") mentioned in some of the Hippocratic writings was also a skin ailment that cannot be identified and was probably not related to leprosy. It was not before 300 B.C. that true leprosy entered the sphere of medical science. At that time, physicians of Alexandria became acquainted with its lepromatous form and named it *elephantiasis* because of the thickening and corrugation of the skin. The tuberculoid type, however, was not yet clearly distinguished from other, non-specific skin eruptions. Galen [see *ΓΑΛΗΝΟΣ*], in the 2nd century A.D., inadequately described what he called *elephantiasis graecorum* and *lepra* (*Ad glauconem*). The earliest and best description of leprosy was given by a contemporary of Galen, Aretaeus of Cappadocia (*Extant works*, ed. and tr. F. Adams, London 1856, 123-9/366-73, 236-40/494-7); Aretaeus' pathology and treatment of the disease were important because they strongly influenced later Greek physicians whose works were translated into Arabic. With the single exception of Aretaeus, however, the pathogenesis of leprosy was explained in late Roman medicine by the theory of humours. Leprosy was due primarily to a predominance of black bile, the melancholic humour, in the body. The disease was considered by the Greek doctors to be both contagious and hereditary. The victims were believed to be unclean and specifically marked by strong venereal desires. There was an increasing recognition of the polymorphous character of leprosy, particularly of the milder tuberculoid type. The disease in advanced stages was considered incurable. All the ancient authors failed to mention the loss of sensation, which is a conspicuous symptom of the disease. The treatment of the diseased consisted of bloodletting, cauterisation, purgation, baths, fomentations, diets, and invariably

the theriac of vipers. Together with the classical descriptions of leprosy, the various treatments entered into Arabic medical science.

The earliest indisputable proof of leprosy in the Middle East has been found by Möller-Christensen in two skeletons from Egypt (Aswān) that date from about A.D. 500. Therefore, there can be little doubt that genuine leprosy existed from the early Islamic period and that Muslim doctors had sufficient opportunity to observe it. Practically every Arabic writer on medicine discussed leprosy. The earliest account seems to have been the *K. fi 'l-djudhām* by Yūḥannā b. Māsawayh [q.v.]. The work is apparently lost, but it was frequently quoted by later Arabic authors; an anonymous treatise does exist that contains the opinions of Ibn Māsawayh as well as those of al-Rāzī and Ibn Sīnā (A.Z. Iskandar, *Catalogue of Arabic manuscripts*, London 1967, 70 f., 126). The first full account of leprosy in Arabic medicine is to be found in al-Ṭabarī's *Firdausu 'l-Hikmat* (ed. Siddiqi, Berlin 1928, 318-25); the pathology and therapeutics of the disease are largely consistent with the earlier Greek medical texts. Arabic writers who discussed leprosy include the following: al-Kindī (*Fihrist*, tr. Dodge, New York 1970, ii, 621; *Medical formulae*, tr. Levy, Madison 1966, 60, 158, 233 *et passim*), Yūḥannā b. Sarābiyūn, Ṭhābit b. Qurra (*K. al-Dhakhira*, ed. Sobhy, Cairo 1928, 7, 29, 138-41; M. Ullmann, *Die Medizin im Islam*, Leiden 1970, 124), al-Rāzī (*K. al-Hawī*, Hyderabad 1970, iv, 59 f., 65, 73, 93, xxiii/2, 1-33, 47-72, 88-120), Ibn Abi 'l-Ash'ath (Ullmann, *Die Medizin*, 139), 'Alī b. al-'Abbās al-Madḡūsī (*Kāmil*, Cairo 1877, i, 310 f., ii, 194-6), Abū Maṣṣūr Kumrī, Abū 'l-Kāsim al-Zahrāwī, Ibn Sīnā (*Kānūn fi 'l-ṭibb*, Būlāḳ 1877, iii, 140-6, 281-7), al-Djurdjānī, Ibn Abi 'l-'Alā' Zuhri (Albucasis, *On surgery and instruments*, ed. and tr. Spink and Lewis, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1973, 142-9), Ibn al-Kuff (*K. al-'Umda*, Hyderabad 1356/1937, i 155 f., ii, 48-51), Ibn Mas'ūd al-Shīrāzī, al-Azraqī (*Tashil al-manāfi'*, Cairo 1304/1887, 275 f., 291-4), Nafīs b. 'Iwād and Ghiyāth b. Muḥammad.

The medical textbook of al-Madḡūsī [q.v.] is quite important because it was one of the first Arabic works to be translated into Latin (*Liber pantegni*). Its translation by Constantinus Africanus [q.v.] was decisive for the Western terminology of leprosy. The translator could not use the word *elephantiasis* in translating al-Madḡūsī's account of leprosy because in Arabic the term (*dā' al-fil*) was already used for the present-day disease of that name. In this situation, Constantinus seized upon Biblical usage, where the Latin translation of Hebrew and Greek was *lepra*; he therefore translated *djudhām* as *lepra* rather than *mutilatio*, which would have been more precise and would have avoided the stigma attached to *lepra*. As it was, the use of *lepra* for leprosy in general caused confusion with the Hippocratic use of the word and extended the application of the name with its evil connotations to a wider range of skin disorders. Al-Zahrāwī's work was also translated into Latin and became well-known in Europe. In his discussion of leprosy, al-Zahrāwī made a significant contribution to medicine by describing, for the first time apparently, the neurological symptoms of the disease. It is difficult to believe that local anaesthesia had not been observed among lepers much earlier. In the Middle East, the loss of sensation caused by leprosy was noticed by Ibn al-Kuff; the source of his observation is unclear. (The leprosy of Baldwin IV [d. 1206], king of the



Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, is described by William, bishop of Tyre; the narrative contains the only incontrovertible clinical evidence of the anaesthetic symptoms of leprosy in the Middle East [*A history of deeds*, tr. Babcock and Krey, New York 1934, ii, 296, 460].) The description of insensitivity by al-Zahrāwī was repeated in the Western medical literature, at least from the 12th century. It served as a means of distinguishing lepers and excluding them from society. As opposed to the Galenic tradition of the other works, al-Azraqī's work may be regarded as a good example of "Prophetic medicine" (*al-ṭibb al-nabawī*). Al-Azraqī's quasi-medical discussion of leprosy may well reflect popular beliefs and practices that persisted throughout the mediaeval period alongside those of professional medicine. Moreover, it was a common practice during the mediaeval period to attribute to stones the ability to ward off disease; for leprosy, topaz (*zabardīyad*) was reputed to have this property (M. Ullmann, *Neues zum Steinbuch des Xenokrates*, in *Medizinhistorisches Journal*, vii [1973], 71).

In sum, the Arabic medical writers borrowed heavily from Hellenistic sources, but their works were not entirely imitative. The description of leprosy in the Arabic medical textbooks followed the encyclopaedic form of ancient manuals; the descriptions of leprosy were brief, non-clinical, and largely theoretical. The Muslim understanding of the disease was most clearly indebted to the earlier sources in its adoption of the humoral theory to explain the illness. Care and treatment were also consistent with Hellenistic practices; however, Arabic medicine introduced a greater variety of simple and compound medications. Furthermore, the Arabic doctors adopted the view that leprosy was contagious and hereditary. Yet they did not view the disease as fiercely contagious, and their writings lack any element of moral censorship of the diseased. Moreover, the medical texts did not recommend flight from the leper or his isolation from the community. The influence of this non-condemnatory attitude toward the disease and its victims in Muslim society is impossible to gauge, but it would be reasonable to assume that through the activity of Muslim doctors it weighed against the selective discrimination and segregation of lepers. Generally, the Arabic writers paid greater attention to leprosy than the Hellenistic doctors. In the classification and description of the disease Muslim doctors made significant advances. The earlier writers distinguished, for the most part, between *elephantiasis* and leprosy. The Arabic writers tended to regard *elephantiasis-djudhām* as one form of leprosy. Concerning the symptomatology of leprosy, the Arabic doctors refined the description of the skin lesions and called attention to the neurological signs. Despite its own inherent difficulties, the Arabic terminology was more appropriate and detailed than that of the classical authors. It is probable that Arabic terminology influenced Byzantine nomenclature. Finally, Arabic medical understanding of leprosy was important because it was conveyed to the West and formed the basis for European knowledge of the disease until the 17th century.

III. *Social history.* The Arabs in pre-Islamic Arabia were afflicted by leprosy, along with a large number of other communicable diseases. Leprosy is attested by the famous Arabic poets of the period. The first important figure in the history of the Arabs before Islam who probably suffered from some form of leprosy was *Djadhīma al-Abrash* [q.v.]

or al-Waddāh, the king of al-Hīra, who played a dominant role in the politics of Syria and 'Irāk in the second quarter of the 3rd century A.D. Two famous pre-Islamic poets may also have been stricken by the illness. The first, 'Abīd b. al-Abras, on the basis of his name, may have been leprosy. Leprosy would account for his wife's aversion from him, which is mentioned in his poetry (C. Lyall, *The Diwān*, Leiden-London 1913, 6, 33-6, 38 f.). The second and more famous was al-Ḥārith b. Ḥilliza al-Yashkurī [q.v.], who wrote the seventh of the *Mu'allakāt*.

The Qur'ān mentions in two places the healing of the lepers (*al-abras*) by Jesus (III, 48 and V, 110). More important for their influence on Muslim society are the *ahādīth* that were attributed to the Prophet concerning leprosy. The best-known of these traditions is the statement that a Muslim should flee from the leper as he would flee from the lion. Similarly, another familiar tradition asserts that a healthy person should not associate with lepers for a prolonged period and should keep a spear's distance from them (Wensinck, *Handbook*, al-Bukhārī, *al-Sahīh*, Būlāq ed., viii, 443; Ibn Kutayba, *Uyūn al-akhbār*, Cairo 1925-30, iv, 69; LA, xiv, 354 f.). The two pious traditions are prescriptions for social behaviour and appear to deal with both moral and medical difficulties posed by the leper. The traditions may have strengthened the desire of Muslims to avoid those individuals who were conspicuously afflicted by the disease because it was morally as well as physically offensive. Leprosy was believed by some to be a punishment by God for immorality. Consequently, leprosy was often invoked as a curse on a Muslim for his immoral behaviour. Medically, both traditions seem to express an implicit belief in contagion. The idea of contagion is also found in other traditions that are unrelated to leprosy and in the medical and non-medical literature. Nevertheless, the belief in contagion was denied by the Prophet in a number of other traditions which state that disease comes directly from God. The tradition advising flight from the leper is, in fact, preceded by a complete denial of contagion in the collection of al-Bukhārī. Thus the issue of contagion is quite contradictory; it was the subject from an early time of religio-legal discussion that attempted to harmonise these traditions. The contradiction was not resolved; it would appear that many witnessed contagion and found justification for it in the traditions, while the more religiously inclined may have adhered to the principle of non-contagion. The latter were partially justified in the case of leprosy because it is only moderately contagious and some individuals are not predisposed to it at all. There were also traditions that recommended supplication to God for relief from leprosy, for the matter should not be left entirely to fate.

The legal status of the leper was directly related to the pious traditions. Leprosy is not discussed in the Arabic legal texts as a separate subject, but it is treated as a disability within such broad areas as marriage, divorce, inheritance, guardianship, and interdiction of one's legal capacity [see *ḤADJIR*]. Because leprosy was considered a mortal illness, the leper was limited in his legal rights and obligations—along with the minor, the bankrupt, the insane, and the slave. The leper's status seems to have been particularly close to that of the insane in legal matters, especially in regard to marriage and divorce: a marriage could be dissolved by either person



because of the disease. In Mālikī law, a man in an advanced state of leprosy should be prevented from cohabiting with his slave wives and still more so with his free wives, which is consistent with a belief in the hereditary nature of the malady. Also, Mālikī law allowed an automatic guarantee of three days, at the expense of the seller of slaves, against any "faults" in a slave; the guarantee was extended to one year in case of leprosy. In addition, the development of leprosy in a slave might be a cause for his manumission.

In general, the differing religio-legal traditions served as the bases for various interpretations of the disease. These traditions account for the wide spectrum of behaviour by and toward the leper, ranging from his total freedom of action to segregation in lep-rosaria. The range of popular responses to the leper is reflected in early Arabic literature that deals with leprosy and other skin irregularities. Al-Djāhīz and Ibn ʿUtayba [q.v.] collected poetry and narrative accounts on this subject. Al-Djāhīz's compilation of material is to be found in his *al-Buṣṣān wa 'l-urḍān* (Cairo 1972, 8-110), which is concerned with a large number of physical infirmities and personal characteristics. The author's objective is to show that physical infirmities and peculiarities do not hinder an individual from being a fully active member of the community or bar him from important offices. Al-Djāhīz maintained that such ailments are not social stigmas but are what may be called signs of divine blessing or favour. The afflicted were spiritually compensated by God and special merit should be attached to their lives. Thus he countered the contrary opinion that the infirm should be disparaged or satirised for their afflictions. Most of the poets quoted by Ibn ʿUtayba also appear to say that skin disorders should not be the cause of scorn and revilement but should prompt the sufferer to repentance (*ʿUyūn al-akḥbār*, iv, 63-7). Ibn ʿUtayba and al-Djāhīz cite numerous references to leprosy in Arabic poetry, as in the fierce poetic duels of ʿUṣayyid and al-Farazdaq, and mention those poets who were themselves leprous, such as Aḡam b. ʿUṣayyid [q.v.]. There are other historical reports of probable instances of the disease in early Islamic history, such as that of Ibn Muhriz [q.v.].

The most important political figure in early Islam who was probably afflicted by leprosy was ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz b. Marwān [q.v.]. It is reported that he suffered from "lion-sickness" i.e. *djudhām*. He was given many medications for the ailment, but they were ineffective. Therefore, his physicians advised him to move to Hulwān [q.v.] because of the sulphurous springs there, and he built his residence there (Abū Ṣāliḥ, *The churches and monasteries of Egypt*, ed. and tr. B. Evetts in *Anecdota Oxoniensia*, vii, Oxford 1895, 154). Shortly after the time of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, we have the brief but significant statement of al-Ṭabarī that the caliph al-Walīd I was in Syria, probably Damascus, in 88/707 and conferred a number of benefits upon the people. Al-Ṭabarī says "He awarded the lepers [*al-mudjahdhamin*] and said: 'Do not beg from the people.' And he awarded every invalid a servant and every blind man a leader" (*Taʾrīkh*, vi, Cairo 1964, 496). As with the invalids and the blind, the caliph apparently made provisions for the lepers in some manner. The passage is ambiguous, but it seems that he had the lepers separated from the rest of the population (E. Browne, *Arabian medicine*, repr. Cambridge 1962, 16 f.). This act of al-Walīd is traditionally considered by Arabic historians to be the institution of the first hospital

in Islam (cf. S. Hamarneh, *Development of hospitals in Islam*, in *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences*, xvii [1962], 367). The first hospital is alleged by al-Makrīzī to have been built by al-Walīd in the year 88/707, and the caliph "provided for doctors and others in the *māristān*, and he ordered the restraint of the lepers [*al-djadhāmā*] lest they go out, and stipends for them, and provisions for the blind." (*al-Khitāt*, repr. Cairo 1970, ii, 405; see also *BIMĀRISTĀN* and A. ʿIssā, *Histoire des Bimaristans*, Cairo 1928, 95). One may well imagine that the caliph created a hospice—*dār al-mardā*, later called a *māristān* or *bimāristān* in the ʿAbbāsīd period—for the afflicted of the city, comparable to Byzantine practice (see D. Constantelos, *Byzantine philanthropy and social welfare*, New Brunswick, N.J. 1968, 78 *et passim*). The later hospitals of the ʿAbbāsīd period treated leprosy and other chronic ailments in special quarters (S. Hamarneh, *Medical education and practice in mediaeval Islam*, in *The history of medical education*, ed. C. O'Malley, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1970, 41).

Leprosy certainly existed in the Middle East during the mediaeval period, but there is no way of determining its extent. Individual cases of leprosy are occasionally mentioned in the historical literature, such as that of Abū 'l-Barakāt al-Baghḍādī [q.v.], who died of leprosy about 560/1164. We know as well that leprosy afflicted the Jews because there is considerable material about lepers in the Geniza, especially in letters from Tiberias, where they sought healing in the hot springs and the air of the place (J. Mann, *The Jews in Egypt and in Palestine*, Oxford 1920-2, i, 166 f., ii, 192-5). According to Ibn al-Ukhuwwa (*Maʾālim al-kurba*, ed. R. Levy, 1938, ch. xlii), the *muḥtasib* or market inspector [see *HISBA*] must not allow people suffering from leprosy to visit the baths. Also from Egypt, a *wakf* of the Mamlūk sultan Barsbāy [q.v.] states that those afflicted especially with leprosy (*djudhām aw baras*) should not be employed (A. Darrag, ed., *L'acte de waqf de Barsbay*, Cairo, 1963, 56). The specific discrimination against lepers in these two instances appears to show that the theological proscription of contagion had very little practical effect (see M. Ullmann, *Islamic medicine*, Edinburgh 1978, ch. vi). Furthermore, lepers commonly begged in the streets of the cities, despite the pious endowments on their behalf and laws against mendicancy. While many must have been genuinely leprous, it was not unusual during the mediaeval period for men and women to feign the disease by intentional disfigurement in order to receive public charity (C.E. Bosworth, *The mediaeval Islamic underworld*, i, Leiden 1976, 24, 84, 100). Deception of the opposite kind was also common in the slave market, where a buyer had to be on his guard against the concealment of leprous sores on the bodies of slaves. During the later Middle Ages, the reappearance of plague must have destroyed large numbers of lepers because of their exceptional vulnerability to diseases other than leprosy. The Black Death in the mid-8th/14th century and the serious recurrences of plague thereafter may account for the particular depopulation of lepers among a generally-diminished population.

In the Islamic West, leprosaria were established and special quarters were designated for lepers. The quarters seem generally to have been located outside the walls of many Muslim cities, often in conjunction with leper cemeteries (Leo Africanus, *Description de l'Afrique*, ed. and tr. A. Épaulard, Paris 1956, i, 60 f., 229, ii, 399; E. Lévi-Provençal,



Histoire de l'Espagne musulmane, i, 188, iii 335, 382, 434). The first Muslim hospital appears to have been built in al-Kayrawān, and near it was situated a separate building called the *dār al-djudhāmā*, where lepers received medical treatment (Hamarnah, *Development of hospitals*, 375). Further west, the Almohad sultan Ya'kūb al-Manšūr founded hospitals for lepers (see BĪMĀRISTĀN and R. Le Tourneau, *Fès avant le Protectorat*, Casablanca 1949, 72, 110). Sulphur springs were considered to be particularly beneficial for lepers in North Africa as they were in the Middle East (E. Westermarck, *Ritual and belief in Morocco*, London 1926, ii, 44, 484 ff., 497 ff.; Legey, *Essai de folklore marocain*, Paris 1926, 158; C. Grey, ed. and tr., *Travels of Venetians in Persia*, London 1873, 144; Leo Africanus, *op. cit.*).

In Anatolia, the Ottomans built hospitals in the later Middle Ages, similar to the Byzantine *xenodochia*. A leper house was built at Edirne in the time of Murād II (d. 855/1451) and functioned for almost two centuries. Before this foundation, the Turks had constructed others in Sivas, Kastamonu, and Kayseri. In 936/1530 Sulaymān II built a leprosarium in Scutari, which survived until modern times. An important leper house was founded as a *wakf* by Sultan Selim I in 920/1514 near Istanbul, which operated until 1920; it is described by A. Süheyl Ünver in his article, *About the history of the leproseries in Turkey*, in *Neuburger Festschrift* (1948), 447-50.

The traditional ways of dealing with lepers in Muslim society lasted well into the 19th century. Lepers and leproseries were particularly noticed by Western travellers, and their accounts add to our knowledge about the plight of the diseased (Ulrich J. Seetzen's *Reisen*, Berlin 1854-9, i, 120 f., 277 f.; Klingmüller, *op. cit.*, 49; D.L. Zambaco, *Voyages chez les lépreux*, Paris 1891; *Aus einem Briefe des Herrn Consul Wetzstein an Prof. Fleischer*, in *ZDMG*, xxiii (1869), 309-13). There is no reliable observation of true leprosy by Western travellers in the Middle East during the mediaeval or early modern periods. The only exception is the report of leprosy in Egypt by Prosper Alpini in his *Medicina Aegyptiorum* [1719], 56). Europeans' concern about the disease was often heightened by their belief in its highly contagious nature (M. Clerget, *Le Caire*, ii, Cairo 1934, 16; *Description de l'Égypte*, i, Paris 1809, 492-8, ii/2, Paris 1822, 697; Clot-Bey, *Aperçu général sur l'Égypte*, ii, Paris 1840, 356 f.). Leprosy was also probably common in the countryside, but most of our documentation comes from the urban centres. Leprosy as well as syphilis and elephantiasis frequently occurred in Egyptian villages in the 19th century and were poorly treated (J. Walker, *Folk medicine in modern Egypt*, London 1934, 23). Today leprosy remains a health problem in the Middle East and North Africa.

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DJUHAYNA [see kuḍā'a].

DJULFĀ (in Armenian, Julay), a town on the River Araxes, on the northern border of Ādharbāyḍjān, once in Armenia and now in the U.S.S.R. Also, in 1014/1605, Shāh 'Abbās I founded a suburb of Iṣfahān bearing the same name, to accommodate the Armenians transferred by him from the original town.

I. Djulfā in Ādharbāyḍjān is situated in lat. 38° 58' N, long. 45° 39' E, and is built on the northern bank of the Araxes besides an old bridge (Sharaf al-Dīn 'Alī Yazdī, *The history of Timur-Bec*, London 1723, 265-6); it lies in the ancient canton of Gōt'n, mentioned in Armenian literature as early as the *History of Moses of Khoren* (J.A. Saint-Martin, *Mémoires historiques et géographiques sur l'Arménie*, Paris 1818, i, 1267, 133, 237, ii, 365, 423). Lying on the edge of a volcanic belt extending south-east into Iran, the surrounding land is rocky and barren, although suitable for the cultivation of the vine—



Moses of Khoren refers to Golt'n as *ginewēt* ("wine rich"). On the main route northwards from Tabriz to Nakhidjevan and Tiflis, in the 10th/16th century Djulfā became the centre of a flourishing community of Armenian merchants, trading as far afield as Europe, India and Central Asia, and with a special interest in the traffic of silk. According to Cartwright, at the end of the century the population was 10,000, with 2,000 houses (John Cartwright, *The Preachers Travels* . . ., London 1611, 35-6).

After his successful campaigns against the Ottoman Turks, Shāh 'Abbās I resolved to depopulate eastern Armenia and to create an empty tract between himself and his enemy. To this end, he transferred the major part of the population to Persia, estimated at some 60,000 families, including numbers of Georgians and Jews besides Armenians. The exodus is described by the Armenian chronicler Arak'el of Tabriz, who refers to it as the great *sirgin* ("exile, expulsion") (Arak'el of Tabriz, *Livre d'histoires*, St. Petersburg 1874, tr. M. Brosset); it was considered disastrous in the eyes of the Armenians, who composed many bitter folk-songs lamenting their eviction from a prosperous area. Shāh 'Abbās I captured Djulfā in 1013/1604, and recognising the useful role that the merchants might play in his own economy, transferred them to Isfahān; he gave them three days to gather their possessions, and then destroyed the town and bridge. Although Djulfā was ruined, a few Armenians made their way back later in the 11th/17th century. Remains of churches and the ancient cemetery still survive. The extension of the Russian railway system to Tabriz through Djulfā, and its establishment before the first World War as a stage on the Indo-European telegraph line, led to an increase in its importance; it now serves as a frontier post between Iran and the U.S.S.R.

II. New Djulfā (in Armenian, Nor Jūlay) is situated in lat. 32° 40' N, long. 51° 41' E, and forms a suburb of Isfahān built on the south bank of the Zāyanda-rūd river, linked to the Čahār Bāgh in Isfahān by the Allāhwardī Khān bridge. It was created in 1014/1605 by Shāh 'Abbās I, to house the Armenians transferred from old Djulfā on the Araxes. Other Armenian emigrants were settled in Isfahān itself, but subsequently moved to New Djulfā in 1065-6/1654-5, where the mixed geographical origin of the population was reflected in the names of the different quarters, such as *Hirvanli* (Erevan), *Nakshivanli* (Nakhidjevan) (Chardin, ii, 97). The population of New Djulfā has been estimated at 15,000-20,000 to start with, rising to 30,000 by 1630. Some 50,000 more Armenians were settled in 24 villages in the countryside around Isfahān. The spiritual head of the community was a Bishop, owing allegiance to the Catholicos at Etchmiadzin, and responsible for Armenians throughout Persia, as well as those in Bašra and Baghdād (Gregorian, *op. cit.*, 667).

Shāh 'Abbās I helped the newcomers to establish themselves in New Djulfā, even assigning Persian masons and engineers to assist them. His support of the Djulfā merchants in international trade was of immense consequence, both of the Persian economy and their own good fortune. The strength of their position was assured in 1027/1618, when the Armenian merchants secured the monopoly of the silk trade abroad, wresting the privilege from the British. A measure of the significance of this monopoly is the estimated volume of the silk crop in Persia, more than 4 million pounds in the early 11th/17th century rising to 6 million pounds by the 1670s

(C. Issawi, *The economic history of Iran: 1800-1914*, Chicago 1971, 12). A further advantage was gained in Russia in 1078/1667, when Czar Aleksei Mikhailovich granted the Armenians special privileges, including the right to travel north from Astrakhan and deal directly with European buyers. The main advantage to Shāh 'Abbās I was the skill of the merchants in foreign trade, coupled with their reputation for honesty and diligence. With New Djulfā at the centre, an international trade network was established, with Armenian merchants settled as far afield as Tonkin, Siam, Java, the Philippines, India, the Near East, Holland, France, England, Germany, Italy, Poland, Sweden and Spain. Spices, cotton goods and porcelain were brought from the Far East and India; silk was exported from Persia to Europe; in return, a large variety of European goods was imported into Persia, including cloth, glass, clocks and watches, metal-work and oil paintings. As one traveller observed, "All the commodities of the East were made known to the West, and those of the West serve as new ornaments for the East . . . in the midst of Persia is now (ca. 1112/1700) seen everything that is curious throughout all the countries where the merchants have extended their correspondence" (J.P. de Tournefort, *Relation d'un voyage du Levant*, Paris 1717, iii, 232-3).

Shāh 'Abbās I accorded the Armenians something close to equal status with his Muslim subjects; New Djulfā was organised as a separate entity within the city, under the jurisdiction of its own *kalāntar* [q.v.], responsible for the collection of taxes, and a *kadkhudā* for the maintenance of civic order [see ISFAHĀN, Vol. IV, p. 103]. Foreign embassies and missions were generally housed in New Djulfā; as the Armenians were skilled linguists and often acted as interpreters and intermediaries, this gave them a double advantage in the conduct of exchanges between the foreigners and the Persian court. Foreign missionaries, such as the Jesuits, Dominicans and Carmelites, were also established in New Djulfā; so were foreign craftsmen, like jewellers, gunsmiths and watchmakers, who often took Armenian wives. Shāh 'Abbās I took a personal interest in the affairs of the Armenian community, visiting them in New Djulfā and even attending religious festivals, such as Christmas and Easter. In 1029/1619, he took part in a special ceremony on the banks of the Zāyandarūd, afterwards dining and spending the night with his Armenian hosts (P. della Valle, *Voyages*, iii, 100-13).

The increasing wealth of the Armenian community was reflected in the erection of numerous churches and private houses erected in New Djulfā in the first half of the 11th/17th century. The churches, of which thirteen still survive, combine Armenian plans with Persian construction, brick replacing the Armenian traditional use of dressed stone; two of the churches have onion-shaped domes with double shells. The decoration is an eclectic mixture of Armenian, European and Persian elements. The interiors of the two largest churches, Surb Amenaperkitch (All Saviour's Cathedral) and Meydani Betghahem (Bethlehem Church), contain carved gilt stucco, *cuerda seca* tile panels, and wall-paintings in European style; the paintings are probably the work of Western artists and Armenian assistants. New Djulfā was also a centre for copying and illuminating manuscripts; a number of these are among the collection of almost 700 Armenian manuscripts in the Museum adjacent to the Cathedral, which also contains other items of historical



interest. A few private houses still survive of the Šafawid period, either built round a central courtyard, or in the middle of a walled garden, with separate quarters for men and women. Several are decorated with wall-paintings in European manner, as well as in more conventional Persian style. When Sir Thomas Herbert visited the house of the *kalāntar* Kh'ādja Nazar in 1038/1628, the impropriety of the wall-paintings earned his disapproval.

The Armenians were responsible for introducing a number of Western innovations, the most significant of which was the printing-press using cast metal type; the first Armenian work printed in New Džulfā was the Book of Psalms (*Saghmos*), which appeared in 1638.

Shāh 'Abbās I's friendly policy towards the Armenian minority continued under his successors, Shāh Šaīt and Shāh 'Abbās II, but by the second half of the 11th/17th century, during the reign of Shāh Sulaymān, relations between the Persians and the Armenians became strained. In the 12th/18th century under Nādir Shāh, the Armenians suffered excessive taxation and other penalties, and many Armenians emigrated, particularly to India. At present the Armenian community is reduced to less than 500 families. A large Armenian cemetery, with several thousand carved gravestones, including those of a number of Europeans, lies to the south of the town.

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the Armenian cemetery at Isfahan, in *JRAS*, xi (1919).
(J. CARSWELL)

DJULLANĀR is the blossom of the pomegranate (< Persian *gul-i anār*), in Greek βαλανστιον, accordingly *bālawustiyūn* (with variants) in the Stephanos-Hunayn translation. It is the blossom of the wild pomegranate tree (*rummān barrī*), also called *al-mazz* by the Arab botanists. It is mentioned in passing by Aṣmaʿī (*K. al-Nabāt*, ed. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḡhunaym, Cairo 1392/1972, 36) and described in detail by Abū Ḥanīfā al-Dīnawarī (*Le dictionnaire botanique*, ed. M. Hamidullah, Cairo 1973, no. 1028). According to this source, the tree grows in the Yemen highlands, puts forth blossoms (*djullanār*) but does not bear fruit and has a hard, inflammable wood. The outer layers of the seedshell—and not the blossoms themselves, as the texts have it—yield a jelly-like, tasty juice which produces a satisfying effect and is used as a medicine. *Djullanār al-ard* is occasionally put together or compared with the Hypokistis (*hibukistidhās* = ὑποκιστιδός), a pulpy herb growing in the roots of the Cistus and also used for extracting juice. Both also largely correspond as far as healing effect is concerned, as was already emphasised by Dioscorides in the respective sections: they have an astringent effect and are good for gastric complaints, dysentery and enteric ulcers; they knit together fresh wounds, staunch venous and arterial blood and secure loose teeth (*al-asnān al-mulaharika*); applied on the head in compresses with vinegar, they check congestion of the blood to the brain. In the absence of blossoms, one can also use the shells of the pomegranate.

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AL-DJURDJĀNĪ, ABŪ BAKR ʿABD AL-ḲĀHIR B. ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN (d. 471/1078), philologist and literary theorist, was born in Gurgān where he spent his entire life, about which very little is known. He studied grammar with Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Fārisī, a nephew of Abū ʿAlī al-Fārisī. Yāqūt alone (*Iṣṣād*, v, 249) reports that he was also tutored by al-Ḳāḍī al-Djurdjānī, but later on

(vii, 3) asserts that al-Fārisī was his only teacher.

To his contemporaries, al-Djurdjānī was famous mainly as a grammarian whose work included such popular manuals as *Mīʾat ʿāmil* and *K. al-Djūmal*, as well as *al-Mughnī* (a commentary in 30 volumes on Abū ʿAlī al-Fārisī's *K. al-Idāh*) and a short version of it called *al-Mukṭaṣad*. He also wrote on *ʿiḍḡāz* (the inimitability of the *Qurʾān*), etymology and prosody, and he compiled an anthology of the poetry of Abū Tammām, al-Buḥturī and al-Mutanabbī.

However, to later generations and especially to modern scholars, al-Djurdjānī's reputation rests on his powerful and sophisticated theoretical work on stylistics, syntax, poetics and poetic imagery, which many critics have compared with modern literary theory, demonstrating that he anticipated a number of the most recent trends in the study of poetic structure. His books *Dalāʾil al-ʿiḍḡāz* and *Asrār al-balāgha* have won him wide acclaim as the founder of the two "sciences" *ʿilm al-maʿānī* and *ʿilm al-bayān*. He himself does not, however, use these phrases as technical terms designating two independent branches of literary analysis.

Al-Djurdjānī's exploration of poetic structure originated as an inquiry into the mysteries of *ʿiḍḡāz*, but soon developed into a comprehensive theory on the nature of language, meaning, the imagination and poetic imagery. Going beyond the dualism of *maʿnā* (meaning) and *lafz* (words), he argues that eloquence and expressiveness are functions neither of meaning nor of words but of the construction (*naẓm*) of linguistic elements into harmonised syntactic patterns determined by a set of rules which form the grammar of the language. In other words, construction is nothing but *murāʾāt maʿānī al-naḥw* (lit. "observing the meanings of grammar").

At the roots of al-Djurdjānī's theory of construction lies a psychological view of the nature of literary creation. He believes that the linguistic structure of a literary composition is underlined by a structure of experience and that the order of words in the former follows the order of meanings in the psyche (*nafs*) which is presupposed by the intellect (*ʿaql*). Identifying some of the basic syntactic structures in Arabic, he explores the correspondence in them between the structure of language and the structure of thought. He then outlines a symbolic theory of language according to which language is a system of relations (a concept fundamental to modern linguistics) governed by two principles: the arbitrary nature of linguistic signs and the conventional nature of language itself. The first principle means that there is no inherent relation between a word and its referent and, therefore, a word in isolation does not possess any qualities which render it better or worse than any other word. In fact, a word does not mean much until it has entered into a set of syntactic relations with other words. Consequently, the same meaning cannot be expressed in two different ways. Any syntactic change in a composition generates changes on the semantic level. Thus the unit of linguistic analysis ceases to be the single word and becomes the fully meaningful formulation in which every element is an organic part of the total structure. No element is extraneous or superfluous. This applies to all aspects of structure, including imagery.

Al-Djurdjānī identifies two distinct ways of expression, one direct, the other indirect. The content of the first he calls "meaning", that of the second the "meaning of meaning". Meaning is conveyed by literal statement, the meaning of meaning by meta-



phorical language, *kināya* and one type of *tamthīl*. An image is thus viewed not as an alternative to, or ornamentation of, literal statement (as widely believed in both Arabic and western criticism until this century), but as a distinct act of imaginative creation which expresses a meaning otherwise impossible to express.

The *Asrār* is devoted to the study of imagery, its nature, function, relationship to thought and various forms. Al-Djurdjānī identifies two types of *maḍāz*, one pertaining to language (*luḡhawī*), the other to the intellect (*ʿaklī*) and differentiates the types of *maḍāz* based on transference from those involving no transference, distinguishing sharply between two fundamental relationships, contiguity and similarity. The latter he asserts to be the *raison d'être* of *isti'āra* [q.v.]. Refining the concept of *isti'āra* further, he denies the dominant view that *isti'āra* involves transference. One type of *isti'āra* he shows clearly to be based on proportional analogy and to involve no transference of a single word at all, the other type (involving the usage of a single word) he defines in contextual terms. *Isti'āra*, he believes, consists in using a word to refer to a thing other than its original referent, on the basis of some similarity revealed between the referents, while however still possessing its original meaning and thus becoming a double-unit underlined by tension. In this fashion he anticipates I.A. Richard's work which has revolutionised the study of metaphor.

All types of imagery, except *kināya*, originate in similarity, and similarity, al-Djurdjānī argues, is a sharing (*iṣṭirāk*) of an attribute, or set of attributes, between two entities, which may occur either in the attribute itself (*fī 'l-sifa nafsiah wa-hakikat dīnsi-hā*, or in something presupposed by or resultant from the attribute (*fī hukmⁱⁿ lahā wa-muktaḍā*). Similarity also varies in its remoteness and intensity from one image to another. Al-Djurdjānī uses these basic distinctions to classify the various types of imagery and explore their imaginative and stylistic role. He thus establishes two inseparable criteria to define an image: the imaginative basis underlying it and the linguistic apparatus in which it is formulated. *Tashbīh* is thus differentiated from *tamthīl* and *isti'āra*, and the ambiguous structure involving the copula "Zaid is a lion" is described as an intensified simile (*tashbīh baligh*) rather than an *isti'āra* (a distinction not yet made sufficiently clearly in modern European criticism). Consequently, al-Djurdjānī denies the interchangeability of *tashbīh*, *tamthīl* and *isti'āra*.

The central piece of al-Djurdjānī's work on *isti'āra* is his classification of its types according to the nature of the dominant trait or point of similarity in each type. This fundamentally anti-Aristotelian classification represents one of the latest developments in the analysis of metaphor in European studies (cf. K. Abu Deeb, *Al-Jurjānī's classification of isti'āra with special reference to Aristotle's classification of metaphor*, in *Journal of Arabic Literature*, ii (1971)).

Throughout his analysis, al-Djurdjānī uses psychological criteria of a strong Gestaltian nature. He also hints at an organic approach to poetry according to which a poem is to be studied as an organic whole whose parts interact with, and modify, each other, their interaction being determined by the dominant emotion underlying the poem. His practical criticism is a fine example of the power of this approach to illuminate aspects of the poem which would remain otherwise hidden.

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3. Modern studies on al-Djurdjānī: K. Abū Deeb, *Al-Jurjānī's theory of poetic imagery*, London 1978; idem, *Studies in Arabic literary criticism; the concept of organic unity*, in *Edebiyat*, iii, Philadelphia 1977; M.Z. al-'Ashmāwī, *Kadāyā al-naḳd al-adabī wa 'l-balāgha*, Cairo 1967?; A.A. Badawī, *'Abd al-Kāhir al-Djurdjānī*, Cairo 1962?; M. Khalafalla, *'Abd al-Kāhir's theory in his "Secrets of Eloquence", a psychological approach*, in *JNES*, xiv (1955); N. Mandūr, *Fī 'l-mīzān al-djādīd*, Cairo n.d.; A. Maṭlūb, *'Abd al-Kāhir al-Djurdjānī*, Beirut 1973; Ritter, *Intro.* to his edn. of the *Asrār al-balāgha*. (K. ABU DEEB)

DOG [see KALB].

DOGMATISM [see 'AKIDA].

DOMAIN [see ḌAY'Ā].

DOVE OF THE ROCK [see KUBBAT AL-ŠAKHRA].

DONATION [see HIBA].

DOVE [see ḤAMĀM].

DRAFSH-I KĀWĪYĀN [see KĀWA].

DRAGOMAN [see TURDJUMĀN].

DRAGON [see TINNIN].

DROMEDARY [see IBIL].

DRUGGIST [see 'ATTĀR].

AL-DUWAYHĪ, IBRAHIM AL-RASHĪD B. ŠĀLIH AL-DUNKULĀWĪ AL-ŠĪ'ĪKĪ, Šūfī shaykh of Nubian extraction and belonging to the Shādhiliyya order, and a disciple and *khalīfa* [q.v.] of Ahmad b. Idrīs [q.v.]. He was born in 1228/1813 in Duwayh near Dunkulā (Dongola) on the Nubian Nile and belonged to the tribe of the Shā'ikiyya. He joined the religious community of Ahmad b. Idrīs in 1246/1830 in the town of Šabyā in 'Asīr [q.v.], where the latter had sought refuge from prosecution for heresy by the Meccan 'ulamā', and succeeded him as leader of the Ahmadiyya (al-Idrisiyya) *ṭarīqa* upon his death in 1254/1837. Rivalries about the *ṭarīqa* leadership, which involved the two most notable of Ahmad b. Idrīs's disciples, Muḥammad 'Uṭhmān al-Mirghānī [q.v.] and Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Sanūsī [q.v.], caused him to leave Šabyā. He went first to Egypt and later to the Sudan where he propagated the order. Finally, he settled in Mecca where he faced charges of heresy on two occasions in 1273/1856-7 brought against him at the instigation of competing factions from among Ahmad b. Idrīs's disciples. These charges were dropped due to intervention by the Ottoman governor of the Ḥidjāz, and on the second occasion due to intervention by the shaykh al-'ulamā' of Mecca. Le Chatelier (see Bibliography) reports that he was one of the most popular shaykhs of Mecca, in particular with Indian pilgrims who flocked to his *zāwiya* [q.v.] and from whom he received substantial donations. After his death in 1291/1874, when the *ṭarīqa*, which had by then

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become known as al-Raṣhīdiyya and had obtained a membership in Syria, Egypt, Sudan and Yemen, has passed under the leadership of his successor Muḥammad b. Ṣāliḥ (d. 1909), his nephew, a decline set in. A distinct branch, al-Ṣālihiyya [*q.v.*] developed in Somalia under the latter's disciple Muḥammad Ḡulēd al-Raṣhīdī (d. 1918; cf. E. Cerulli, *Somalia. Scritti vari editi ed inediti*, Rome 1957, i, 187 f.) and allegiance to the Meccan *zāwiya* as the *ṭarīka*'s principal centre ceased to be paid by Ibrāhīm's *khulafā'* in Egypt. In the latter country, an independent branch known as al-Dandarāwiyya emerged under the leadership of the son of one of Ibrāhīm al-Raṣhīd's *khulafā'*, Abu 'l-Abbās al-Dandarāwī (d. 1950), which obtained membership in Egypt and in Somalia in particular (cf. al-Mirghani al-Idrīsī, *Da'wat al-ḥaḳk fi 'l-ṭarīka al-Dandarāwiyya al-Idrīsīyya*, Cairo 1952, *passim*).

The claims by members of al-Raṣhīdiyya that their *ṭarīka* embodied the purest form of Aḥmad b. Idrīs's teachings were disavowed by Amīn al-Rihānī, *Mulūk al-'Arab*, Beirut 1951³, i, 285 ff., who based his conclusions upon personal observations of religious practice of a Raṣhīdiyya group in Aden.

Bibliography: In addition to the references given in the article, see J.S. Trimmingham, *Islam in the Sudan*, Oxford 1949, 230 f.; idem, *Islam in Ethiopia*, Oxford 1952, 235, 243 f.; idem, *The Sufi orders in Islam*, Oxford 1971, 120 f., who draws heavily upon the account given by A. Le Chatelier, *Les confréries musulmanes du Hedjaz*, Paris 1887, 92-7; Muḥammad Khālil al-Ḥaḍḡrāsī,

al-Kaṣr al-muṣhīd fi 'l-tawḥīd wa-fī ṭarīka Sīdī Ibrāhīm al-Raṣhīd, Cairo 1314/1896-7, contains the most extensive biography in Arabic and biographical data on some of his *khulafā'* in Egypt (98 ff.); This biography may be found back in an abbreviated form in Muḥammad al-Baṣhīr Zāfir, *al-Yawākīt al-ṭhamīna fī a'yān madhhab 'ālim al-Madīna*, Cairo 1324-5/1906-7, 94; For names of Ibrāhīm al-Raṣhīd al-Duwayhī's *khulafā'* in Somalia, see also 'Aydārūs b. 'Alī al-'Aydārūs al-Naḍīrī al-'Alawī, *Bughyat al-āmāl fī ta'rīkh al-Sūmāl*, Mogadishu 1954, 223 f.; Ibrāhīm al-Raṣhīd himself wrote a biography of his teacher Aḥmad b. Idrīs entitled *al-'Ikd al-durr al-naḥīs* of which only sections were published by Ṣāliḥ b. Muḥammad al-Madanī, in *al-Muntakā al-naḥīs fī manāḳib ḳuṭb dā'irat al-takdis . . . Aḥmad b. Idrīs*, Cairo 1960, 39 ff.

For publications of the order, see Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Dandarāwī, *Sanad al-ṭarīka al-Aḥmadiyya al-Idrīsīyya al-Raṣhīdiyya al-Muḥammadiyya*, Alexandria, n.d.; Mūsā Aghā Rāsim (ed.), *Awṛād . . . Ibrāhīm al-Raṣhīd*, Alexandria 1309/1891-2; Publications of al-Raṣhīdiyya al-Dandarāwiyya are Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Naṣr al-Ḥarīrī (ed.), *Awṛād al-Aḥmadiyya*, Cairo n.d.; Farāḍj Aḥmad al-Salīmī, *al-Durar al-naḳīyya fī awṛād al-ṭarīka al-Dandarāwiyya al-Idrīsīyya*, Alexandria n.d.; 'Abd Allāh al-Yamanī, *al-Awṛād al-Aḥmadiyya al-Raṣhīdiyya al-Dandarāwiyya, al-salāt al-aṣṭmīyya*, Beirut 1387/1967-8.

(F. DE JONG)

DYNASTY [see DAWLA].

E

EAGLE [see 'UḲĀB].

EBONY [see ABANŪS].

EBLIS [see IBLIS].

EBRO [see IBRUḤ].

ECLIPSE [see KUSŪF].

ECONOMIC LIFE [see FİLĀḤA, MĀL, ṢINĀ'Ā, Tİ DĪĀRA, etc.].

EDICT [see FARMĀN].

EKINÇI B. KOÇKAR, Turkish slave commander of the Saldjūks and governor for them in Kh^hārazm with the traditional title of Kh^hārazm-Shāh [*q.v.*] in 490/1097. He was the successor in this office of Anūshṭigin Ḡharṣā'i, the founder of the subsequent line of Kh^hārazm-Shāhs who made their province the centre of a great military empire in the period preceding the Mongol invasions. According to Ibn al-Aṭṭār, x, 181-2, Ekinçi was one of Sultan Berk-Yaruḳ's slaves (but according to Djuwaynī, ii, 3, tr. Boyle, i, 278, one of Sandjar's slaves), and was appointed to Kh^hārazm by Berk-Yaruḳ's representative in the east, the Dād-Beg Ḥabashī, probably when Berk-Yaruḳ came himself to Khurāsān early in 490/1097. Ekinçi did not enjoy power there for long, however, being killed later that year by a conspiracy of ḡhulāms, his successor as Kh^hārazm-Shāh then being Anūshṭigin's son Ḳuṭb al-Dīn Muḥammad. Ekinçi's son Toḡhril-tigin is mentioned also by Ibn al-Aṭṭār as a subsequent rebel against Ḳuṭb al-Dīn.

Ekinçi came from the Kun tribe [*q.v.*] of Turks, and Minorsky surmised that he was the transmitter

of information about that group in Marwazī's *Ṭabā'i' al-hayawān* (*Sharaf al-Zamān Ṭāhir Marwazī on China, the Turks and India*, London 1942, tr. 29-30, comm. 98, 101-2), noting that he must have been a person experienced in and knowledgeable about Central Asian affairs in order to have been appointed governor in Kh^hārazm.

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ELECTUARY [see ADWIYA].

ELİÇPUR, ILİÇPUR, modern AÇALPUR, a town of the mediaeval Islamic province of Berār [*q.v.*] in southern Central India, lying near the headwaters of the Purnā constituent of the Tāptī River in lat. 21° 16' N. and long. 77° 33' E. Up to 1853, Eliçpur was generally regarded as the capital of Berār, after when Amraotī became the administrative centre.

The pre-Islamic history of Eliçpur is semi-legendary, its foundation being attributed to a Jain Rājā called II in the 10th century. By Baranī's time (later 7th/13th century), it could be described as one of the famous towns of the northern Deccan. The Dihlī Sultan 'Alā' al-Dīn Khaldī captured it in 695/1296 during his first expedition against the Rājā of Deogīrī Ramaçandra [see DAWLATĀBĀD], who was made tributary to the Sultans; and when

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Deogīrī finally fell in 719/1318, Eliçpur and Berār came under direct Muslim rule. Under the Bahmanīs [q.v.], it was the capital of Berār province, and featured prominently in the campaignings of the Khaldjī ruler of Mālwa [q.v.], Maḥmūd Shāh (839-65/1436-62) against the Bahmanīs, being sacked in 870/1466, so that the Bahmanī Sultan Muḥammad III Lashkarī was compelled to cede to Mālwa Berār as far as Eliçpur [see also KHERLA]. From 890/1485 to 980/1572 Eliçpur was under the Bahmanīs' epigoni, the Imād-Shāhīs [q.v.]. Under the Mughals, it was at first placed in the shade by the new centre of Bālāpur, but soon regained its importance as the capital of the ṣūba of Berār, with a fort being built there of brick and stone; according to the *Ā'in-i Akbarī* of Abu 'l-Faḍl, the revenue of Eliçpur (which came within the *sarkār* of Gāwil, see below) amounted to 14 million *dāms* (ii, tr. H.S. Jarrett, Calcutta 1949, 237, 240).

But after the rise of the first independent ruler in Haydarābād, the Āṣaf Dīn Nizām al-Mulk (d. 1161/1748 [see HAYDARĀBĀD, b. Haydarābād State], Eliçpur sank to only local significance under governors of the Nizāms. The governor Salābat Khān erected various public buildings in the town in the early years of the 19th century, and he and his son Nāmdār Khān held the title of Nawwāb of Berār till the latter's death in 1843 and the subsequent extinction of the line.

In later British India, Berār was taken over in 1853 from the Nizām as the "Hyderabad Assigned Districts", nominally on perpetual lease, and then it became *de facto* part of the Central Indian Province. Eliçpur, by now the largest town in Berār (population in 1901, 26,082, including 18,500 Hindus and 7,250 Muslims), gave its name at first to one of the Districts of Berār, but in 1905 it was incorporated in the Amraoṭī (Amravati) District. In the present Indian Union, Eliçpur is now called Açalpur and falls within the Amravati District of the Nagpur Division of Maharashtra State. The 1971 census gave population figures of 43,326 for Açalpur town and 24,125 for Açalpu camp.

The monuments of Eliçpur include a famous shrine or *dargāh* of the Muslim warrior 'Abd al-Raḥmān Ghāzī, described as a kinsman of Maḥmūd of Ghazna (like the much more celebrated Sālār Mas'ūd, buried at Bahrāṭc in Uttar Pradesh [see GHĀZĪ MIVĀN]), but more probably a commander of Firūz Shāh Khaldjī's. To the south of Eliçpur is the hill fortress of Gāwilgarh [q.v.], and there is a group of Jain temples at Muktagīrī nearby.

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(C.E. BOSWORTH)

ELLORA [see ELURĀ].

EMANCIPATION [see TAHRĪR].

EMERALD [see DĀWHAR, ZUMURRUD].

ENCYCLOPAEDIA [see MAWSŪ'A].

ENSIGN [see 'ALAM].

EPITHET [see NA'T, ŠIFA].

ERG [see ŠAHRĀ].

ERGUN, SA'D AL-DĪN NÜZHET, modern Turkish SADETTİN NÜZHET ERGUN, Turkish scholar and literary historian (1901-46). Born in Bursa, he was educated at the Faculty of Letters of Istanbul

University and taught Turkish literature in various secondary schools in Anatolia and later in Istanbul, where he also worked as a librarian. He started his career as a scholar while he was a teacher in the Konya lycée, with a book on the folk-lore of Konya. A hard-working and prolific scholar, his works are based on first-hand research into what is mostly original manuscript material, this being presented with only limited criticism. He is the author of a great number of studies and monographs on many classical and folk poets and on some modern writers. His major works are *Konya halkıyyatı ve harthıyyatı*, (with Mehmed Ferid), Istanbul 1926; *Khalk şâ'irleri*, 3 vols, Istanbul 1926-7; *Karacaoğlan, hayatı ve şiirleri*, Istanbul 1932 (a pioneer work on the great folk poet); *Baki divanı*, Istanbul 1935; *Türk şairleri*, 3 vols., Istanbul 1936-45 (his most important work, published in fascicules comprising alphabetical biographies of poets, together with examples, which stopped at the letter F, in the 96th fascicule); *Türk musikisi antolojisi* 2 vols, Istanbul 1943; *Cenap Şehabettin*, Istanbul 1934 (a pioneer work on C. Ş., whose poetical works are put together for the first time in this monograph); and *Beklaşi şairleri ve nefesleri*, Istanbul 1944.

Bibliography: Ibrahim Alaettin Gövsa, *Türk meşhurları*, Istanbul n.d. (1946) s.v.; *Türk ansiklopedisi*, Ankara 1968, s.v.; Behçet Necatigil, *Edebiyatımızda isimler sözlüğü*, Istanbul 1975.

(FAHİR İZ)

ERMINE [see FARW].

ERSARİ, one of the major tribes of the Turkmen [q.v.] in Central Asia.

The name is not mentioned in the lists of the Oghuz tribes by Maḥmūd al-Kāshgharī and Raḥīd al-Dīn. It appears for the first time in historical works of Abu 'l-Ghāzī [q.v.] written in the 17th century. According to the Turkmen tradition as rendered by Abu 'l-Ghāzī (*Shad̲j̲ara-yi Tarākima*, ed. A.N. Kononov, text, 67-9, Russian tr., 72-3), Ersarī Bay (the eponym of the tribe?) was the great-grandson of Oghurdjik Alp, a descendant of Salur Kaḥan (cf. on this personage, *Kitāb-i Dedem Korkud, passim*), who left Irāk after a quarrel with Bayandur Bek and came to Mangishlak [q.v.] with a part of the Salur tribe. Thus this tradition indicates the genealogical kinship of Ersarī with the well-known Oghuz tribe Salur (Salghūr of Maḥmūd al-Kāshgharī). In another place of the same work (text, 73-4, tr., 75), Abu 'l-Ghāzī tells that Ersarī Bay, who lived in the Balkhān [q.v.] mountains, was a contemporary of Shaykh Sharaf Kh'ādja of Urgenç, who wrote for him, on his request, the *Mu'īn al-murīd*, a religious and didactic treatise in verse, in Turkī (about the book, written in 713/1313-4, and the author, see: A.N. Samoylovich, in *Mir-Āli-Shir*, Leningrad 1928, 138; A.Z. Velid, [Togan], in *Türkiyat mecmuası*, ii [1928], 315-30; J. Eckmann, in *Philologiae turicae fundamenta*, iii 279 f.). Ersarī Bay appears also in another place of *Shad̲j̲ara-yi Tarākima* (text, 78, tr., 77-8) as an ancestor (*utugh ata* "great-grandfather") of the tribe Ersarī, which owned a number of springs in the Great and Little Balkhān mountains. The Turkmen tradition, as related by Abu 'l-Ghāzī, places this story in the middle or the second half of the 14th century (after the death of the khān of the Golden Horde Berdī Bek, 1359); the same tradition shows that the tribe Ersarī was already rather numerous by that time, so that its origin must be related to some earlier period rather than the beginning of the same century, when Ersarī Bay allegedly lived.

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Ersarī Bay was probably an historical figure; his tomb, known as Ersarī Baba, is situated near the south-eastern corner of the Kara-Boghaz gulf, on the heights bearing the same name Ersarī Baba, and was described by Russian traveller N. Murav'yev in the early 19th century, as well as by modern archeologists. The latest archeological researches in western Turkmenia, apparently, confirm also the Turkmen genealogical tradition connecting the Ersarī with the Salur (see S.P. Polyakov, *Etničeskaya istoriya Severo-Zapadnoy Turkmenii v sredniye veka*, Moscow 1973, 122-3, 102-4).

At the beginning of the 16th century, the Ersarī were spread over a vast territory in western Turkmenia, from Mangīshlak to the Little Balkhān mountains. Not only the tribe itself, but also its main clans are mentioned in the *Shadjarayi Turk* by Abu 'l-Ghāzī (ed. Desmaisons, text, 237, 267, 315, tr., 254, 286, 337) in connection with the history of the Khānate of Khīwa in the 16th century. At the beginning of this century, the Ersarī were at the head of the tribal group known as the "outer Salur" (*Tashkī Salur*, *ibid.*, text, 209, tr., 223), which included also the tribes Teke [q.v.], Sarīk [q.v.] and Yomut [q.v.], nomadising between Mangīshlak and northern Khurāsān, while the "inner Salur" (*İki Salur*), or the Salur proper, remained in the north-west of Mangīshlak. However, already by the end of the same century, the Ersarī began to move eastwards, partly as a result of pressure from the north by the Mangit [q.v.], but mainly because of growing desiccation of western Turkmenia, salinisation of wells and shortage of pasture. At the beginning of the 17th century, at least part of Ersarī returned to Mangīshlak, but in the second quarter of the same century they were finally driven out of this region, this time by the Kalmuks [q.v.]. For a short time, during the reign of Isfandiyār Khān (1032-52/1623-42), Ersarī apparently played some role, together with the Salur, in the Khānate of Khīwa, but they had to leave it as a result of the military campaigns of Abu 'l-Ghāzī and his son Anūsha against the Turkmens described in *Shadjarayi Turk*. Apparently, at that time the Ersarī migrated to the middle course of the Āmū Daryā [q.v.], the Labāb (cf. A. Vāmbéry, *Travels in Central Asia*, London 1864, 231), where they have remained till the present time. There are also, probably, some indications of another route of their migration, through Marw (either directly from Mangīshlak and Balkhān or from Khārazm) and Marūcāk to the Afghān Turkestan. In 1740 they fled before the army of Nādir Shāh which marched on Bukhārā along the Āmū Daryā, and came again to Mangīshlak (Muhammad Kāzīm, *Nāma-i ālam-ārā-yi Nādirī*, facsimile ed., Moscow 1965, ii, f. 257a), but in the next year they returned to their homes.

On the Āmū Daryā, the Ersarī became mostly sedentarised and settled in a narrow strip of land (from 4 to 20 miles wide) along the river, mainly on its left bank from Denau in the north to Kalīf in the south, where they were occupied with farming based on irrigation. This territory formed a part of two wilāyats of the Khānate of Bukhārā, those of Čardjūy [see ĀMUL] and Karkī; now it forms the Čardjū region (*oblast'*) of the Turkmen Soviet Republic. Shortage of land suitable for cultivation caused permanent emigration during the 19th century, especially to Afghān Turkestan, where Ersarī settled in the regions of Andkhūy [q.v.], Akčā and Mazār-i Sharīf [q.v.]. It seems that cattle-breeding was for these groups of Ersarī of greater

importance than for their kinsmen on the Āmū Daryā.

The exact number of Ersarī has never been known. Figures given by 19th century travellers vary greatly (from 25 to 110 thousand families); at present, neither in the Soviet Union nor in Afghānistān are there any statistical data on individual Turkmen tribes.

Bibliography: in addition to the works cited in the text, see Capt. Bikov, *Očerki dolini Amu-Dar'i*, Tashkent 1880; A.V. Komarov, in *Sbornik geograficheskikh, topograficheskikh i statisticheskikh materialov po Azii*, xxv (St. Petersburg 1887), 278-93; M.V. Grulev, in *Izvestiya Turkestanskogo otdela Imp. Russkogo Geograficheskogo obshchestva*, ii/1 (Tashkent 1900), 65-7; G. Jarring, *On the distribution of Turk tribes in Afghanistan*, Lund 1939, 45-7; A. Karriyev, V.G. Moshkova, A.N. Nasonov, A. Yu. Yakubovskiy, *Očerki iz istorii turkenskogo naroda i Turkmenistana v VIII-XIX vv*, Ashkhabad 1954, esp. 130-2, 167-8, 181, 184-5, 188, 192-3, 198, 206-8, 217-21, 223-7, 232-3, 236, 246; Yu. Bregel', in *Kratkiye soobshcheniya Instituta etnografii Akademii nauk SSSR*, xxxi (Moscow 1959), 14-26 (abridged English tr. in *Central Asiatic review*, viii/3 [1960], 264-72); Ya. R. Vinnikov, in *Trudi Instituta istorii, arkhologii i etnografii Akademii nauk Turkmenskoy SSR*, vi (Ashkhabad 1962), 5-22, 42-9, 101-10; M. Annanepesov, *Khozystvo turkmen v XVIII-XIX vv*, Ashkhabad 1972, 40-2, 87-90, 94-103.

(YU. BREGEL')

ES'AD PASHA, SAĞIZLI AHMED, twice Ottoman Grand Vizier and holder of various high offices, military and civil, born in Scios (Tkish. Sakiz) in 1244/1828-9, son of Mehmed Agha, locally known as *Kule aghasi*. A graduate of the War College at Istanbul (Harbiyye [q.v.]), Es'ad was appointed aide-de-camp to Fu'ad Pasha [q.v.], who, when Grand Vizier, appointed him as director of the Ottoman military school in Paris as well as military attaché. Es'ad in 1868 became lieutenant-general (*ferik*) commanding Bosnia-Herzegovina and governor-general (*wāli*) of Scutari (Ishkodra). His career, military and civil, was a succession of appointment, dismissal and reappointment, characteristic of this period: field-marshal or commander (*müşir*) of the First Army (Istanbul), *wāli* of Yemen, minister of war and commander-in-chief (*ser'asker*), commander-in-chief of the Fourth Army and *wāli* of Erzurum, *wāli* of Ankara (for one day only), *wāli* of Sivas, Minister of Marine, again *ser'asker*, Grand Vizier from 15 February till 15 April 1873, *wāli* of Konya, field-marshal commanding the Fifth Army in Syria and *wāli* of Damascus, again Minister of Marine, and from 26 April till 29 August 1875 again Grand Vizier, then Minister of Works, and *wāli* of Aydin. He visited his birthplace Scios again, and he died at Izmir in the same year of 1875. Es'ad Pasha was chosen for the suite of Sultan 'Abd al-'Aziz on his European tour in 1867. But his lack of political experience caused him to stay only a short while at the top; thus he could not deal effectively with the revolt in Herzegovina (July 1875). In politics, Es'ad seems not to have belonged to a leading group. He was a young military man enjoying the Sultan's favours up to a point, but was a mere figurehead in politics.

Bibliography: Sāmī, *Kāmūs al-a'lām*, ii, 910; *Sijill-i 'Othmāni*, i, 342 f.; İ.H. Danışmend, *Izahlı Osmanlı tarihi kronolojisi*, Istanbul 1971,

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iv, 243 f., 247 f., 249 f., 251, v, 86 f., İbnülemin Mahmud Kemal İnal, *Osmanlı devrinde son sadri-azamlar*, İstanbul 1940-53; For the general background, see F. Bamberg, *Geschichte der Orientalischen Angelegenheit*... , Berlin 1888, 424-44, 448; E.Z. Karal, *Osmanlı tarihi*, vii, 72, 74 ff., 133 f., 136; R.H. Davison, *Reform in the Ottoman empire 1856-76*, Princeton 1963 (repr. New York 1973), 168, 292 ff., 297, 306 f.; *Tanzimat I*, İstanbul 1940, 974, 976, portrait on plate 53.

(A.H. DE GROOT)

ESENDAL, MEMDÜH **ŞEWKET**, modern Turkish MEMDÜH ŞEVKET ESENDAL, Turkish short story writer and politician (1883-1952). He was born in Çorlu in Eastern Thrace, the son of Kahyabeyoğlu Şewket, a modest farmer of an immigrant (*göçmen*) Turkish family from the Balkans. He did not have any regular schooling but was self-taught; then when his father died in 1907, he looked after the family until 1912 when the Balkan War broke out and the family moved to İstanbul. He had joined the Committee of Union and Progress (CUP) in 1907; at the outbreak of the First World War he was appointed inspector of the CUP, so that he was able to get to know at first-hand conditions of life in Anatolia and in Thrace. In 1919 he fled to Italy to avoid arrest by the occupying forces, but soon after he was invited to Ankara by Mustafa Kemal Pasha, who sent him as the representative of the Nationalist government to Âdharbâydjân. He continued with mainly a diplomatic career (with short intervals as teacher or member of Parliament) and served as ambassador in Tehran (1925-30), Kabul (1932) and Moscow (1932-8), and as Secretary-General of the Republican People's Party for four years (1941-5). He was elected deputy for Bilecik in 1946 and served until 1950. He died in Ankara on 16 May 1952.

Because of his absorbing political and diplomatic engagements, he wrote very irregularly and at lengthy intervals and generally signed his writings with the initials M. Şh. and later (after 1934) M. Ş. E.; occasionally he used pen-names such as Mustafa Yalınkat and M. Oğulcuk. Although a contemporary of the pioneer short story writer 'Ömer Seyf al-Dîn [q.v.], he did not begin to publish his short stories (written mostly much earlier) until 1925 in the periodical *Meslek*. Esendal's short stories differ substantially, in subject matter, plot and style from the "classical", Maupassant-type short stories preferred by most of his contemporaries. There is hardly any plot in them; they are character studies or sketches of the moods of ordinary people with emphasis on women, written in spoken Turkish, in a most natural, and spontaneous manner, without any elaboration or embellishment, and imbued with human warmth and optimism. Only a small number of his short stories have been published in book form. Some remain in the collection of periodicals and newspapers, some have never been published and are in the hands of his heirs. The published volumes are *Hikâyeler I* and *II* (1945). Some stories, with the addition of new ones, were post-humously published under the titles *Temiz sevgiler* (1965) and *Ev ona yakıydı* (1972). Esendal is the author of three novels which have the same characteristics of his short stories: *Mirâth*, serialised in *Meslek* (1925) but not published in book form; *Wassâf Bey*, never published; and *Ayâşlı ve Kıracların* (1934), an interesting and realistic series of sketches of characters in the early days of Ankara as the new capital.

Bibliography: Tahir Alangu, *Cumhuriyetten*

sonra hikâye ve roman, ii, İstanbul 1965, 1063-84; S.K. Karaalioglu, *Resimli Türk edebiyatçıları sözlüğü*, İstanbul 1974, 143-4; *Türk ansiklopedisi*, xv, Ankara 1967, s.v. (FAHİR İZ)

ESHREF, MEHMET, modern Turkish MEHMET EŞREF, Turkish satirical poet (1846-1912). He was born in Gelenbe, near Manisa, in Western Anatolia the son of Hâfız Mustafa, of the Usuoğulları family. He attended for a while a *madrassa* in Manisa, where he learnt Arabic and Persian, and after serving as a government official in neighbouring provinces, went to İstanbul (1878), where he passed the required examination to become a *Kâyim-makâm* and served as such in various parts of Anatolia, including in distant *kağās* in the East and Eastern Black Sea region. By this time, his virulent satires imbued with anger against the injustice, tyranny and corruption of the Hamidian régime, which were known all over the country, reached the ears of the Palace. When he was serving at Gördes, near Manisa, following a *zurnal* (report), his house in İzmir was searched and he was arrested (1902), brought to İstanbul and detained for seven months and then sentenced to one year's imprisonment. On the completion of his term, he was allowed to go to İzmir (1903) where he became a very popular character, although under strict supervision. In 1904 he fled to Egypt where he continued to write his satirical poems against 'Abd al-Hamîd II and his régime.

Eshref is the author of the following works, all published in Cairo: *Değdijâl* ("Antichrist"), 2 vols. 1904-7; *Istimdâd* ("S.O.S."), 1906; *Hasb-i hâl* ("Friendly talk"), 1908; *Shâh ve pâdishâh*, 1908; and *İrânda yangın var* ("Iran is burning"), 1908. Returning to İstanbul after the restoration of the Constitution in July 1908, Eshref began to publish a weekly humorous paper *Eshref*, where he re-published poems of his Egyptian period as well as new ones. He died in Çara-aghac near Manisa on 22 May 1912.

Eshref had a passionate temperament and a boundless satirical power, but he lacked a sense of balance in his literary expression and skill in verse technique. His satires, like those of the 17th century poet Nef'î [q.v.], are often unrefined and even vulgar. However, he wrote many unforgettable satirical lines which are still frequently quoted with satisfaction, even though the language and style are antiquated.

Bibliography: Mustafa Sâtim (Eshref's son), *Meşhur şair Eşref'in hayatı*, İzmir 1943; Cevdet Kudret, *Eşref, hicvîyeler*, İstanbul 1970; *Türk ansiklopedisi*, xv, Ankara 1967, 473; Tahir Alangu, *100 Ünlü Türk eseri*, s.v.

(FAHİR İZ)

ESPARTO [see HALFÂ'].

ESHREFOGHLU 'ABD ALLÂH, also known as EŞREF-İ RÜMÎ, Turkish poet and mystic, the founder of the Eshrefiyye branch of the Kâdiriyya Sûfî *tarîka* (d. 873/1469). His father Eshref left Egypt as a young man and settled in İznik (Nicaea). Eshrefoghlulu himself was educated in Bursa where he was introduced to the famous 9th/15th century saint Emîr Sultân [q.v.], on whose recommendation he went to Ankara where he joined the famous *şaykh* and mystical poet Hâdjîdî Bayram, who liked him and gave him his daughter in marriage. On Hâdjîdî Bayram's instructions, Eshrefoghlulu went first to İzmit, and then to Hamâ, where he worked with Kâdirî *şaykh*s, and then returned to İznik, where he set up a convent. His reputation soon spread as far as İstanbul, and Mahmûd Pasha

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(Welt) (d. 878/1474), the famous *wazîr* of Mehmed II, became one of his disciples. Eshrefoghlu died in Iznik, where he is buried. The Eshrefiyye *tarîka* which he founded is a blend of the Kādîriyya [q.v.] and the Bayramiyya, with special emphasis on isolation and asceticism.

Eshrefoghlu's poems are written in a warm and flowing style where both *arûd* and *hejce* metres are used, following the poetic and mystic traditions of Yûnus Emre [q.v.]. His *diwân* was printed in Istanbul in 1280/1864 and in Roman script in 1944 (edited with an introduction by Asaf Halet Çelebi). A further popular edition was published in 1972.

Eshrefoghlu is also the author of many popular mystic works on an edifying nature, the most famous of which is *Muzakkâ 't-nîfûs* ("The Purifier of souls"), which remained a practical manual of dervish life for centuries and is a masterpiece of 9th/15th century Turkish prose; it was printed in Istanbul in 1281/1865 (for a good MS., see Konya, Archeol. Libr. no. 5452; for specimens based on MSS, see Fahîr İz, *Eski Türk edebiyatında nesir*, Istanbul 1964, 70-92).

Bibliography: İsmet Parmaksızoglu, in *Türk ansiklopedisi*, xv, 1967, 477-8; A. Gölpınarlı, *Türkiye'de mezhepler ve tarikattar*, 1969, *passim* (with further bibliography). (FAHİR İZ)

ESRÂR DEDE, Turkish Mewlewî poet of the 18th century, a close friend and protégé of the great poet Ghâlib Dede [q.v.]. Born in Istanbul, Esrâr was trained as a Mewlewî dervish in the Galata convent, under the supervision of Ghâlib Dede, its *shaykh*. He died in 1211/1796-7 before his master (who wrote a famous elegy for him) and was buried in the convent cemetery.

Esrâr wrote mystical poems in the line of Ghâlib Dede. His little *Diwân* has not been edited. Esrâr Dede is also the author of an incomplete *Tedhkirê-yi shu'arâ'-i meulewiyye* which contains the biographies of more than 200 Mewlewî poets. The work, which has also not been edited, is based on Şâhib Dede's *Sefîne-i meulewiyye* and was published in a shortened form by 'Alî Enwer under the title of *Semâ'khâne-i edeb* (Istanbul 1309 Rûmî/1893).

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(FAHİR İZ)

ETHICS, ETHOLOGY [see AKHLÂK].

ETYMOLOGY [see İSHTİKÂK].

EUBOEA [see EĞRİBOZ].

EULOGY [see MADİH].

EXCHANGE VALUE [see 'İWÂD].

EXPIATORY OFFERING [see KAFFÂRA].

EYYÜBOGHLU, BEDRÎ RAHMÎ, modern Turkish BEDRÎ RAHMÎ EYUBOĞLU, Turkish poet, writer and painter (1913-75), younger brother of the following. He was born in Görele, near Trabzon on the Black Sea. Educated at Trabzon lycée and the Istanbul Academy of Fine Arts, he spent two years in Paris for further study in painting. On his return (1933) he was appointed to the staff of the Istanbul Academy of Fine Arts, where he taught until his death from cancer on 21 September 1975.

His writings and sketches began to appear in *Yeni adam* in 1933. As a painter he became interested in folk arts and crafts and studied popular motifs in rugs, scarves, socks and colour patterns, and was greatly inspired by them. In his predominantly descriptive poetry, which brought a new tone to contemporary Turkish verse, he used the same colourful technique, strongly influenced by folk poetry and

music. His first volume of verse was published in 1941: *Yaradana mektuplar* ("Letters to the Creator"), followed by *Karadut* ("Black mulberry") in 1948. Then several volumes followed which were all put together in *Dol karabakır dol* (1974). His essays, written in an informal small-talk style, were posthumously published in book form, *Delifışek* (1975) and *Tezek* (1976).

Bibliography: Asım Bezirci, *Dünden bugüne türk şiiri*, Istanbul 1968; Behçet Necatigil, *Edebiyatımızda isimler sözlüğü*, Istanbul 1978, s.v.

(FAHİR İZ)

EYYÜBOGHLU, ABÂH AL-DİN RAHMÎ, modern Turkish, until 1934 SABAHATTİN RAHMÎ, afterwards SABAHATTİN EYUBOĞLU, Turkish essayist, writer and translator (1908-73). Born in Akçaabat (Polathane) near Trabzon, the son of Rahmî Eyyüboğhlu, a civil servant, he was educated in Trabzon. He then went to France on a government scholarship and studied French literature and aesthetics in Dijon, Lyon and Paris universities (1928-32). Becoming lecturer (*doçent*) in French literature in the University of Istanbul (1933-9), he was invited, together with some of his colleagues, by Hasan 'Alî Yüdjel (Yücel), the reforming Minister of Education (1938-46), to Ankara where he served respectively as member of the Advisory Board (*Talim ve terbiye kurulu*) deputy chairman of the Office of Translation [of world classics], and teacher at the Hasanoglan Higher Village Institute [see KÖY ENSTİTÜLERİ]. Back in Istanbul after one year's study leave in France, he taught in Istanbul Technical University (1951-8). Because of his liberal ideas, he was arrested and detained for several months in 1971, during the emergency régime of 1971-2. He died in Istanbul of a heart attack on 13 January 1973.

Şabâh al-Dîn Eyyüboğhlu developed a theory of nationalism which is mainly based on Kemalism, with particular emphasis on secularism and "populism" (*halkçılık*) and with the addition of the notion of an "Anatolian" people accepting as "ours" all the peoples, arts and cultures which have flourished on Anatolian soil (without distinction of race, language and faith). Many of his essays elaborate on this theme, rejecting rival ideologies like Turkism, Turanism, Islamism and Westernism. His numerous essays were published in various periodicals, particularly *Varlık*, *İnsan*, *Yaprak* and regularly in *Yeni ufuklar*, and they cover a great range of subjects from literature, language and cultural change to art, folklore and politics. He always laid special emphasis on the need for the fusion and identification of intellectuals with ordinary people in order to develop an original culture.

Eyyüboğhlu writes in a simple straightforward style and is considered, together with Ataç, as a master of contemporary Turkish prose. However, he lacks Ataç's originality and conciseness and is often shallow and repetitive. His major contribution is his translations from the French, some of which are masterpieces of the genre (see below). Şabâh al-Dîn Eyyüboğhlu is the author of the following major works: *Mavi ile kara* ("Blue and Black"), Istanbul 1961, enlarged edition 1967, a selection of his essays; *Sanat üzerine denemeler* ("Essays on art"), Istanbul 1974, published posthumously, contains most of the essays omitted from the previous work; *Yunus Emre*, Istanbul 1971, an impressionistic study of the 13th century Turkish poet; and *Turan yolunda* ("On the way to Turan"), Istanbul 1967, which satirises Pan-Turanism and is based on a misreading

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of the allegory in André Malraux's autobiographical work *Les noyers de l'Altenberg*. Among more than fifty titles of his translations, the following are outstanding: Montaigne's *Essais*, Rabelais' *Gargantua*, verse translations of La Fontaine's *Fables* and 'Umar Khayyām's *Rubā'īyyāt* (mainly based on a Turkish paraphrase). Eyyüboğlu collaborated in the

preparation of several art books and in the making of films on early Anatolian culture.

Bibliography: Mehmed Seyda, *Edebiyat dostları*, İstanbul 1970 (contains autobiographical notes); *Yeni ufuklar*, special number, March 1973; *Milliyet san'at dergisi*, no. 17 (26 January 1973) (complete list of his works and translations). (FAHİR İZ)

F

FABLE [see **MATHAL**].

AL-FADL B. AL-HUBĀB B. ABĪ KHALĪFA MUHAMMAD B. SHU'AYD B. ŞAKHR AL-DJUMAHI, (d. 305/917-18), littérateur, poet, traditionist and *kādī* of Baṣra. He was a *mawla* of Djumah of Kuraysh and the nephew, on his mother's side, of Ibn Sallām [q.v.]. He was born in and died at Baṣra, where he made himself the transmitter of a fairly extensive number of religious, historical, literary and genealogical traditions. He also received a legal training sufficient for him to act as the *kādī* of Baṣra towards 294/907 with functions delegated by the Mālikī *kādī* Abū Muhammad Yūsuf b. Ya'kūb b. Ismā'il al-Azdī, whose seat of office was in eastern Baghdād (L. Massignon, in *WZKM* [1948], 108) but who also had jurisdiction over southern 'Irāk (Wakī', *Akhbār al-kudāt*, Cairo 1366/1947, ii, 182).

At this time, Abū Khalifa was already famous in his native town, where he was in contact with well-known personages, especially the Tanūkhīs [q.v.]; he had a particularly deep knowledge of Arabic poetry, taught the works of his maternal uncle and was himself the author of a *Kilāb Ṭabaqāt al-shu'arā' al-ghāhiliyyīn* and a *Kilāb al-Fursān*. He also gathered into a *diwān* the poetry of 'Imrān b. Hiṭṭān [q.v.], which brought him accusations of Khāridjī sympathies, but Shīrī tendencies were also imputed to him, and one verse implies that in *fikh* he was a Ḥanafī. His works do not seem to have survived, and his verses only exist in part, but his name is often cited in *adab* works. He is, moreover, the hero of a certain number of anecdotes in which his tendency to express himself in rhymed prose is ridiculed. One of these, if it is authentic, allows one to affirm the survival at the end of the 3rd century of a Baṣran tradition which sent as delegates to the caliphal court orators charged with expressing, in rhymed prose, the people's complaints, who had always cause to lament the hardness of the times and the arbitrary ways of the local authorities. Abū Khalifa, as the mouth-piece of a delegation sent to al Mu'taḍid (279-98/892-902), was able to obtain satisfaction through provoking his audience to mirth because of the affected nature of his speech (al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, viii, 128-34 = §§ 3264-70). His biographers classify him amongst the blind scholars.

Bibliography: *Fihrist*, Cairo edn., 165; Šūlī, *Akhbār al-Rādī wa 'l-Muttaḳī*, tr. M. Canard, Algiers 1946-50, 29, 208; Tanūkhī, *Nishwār*, ii, 27-8, iv, 183; Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, index; Ibn al-Djazarī, *Ṭabaqāt al-kurā'*, ii, 8, no. 2557; Khaṭīb Baghdādī, *Ta'rīkh*, ii, 429; Ḥuṣrī, *Zahr al-ādāb*, 825; Zubaydī, *Nahwīyyīn*, index; Yāqūt, *Udabā'*, xvi, 204-14 and index; Šafadī, *Nakt al-himyan*, 226; Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 373; Ibn Ḥaḍjar, *Lisān al-*

Mizān, iv, 373, Ibn al-'Imād, *Shadharāt*, ii, 246; Bustānī, *DM*, iv, 285. (CH. PELLAT)

FADL AL-ŠHĀ'IRA, AL-YAMĀMIYYA AL-'ABDIYYA, MAWLĀT AL-MUTAWAKKIL, Arab poetess, died in 257/871 (or 260/874). Born probably as a *muwallada* and brought up in Baṣra, she was presented to and later on freed by al-Mutawakkil. She was called the "most gifted poetess of her time" by Ibn al-Sā'ī and, being a good songstress and lute player too, held a famous literary circle in Baghdād. Amongst her admirers were the poet Sa'īd b. Humayd and the musician Bunān b. 'Amr al-Dārīb. Ibn al-Djarrāh (quoted by Ibn al-Nadīm) knew a small collection of her poetry. Her verses were set to music by several contemporary court musicians.

Bibliography: *Aghānī*³, xix, 300-13 (see also indices); Ibn al-Mu'tazz, *Ṭabaqāt*³, 426-7; *Fihrist*, 164; Ibn al-Sā'ī, *Nisā' al-khulafā'*, 84-90; Kutubī, *Fawāt*, ii, Cairo 1951, 253-5; Suyūṭī, *Mustazraf*, 50-6; Cl. Huart, *La poétesse Fadhl*, in *Jd*, sér. 7, xvii (1881), 5-43; F. Sezgin, *GAS*, ii, 623-4; M. Stigebauer, *Die Sängerinnen am Abbasidenhof um die Zeit des Kalifen Al-Mutawakkil*, Vienna 1975, 31-4.

(E. NEUBAUER)

FAITH, BELIEF (in God) [see **AKĪDA**].

FAKHR-I MUDABBIR, the *shuhra* of FAKHR AL-DĪN MUHAMMAD B. MANŠŪR MUBĀRAK SHĀH AL-KURASHĪ, Persian author in India during the time of the last Ghaznawids, the Ghūrīds and the first Slave Kings of Dihlī (later 6th/12th century-early 7th/13th century).

His birth date and place are both unknown, but he was a descendant, so he says, on his father's side from the caliph Abū Bakr and on his mother's side from the Turkish *amīr* Bilgeṭigin, the immediate predecessor in Ghazna of Sebükṭigin and father-in-law of Maḥmūd of Ghazna; he may well have been born and reared in Ghazna itself. He first appears in Multān as a youth during the reign of the last Ghaznawid sultan in the Pandjāb Khusrāw Malik b. Khusrāw Shāh. After the defeat and deposition of this last in 582/1186 by the Ghūrīd Mu'izz al-Dīn or Shihāb al-Dīn Muhammad b. Sām, Fakhr-i Mudabbir went to Lahore and undertook genealogical researches there for thirteen years. The fruits of all this work were his extensive genealogical tables, extending from the Prophet to the Ghūrīds' slave commanders in India, the *Shadjara-yi ansāb*, extant in a unique British Museum ms.; this book was brought to the attention of Kutb al-Dīn Aybak [q.v.], and led to Fakhr-i Mudabbir becoming *persona grata* in court circles. It was to the Dihlī sultan Shams al-Dīn Iltutmish [see **ILTUTMISH**] that he dedicated his other great Persian prose work, the *Adāb al-ḥarb* (see on this, below), and since he des-

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cribes himself as being by then an infirm old man (*pīr-i daʿf*), he probably died before the end of that sultan's reign in 633/1236.

There is some uncertainty over the possible identification of our Fakhr-i Mudabbir with a Fakhr al-Dawla wa'l-Dīn Mubārak Shāh b. al-Husayn al-Marwarrūdhī mentioned by the literary biographer 'Awfī in his *Lubāb al-albāb*, ed. Sa'īd Naṣīf, Tehran 1335/1956, 113-17, as a good poet in Arabic and Persian and a *naḍīm* or confidant of the Ghūrīd Ghīyāth al-Dīn Muhammad b. Sām (558-99/1163-1203). E. Denison Ross, in his edition of the introduction and early part of the *Shādījara-yi ansāb*, London 1927, accepted this identification. Storey, however, rejected this, despite a similarity of names, adducing detailed arguments in his *Persian literature*, i, 1166-7, and his reasoning seems conclusive; the poet Mubārak Shāh al-Marwarrūdhī seems to have been the author also of works on astronomy and ethics.

The main claim of fame of Fakhr-i Mudabbir himself is his authorship of the *Ādāb al-harb wa'l-shadā'a*, or as the name appears in one of the extant mss., the *Ādāb al-mulūk wa-kifāyat al-mamlūk* (edition by Ahmad Suhaylī Khānsārī, Tehran 1346/1967, unfortunately based on the shorter mss. and not on the fuller India Office one, which has 40 *abwāb* or chapters as opposed to only 36). This is both a treatise on kingship and statecraft (hence partaking of the "Mirrors for princes" genre) and also a rather theoretical and idealised consideration of the art of war. In addition to advice on tactics, the organisation of troops, the use of various weapons, etc., the book is liberally interspersed with historical anecdotes, giving it a distinct value as a historical document, above all for the development of the eastern Islamic world. The eighteen anecdotes relating to the Ghaznavids have been translated into English by Miss Iqbal M. Shafrī as *Fresh light on the Ghaznavids*, in *IC*, xii (1938), 189-234; they furnish useful information on the dynasty not found elsewhere. A translation of the whole work into a western language would be welcome.

Bibliography: Storey, i, 1164-7; C.E. Bosworth, *Early sources for the history of the first four Ghaznavid sultans (977-1041)*, in *IQ*, vii (1963), 16, also in *The medieval history of Iran, Afghanistan and Central Asia*, London 1977; idem, *The Ghaznavids, their empire in Afghanistan and eastern Iran 994-1040*, Edinburgh 1963, 20-1. (C.E. BOSWORTH)

FAKĪR OF IPI, the name given in popular parlance to Hādīdjī Mirzā 'Alī Khān, Pathan *mul-lah* and agitator along the Northwestern Frontier of the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent in both the later British Indian and the early Pakistani periods, d. 1960.

A member of the Torī Khēl group of the 'Uḥmānzay Wazīrs of North Wazīrīstān, probably one of the most unreconciled of the Pathan tribes of the Frontier in British times, he came to especial prominence in 1936-7, inflaming the Tōrī Khēls and the Mahsūds of the Tochi valley against the British military presence, and then retreating to a series of caves at Gorwekht near Razmak, not far from the Afghān frontier, which served as his headquarters for the rest of his life. In 1941 he was apparently contacted by Axis agents from the German and Italian embassies in Kabul with a view to raising the frontier against Britain, but nothing much materialised. After the Partition of 1947 between India and Pakistan, the Fakīr actively identified

himself with the Afghān-sponsored "Pashṭūnistān" movement, and after 1950 became president of a southern "Pashṭūnistān" local assembly based on Gorwekht, where stocks of food and arms and a small Pashṭo printing press were kept. He died in 1960.

Bibliography: J.W. Spain, *The Pathan borderland*, The Hague 1963, 51, 76, 160, 184-6, 202, 237; W.K. Fraser-Tytler, *Afghanistan, a study of political developments in Central and Southern Asia*, London 1967, 310. (C.E. BOSWORTH)

FAMILY [see 'Ā'ILĀ].

FA'R (A., pl. *fī'rān*, *fī'ara*, *fū'ar*) masculine substantive with the value of a collective (noun of singularity *fā'ra*) designates, like the Persian *mūsh*, firstly, among the Rodents (*kawārid*, *kawādim*), the majority of types and species of the sub-order of the Myomorphs (with the Dipodids, Glirids, Murids, Spalacids and Cricetids), secondly, among the Insectivores (*ākilāt al-ḥasharāt*), the family of the Soricids. The term is applied equally well to the largest rats as to the smallest shrews and gerbils. The adjectives of abundance *fā'ir*, *fā'ira*, *maḥfara* and *muf'i-ra* which are derived from it contain the same general idea, so that, in texts, *fā'r* and *fī'rān* always present a problem of discrimination between rats and mice; this lack of precision persists with the dialectal form *fār* pl. *fīrān*, as well as with its Berber equivalent *agherda* pl. *igherdāyen*.

However, jointly with this collective of broad semantic extent, several more precise nouns fortunately help towards a skeleton classification of all this prolific world of mammals which flee the light and whom humanity treats, in general, as undesirables, by reason of the depredations to which their way of life forces them. Without pretending to be able to apply, with the existing Arabic philological resources, a scientific system which proves most complicated, it is, nevertheless, possible to give a glimpse of all the known species of the Muslim populations by dividing these species under one of the four following most significant rubrics: *ḡuradh*, *fā'ra*, *khuld* and *yarbū'*.

A. **ḡURADH** (pl. *ḡirdhān*, *ḡurdhān*) and its derivative *ḡirdhawn*, with the dialectal forms *ḡird*, *ḡīred* in the Maghrib and *ḡirdūn* in Syria, defines all rats of a large size without distinction of species. Among the numerous strains of rats, the ordinary man of every people has for long recognised two categories according to their ethology, the town-dwellers and the rustics, and the fable of the meeting between the town rat (*ḡadārī*) and the country rat (*rīfī*) remains one of the themes of fables common to all literatures. The majority of rats whose life is linked with towns are of a large size ('*aḍal* pl. '*idlān*'), the Brown rat (*Mus decumanus*) or "Sewer rat", which is grey-brown, hence his name *marnab* (Maghrib: *tubba*, Tamahak *taghūlit*, pl. *tighūlitin*) and the Black rat (*Mus rattus*), both of which owed their rapid extension of their area of distribution to the maritime commercial traffic in the Mediterranean basin since the high Middle Ages. It was the same for the Alexandrian rat (*Mus alexandrinus*) also called "palm rat" or "roof rat" (*Mus tectorum*) and whose chosen habitat is in high places (granaries, terraces, the tops of date-palms) and not in the infrastructure of buildings. Proper to Egypt, this rat was introduced into Italy by merchant shipping; it makes a nest at the top of palms and, when it is hunted, is able to let itself fall to the ground without injury by blowing himself up like a balloon. In the

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large oases it is confused with the "palm rat" (Saharan: *ṭunba*, Tamahaḥ *akkolen*), an erroneous name of a small ground squirrel (*Euxerus erythropus*) which feeds on dates. Still included among the "true rats", so the naturalists say, there must also be cited the large burrower rat of Egypt and Arabia called the Fat sand rat (*Ps. obesus*) which is cream-coloured. All the Maghrib used to know the Striped rat or "Barbarian rat" (*Arvicanthus barbarus*) by the name of *zurdānī* (Tamahaḥ *akunder*, pl. *ikunderen*). Numerous geographical strains, such as the *Mus calopus* and *Mus peregrinus*, still remain to be studied in Morocco.

In the vast group of country rats, scourge of farmers and habitual nourishment of nocturnal predators, the Voles and Field-mice (types *Arvisola*, *Microtus* and *Apodemus*), confused under the name of 'akbar (Hebrew 'akbār, in I. Sam. vi, 4-5; Isaiah ii, 20, lxvi, 17; Levit. xi, 29), have had since the most ancient antiquity the just reputation of being terribly harmful. The most common, the Common vole (*Microtus arvalis*) 'akbar ḥakli, *fa'rat al-ghayt*, is present in all the cultivated zones, along with the strains *Mus micrurus* in Persia and *Hypodoeus syriacus* in Syria; a close neighbour in Egypt is the semi-aquatic "Nile rat", *ḡuradh al-Nīl* (*Arvicanthis niloticus*), while the Sudan has its opposite number in the "Khartoum rat", *ḡuradh al-khartūm* (*Arvicanthis testicularis*). The Field mouse (*Apodemus sylvaticus*), *dathīma*, *fa'rat al-hirādī* (in Syria, *ḡurdhān*) prefers living in trees, and is found in company with the Dormouse, the Garden dormouse (types *Glis*, *Myoxus*, *Eliomys*), *ḡuradh sinḡābī*, *karkadūn*, and the Small dormouse (*Muscardinus*), *zughba*. On the Saharan borders lives Munby's dormouse (*Eliomys munbianus lerotinus*), *ḡadghagath* in Berber, which the Tuareg eat on occasion, as well as the Goundis (types *Ctenodactylus* and *Massouteria*), *kundī/gundī*, Tamahaḥ *telūt*, *taralemt*, large, very suspicious, burrowing rodents rather similar to the Cobaye (*Cavia porcellus*). It is perhaps to the latter as well as to the Hamsters that the Arab philologists attribute the name of *yahyarr*, defined as being "the largest of all the rats".

Al-Djāhīz was happy to record all the information that he had been able to glean on the subject of rats (*Ḥayawān*, v, 245 ff. and *passim*). Regarded as noxious creatures, he tells us that in *Khurāsān* and Antioch the rats are particularly aggressive, holding their own against cats and going as far as nibbling the ears of sleeping persons; the frightful trench wars with their train of rats which our century has known, alas, only confirm these sayings. Their depredations and their less engaging aspects arouse in every man repulsion, as nothing resists their inexorable incisors, unless it is metal. On the other hand, al-Djāhīz shows, out of concern for justice, a positive aspect in the presence of these parasite hosts; if they invade a dwelling, it is because they find there something to satisfy their appetites and so it is a sign that it enjoys a certain prosperity. Hence the wish expressed in this old adage is understandable: *akṭhar 'llāh ḡurdhān baytik* "may Allah multiply the rats of your house". With the same intention, a storyteller of Medina used to offer up this prayer: *Allahumma akṭhir ḡurdhānā wa-akill 'sibyānā* "O Allah, give us many rats and few children", evoking implicitly the danger of misery which overpopulation could bring about. On the contrary, the expression *tafarakat ḡurdhān baytihi* "the rats of his house have dispersed" may

be an image of being wrecked by poverty; in our days and with the same idea, sailors may see a sign of the inescapable loss of the ship when the rats desert it. Furthermore, rats often show proof of ingenuity; faced with an oil container, the rat will know how to sample the contents by dipping in its tail a number of times. Caught in a cage, it soon manages to escape with the help of its sharp teeth. In the countryside, rats take care not to dig their hole (*ḡhabār*) on roads in order to avoid the danger of being trampled by beasts of burden. Some rats may be attracted, like the so-called "thieving" Magpie ('ak'ak), by anything which shines and steal jewels and money, and the adage *asrak min ḡuradh* "more thieving than a rat" is truly spoken; al-Damīrī records, with reference to this, (*Ḥayāt al-ḡayawān*, i, 191-2) the discovery, in the time of the Prophet, of a cache concealing several *dīnārs* thanks to a rat, and the one who discovered it had full possession of the find, which was attributed to divine intervention.

Before Islam, certain rats, especially the country ones, were hunted for their flesh, as were the uromastix lizard [see *ḡabb*], the hedgehog and the porcupine [see *ḡunfudh*] and the jerboa (see below). These primitive tastes did not disappear immediately with Islam since, according to Abū Zayd al-Naḥwī (*Ḥayawān*, iv, 44, v, 253, vi, 385), the famous *raḡḡaz* poet Ru'ba b. al-'Adjīdādī [q.v.], of the 2nd/8th century, used to feast on roasted rats caught in his own house.

In the *Ḥidjāz*, the palm rat used to be so common that the expression *umm ḡurdhān* "mother of rats" designated metaphorically the top of the date palm where the animal chose to live, and *ḡurdhān* became the name of a variety of date. Finally, authorities on horses gave the name *al-ḡuradhān* "the two rats" to two symmetrical dorsal muscles of the horse because of their shape.

B. FA'RA, while being the noun of singularity of *fa'r*, designates more especially the mouse and every small rodent which resembles it. The Common mouse or "grey" mouse (*Mus musculus*), *fa'rat al-bayt*, present wherever there is man, numbers numerous geographical strains, of which *M. m. gentilis*, *alḡirus*, *far* and *Ḥayī* are to be found in the Maghrib, *M. m. variegatus* in Egypt, *M. m. pretextus* in Syria and *M. m. flaviventris* in Arabia.

At every time, the mouse was at the origin of misdeeds, seen as catastrophes, coming unexpectedly to disturb daily life. Already in the Ark of Noah, according to the legend, its depredations excited the complaints of the women, from which resulted the creation of the pair of cats, then that of the pair of pigs [see *ḡhinzīr*]. The Prophet Muḥammad himself had set a trap to get rid of this "little rascal" (*fawāsika*) which, according to several traditions, had only just missed setting fire to his house by pulling, in order to nibble it, the wick of the lighted lamp; thanks to the immediate intervention of the master of the house, the only damage it did was to make a hole in his prayer carpet. From this episode, which was no doubt authentic and not the first of its kind, an irrevocable curse fell upon the mouse, which was then added to the list of the four execrable species (*fawāsik*), i.e. the crow, [see *ḡhurāb*], the kite, *ḡidā'*, the scorpion [see *ʿakrab*] and the biting dog [see *kalb*], a list to which Mālik b. Anas added the lion [see *asad*], the panther, *namīr*, *nimr*, the leopard [see *faḥd*] and the wolf [see *dhī'b*], to be destroyed at all times and everywhere in Islam, even by the pilgrim in a sacralised



state. It was, furthermore, enjoined on the young community to extinguish every lamp at night, in their homes and in the mosques, and not to do as the Christians who imprudently left permanently lighted a sanctuary night-light in their churches and chapels (*Hayawān*, v, 121, 269, 319).

Before Islam, the mouse scarcely enjoyed, among the Arabs, any greater credit, since it passed as being the metamorphosis of a Jewish sorceress to some and that of a dishonest crow to others (*Hayawān*, vi, 477). In addition, some proverbs such as *alaṣṣ min fa'ra* "more thieving than a mouse", *akṣab min fa'ra* "more hoarding than a mouse" presented it as a pilferer and an inveterate miser. In the climate of such a reputation one can understand the energetic refutation with which al-Djāhīz opposes (*Hayawān*, iv, 298 ff.) the words of the Avesta which propose that the mouse was a creation of Ormuzd, genius of Good, while the cat was that of Ahriman, genius of Evil.

The words *fa'ra* and *birr* include, apart from the Common mouse, all the other species of small rodents such as the Dwarf mouse (*Micromys minutus*) also called *zubāna*, the Arian mouse (*Mus arianus*) called *siktim*, the Desert mouse (*Mus barbarus*) or *faṣ'a* and *fa'rat al-ṣāhira* and all the representatives of the *Acomys* type or Spiny mouse, *kunfu/kinfi*, with *A. viator* in Tripolitania, *A. Cahirinus* in Egypt, *A. Chudeau* in Mauritania and *A. dimidiatus* in Iran. *Fa'ra* also extends to cover the small insectivores with a very elongated snout which form the Shrews (of types *Sorex*, *Crocidura*, *Suncus*, *Elephantulus*). More precisely, the Shrew is called *zabāba* and the Arab authors speak of it as deaf because of the absence in it of an external ear (*Hayawān*, vi, 317). It bears in addition the names *fa'rat al-biṣṣ* "wolf's-bane mouse" and *fa'rat al-samm* "poison-mouse" by reason of its supposed resistance to the poison of venomous plants, whose roots it nibbles at the time when insects are in short supply.

Arab poets and prose writers have often dealt with the atavistic hostility of the cat towards the mouse, which it makes its favourite prey; the ancestral cat-and-mouse antagonism is well set in relief by the old expression *lā ya'rifa hira min birra* "he doesn't know a cat from a mouse" being applied to one who is completely ignorant.

There should also be mentioned an extension of the use of *fa'r* and *fa'ra* to designate other animals having the appearance of rats and mice. Also to be found is *fa'r al-būṣ* "cannaies rat" given to the aulacode (*Aulacodus*) as well as *kubā*; the *fa'r al-khayl* "horses' rat" is the Polecat, the *fa'rat al-khayl* "the horses' mouse" is the Weasel [see *IBN 'IRIS*], the *fa'r fir'aun* "Pharaoh's rat" is the Ichneumon (*nims*) and the *fa'r al-ṭayyil* "Scutch-grass rat" is the Golunda, a countryside predator of the rice-plantations. Finally, by contamination between the roots *F'-R* and *F-W-R*, *fa'ra* is wrongly substituted for *fāra* "odour" in the names *Fa'rat al-ibil* (for *fārat al-ibil*), a special odour which camels emit once they are watered, after being satiated with fragrant plants, and *fa'rat al-misk* "odour of musk" (and not "musk rat"), a name given to the contents of the musk vesicle (*nāfidja*) of a "small animal" (*duwayyba*) hunted in Tibet and which, despite its false name *djwadh al-misk* "musk rat", is not a rat (*Hayawān*, iii, 514, v, 301-4, vi, 27, vii, 210-11). Al-Djāhīz adds that the name of *fa'r al-misk* is given to certain house rats which emit a characteristic odour similar to musk.

C. **KHULD** (pl. *khlūdān* and dial. *khlūda*) and its doublet *djuldā* (pl. *maḡḡālidh*, *manāḡḡidh*), of Aramaic origin (Hebrew *hōled* in Levit. xi, 29), is the name of the Mole rat or Blind rat (*Spalax typhlus*) a vegetarian rodent and burrower widespread in Egypt, in the Near East and in Arabia, especially in Yemen; it there takes the place of the common mole (*Talpa europaea*) which does not exist there. This Mole rat is also called *abū a'mā*, *fa'r a'mā* "blind rat" because its very small eyeball disappears beneath a cutaneous fold; similarly, the absence in it of an external ear made it said (*Hayawān*, ii, 112, iv, 410; *Hayāt al-hayawān*, i, 297 ff.) that it was also deaf and that it only guided itself underground by its sense of smell. Furthermore, its great distrust is at the origin of the proverbial expression *asma' min khlūd* "with hearing finer than that of the Mole rat". So believing it blind, deaf and an insectivore, the ancients supposed that it fed itself by staying with its mouth open at the entrance of its hole and swallowing the flies which came to settle on its tongue (*Hayawān*, ii, 112).

Known since the most ancient antiquity, the Blind Mole rat (the ἀεπάλαξ of Aristotle) was however more familiar to the Arabs as it was, according to the sayings of all the Muslim authors, the direct agent of Allāh in the breaking of the famous dam of Ma'rīb [see *MA'RIB*] around the year 542 A.D. It was said to have provoked by its labyrinth of galleries the fatal fissures through which the mass of devastating waters burst forth, the *sayl al-arim* mentioned in the *Kur'an* (XXXIV, 15-16). With the word *'arim*, probably of Himyarite origin, the Arab philologists tentatively saw in it a plural (sing. *'arima*) signifying at once "dikes", "rats" and "torrential rains" (*LA*, s.v. *'R-M*). Although archaeologists have established the majority of the combined causes of this catastrophe (poor maintenance, silting up and hence raising of the level, flooding of the wadi and perhaps simultaneous earth tremors) which brought about a diaspora of the local tribes, it is the Mole rat which, in the general opinion, remains the instrument of this divine chastisement. It is not, however, to be ruled out that it played its part in the collapse of the gigantic earth dike, magnificently linking the works at the two ends of the dam, for this eager borer of the soil lives in sizable colonies and is particularly prolific; the proverb *afṣad min khlūd* "more ravaging than a Mole-rat" is there to confirm its misdeeds.

As for the mole (of the two strains *europaea* and *romana*), it is only known in the Maghrib, and it is to the Latin *talpa* that it owes its names *ṭawbīn/ṭūbīn* in Hispano-Moorish (cf. Spanish *topo*) and *ṭūbba* in the modern dialects; compared to a rodent, it is also named *fāra* 'amyā "blind rat". By failing to distinguish between the mole and Mole rat, the majority of Arab lexicographers, with *khlūd*, maintained the confusion between these two quite different species. For a good system, it seems that in modern Arabic *khlūdīyyāt* defines clearly the Spalacids and *ṭawbīyyāt* the Talpids.

D. **YARBŪ'** (fem. *-a*, pl. *yarābī'*) having passed to *djārbū'* pl. *djārābī* in dialects (Pers. *mūsh dō pā*, Tamahak, *edewi*, pl. *idewan*), designates at once the jerboa in general (types *Dipus*, *Jaculus*, *Alactagulus*, *Alactaga*), and the gerbil and the jird (types *Gerbillus*, *Meriones*, *Psammomys* and *Pachyuromys*). All these small rodents and leapers of desert and steppe are very similar in appearance, gait and ways; each of them can be compared with a miniature kangaroo with a long tail ending in a brush rather



like a spear and its head, hence its ancient name of *dhū 'l-rumayh* "with the small spear" given to every species. The Arabs, nevertheless, distinguished the jerboa and gerbil, calling the former *yarbū' shufārī* "the great" and the latter *yarbū' tadmūrī* "the small"; in our own time, the Marāzīg of Tunisia make the same difference with *shāhī* and *fār ahmar*. From Africa to Arabia, as many geographical strains of jerboas are enumerated as of gerbils and jirds, but, without attempting a system for the most part complicated, it is to be maintained that the most common jerboa is that said to be of Egypt (*Jaculus jaculus* or *Jaculus aegyptius*) which is to be found from Mauritania to the Arabo-Persian Gulf; it is this of which the Arab authors speak and al-Djāhīz (*Hayawān*, v, 260, v, 385) then al-Damīrī (*Hayāt* . . . , ii, 409) mention some similarities between its behaviour and that of the hare [see ARNAB, above], notably in their common ruse of *tawbīr* or *zamū'* consisting of only resting, in light soil, on the shaggy pads (*zama'āt*) of the heels in order to leave the faintest possible tracks. But it is especially for its genius at escaping (*nifāk*, *tanfīk*) when it is hunted that the jerboa is famous among the Bedouins who, at all times, eagerly hunted it as choice game. By day, the jerboa lies asleep at the bottom of its underground lair with many obstructed outlets, with a small pile of spoil earth showing them on the outside. The hunter who, in order to dislodge it, sounds the corridors of the burrow with a long stick cannot divine the exit from which the animal is going to spring out; if it finally comes out, it is with such bounds and such abrupt swerves that it very often keeps in check the most alert saluki. After tens of metres of frantic running, it soon seeks to plunge back into the ground. These retreat outlets of the jerboa bear the names *nāfikā'*, *kāsi'ā'*, *rāhiṭā'*, *dām-mā'* (see Ibn Sīduh, *Mukhaṣṣaṣ*, viii, 92), and it is from the first of these words (root *N-F-K*) that there is derived (according to the philologists and exegetes) the Qur'ānic meaning of *nifāk* "dissimulation, duplicity, hypocrisy" in the matter of faith (al-Damīrī, *Hayāt* . . . , ii, 408-9).

In the pre-Islamic period, the Bedouins used to refrain from hunting the jerboa by night for, like the hedgehog and porcupine [see KUNFUDH], it passed for a mount of the *djinn*. Jerboas, gerbils and jirds live in small societies, of which each one colonises a sector (*ard marba'a*), and it was also believed that, as with the monkeys [see KIRD], they each had a chief in the role of nocturnal sentinel of the group and ensuring a permanent surveillance for the security of the young (*dirṣ*, pl. *adrās*, *durūs*) who could easily stray, as the proverb says *aḍall min walad al-yarbū'* "straying more than the young of the jerboa"; if the chief relaxed his vigilance, he was hunted and replaced.

Finally, the great round, jet black eye of the jerboa is used as an image in the Maghrib, where *ʿayn al-djārbū'* designates a large buck-shot for shooting large game and, in Tunis, the colour "mouse grey" is called *djārbū'i* "jerboa grey".

Of all these small creatures of the soil (*hasharāt al-ard*) which *fa'r* represents, only the jerboa, in Qur'ānic law, was recognised as legal for consumption by three of the four juridical schools of orthodoxy, the Ḥanafīs contesting this legality. For all the other rodents, the prohibition of consumption relates not only to their flesh, but also to every commodity in which they have put their teeth (*su'r al-fa'r*) "rats, mice scraps" and every alimentary liquid (oil, milk, honey, vinegar, etc.) in

which one of them has fallen (*fa'ir*); also any product "contaminated" cannot be put on sale.

In urban areas, the destruction of invading rats and mice has always been a permanent necessity and the means employed, in mediaeval Islam, were very varied, but their absolute efficacy was rarely assured. The most widespread method was poisoning with the aid of baits prepared for the purpose; the poisons which they contained were either of vegetable or chemical origin. As toxic plants they used the sea-onion (*scilla maritima*), *ʿunṣul bahrī* called *baṣal al-fa'r* "rat onion", the rose bay (*nerium oleander*), *diḥlā*, *samm al-himār* "donkey's poison" and the hyoscyamus (*hyoscyamus albus*), and *bandj*. Among chemical products they had vitriol (*kalkand*), sulphur of arsenic (*shakk*, *shubha*, *rayb*, *rahaḍī*) or "ratsbane" (*samm al-fa'r*), called in 'Irāk *turāb hālik* "killer earth", which was extracted in Khurāsān, and litharge (*murtak*, *mur-dāsandj*); oxgall, donkey's urine and iron filings were also included in these preparations. Another practice was to smoke out the holes of the rodents by burning cumin, horn of horse's hoof and natron (*naṭrūn*). Cages were made with several systems of fall-traps and box-traps in pottery, whose patterns are still in use, but the simplest and most effective was that which al-Asadī (*Djāmhara*, . . . ms. Escorial, Ar. 903, fols. 165b-166a) advocates in the 7th/13th century and which consists of a basin filled with water and on which is placed a rolling-pin (*shawbak*), baited in the middle with some dripping or cheese; attracted, the greedy rodent, creeping along this unsteady pole, makes it shake unavoidably with its own weight from one side to the other and ends up by drowning. Complementing all these stratagems, a permanent hunt was assured in homes and shops by small domestic carnivores such as the cat, the aforementioned weasel, the civet (*zabād*) and the genet (*djamūt*). The protection of doves [see ḤAMAM] against the rats which preyed on the eggs consists, in our own time still, of encircling the outside of the flight grilles with a covering of completely varnished ceramic squares at the bottom of a slope; sometimes the exit holes consisted of pottery pipes going well outside in order to place an insurmountable obstacle in the way of every climber, and this is a method constantly employed in the pigeon-houses which adorn the Nile Valley. To all these direct means of defence must be added the rich arsenal of magic formulas, talismans and conjuring practices which serve to reinforce in the imagination the chances of success; of these, one of the most widespread was to kill a mouse, cut off its tail and bury it in the communal room of the house.

In ancient healing, the specific virtues attributed to the corporeal elements of rodents were relatively limited. The head of a mouse placed in a linen cloth and applied to the head was used to dispel migraine and headache. The eye of a rat carried as a talisman allayed malaria; the upper lip of a Mole rat had the same effect, while the blood of the latter was a beneficial eye-lotion for all ocular troubles. The spoil earth of its galleries and its brain mixed with rose water made a good plaster against gout. Finally, one of the most curious and useful properties was that of the urine of a mouse which, it appears, perfectly erases ink on parchments. It is to be supposed that the difficulty was in procuring a little of this precious liquid, but it could be achieved by capturing in a small cage-trap, one or a number of mice and rigging up at the bottom of the device a small spout leading to a bottle. It was then suffi-



cient to provoke a sudden irruption of the house cat in order to achieve, under the effect of the terror, among the captives, the awaited physiological reaction of urination; it is this, at least, which al-Damīrī (*op. cit.*, ii, 2009 suggests, who seems to have experimented with this stratagem with the aim of reusing parchments, this material being always very highly valued in the Middle Ages.

From this glimpse of the manner in which Muslim opinion treated rats and mice, these terrible carriers of plague and cholera, it is evident that in Islam they scarcely enjoyed any more credit than in Christianity and that there was no good to be expected from this race of parasites on the fruits of man's labour; the experience which this old Moroccan adage conceals: *el-fār mā ka-yūled ghēr haḥfār* "the rat/mouse can only beget a grave-digger" sums up well this general contempt.

Bibliography (apart from the references cited in the text): Amin al-Ma'lūf, *Muḍjam al-hayawān. An Arabic zoological dictionary*, Cairo 1932; E. Ghaleb, *al-Mawsū'a fī 'ulūm al-ḥayāt*, Dictionary of natural sciences, Beirut 1965; L. Lavauden, *Les vertébrés du Sahara*, Tunis 1926; M. Lhote, *La chasse chez les Touareg*, Paris 1951; Firūz Iskandar, *Rāhmā-yi pistāndārān-i Irān, Guide to mammals of Iran*, Tehran 1977.

(F. VIRÉ)

AL-FĀRĀBĪ, ABŪ IBRĀHĪM IṢḤĀK B. IBRĀHĪM, lexicographer. The early sources are sparse in regard to him. Only Yāqūt gives him a whole notice (*Udabā'*, vi, 61-5 = *Iṣḥād*, ii, 226-9); al-Suyūṭī reproduces a few extracts from this adding nothing (*Bughya*, i, 437-8); and al-Kifṭī speaks of him only incidentally in his *Inbā'* (i, 52-3), in his notice on Abu 'l-'Alā' al-Ma'arrī.

His date of birth is unknown, but he probably died in 350/961 (the date given by Brockelmann, I, 133, and Kraemer, 212). He was the maternal uncle of al-Djāwharī, author of the *Siḥāh* (d. ca. 400/1009 [q.v.]), which keeps al-Fārābī within the 4th/10th century and excludes the date of 450/1058 (Yāqūt, vi, 62; cf. al-Kifṭī, *Inbā'*, i, 53). He lived in his natal town of Fārāb [q.v.]. Yāqūt, *loc. cit.*, reports, however, on the authority of the *kādī* Yūsuf b. Ibrāhīm al-Kifṭī (father of the author of the *Inbā'*) from the Yemen, where he resided, that al-Fārābī went to the Yemen, lived in Zabīd, composed there his *Diwān al-adab* and died there also, before he had been able to teach it, at a date ca. 450 A.H.; but Yāqūt himself, on the basis of all the historical details which he had brought together (vi, 63-5), rejects the reports of the *kādī* Yūsuf (vi, 65). Yāqūt bases himself here on, in particular (vi, 63), the fact that he had read as follows, written in al-Djāwharī's own hand, *ḥara'tuhu 'alā Ibrāhīm, raḥimahu Allāh, bi-Fārāb* "I read it [sc. the *Diwān al-adab*] at Fārāb with [Abū] Ibrāhīm [the author]". Elsewhere Yāqūt says (vi, 159, notice on al-Djāwharī), "I found at Tibrīz a copy of the *Diwān al-adab*, written in al-Djāwharī's hand (*bi-khatt al-Dj.*) in the year 383". It is also appropriate to consider the old mss. to be mentioned further on.

For his part, al-Kifṭī (*Inbā'*, i, 52) repeats an anecdote which brings in Abu 'l-'Alā' al-Ma'arrī in order to explain how the Yemenis were able to believe that al-Fārābī had come to the Yemen, as they asserted; this anecdote has pungency, but hardly any value.

The *Diwān al-adab*'s editor, Aḥmad Mukhtār 'Umar, in his sketch of the author (i, 3-10), also rejects this alleged trip to Yemen (6) and considers

it reasonable to think that he went to Bukhārā and Baghdād, especially as he would only have been able to find in the latter city the necessary material for the composition of the *Diwān al-adab*; hence it is very probable that it was put together in Baghdād. All this, however, is a question only of probabilities. For al-Fārābī's sources, see *ibid.*, i, 31.

He taught his book at Fārāb and it became known in neighbouring regions (i, 7), and it was there that the earliest study on his work appeared, in the shape of the *Tahdhīb Diwān al-adab* of al-Hasan b. al-Muzaḥḥar al-Naysābūrī, a *luḡhawī* who lived in Khwārazm and died in 442/1050-1 (*ibid.*).

The *Diwān al-adab* [*fī bayān luḡhat al-'Arab*], according to the complete title in the Oxford ms. (Kraemer, 212) is an original dictionary. The vocabulary is set forth according to the forms (*wazn*); under each *wazn*, in the alphabetical order of the last radical consonant. This innovation had a great renown in Arabic lexicography; al-Djāwharī adopted this arrangement for his *Siḥāh*, and it became widespread. Al-Fārābī nevertheless retained something of al-Khalīl's way: he divided the subject-matter up into six *kutub* (1) the *Kitāb al-sālim*; (2) the *K. al-muḍā'af*; (3) the *K. al-mithāl*; (4) the *K. dhawāt al-lḥalāṭha* [the *adwaf*]; (5) the *K. dhawāt al-arba'a*; and (6) the *K. al-hamza*. In each *kitāb* there came first the nouns and then the verbs, strictly separated.

This dictionary arranged by *wazn* is a precious aid for Arabic philological studies, for it permits one to study these *wazns*. But for practical consultation it is not easy. Aḥmad Mukhtār 'Umar's edition is with the *muḥadda'a* of Ibrāhīm Anīs, who opens the first volume with a *tasdir*. So far, three volumes have appeared at Cairo (1394/1974 and each following year), and a fourth will give the *Kitābs* 5 and 6 and indices. Brockelmann lists 30 mss. (I, 133, S I, 195-6, III, 1196); the editor cites 23 of these (i, 31-2), but has based his text on five, and especially on the two oldest, from 391 and from before 390 (i, 57-60).

Hādījī Khalīfa in his *Kashf al-zunūn* confused the *Diwān al-adab* with al-Zamakhsharī's *Muḥaddimat al-adab*, see the editor's *muḥaddima* (p. 1), and there is also a confusion between al-Fārābī the lexicographer and al-Fārābī the philosopher (*ibid.*).

The *Diwān al-adab* had a deep influence on al-Djāwharī's dictionary, which not only followed the arrangement by the last radical, but also took over the same subject matter, making Kopf observe justly [see AL-DJĀWHARĪ] that the latter's own contribution was minimal. Al-Fārābī's work also had an influence, in regard to method, on the *Shams al-'ulūm* of Nashwān al-Himyārī, according to the editor (i, 52-3), and on two Arabic-Persian dictionaries, those of Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Husayn al-Zawzanī (d. 486/1093) and of Abū Djāfar Aḥmad al-Bayhaḳī (d. 504/1110-11). It was further the model, in regard to form, of the Turkish dictionary by Maḥmūd al-Kāshgharī, the *Diwān luḡhat al-turk* (Kraemer, 212).

Lost works of al-Fārābī include a *Bayān al-irāb* and a *Sharḥ Adab al-kātib*, mentioned by Yāqūt (vi, 63). Al-Suyūṭī, *Muzhir*, i, 211, gives an extract from a *K. al-alfāz wa 'l-hurūf* on the value of the tribes for their 'arabiyya. He begins it thus: *kāla Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī*, which was the *kunya* of the philosopher, and the editor, following Ibrāhīm Anīs, sees here an error by al-Suyūṭī (as earlier by Abū Ḥayyān) and prefers to connect the work with Abū Ibrāhīm al-Fārābī the lexicographer. Both these scholars are unaware of the *K. al-Hurūf* of Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī, published in Beirut



1969 (Recherches, Série 1, vol. 46) and edited by Muḥsin Maḥdī. *K. al-Ḥurūf* is the oldest title by which the work has been known, but since Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a it has been known as the *K. al-ʿAlfāz wa 'l-ḥurūf* (*muḥaddima*, 34). Al-Suyūṭī's citation is indeed there (147, and not at the beginning), but not word-for-word; it seems that al-Suyūṭī made a résumé of what al-Fārābī said and then added something of his own, according to the editor's explanation (*muḥaddima*, 40). Hence there is no reason for attributing to the lexicographer al-Fārābī an allegedly lost *K. al-ʿAlfāz wa 'l-ḥurūf*.

Bibliography: J. Kraemer, *Studien zur altarabischen Lexikographie*, in *Oriens*, vi (1953), 201-38; al-Kifī, *Inḥā' al-nuḥāt 'alā anḥāh al-nuḥāt*, i, Cairo 1369/1950; al-Suyūṭī, *Bughyat al-wuṭāt fī ṭabaḳāt al-nuḥāt*, i, Cairo 1384/1964. There is a description of the *Diwān al-adab* by Ḥusayn Naṣṣār, in *al-Muḍjam al-ʿarabī, naṣḥ'atuhu walaṭawwuruḥu*, i, Cairo 1375/1956, 176-81, exposition by the editor at i, 10-53; See also the authors cited in the text.

(H. FLEISCH)

FARĀMŪSH-KHĀNA (P. *farāmūsh* "forgotten" and *khāna* "house"), the word used in Iran to designate a centre of masonic activities. The term seems to have originated in India, where a masonic lodge was first founded by the British in 1730. The earliest known references in Persian sources to the idea of freemasonry in general and to Indian masonic activity in particular can be found in the writings of 'Abd al-Laṭīf Shūshṭarī Ḍjazā'irī, a Persian émigré to India. Writing in 1801, 'Abd al-Laṭīf believed that the reason why the Indians and the Persian-speaking people of India call the freemasons *farāmūsh* was that whatever questions were put to them—many of whom were Muslim—they answered: "It is not in my memory" (*Tuḥfat al-ʿālam*, Ḥaydarābād 1846, 292). The usage might have easily passed from India to Irān, as, in the opinion of 'Abd al-Ḡhanī Mīrzāyev, it also passed from there to the Persians of Central Asia, where Ahmad Maḥdūm Dānīsh of Bukhārā saw elements of absolute happiness for mankind in the idea of a *farāmūsh-khāna*, see his *Asnād-i ḍiādīd rāḍī' bi farāmūsh-khāna va ba'dī az makāsid-i ahl-i ān*, in *Ḍaṣṣ-nāma-yi Muḥammad Parvān Gūnābādī*, ed. Muḥsin Abu 'l-Kāsimī, Tehran 1975, 409-20).

One of the early Persian-speaking travellers to Europe who gave an account of freemasonry was Mīrzā Abū Ṭālib Ṭīfahānī, son of another Persian émigré to India. He travelled and lived in Europe from 1798 till 1803. While in London (21 January 1800 to 7 June 1802), Abū Ṭālib, who was in close association with a number of distinguished English men and women, was urged to join "the freemasons who are being called *farāmūshān* by foreigners". Being somewhat critical of freemasonry, Abū Ṭālib claims to have refused the offer, but he describes in detail a high-class and colourful party to which "no one but the freemasons" were invited (*Maṣīr-i Ṭālibī*, Tehran 1973, 151-2).

The first Iranian person known to have joined freemasonry in Europe was 'Askar Khān Afshār Arūmī, a high-ranking dignitary of the Qājār royal court. 'Askar Khān, who was on a diplomatic mission to the court of Napoleon, was initiated into the lodge of the Philosophic Scottish Rite in Paris in 1808. The second initiate is known to have been Mīrzā Abu 'l-Ḥasan Khān Īlčī, the first Iranian ambassador to England. He was initiated in London in 1810 under the guidance of Sir Gore Ouseley who, after Īlčī's initiation became the British

Ambassador to Iran. Īlčī's friendly relations with the British were so close that he received a monthly payment from the East India Company from 1810 till his death in 1846. Another early Iranian man to have been happily initiated into freemasonry was Mīrzā Šāliḥ Shīrāzī, one of the students sent to England in 1815. Mīrzā Šāliḥ joined the *farāmūsh-khāna* in London in 1817. A "Mr. Harris" who was known to Mīrzā Šāliḥ as "the chief of the *farāmūsh-khāna*" had honoured him with two masonic ranks. A week before his departure from London, Mīrzā Šāliḥ was urged by Mr. Harris to attend their masonic lodge in order to receive the rank of a master in masonic hierarchy; "otherwise", Harris said to Šāliḥ, "you will go back to Iran with defects" (Mīrzā Šāliḥ, *Safar-nāma*, Tehran 1968, 189, 372, 374).

Generally speaking, almost all the Iranian notables who went abroad in the 19th century, either as exiles like Riḍā-kulī, Naḍjaf-kulī, and Taymūr, three Qājār princes (in 1835), or as diplomatic representatives such as 'Abd Allāh Garṃrūdī (in 1839), Farrukh Khān Amīn al-Dawla (in 1857), and many others, were initiated into freemasonry lodges. According to some reports, the Iranians were very curious to find out about freemasonry; they were given the impression that freemasonry had an oriental origin and that the Persians should revive this ancient tradition. Masonic activity particularly appealed to Iranian modernist thinkers because of the attachment of the impressive and generally misleading slogan "liberté, égalité, fraternité" to continental freemasonry. Thus we see spokesmen of modernism such as Sayyid Ḍjamāl al-Dīn Asadābādī "Afghānī" and Mīrzā Fath 'Alī Akhūnd-Zāda well-inclined to freemasonry. It seems, however, that Ḍjūdānbāshī, who believed that the *farāmūsh-khāna* "lacks anything which may bring benefit to religion and state", was one among few exceptions (Muḥammad Muṣṭafī, *Sharḥ-i ma'mūriyyat-i Ḍjūdānbāshī*, Tehran 1968, 398).

Despite their existence in Irān, the Iranian masons do not seem to have carried on any noticeable masonic activity during the first half of the 19th century. However, in 1858 Mīrzā Malkam Khān Nāẓim al-Dawla who had been initiated into the *Sincère amitié*, a masonic lodge in Paris, in 1857, established for the first time a *farāmūsh-khāna* in Tehran. Malkam had reportedly secured Nāẓir al-Dīn Shāh's full consent for this, but his *farāmūsh-khāna* was not recognised by any internationally-known masonic lodge. Many distinguished individuals joined the *farāmūsh-khāna*. Accounts of the motives behind the establishment of the *farāmūsh-khāna* are abundant, but it seems clear that through this secret organisation, Malkam was able to introduce his audiences to modern social and political ideas. However, some internal forces, including traditionalist conservatives, and external elements such as the Russians, turned Nāẓir al-Dīn Shāh against it, so that he declared its abolition in 1861 in these words: "From now on, if the phrase *farāmūsh-khāna* comes out of anyone's mouth, let alone his possible involvement in its organisation, he will be most severely punished by the government" (Maḥmūd Katīrā'ī, *Farāmāsūnī dar Irān*, Tehran 1968, 74).

Malkam Khān's *farāmūsh-khāna* was accordingly closed, but the secret activities did not entirely die out. Those who were acquainted with the *farāmūsh-khāna* gathered together secretly and, after the assassination in 1896 of Nāẓir al-Dīn Shāh, they



founded a secret society called the *Djāmi'-i ādamīyyat* ("League of Humanity") on the basis of Malkam's *farāmūsh-khāna* and propagated Malkam's ideas. This secret society was headed by 'Abbās-kulī Khān Ādamiyyat and composed of distinguished Iranians; it was actively involved in the Persian Constitutional Revolution of 1906. Certain members of this society organised a masonic lodge (*ibid.*, 95), and, according to Ismā'il Rā'īn, the society itself contributed to the forward-ing of British policy in Irān (*Farāmūsh-khāna va farāmāsūnī dar Irān*, i, Tehran 1968, 576-7). This society was banned by Muḥammad 'Alī Shāh in 1908. The *andjuman-i ukhuwat* which began to operate openly in 1899 and was active in the Constitutional Revolution is also known to have been formed of members obedient to the international masonic lodges.

Although Sir Arthur Hardinge speaks of a certain amount of masonic activity in Irān at the turn of the present century (Ismā'il Rā'īn, *Andjumanhā-yi sirī dar inkilāb-i mashrūtiyyat-i Irān*, Tehran 1967, 45 ff.), it seems that the first internationally-recognised masonic lodge was established in Tehran in 1907 by the Grand Orient de France and called "Loge du Réveil de l'Iran". Some of the men initiated into this lodge were among the most active participants in the Persian Constitutional Revolution, and some of them, like the Sardār As'ad (Hādjīr 'Alī-kulī Khān Bakhtiyār) were regarded as pro-British (Abdul-Hadi Hairī, *Why did the 'ulamā' participate in the Persian Revolution of 1906-1909?*, in *WI*, xvii (1976), 127-54). Later on, more masonic lodges were established in Shirāz (1919), Ābādān (1920), Masjdīd-i Sulaymān (1924), and Tehran (1951, 1957). Also, an American lodge was founded in Tehran in 1962; to this lodge were reportedly affiliated the Rotary Club, World Brothers' Club, and Moral Re-armament (Rā'īn, *Farāmāsūnī*, iii, 11-477).

Due to the secret character of freemasonry, literature on Persian masonic experience was quite scanty and fragmentary until recently. Some treatises were written for and against the Malkam *Farāmūsh-khāna* in the 1860s, but they were not then published (for the text of two such treatises, consult Katīrā'i, *op. cit.*, 159-93). Apparently the first Persian book which was wholly devoted to the subject was published in India in 1874. For more elaborate accounts of Persian freemasonry, we have to had wait until the 1960s, when a number of informative books and articles appeared, although most of them were largely inaccurate and poorly-documented. The most informative of all is Rā'īn's above-quoted three-volume work (1968) which contains, among other things, the names of many living Iranians who have been affiliated to masonic lodges. The author's own name, however, was omitted "despite his alleged membership of an American affiliated lodge" (Hamid Algar, *An introduction to the history of Freemasonry in Iran*, in *Middle Eastern Studies*, vi (1970), 293).

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(ABDUL-HADI HAIRI)

FARANGĪ MAḤALL, a family of prominent Indian Hanafī theologians and mystics flourishing from the 12th/18th century to the present day. The family traces its ancestry through the great scholar and mystic Kh'ādja 'Abd Allāh Anṣārī of Harāt to Ayyūb Anṣārī, the Prophet's host in Medina. It is not known when the family migrated to India but, according to the family biographers, one 'Alā' al-Dīn settled in Sihālī of the Awadh [q.v.] province of north India during the 8th/14th century. His descendant, Mullā Ḥāfiẓ, was acknowledged as a distinguished 'ālim by the emperor Akbar who made a generous *madad-i ma'ash* grant in his favour in 967/1559 (Anṣārī, *A very early farmān of Akbar*, see *Bibl.*). In 1103/1692 the great-great-grandson of Mullā Ḥāfiẓ, Mullā Kuṭb al-Dīn, who was also hailed as a leading 'ālim of his time, was murdered in a squabble over land and his library burned. The emperor Awrangzib recompensed his four sons by assigning to them a European indigo merchant's palace in Lucknow and by granting pensions to support their scholarly work. Around 1106/1695 the family moved from Sihālī to the palace which was known as Farangī Maḥall.

The descendants of Kuṭb al-Dīn made Farangī Maḥall into a centre of learning which for 250 years attracted scholars not only from all parts of India but also from places as far away as Arabia and China. Teaching was the profession of most Farangī Maḥallis and the man who first established their reputation was Mullā Nizām al-Dīn [q.v.], the third son of Kuṭb al-Dīn. In the early 12th/18th century he made Farangī Maḥall into the biggest centre of learning in north India. Students from outside Lucknow were boarded at the city's Tila mosque, which had room for 700, and the expenses involved were met in part by the Mughal emperors (Anṣārī, *Bānī-i Dars-i Nizāmī*, 88-9). Yet there was at this time no *madrasa* in Farangī Maḥall, and no central organising institution; members of the family simply taught in their homes those who came to them. This remained the pattern of teaching for over 200 years. Attempts were made to found a *madrasa* in the 19th century, but only in 1323/1905 did one Farangī Maḥallī, 'Abd al-Bārī [q.v. in Suppl.], coordinate the efforts of his relatives and bring them within an institutional framework. This *Madrasa-yi 'Āliya Nizāmiyya* continued its work until the 1380s/1960s.

Although Farangī Maḥall always remained their base, many of the descendants of Kuṭb al-Dīn travelled widely as teachers. Some like 'Abd al-Bārī and 'Abd al-Bāqī (b. 1286/1869-70) taught in Medina; others taught and set up *madrasas* in India. Notable amongst these are: the great logician, Mullā Ḥasan (d. 1209/1794-5), who left a reputation in Rampūr capable of winning respect and support for the teaching efforts of the Farangī Maḥall family

nearly 200 years later; the extremely successful Malik al-'Ulamā' Mullā Ḥaydar (d. 1256/1840-1), who established the Hyderabad branch of the family and brought Farangī Maḥall into a continuing association with India's most powerful Muslim state; but most important of all, 'Abd al-'Alī Baḥr al-'Ulūm [q.v.] who in the sixty years before his death in 1225/1810-1 taught in Lucknow, Shāhjahānpūr, Rampūr, Buhār and finally in Madras where, through his teaching and through the *madrasa* which he set up in the Wālādjahī mosque, he inspired a revival of learning in South India.

In Lucknow and wherever they travelled, the Farangī Maḥall family pioneered a new curriculum known as the *Dars-i Nizāmiyya*. Till recently this curriculum has formed the basis of most *madrasa* courses in India, including that of the *Dār al-'ulūm* at Deoband. The *Dars-i Nizāmiyya* was created by Mullā Nizām al-Dīn. It is designed to direct the student only to the most difficult or most comprehensive books on each subject, so that he is both forced to think and has a chance of finishing his education by the age of sixteen or seventeen. The curriculum has been criticised for placing too much emphasis on the rational sciences. This seems unjustified. It stipulates no specific bias and insists on no particular books. It is at bottom a way of teaching and the emphasis is left to those who use it.

Members of the Farangī Maḥall family also wrote much, and amongst the most prolific were Mullā Mubīn (d. 1225/1810-11) and 'Abd al-Bārī who wrote 111 books. Of course, many of their books were glosses and super-glosses on the classical texts they taught, but there were also works on mysticism and collections of poetry; there were biographies like 'Ināyat Allāh's *Tadhkira-yi 'ulamā'-i Farangī Maḥall* which is the major source of family history; and then there was a variety of work from versatile scholars like Walī Allāh (1182-1270/1768-1853) who ranged from a commentary on the Qur'ān in five volumes to a treatise on government, *Adāb al-salāṭīn*. Works which should be noted in particular are: Mullā Ḥasan's text on logic which has been popular for nearly 200 years amongst those teaching the *Dars-i Nizāmiyya*, Baḥr al-'Ulūm's study of Rūmī's *Mathnawī*, and Mullā Nizām al-Dīn's work on the life and deeds of his friend and *pīr*, Sayyid 'Abd al-Razzāk of Bānsa, *Manāḳib-i Razzākīyya*. The works of one prolific scholar, who wrote almost entirely in Arabic, stand before all. 'Abd al-Ḥayy al-Lakhnawī's *al-Sī'āya fī kashf mā fī sharḥ al-wikāya*, his *al-Taḥīk al-mumadīdīyad* and his *Ẓafar al-amānī* establish him as one of the greatest scholars of recent times [see 'ABD AL-HAYY]. These books, together with his collection of *fatāwa*, are still much used by Muslims both inside and outside India and have led to Lucknow being known as the "city of 'Abd al-Ḥayy".

The scholarship of the Farangī Maḥall family placed particular emphasis on jurisprudence and logic, which was to be expected from 'ulamā', many of whose pupils were initially destined to become government servants and who with this in mind were patronised by the Mughal emperors. They represented a distinctly different tradition to that founded by Shāh Walī Allāh [q.v.] of Dihlī in the 12th/18th century and sustained by the Deoband school from the 13th/19th century. The Farangī Maḥallis fostered the skills designed to support Muslim states; the followers of Walī Allāh were concerned to develop the resources to enable Muslims to cope with the loss of political power. They looked

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back to classical Islam emphasising in their scholarship the Qur'ān and the *Hadīth*. Followers of the two traditions of course crossed swords. 'Abd al-Hayy had a notable exchange with Nawwāb Shiddīq Hasan Khān [q.v.], the leader of the Ahl al-*Ḥadīth* (Saeedullah, 93-101), while 'Abd al-'Alī debated so successfully with 'Abd al-'Azīz of Dihlī, Shāh Walī Allāh's son, that 'Abd al-'Azīz felt compelled to address him as Baḥr al-'Ulūm or "Sea of knowledge" (Ināyat Allāh, *Tadhkira*, 141). A further feature of the Farangī Maḥall tradition was tolerance, and though Lucknow is renowned for its Shī'ī-Sunni quarrels, many Shī'īs sat at the feet of these learned Sunnis. Their independence of mind was another characteristic. Mullā Nizām al-Dīn, for instance, gave *fatāwā* at variance with many of those in the great legal guide of his time, the *Fatāwā Ālamgiri* (Anṣārī, *Bānī-i Dars-i Nizāmī*, 163-4), while the great strength of 'Abd al-Hayy as a scholar was his capacity to cast aside precedent and go back to first principles in promoting an understanding of Islam. Much work needs to be done before the scholarly achievement of the Farangī Maḥall family can be fully appreciated, but Shibli Nu'mānī did not exaggerate when, after visiting Farangī Maḥall in 1313-14/1896, he summed it up in these words: "This is the Cambridge of India" (Shibli, 99).

The Farangī Maḥallīs, however, were not just scholars; they were also, to a man, mystics. Even 'Abd al-Hayy, whose grave is one of bare earth open to the skies, stressed the benefits of visiting the shrine at Bānsa and in his will urged his relatives to study Imām al-Ghazālī's *Ihyā' 'ulūm al-dīn*. As in their scholarship, the mysticism of the Farangī Maḥallīs with its heavy concentration on the saint's tomb and the celebration of 'urs contrasted strikingly with the later Walī Allāh-Deobandī tradition which eschewed such practices. Moderate supporters of the doctrine of *waḥdat al-wuḥūd*, they continued to study and to teach the works of Ibn al-'Arabī up to the 20th century. Sayyid 'Abd al-Razzāk (d. 5 Shawwāl 1136/27 June 1724), the illiterate *pīr* of the Kādirī order, was the saint to whom all members of this learned Farangī Maḥall family looked. They regarded their association with 'Abd al-Razzāk as crucial to their spiritual well-being, while the *saḍḍjādās* of his shrine at Bānsa some 30 miles from Lucknow were careful to pay the scholars of Farangī Maḥall especial respect. There are also three important *silsilas* which run through the family. The shrine of Mullā Nizām al-Dīn in Lucknow, which is renowned for the benefit it can bring the mentally disturbed and scholars in difficulty; the shrine of Shāh Anwār al-Haqq, and his successors and followers, which is also in Lucknow; and the shrine of Mawlānā 'Abd al-'Alī Baḥr al-'Ulūm which is in the Walādjāhī Mosque at Triplicane, Madras. There are, furthermore, three important *silsilas* which run through the family: the Kādirī flowing from Sayyid 'Abd al-Razzāk of Bānsa, the Čishtī-Nizāmī from Shāh Kudrat Allāh Nizāmī of Saḥīpur, and the Čishtī-Šābirī which goes back through Mullā Kuṭb al-Dīn to Shaykh Muḥibb Allāh of Allāhābād, the great proponent of Ibn al-'Arabī, to Shāh Aḥmad 'Abd al-Haqq of Radawli.

By the present century, the springs of Indian mysticism were failing, but where they still flowed, the Farangī Maḥall family were often prominent. They had connections with many of the major shrines in North India. They taught the sons of many *saḍḍjādās* at the Madrasa-yi 'Āliya Nizāmiyya, the calendar of which was arranged to enable stu-

dents to attend important 'urs. Consequently, the Farangī Maḥallīs were given much respect. The last important *pīr* of the family was 'Abd al-Bārī. His influence was ramified widely throughout North Indian society, where his disciples ranged from the cadets of great landed families to politicians such as Muḥammad and Shawkat 'Alī and to relatives of the *saḍḍjādās* of the most important shrine in India, that of Mu'īn al-Dīn Čishtī at Adjimīr. His influence, and that of Farangī Maḥall, was demonstrated when at the 'urs of Mu'īn al-Dīn Čishtī in 1334/1916 he played the leading role in founding the Bazm-i Šūfiyya-yi Hind, which aimed to revive and to reform Indian mysticism.

From the time when they were established in Farangī Maḥall, the descendants of Kuṭb al-Dīn, through the expansion of the family, through teaching, through writing, through giving *fatāwā* and through providing spiritual leadership, made wide connections throughout Indo-Muslim society. As modern politics developed, these connections represented a significant network of influence reaching from Lucknow to Madras and from Karachi to Chittagong. When the Farangī Maḥallīs wished to organise an India-wide movement, as in the campaign to protect the holy places of Islam embodied in the Andjuman-i Khuddām-i Ka'ba [q.v. in Suppl.] founded in 1331/1913, or in the campaign to support the Sharīf Husayn against Ibn Sa'ūd in 1343-4/1925-6, their activities were based on this network. Moreover, it played a similar role when Farangī Maḥallīs joined "modern" politicians in the great religio-political movements of the period. They were in the forefront of those driving forward the Indian *Khilāfat* movement up to the end of 1338/1920, while they were again prominent in the revival of the All-India Muslim League after 1356/1937. In all these campaigns Farangī Maḥall 'ulamā' promoted policies which, as in most other things, Deobandī 'ulamā' either found difficult to support or opposed outright. This Deobandī opposition only serves to illuminate the point that the Farangī Maḥallīs were the first 'ulamā' to enter modern Indian politics. Men such as 'Abd al-Bārī, Salāmat Allāh and 'Ināyat Allāh, orators, writers and builders of organisations, were important channels through which modern politicians based in Dihlī and Lucknow made contact with the Muslim masses.

The contributions of the Farangī Maḥallīs to Muslim education, learning and politics over three centuries make them remarkable among Indo-Muslim families. Family tradition itself helps to explain this record of sustained achievement. Each generation has placed great emphasis on maintaining the family's standards of learning and mystical knowledge. And this process has been helped by the way in which the family has kept together; however far Farangī Maḥallīs strayed in search of a living, most returned to Lucknow to marry, to find solace in times of difficulty and to die. Moreover, the family has remained united except for one division which developed over the succession to Baḥr al-'Ulūm in Madras. Only from the middle of the present century, as Islamic education has retreated before western education and as the partition of the subcontinent has divided the family between India and Pakistan, has the hold of family tradition weakened, and the record of achievement declined.

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(F.C.R. ROBINSON)

FARAS AL-MĀ' (A., pl. *khayl al-mā'*, *khuyūl al-mā'*) and synonyms *faras*, *al-baḥr faras al-nahr*, *faras nahrī*, *ḥiṣān al-baḥr*, denoting the hippopotamus, are nothing other than Arabic translations of its Greek name ὁ ἵππος ὁ ποτάμιος in the works of Herodotus, then ἵπποπόταμος in the works of Galen and Aristotle; Herodotus also calls it ὁ ἵππος τοῦ Νείλου, whence *faras al-Nīl* "horse of the Nile" and Pliny simply translated the Greek as *equus fluvialis*. In Nubia it bears the name *bimīk* and in the Touareg country, *agamba* (pl. *igambaten*) and *bango* (pl. *bangōten*). The epithets *khinzīr al-mā'* (Kazimīrski) and *qāmūs al-baḥr* (Amin al-Ma'lūf) attributed to the hippopotamus seem to be errors of definition.

Belonging to the order of non-ruminant artiodactylae, this bulky African pachyderm (*Hippopotamus amphibius*) forms, with its dwarf relative from Liberia, the recently-discovered pygmy hippopotamus (*Choeropsis liberiensis*), the family of hippopotamids, which is closely related to the suids and whose habitat at the present stretches over central and south-eastern Africa, from Senegal to Ethiopia and the Transvaal. In the mid-Quaternary period it was present in large numbers in Europe and North Africa, as is proved by fossil remains. It was widespread throughout the Sahara in the Neolithic period and at the dawn of recorded history; Hannon, in the course of his famous journey, came across the animal in a river which was probably the Saguiet-el-Hamra flowing to the north of the Rio de Oro. The Nile was a home for these creatures the whole length of its course, including the Delta, until very recent times, since the Neapolitan doctor Zerenghi captured a pair of them in a ditch-trap, in 1609, near Damietta. At the beginning of the 19th century, according to Rüppel, the hippopotamus was still common in Nubia, but today, in order to find it, one must travel down the Nile to a point well beyond Khartoum; the shrinking of its habitat and the rapid drop in its numbers are due to the combined action of the progressive drying-up of the Sahara

and associated regions and uncontrolled destruction on the part of man, black as well as white.

The first mention of the hippopotamus appears to be Biblical, since exegetes identify it with the *Behemoth*, the brute beast (arabised as *bahimūt*, associated with the root *B-H-M*) described in the Book of Job (xl, 10-19), as being one of the first works of God and as embodying blind force along-side the "Leviathan" (possibly the crocodile); whatever the case may be, it is very probable that the waters of the Jordan were acquainted with the creature in those remote times. Common throughout ancient Egypt, the hippopotamus, the walking scourge of crops, was the incarnation, in local mythology, of the maleficent goddess Thoueris, partner in evil to the crocodile god Sobek; a statuette in varnished blue ceramic (Paris, Museum of the Louvre) dating from the 11th Dynasty, or about two thousand years before the Christian era, definitely constitutes one of the most ancient representations of the pachyderm. After the Bible, it is in the works of Herodotus (*Histories*, ii, 71) that we find the oldest description of the "horse of the Nile" based on information, now lost, given by Hecate of Miletus (6th century B.C.); Aristotle was to reproduce this account (*Natural history*), tr. J. Tricot, Paris 1957, i, 127) and after him, a number of authors including Plutarch, Diodorus of Sicily, Strabo, Pausanias and Pliny. For all of them, the image of the hippopotamus is that of a cloven-footed beast like the cow, with a mane and with a horse's whinny, but with a very large and snub nose, and with the tail and tusks of the wild boar. It kills and eats the crocodile and devastates crops on the banks of the river; it is the size "of a donkey" and its hide, impenetrable so long as it is kept dry, is used to make javelins, shields and helmets. In spite of the exhibition of hippopotami at Rome on the occasion of triumphs, and especially at that of Augustus after his victory over Cleopatra, in spite of the presence of a specimen in the menageries of Heliogabalus, and in spite, finally, of a precise description of the animal given by Achilles Tatius and repeated, in the year 325 of the present era, by Eustathius of Cappadocia, the western world was to remain until the Renaissance in almost complete ignorance of the hippopotamus, to the extent that in his *Treasury*, the Florentine Brunetto Latini (13th century) could still write: "l'ypopotame est un peissons qui est apelez cheval fluviel por ce que il naist el flun de Nile." The creature only began to be known with the accounts, in 1544, of P. Gilles and P. Belon who were able to observe at leisure, in Constantinople, one of these animals kept in captivity. In the East, Arab authors, cosmographers and encyclopaedists, while retaining the assertions of Aristotle, were able nevertheless to collect, from Nubia and Abyssinia, more precise information. Thus al-Djāhīz, without himself knowing the animal, reproduces on the subject (*Ḥayawān*, vii, 129-45, 250) some interesting details supplied by travelling merchants. He declares notably that the traces left by the hippopotamus, in the course of its nocturnal sorties, on the muddy banks of the Nile, shows to the river farmers the farthest limit to which the river will rise when in flood, and that, if captured young, the hippopotamus is easily domesticated and used to be kept in homes in close proximity to women and children; this was said to be an effective means of protecting them from the jaws of the ever-lurking crocodile. When it leaves the river to graze, adds al-Djāhīz, the hippo-

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potamus goes a considerable distance and only starts browsing while returning to the water, as if it has calculated in advance the quantity of food that will be necessary for it during the night. Its teeth had the power, among the Nubians, to soothe their frequent stomach ailments, caused by their crude diet of raw fish and their habit of drinking muddy water; the invalid would wear one of these teeth over his stomach. Besides, the internal organs of the hippopotamus were regarded by them as a good remedy against the periodical seizures of epileptics at the time of new moons (*ṣar' al-ahilla*). To these observations, al-Mas'ūdī adds (*Murūdj*, § 805) that while feeding, the hippopotamus deposits its excrement here and there and that the intact seeds that it contains ensure a regrowth of the vegetation. However, this manner of restitution did little to compensate for the havoc wreaked in the planted fields, whose owners were often obliged to suppress the creatures that were to blame for the damage; in order to do this, they did not hesitate to sacrifice generous portions of lupins (*turmus*, *tirmis*) offered to the greedy pachyderms, which would gorge themselves with them before returning to the water and soon after burst with meteorism.

Those who, after these two authors, made mention of the hippopotamus were content to repeat what had previously been said. It is, however, curious to find that al-Iḍrīsī, describing the Nile and Nubia (*Nuḏḥat*, climate I, section 4), devotes only two lines to the animal, stating that it has webbed feet. Still more astonishing is the lack of attention paid to it by al-Makrīzī (*Khīṭat*, ch. xx) in the context of "wonders of the Nile"; repeating al-Mas'ūdī, he adds only that the animal is present in large numbers in the mining district of the Ṣhankīr, on the double bend of the river. Al-Damīrī completes all the preceding with his customary rubrics about the permissibility of eating it, the particular qualities of its organs and the animal's role in oneiromancy. Thus we know (*Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān al-kubrā*, Cairo 1356/1937, ii, 221-2) that according to the scheme of Qur'ānic law, the flesh of the hippopotamus may be consumed because it is a wild herbivore "resembling" a horse. We also learn that the skin of the pachyderm, buried in the middle of a village, protects the latter from every scourge; that after burning, the ashes of this skin mixed in a paste with flour of the vetch (*kirsanna*) makes a plaster which, in three days, cures abscesses; and that the gall, after prolonged soaking, is dried to make a powder for treating eyes affected with the dark cataract (*al-mā' al-aswad*). What al-Damīrī omits to mention is the high value accorded to the ivory of the teeth and tusks of the hippopotamus. In fact, this ivory was exported from East Africa along with that of the elephant [see 'ādī and fīl] and the "horn" of the rhinoceros [see KARKADDAN], but at a higher price because of the superiority of its grain, of which the pure white does not grow yellow in the course of time; confused with the ivory of walrus-tusks under the name *rohart* (Nordic in origin), the West imported it as a high-quality material for craftsmen of inlaid goods, of high-class cutlery, and, most of all, of artificial dentures; the production of synthetic materials with resin base destroyed this market to some extent.

In short, all these mediaeval texts relating to the hippopotamus are nothing more than echoes of accounts where imagination frequently prevails over reality; also, the only true Arab testimony of real documentary value concerning the animal remains

that of the indefatigable Moroccan globe-trotter Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, who saw it with his own eyes in its Nigerian habitat. In fact, having left Sijilmāsa and crossed Mauretania and the vast desert of the Touaregs, he came, in the course of the year 754/1353, to the Muslim kingdom of Mali [*q.v.*] on the Niger which, like all men at that time, he believed to be a branch of the Nile. There he was in the very heart of hippopotamus country, since *mali* is its name in Bambara, in Malinka and in Mandingo. His first encounter with the animals took place in the vicinity of a broad bay (*khaliḍj*) in the river (possibly Lake Debo) which he had to cross by boat with his caravan (*Rihla*, Cairo 1346/1928, ii, 201). "... There were there," he tells "sixteen enormous quadrupeds which astonished me and which I took to be elephants in view of their large numbers in this same place. Then I saw them plunge into the water of the river and I consulted Abū Bakr b. Ya'kūb (the caravan guide) about these huge creatures. They are, he explained to me, "horses of the river" (*khayl al-bahr*) that have left the water to graze on dry land. They are larger than horses, but they have the mane, the tail and the head, although their foot is that of the elephant. I had occasion to see these hippopotami again when we travelled down the Nile (= the Niger) in canoes from Timbuktu (*Timbuktū*) to Gao (*Kūkū*, formerly called Gogo); they were swimming in the middle of the river, lifting their heads above the surface and breathing noisily. For fear of these animals the canoists moved closer to the bank lest they capsize us. The natives have a cunning method for fighting these beasts; they use javelins of which the (barbed) iron tip is pierced with a hole through which they thread strong cords. They attack the animal with these throwing-weapons and, if the spear strikes the foot or the withers, the iron becomes deeply embedded; all the hunters then have to do is drag the victim to the bank with the ropes; they then dispatch him and feed on his flesh. Hence the abundance of bones strewn the whole length of the banks of the river." We may add that, since then, the massacre has not ceased and has intensified with the coming of the Whites to Africa; the hippopotamus provided, to a considerable extent, the subsistence of the armies fighting in the Cameroons at the time of the First World War, and it has since paid a heavy tribute to suppliers of shipyards and to local militia chiefs, without counting "safari" enthusiasts in search of spectacular trophies. Some partial measures towards the protection of the animal have fortunately intervened in some modern African states, for there can be no doubt, as an English explorer has written, "... that once civilization has driven the hippopotami away from an African river, that river loses one of its greatest charms and one of its major ornaments."

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FARMĀSŪNIYYA (A.), freemasonry (also in Arabic: *Firmāsūniyya*, *Māsūniyya* and *Bināya Hurra*; in Turkish, *Franmasonluk*, *Farmasonluk*, *Masonluk*).

I. In the Ottoman empire and its successor states.

Freemasonry first penetrated the Empire via lodges (Arabic *mahfil*; Turkish *mahfel*, *loca*) established by Europeans. As many of the lodges were established without the authority of organised freemasonry, they were frequently short-lived. Several lodges were reported in Aleppo, Izmir and Corfu in 1738, in Alexandria in the early 1740s, in the Armenian parts of Eastern Turkey in 1762 and in Istanbul in 1768 or 1769. Individual freemasons—although not lodges—were reported in Tunisia in 1784 (Jews of Livornese origin) and a year later in Algeria (local Muslims). In Egypt, lodges were allegedly set up by French officers during the Napoleonic Occupation. Despite the small number and limited activities of freemasons in the 18th century, the Ottoman authorities restricted them, with only moderate success, as early as 1748. More information is available on masonic activity since the 1820s, especially among foreigners and local Christians and Jews in Istanbul, Izmir, Syria, Thrace, Macedonia, Epirus and other parts of the Empire. From the mid-19th century onwards, more and more international freemasonic organisations founded lodges in the main population centres of the Empire, through their European residents. The spread of freemasonry was indeed a facet of European influence; it progressed more rapidly in areas under European political control, e.g. in Algeria after 1830 (1851: 842 freemasons in 14 lodges), Tunisia after 1881 (1910: more than 300 freemasons) and Egypt after 1882. European economic penetration had an impact as well; the first lodge in Jaffa was set up by French railway engineers in 1891. Robert Morris, an American freemason who toured Asia Minor in 1868 and founded the first lodge in Jerusalem, in that year calculated that 17 English, 15 French and 8 Italian lodges were active throughout the Empire. Actually there were more; by the end of the century, there was hardly a city or town of importance without at least one lodge. Christians, Muslims and Jews mingled freely in these lodges (although certain lodges were preponderantly of one faith, such as Sion's Lodge, founded among the Izmir Jews in 1870), which were among the few meeting-places for members of different faiths, as well as for foreigners and natives. This created a language problem, and the ritual was sometimes performed in more than one language. Membership figures were generally modest—between approximately one dozen and one hundred per lodge—but the importance of freemasonry was enhanced by such important persons as the Algerian *amir* 'Abd al-Kādir (1864), Mehmed Rashid, *wālī* of Syria (1868), Djamāl al-Dīn al-Afghānī [q.v.], Muḥammad 'Abduḥ [q.v.] and several members of the Khedivial family (from the 1860s onwards). Moreover, many local freemasons were people-of-means—generally of the upper middle classes—because of the relatively high membership dues. This remains true, to a great extent, to this very day.

It was perhaps inevitable that the lodges would serve, at times, as nuclei for anti-establishment and even revolutionary political activity, owing to their clandestine nature. Prince Ḥalīm, Grand

Master of the Grand Orient of Egypt in 1867-8, attempted to use the freemasons in his struggle against the Khedive Ismā'īl. In 1876, the deposed Sultan Murād V unsuccessfully sought to enlist the assistance of the freemasons in Istanbul to ensure his safety from 'Abd al-Ḥamīd II's designs and probably even for launching a counter-coup. Early in the 20th century, masonic lodges, mostly those in Salonica, served as a cover for the meetings of leaders of the Young Turks, of whom at least one, Tal'at, was an active freemason. There is, however, no conclusive evidence that freemasonry as such played a role in the preparation and implementation of the Young Turk Revolution. True, freemasonry could—and did—operate more freely in the post-Ḥamīdian era (it had been proscribed during 'Abd al-Ḥamīd II's reign), although only for a short period, as Enver forbade its activities soon after World War I broke out. Persistent rumours about freemasonry have nonetheless discredited it in Republican Turkey and some of the Arab states (in Syria and Egypt freemasonry is prohibited; in several others, it is severely limited). This is hardly due to the number of freemasons: There were about 500 freemasons in Turkey in 1923 and ca. 2000-2400 between 1930 and 1935—when all lodges were closed down. They reopened in 1948 as an Association of the Masons of Turkey (*Türkiye Mason Derneği*) which has been publishing since January 1951 a periodical, *Türk Mason Dergisi*, renamed *Mason Dergisi* in July 1973. Turkish membership reached 2,367 in 1966; figures for other Middle Eastern states are not available, but seem to be equally modest (e.g. in 1931, there were ca. 1500 in Palestine and ca. 1000 in Tunisia) and declining since the disappearance of the Mandates and Protectorates. Rather, freemasonry's universalist and international character, partly beyond the state's immediate control, awakened suspicion in nationalist circles, while the non-Muslim origins of its founders and the marked secularist spirit in many of the lodges aroused animosity among devout Muslims. Freemasonry's social and educational philanthropy has been resented, as well, which may explain why many, if not most published works on freemasonry, in both Arabic and Turkish, tend to attack rather than defend it. Several of those printed in the Arab states link freemasonry and Zionism (without tangible proof), denigrating both. Such works have been published in Turkey, too, where the most prolific exponent of anti-freemasonry was Cevat Rifat Atilhan. Recently, Turkish organs sympathetic to the Nationalist Action and National Salvation Parties have systematically been presenting freemasonry as evil and hostile to both Turkey and Islam. These attitudes notwithstanding, masonic activity continues in Turkey and nearly all the Arab states, with varying degrees of success.

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(J.M. LANDAU)

2. In Persia. For this, see FARĀMŪSH-KHĀNA, above.

FAROUK [see FĀRŪK].

FARRUKHĀN, the name of two *ispahbadhs* of Tabaristān: Farrukhān *Djilānshāh*, ancestor of the Dābūyid dynasty of Tabaristān and of the Bādhuspānid dynasty of Ruyan, and Farrukhān the Great, his great-grandson and the second Dābūyid *ispahbadh* of Tabaristān.

1. **FARRUKHĀN DJILĀNSHĀH**, *ispahbadh* of Tabaristān at the time of the Arab conquest, in about 22/643. He claimed to be the great-grandson of *Djāmasp*, brother of the Sāsānid king Kawādī I (488-531), at least according to Ibn Isfandiār, 97, who asserts that he ruled over the south-Caspian provinces (Tabaristān, *Djilān*, Daylam) and the land of the *Khazars* and the Slavs; but his titles contradict these assertions, in fact, according to Bal'amī, iii, 493; Ibn *Khuradādhbih*, 119, tr. 91; al-Tabarī, i, 2659, he adopted the pompous titles: *Djil Djilān*, *ispahbadh* *ispahbadhān*, *ispahbadh* *Khurāsān*, *Padhish-khwārdjārshāh*, which are to be translated as: King of the people of *Djilān*, chief of the *ispahbadhs* (of Tabaristān), (holding his office from the) *ispahbadh* of *Khurāsān*, king of the mountain regions (of Tabaristān). If then control of the land of the *Khazars* and Slavs is to be excluded, there is no reason to suppose that Farrukhān exercised effective control of Daylam and *Djilān*, in spite of his title of *Djilānshāh*, which simply indicates that he was a native of *Djilān*, as is confirmed by Bal'amī, iii, 493. In fact, Daylam and *Djilān* are not mentioned among Farrukhān's possessions in the treaty of capitulations which he concluded with the general Suwayd b. Muḥarrin, in 22/643 (al-Tabarī, i, 2659-60). All that is attested by the sources is that Farrukhān, profiting from the decline of the central Sāsānid power, enjoyed autonomy over Tabaristān, and occupied a senior position with regard to the other local chieftains. His allegiance to the Sāsānids is shown by the fact that he sent military contingents to the battle of Nihāwand (21/642) which decided the fate of the Iranian plateau (al-Balādhuri, 280; al-Dīnawarī, 141).

After their victory, the Arab armies marched against the northern provinces of Persia and took control of al-Rayy (in spite of the intervention of troops sent from Tabaristān, Bal'amī, iii, 489), of

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Dunbāwand, Kūmis and Djurdjān, thus encircling Ṭabaristān. Also, "when the *ispahbadhs* of Ṭabaristān became aware of these facts, they went to consult their suzerain, upon whom they all depended, and who lived at Āmul, in the centre of the province. This was a powerful man, a Gilānī, his name was Farrukhān and he was called *ispahbadh* of the *ispahbadhs*..." (Bal'amī, iii, 493). Farrukhān advised submission with the payment of a meagre 500,000 *dirhams* in tribute for Ṭabaristān (Bal'amī, iii, 493-4; al-Tabarī, i, 2659-60), which was far less than the sum paid to the Sāsānids, according to Ibn Isfandiyyār, 118. This submission was to prove purely formal, hence this led in 30/651 to an expedition by Sa'īd b. al-'Ās, which initially met with fierce resistance (al-Tabarī, i, 2836, ii, 1322; Bal'amī iv, 334-5; al-Balādhurī, 334-5; Ibn Isfandiyyār, 98). The local historians indicate neither the length of the reign of Farrukhān, nor the date of his death, but state that his son Djil Djāwbara seized control of Daylam and Djilān (which were reckoned to form part of the possessions of Farrukhān Djilānshāh), raised an army there and threatened to invade Ṭabaristān (another of his father's territories). The King of Kings Yazdgird III (632-51) was obliged to accept the *fait accompli* and to invest Djil Djāwbara with the title Djil Djilān, Padhish-khwārdjārshāh (Ibn Isfandiyyār, 97; Zahr al-Dīn, 42).

Now these events are placed in the 35th year of the new Persian era, which corresponds to 667 A.D., if the era in question is that of Yazdgird III, who fled from his capital, Ctesiphon-Seleucia, in 637 A.D., and was assassinated in 31/651. One might suppose that Farrukhān Djilānshāh had been deposed, which would explain the reconquest by his son, but the strangest thing is that Ibn Isfandiyyār, 97, claims that Djil Djāwbara established his capital at Fūman, in Djilān, reigned 15 years and divided his territories among his elder son Dābūya (eponymous ancestor of the Dābūyids) and his younger son Bādhūspān (eponymous ancestor of the Bādhūspānids [*q.v.*]; the Dābūyids continued to dominate the other local princes of Ṭabaristān (the Zarmihrds of Miyāndurūd near Sāriya; the Kārīnids of the Kārīn mountains; Bāwandids of the Sharwīn mountains; the Marzbāns of Tāmīsha; etc.) and had their capital at Āmul, while the Bādhūspānids controlled Rūyān. On the other hand, the death of Djil Djāwbara is placed by the local historians in the year 50 of the new era of the Persians, which corresponds to 682 A.D., if the era in question is that of Yazdgird III. Now Ṭabaristān inaugurated its own era on the 1st Farvardīn 1/27th Shawwāl 31/11th June 652, and the year 50 of the era of Ṭabaristān corresponds to 82-3/701-2. This shows that the exploits attributed to Djil Djāwbara are probably a legendary account, inspired by the etymology of his name Djāwbara, which means "he who rides a bull"; according to the local sources, Djil Djāwbara disguised himself, for a reconnaissance of Ṭabaristān, by pushing in front of himself two cows from Djilān (Zahr al-Dīn, 39; Rehatsek, in *JBRAS* (1876), 438). As for the new era of the Persians, it is the era of Ṭabaristān (since the length of the reigns of the Dābūyids *ispahbadhs*, as given by the local historians, corresponds within a few years to the dates shown by the Dābūyid coinage discovered up to the present) rather than that of Yazdgird III (which differs by 20 years from the era of Ṭabaristān). So we have a reign of Farrukhān Djilānshāh lasting until roughly 61/680; his successors were his son Djil Djāwbara who reigned 15 years (*ca.* 62-77, 681-96), then Dābūya

who "reigned over Ṭabaristān in a severe and inflexible manner" (Ibn Isfandiyyār, 98) for 16 years, that is *ca.* 77-92/696-710, and finally Farrukhān the Great, surnamed *Dhu 'l-Manāḳib* ("the Virtuous"), who reigned for 17 years according to the local sources.

2. FARRUKHĀN THE GREAT, great-grandson of Farrukhān Djilānshāh, and second *ispahbadh* of the Dābūyid dynasty of Ṭabaristān. His reign begins with the issue of coinage in the name of the Dābūyid *ispahbadhs*, dating from the year 60 of the era of Ṭabaristān 93/711. The coinage consists of silver half-drachmas, of the same type as the Sāsānid dirhams of Khusrāw II (590-628), but their originality lies in the fact that they are dated by the era of Ṭabaristān, which begins on the 1st Farvardīn 21 of the era of Yazdgird III, corresponding to the 11th June 652 (according to Mordtmann, in *ZDMG*, viii (1854), 173-4, and not 651 as is supposed by Marquart, *Iranšahr*, 133). The year of issue is indicated on the left on the reverse side of the coins, in Pahlavi, of which the writing is ambiguous, which explains how its interpretation may be difficult and sometimes uncertain. It is thus that Unvala insists that there are two princes: Farrox' (the Farrukhān the Great of the local sources) who reigned 10-11 years, from 60 to 70 T., and another prince, whom he calls Farrox'an, who would be the son of Farrox', and who would have reigned 8-9 years, from 72 to 79 T. (reproduction of the coinage of Farrukhān the Great, of the years 60, 63 65-70 75, 77 T. in Unvala, Plate). To justify this distinction, he stresses the difference in the orthography of the names: Farrox' and Farrox'an, which is also found in Ibn Isfandiyyār, 114. This historian mentions in the reign of the last Dābūyid, Khurshīd, a Fakhrān and a Farrukhān, both sons of Djusnas. Furthermore, Unvala declares that the coins of Farrox' have no marginal inscription on the right, whereas those of Farrox'an bear the words *apd* and *nuak* (= "miraculous, marvellous, good"), after the year 72 T. (Unvala: 7, § 3; 8, § 4, 5, 7, 9, 10; 30, § 10; n. 6; 31, § 11, 15). These arguments did not convince J. Walker (according to Unvala, 7-8, § 4), who thinks that the reference is to the same individual, Farrukhān the Great, of whom the local historians speak (reproduction of the coinage from 60-2, 65-70, 75, 77, in Walker, i, Pl. xxiii), but does not give reasons.

In our opinion, there are important objections to Unvala's hypothesis: seeing that Ibn Isfandiyyār distinguishes so carefully the sons of Djusnas, there is no reason why he should confuse Farrox' and Farrox'an. On the other hand, Unvala (8, § 4; 31, § 15) makes Farrox'an the son of Farrox' "as the patronymic indicates", which is not conclusive, for Fakhrān and Farrukhān are two brothers, and not father and son. Finally, the supplementary marginal inscriptions do not imply *ipso facto* the existence of two persons: in fact the coins of the governor of Ṭabaristān Hānī' b. Hānī' have marginal inscriptions on the right, which vary (reproduction in Walker, i, Pl. xxv, 12-15, xxxviii, 12-15); some of them mention only the name of the governor, other bear the initial ع of عدل (= "justice") above the name (according to Unvala: 12, § 6). There is no question here in Unvala's mind of two distinct governors.

On the other hand, the anonymous coinages of 134 T., 135 T., and 137 T. are of three varieties: the first are marked *nuak(u)*, *nuak*, عع (= "very, good"); the second *Djarīr*, *nuak(u)*, ع; the third *apd*



and *nwak(u)*, *apd* and *nwak*, *apd* and *ع* (according to Unvala: 12, § 9; 10, § 25; reproduction in Walker, iv, Pl. xxvi, 15-17, xxvii, 1-9, 13, xxxviii, ii, 14). The Pahlavi words *apd* and *nwak* are thus homologues of the initial *ع* of *عجل*, and it is clear therefore that a Farrox' and a Farrox'ān cannot be distinguished in the manner employed by Unvala.

According to Ibn Isfandiyyār, 27, Farrukhān the Great took control of the territories lying between Tabaristān and Nishāpūr, and put an end to the incursions by the Turks of Dihistān with whom he made a truce. This respite was put to advantage in reinforcing his realm, so well that when hostilities were resumed, the Turks were crushed at Tūrān-čār or Turīsha. This narrative in fact recalls an episode of the reign of Khusrāw I (Christensen, *Sassanides*, 380), which was associated elsewhere with the grandfather of Farrukhān the Great, Djil Djāwbara. This story is not to be believed, especially since Ibn Isfandiyyār states elsewhere (105) that Farrukhān maintained friendly relations with the governor of Khurāsān, Kutayba b. Muslim (86-96/702-15) [q.v.]. All these errors are explained by the fact that the local historians claim that the Dābūyids ruled over Tabaristān, Gilān and Daylam because they bore the title Gil Gilān, Ispahbadh Ispahbadhan (king of the Gils, Ispahbadh of the Ispahbadhs). Now, neither Gilān nor Daylam was under the rule of Farrukhān the Great, for Ibn Isfandiyyār, 99-100, mentions an attack made by the Daylamīs against Tabaristān, an attack which was frustrated by a trick. Similarly, when Yazīd b. al-Muhallab tried to conquer Tabaristān in 97/717, Farrukhān the Great "appealed for help to the King of Daylam who sent him 10,000 men" (Bal'amī, iv, 228). These Daylamī reinforcements and the nature of the terrain, suitable for ambushes, saved the *ispahbadh* from annexation of his territory, but he was obliged to consent to a heavy tribute to obtain the withdrawal of Yazīd's troops (al-Tabarī, ii, 1320-1, 1327-9; al-Balādhuri, 336-8; Ibn Isfandiyyār, 105-7, presents a different version, which cannot be accepted). Farrukhān the Great concerned himself with the development of Tabaristān until his death, ca. 110-12/728-30. He was succeeded by his son Dādhburzmīhr who reigned for 12 years (Ibn Isfandiyyār, 108) until ca. 122/739.

Bibliography: In addition to the Arabic sources (Balādhuri, *Futūh*; Ibn al-Fakīh; Ya'qubī, *Ta'rikh*; Tabarī; Ibn al-Athīr) and the Persian ones (Bal'amī; Ibn Isfandiyyār, abridged tr. E.G. Browne; Zahīr al-Dīn, *Ta'rikh-i Tabaristān*, ed. B. Dorn, St. Petersburg 1850; E. Rehatsek, *The Bāw and Gāobārah Sepahbuds along the southern shores of the Caspian*, in *JBBRAS*, xii (1876), 410-45, there should be added J. Marquart, *Erānsāhr*; Mordtmann, *Erklärung der Münzen mit Pehlevi Legenden*, iii, *Abteilung, Münzen von Tabaristan*, in *ZDMG*, viii (1854), 173-80; H.L. Rabino di Borgomale, *Les dynasties de Māzandarān de l'an 50 H. à l'an 1006 H (672-1597/98) d'après les sources locales*, in *JA*, ccxxviii (1938); J.M. Unvala, *Numismatique du Tabaristān*, Paris 1938; J. Walker, *A catalogue of the Arab-Sassanian coins in the British Museum*, London 1941; M. Rekaya, *Les provinces sud-caspennes de la conquête arabe au milieu du III^e siècle de l'H.*/642-864, typed mémoire, Paris-Sorbonne 1968, abridged in *RSO*, xlvi (1973-4), 117-52.

(M. REKAYA)

FĀRŪK, King of Egypt, son of King Fu'ād (1923-36) [see FU'AD AL-AWWAL] and Queen Nazlī

(née Šabīrī), grandson of the Khedive Ismā'īl (1863-79) [see ISMĀ'IL PASHA], was born in Cairo on 21 Djumādā al-ūlā 1338/11 February 1920. He was proclaimed Crown Prince on 13 April 1922, officially named Prince of the Ša'īd (Upper Egypt) on 12 December 1933, and proclaimed King of Egypt on 28 April 1936 in succession to his father who died on that day. He officially ascended the throne on 6 May 1936. On 20 January 1938 he married Šafīnāz Dhu 'l-Fiḳār, daughter of Judge Yūsuf Dhu 'l-Fiḳār, Vice-President of the Alexandria Mixed Court of Appeals. Šafīnāz was given the name and title of Queen Farīda of Egypt. There were three daughters from the marriage, before it was dissolved in November 1948, when Fārūk divorced Farīda. On 6 May 1951 Fārūk, at thirty-one, married Nārimān Šādīk, the seventeen-year old daughter of Husayn Fahmī Šādīk, who was already betrothed to Zakī Hāshīm, an Egyptian official of the United Nations Secretariat. She bore him a son, Crown Prince Ahmad Fu'ād, who was born in Cairo on 16 January 1952.

Fārūk's intended education was suddenly cut short at sixteen when his father died. It is, however, unlikely that he would have taken to serious study in preparation for his royal duties even had his father lived longer. Until he was fifteen, Fārūk was tutored at home. His English governess, Mrs Ina Taylor, was generally in charge. She tried to impart the main features of a typically English formative education into a prince living in ornate, European-modelled palaces, but in which much of court life, practice and behaviour remained a mixture of imported European formalities and native Ottoman oriental standards. His father tried gradually to introduce the young prince to his future royal duties. Thus Fārūk was made Chief Scout of Egypt in 1933 at the tender age of thirteen. A year before that he had made his first appearance in a public function. The following year, 1934, he deputised for his father at the Air Force celebrations in Heliopolis. At fourteen and fifteen he cut a dashing young figure of a handsome, polite prince. King Fu'ād, however, was a politically-involved monarch. Between 1930 and 1935, crucial years in Fārūk's life, Fu'ād was involved in one constitutional or political crisis after another, an economic depression, and mounting opposition from the so-called popular political parties such as the Waḳf. He hardly had much time to devote to his son. Consequently, Fārūk spent those crucial formative years mostly with his three sisters, his governess, his mother and her female relatives. His only frequent male companions were palace servants, guards and his French gymnastics master. It is not known, for instance, if during those formative years, he had any male friends of his age.

Fārūk failed to gain a place at Eton. Nevertheless, his father sent him to England in 1935 with a view to entering the Royal Military College, Woolwich. He was accompanied by his officially-designated tutor Ahmad Hasanayn (Pasha), a Balliol man, champion fencer and famous explorer, who was later to have a great influence over the young king, especially in the period from 1941 to 1945. The notoriously anti-British General 'Azīz Alī al-Mašrī accompanied Fārūk as his military tutor. Fārūk failed the entrance examination to Woolwich, but he was allowed to attend some lessons two afternoons a week. The rest of the time he spent at Kenry House, Kingston Hill, Surrey, where he settled with his entourage in October 1935. Sgt.-Major W.H. Parker looked after his physical fitness train-

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ing, including fencing. Fārūk's six-month sojourn in England was short and of limited education value since he attended no formal or regular course of study. He did, however, acquire a taste for London's attractions, particularly its famous shops.

Returning to Egypt upon the death of his father, Fārūk could not assume his full royal duties until he had attained his majority which, by the Hijra calendar reckoning, was to be in August 1937. Until then a Regency Council, consisting of his uncle Prince Muḥammad 'Alī, 'Azīz Pasha 'Izzat and his maternal uncle Sharīf Pasha Šabrī, acted for him. 'Alī Māhir, a man close to King Fu'ād, had been Prime Minister since January of that year, and generally exerted a direct influence over the new young monarch. Subsequently, as Chief of his Royal Cabinet and Prime Minister again in 1939-40, he was to complicate Fārūk's relations with the more popular leader of the Wafd, Muṣṭafā Naḥḥās Pasha, embroil him in contacts with the Axis powers and thus further exacerbate his relations with the British Ambassador Sir Miles Lampson especially, and the British generally. Another early, dubious influence on the young inexperienced king was that of Shaykh Muṣṭafā al-Marāghī, Shaykh of the Azhar, a man who was also close to his father and who harboured anti-Wafdist, anti-British sympathies. Both these men, as well as others among his courtiers, were to involve Fārūk in the treacherous shoals of Egyptian politics from 1936 to 1952. They seemed to counter the influence of his mentor, Aḥmad Heiubareidot;asanayn, an ambitious though dexterous and consummate politician, who somehow tried to smooth relations between the king, the political parties and the British.

Fārūk, however, began his reign quite auspiciously as a highly-popular young monarch. His month's tour of Upper Egypt in January-February 1937 was a great success and the envy of the politicians. A second tour of Europe in April-July 1937 seemed to initiate Fārūk into the less edifying delights of European capitals. By 1940, before he was 21, the men around him, led by 'Alī Māhir, had fully acquainted him with the need jealously to guard his political prerogatives against the Wafd and the British. Thus he tacitly approved of Māhir's use of certain new radical youth movements, such as the Young Egypt Society, and of the Azhar in order to push forward his leadership of a national Islamic regeneration. When, at the insistence of the British, 'Alī Māhir was dismissed as Prime Minister in June 1940, Fārūk was left at the mercy of the politicians and Britain's war needs. In fact, as early as 29 November 1937, Sir Miles Lampson, who did not particularly like Fārūk and whose relationship with him resembled that between Cromer and the young Khedive 'Abbās (Hilmī) II [q.v.] from 1892 to 1914, cabled to the Foreign Office in London:

HM by all indications is shaping for the role of traditional oriental despot... His ultimate overthrow will occur when Nahhas goes...

Lampson was forty years older than Fārūk and his opinion of the young Egyptian king may have been influenced accordingly. What is certain, however, is that Lampson did not appreciate Fārūk's flouting of British war interests in his persistence appointed governments of his choice, his refusal to deal firmly with several crises in 1940-1, occasioned by Italy's entry into the war and the collapse of France, and his continued connections with 'Alī Māhir and his anti-British agitation through the use

of extremist political groups such as the National party, the Muslim Brethren, the Young Egypt Society and the Azhar. It seems that he took Aḥmad Ḥasanayn's advice in appointing both the Ḥasan Šabrī and Ḥusayn Sirrī coalition governments (June 1940-January 1942). But neither of these governments was strong enough to deal with the exigencies of war. Both were open to the machinations of the palace and to the attacks of the majority Wafd party. Actually, the latter began to agitate against them in order to recapture the initiative in the nationalist cause. Naḥḥās Pasha in June 1941, when the British were being pressed by Rommel's forces practically at the gates of Alexandria, approached the British with a view to his returning to power. The timing was crucial, for Britain was in a most difficult military position in Greece and the Western Desert. When Naḥḥās threatened to foment popular agitation in the country, Lampson felt he must act. It was the concatenation of these events that suggested vigorous British intervention in Egyptian affairs. The intervention was to prove fateful for the career and future of Fārūk.

Amidst anti-government and anti-British demonstrations in January 1942, largely inspired and organised by pro-'Alī Māhir elements, the King procrastinated over severing diplomatic relations with Vichy France. When his Prime Minister Ḥusayn Sirrī, did so, the King dismissed his Foreign Minister, a move against which the British protested vehemently, leading to the resignation of the Sirrī government on 1 February. A British request that Naḥḥās be invited to form a government went unheeded for three days, while Fārūk gathered the leaders of all the political parties in his palace to discuss the crisis. As Lampson did not specify in his Note to the King what kind of government Naḥḥās might lead, Fārūk invited him to lead a national coalition government. But Naḥḥās insisted on a purely Wafdist cabinet, which the King would not accept.

When Lampson marched into 'Abdīn Palace at 9 p.m. to confront Fārūk, accompanied by General Stone, GOC British Land Forces, and backed up by a battalion of armoured troops that had surrounded the Palace, he did not do so with the intention of imposing on the King a purely Wafdist government. Rather, the ultimatum he read to the King demanded his abdication. Fārūk, however, on Ḥasanayn's advice, offered with alacrity the compromise formula of a purely Wafdist government headed by Naḥḥās.

The so-called Palace Incident of 4 February 1942 had paradoxical consequences. It made Fārūk, temporarily at least, very popular with Egyptian nationalists as well as with the Egyptian officer corps, but created a permanent rift between him and Naḥḥās of the Wafd, whom he planned to dismiss at the earliest opportunity. It also deepened the incurable antipathy between him and Lampson. In fact, Fārūk acquired a deep resentment for the British in general. A motor accident in al-Kaṣṣāšīn on 15 November 1943 added to his fears, fantasies and resentments. Yet after the Battle of Alamein, he had no choice but to affect an overtly pro-British attitude.

Immediately after the War, Fārūk faced serious political problems in the country, made even more difficult by the greatly strengthened violent movement of the Muslim Brethren [see AL-İKHWĀN-AL-MUSLİMİN], army officer conspiracies, Communist and other extremist groups. He escaped annually to Cyprus or Europe on prolonged summer holidays.



He grew corpulent, lazy and coarse. He seemed to sleep most of the day and wander at night, accompanied by his trusted servants Antonio Pulli, Ernesto Verucci, Pietro Garo, his ADC 'Umar Fathī and his Albanian bodyguards. He divided his time between the Auberges des Pyramides and the Helmia Palace nightclubs, his various private garçonniers in Cairo and Alexandria, and the Royal Automobile Club gambling table in the centre of modern Cairo. The insecurity and unhappiness of his childhood, and his interrupted or nonexistent education, added to his inferiority complex and inability to concentrate. He was estranged from his wife and mother and sought escapist pleasures in the company of women procured for him by his servants. He became addicted to all kinds of pills, hormonal preparations, a variety of elixirs, food and gambling. He acquired a mania for collecting coins, stamps, pornographic literature, aids and ephemera. He became more elusive, unpunctual and socially impossible, with his coarse practical jokes, kleptomania, compulsive boasting and bad sportsmanship, characterised by a streak of cruelty. He could neither lead—and thus mitigate the internecine warfare between Egyptian politicians—nor be led by anyone other than by sycophantic courtiers like his Press Adviser, Karīm Thābit, or his Business Adviser, Elias Andrawus. He lived in the gilded cages that were 'Abdin, Ḳubba, Muntazah and Ra's al-Tīn palaces, or in his fortress-like estate at Inṣhās, 35 miles from Cairo, where 2,500 *feddāns* of the best agricultural land produced citrus fruits and housed a model poultry farm. He coveted everything which he did not own, including other men's women and possessions.

Fārūk's scandalous European holiday from August to October 1950 prompted a petition signed by most opposition party leaders and politicians protesting against his shameful behaviour. At the same time, extremist groups led by Young Egypt, and other underground organisations such as the new Free Officers and the Marxists, openly called for the overthrow of his régime. Considered widely to have committed the ill-equipped and unprepared Egyptian army to the war in Palestine in order to indulge his rivalry with King 'Abd Allāh of Jordan, and openly accused of having profited from arms purchases connected with that war, his marriage to Nārimān in 1951 and the birth of the Crown Prince in January 1952 did not improve Fārūk's image or fortunes. The rot was too advanced. By autumn 1951 Fārūk was set on a collision course with the stirring forces in the country, chief among them the Free Officers. He appointed the pro-British Hāfiẓ 'Affī Pasha as Chief of his Royal Cabinet and recalled his ambassador to Britain, 'Abd al-Fattāḥ 'Amr, to serve as his political adviser. More significant was his attempt to pack senior military posts with his own men, such as General Haydar, the Chief of Staff, and General Husayn Sirrī 'Amir, who replaced General Muḥammad Naḍīb (Naguib) as Commander of the Frontier Defence Force.

The violent events which accompanied the problems of Anglo-Egyptian relations since 1946 culminated in the Wafd's demagogic but fateful unilateral abrogation of the 1936 Anglo-Egyptian Treaty in October 1951 and the explosion of the mob that burned the centre of modern Cairo on 26 January 1952, Black Saturday, and these gave Fārūk the pretext to dismiss Naḥḥās and the Wafd from power. A succession of palace-appointed ephemeral governments, including one led by his old mentor 'Alī Māhir, were unable to deal with the

drifting, explosive political situation. In the meantime, Fārūk had himself proclaimed a *Sayyid*, or descendant of the Prophet, a most unlikely genealogical claim in view of his Macedonian-Albanian forefathers. Neither Lampson nor his successors were able or willing either to deal with Fārūk firmly or to conjure up a for-mula to resolve the impasse. Nor was a Conservative government in London after 1951 willing to play an imperial role in Cairo, barely four years after leaving India.

Yet Fārūk's security agents had uncovered the real threat to his throne, namely, the Free Officers. His courtiers, however, were suspicious of each other as always, ever-sollicitous and sycophantic, but were incapable of concerted action. Equally, the politicians were sunk in their petty quarrels, all anxious to keep the Wafd, by now weakened and relatively corrupt, out of power at any cost. On the very day when Fārūk in Alexandria ordered the arrest of the Free Officer conspirators at 9 p.m. (22 July 1952), the latter seized power three hours later.

Fārūk believed that the British were behind the army conspiracy. Even though he tried to contact British GHQ in the Canal for help, he did not trust them. Instead he sought the help of the Americans with a view to saving his and his family's lives. Ironically, his father's old friend and his own erstwhile mentor and adviser, 'Alī Māhir, brought Fārūk the army officers' demands, signed by Naguib, requiring the dismissal of his immediate entourage of courtiers. Two days later on 26 July 'Alī Māhir returned as Prime Minister of the new military régime with the order for Fārūk to abdicate in favour of his infant son, Crown Prince Aḥmad Fu'ād, and to leave the country permanently by 6 p.m. Less than a year later in June 1953, the monarchy in Egypt was abolished in favour of a republic.

Like his grandfather the Khedive Ismā'īl, Fārūk sailed off to Naples on the Royal Yacht "Maḥrūsa" with his family, gold ingots and over two hundred pieces of luggage. He had been depositing money in Switzerland, Italy and the United States for many years, at least since the end of the Second World War. What he could not take with him were the vast tracts of land (over 30,000 *feddāns*) and palaces, and his remarkable coin, stamp and pornographic collections. He finally settled in Rome. His daughters from his marriage to Farīda were packed off to Switzerland, and his second wife Nārimān soon returned to Egypt with her mother. She was divorced from Fārūk and remarried a Dr. Adham Naḳīb. Fārūk reverted to his life of girlfriends and nightclubs, a familiar massive and rotund figure in the bistros and nightspots of Rome, interspersed with occasional visits to Switzerland and to the gambling tables of Monaco, which principality had granted him citizenship.

Two weeks after he had left a heart clinic in Switzerland, he drove one of his Italian girl friends to a roadside inn, the "Île de France", for dinner around midnight. He suffered a heart attack while just starting to enjoy the Havana cigar which he had lit after a gargantuan dinner. He died two hours later at 2.08 a.m. on 18 March 1965 in a Rome hospital, aged 45 years, 2 months and 7 days. At the request of his family and according to his will, he was buried in Cairo two days later very quietly and in the dead of night, alongside his forefathers. His was the last effective reign of the Muḥammad 'Alī dynasty, founded by that soldier of fortune from Kavalla in 1805.



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(P.J. VATIKIOTIS)

FĀSĀ'Ī, ḤADĪDĪ MĪRZĀ ḤASAN, Persian scholar of the 19th century and author of a historical-geographical work on his native province of Fārs, the *Fārs-nāma-yi Nāsirī* (the latter part of the book's title being a reference to the Kādjar sultan Nāsir al-Dīn Shāh, in whose reign Ḥasan Fāsā'ī wrote).

He was born, according to the autobiography inserted into his book, in 1237/1821-2 in the small town of Fasā [q.v.] in Fārs, of a family which had been prominent in the intellectual and religious life of Shirāz for at least four centuries; various members of it had been famed for their scholarship or their administrative expertise, and one of his forebears, Nizām al-Dīn Mīrẓā Aḥmad, had been vizier to the Kutb-Shāhī ruler of Golconda in the Deccan, 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad (1020-83/1611-72) [see KUTB-SHĀHĪS]. Ḥasan Fāsā'ī himself studied theology and then medicine, practising in Shirāz as a physician and becoming involved in a protracted legal dispute over his family's ancestral pious foundations or *awḳāf*.

In 1289/1872 the governor of Fārs, Mīrẓā Mas'ūd Zill al-Sultān, commissioned him to use earlier cartographical work of his to make a general map of the province. Subsequently, he came to enjoy the favour and patronage of another governor, the reformist Farḥād Mīrẓā Mu'tamad al-Dawla (on whose draconian measures in Fārs see E.G. Browne, *A year amongst the Persians*³, London 1950, 115-18, and also Storey, i, 204), travelling extensively around southern Persia in the entourage of the governor's son Iḥtishām al-Dawla. Then in 1296/1879 Farḥād Mīrẓā ordered him to compose a geography of Fārs on the basis of his maps. This eventually became the *Fārs-nāma-yi Nāsirī*, in two volumes, one on the history of Fārs from the beginning of Islam till his own days (in fact, up to 1300/1883), and one on its geography and topography. A lithographed edition was printed at Tehran in 1313-14/1895-6; the author's own death took place at some unknown date after this. The historical section is written on the traditional Islamic annalistic pattern. The author utilises earlier histories of Persia and of Fārs, and for his especially valuable treatment of the Kādjar period, he quotes archival material, including diplomatic letters and treatises, as well as eyewitness accounts of events. All in all, the *Fārs-nāma-yi Nāsirī* may be regarded as the culmination of the long tradition of annalistic historiography in Persia, much as Djabartī's chronicle was for that science in Egypt.

Bibliography: The *Fārs-nāma-yi Nāsirī* has been recently reprinted at Tehran in 1965; the section on the Kādjar dynasty and Fārs under its rule has now been translated into English by H. Busse, *History of Persia under Qājār rule*, New York 1972, with a useful introduction; See also Storey, i, 353, and Storey-Bregel, ii, 1031-5.

(C.E. BOSWORTH)

AL-FĀSĪ, individual *nisba* of the members of a prominent family of Moroccan scholars. Descended from the Kurayshite clan of the Banū Fīhr, originally established in Spain but settling in Fās at the end of the 10th/16th century, this family is known collectively under the name Fāsiyyūn, while the citizens of the town are called rather Ahl/Al Fās. In view of the fact that the article

AL-FĀSIYYŪN in Volume II of the *EI* deals with the population of Fās in general, it has been considered useful to collect in this Supplement the basic facts relating to the members of this line who have contributed the most actively, over the last four centuries, to religious, intellectual and literary life, without limiting themselves simply to passing on a varied, and still highly appreciated, form of teaching.

In general, the genealogical tree drawn by E. Lévi-Provençal (*Chorfa*, 242) continues to be valid, and we shall confine ourselves to referring the reader to it; the accounts devoted by the learned historian to the most notable personalities of the Fāsiyyūn have lost none of their value, but they can be considerably enlarged and made more accurate in the light of documents, mostly manuscripts, that are now available. The work of Muḥammad al-Fāsī and M. Ḥajjī in Arabic or in French, of 'A. Gannūn in Arabic, of M. Lakhdar in French and of still others, enables us to acquire an increasingly clear view of the merits of a group of eminent scholars who could, however, be better served by a detailed monograph in view of the extensive documentation provided by biographical sources, whether long-established or recently discovered.

I. — **ABU 'L-MAḤĀSIN** [q.v.] Yūsuf (d. 18 Rabī' I 1013/14 August 1604) was the founder, in Fās, in the district of the Kaḷkālīyyūn (see Le Tourneau, *Fās*, Casablanca 1949, index), of the *zāwiya* of the Fāsiyyūn, which was given the name Sīdī 'Abd al-Kādir al-Fāsī.

II. — His brother Abū Zayd 'ABD AL-RAḤMĀN b. Muḥammad (d. 1036/1626) founded a second *zāwiya* in the same district and wrote commentaries and annotations of religious works; a number of these have been published, notably *al-Anwār al-lāmī'āt fī sharḥ Dalā'il al-khayrāt*, lith. Fās 1317/1899.

III. — Among the four sons of Abū 'l-Maḥāsin, AḤMAD AL-ḤĀFĪZ (971-1021/1564-1612) also wrote commentaries on works relating to liturgical pieces (*al-djāhri bi 'l-dhikr*, lith. Fās) or ecstatic dancing (*ḥukm al-samā' wa 'l-raḳṣ*, lith. Fās).

IV. — The brother of the latter, Abū 'Abd Allāh/Ḥamid MUḤAMMAD AL-'ARBI (988-1052/1580-1642) was the author of a number of works, among which the *Mir'āt al-maḥāsin min akhbār al-Shaykh Abi 'l-Maḥāsin* (lith. Fās 1324) is important for the account that it gives of his father and the early history of the family.

V. — The following generation is represented most notably by 'ABD AL-KĀDIR (1007-91/1599-1680) [q.v.], b. 'Alī (960-1030/1553-1621) b. Abi 'l-Maḥāsin who left only some *responsa*, but whose prodigious scholarship and teaching inspired his son 'Abd al-Raḥmān (no. VI) to write two hagiographic pieces (*Tuḥfat al-akābir fī manāqib al-Shaykh 'Abd al-Kādir* and *Bustān al-azāhir*) and a treatise relating to his disciples (*Ibtihādī al-baṣā'ir*); this last has been studied by M. Ben Cheneb, in *Actes du XIV^e Congrès des Orient.*, vi, Paris 1907).

VI. — The son of the preceding, Abū Zayd 'ABD AL-RAḤMĀN (1042-96/1631-85), has been made the subject of an article in vol. I of the *EI*; add to the bibliography M. Lakhdar, *La vie littéraire*, 88-95, and bibliography cited; see also 'AMAL, 3.

VII. — Another great-grandson of Abū 'l-Maḥāsin, Abū 'Isā/'Abd Allāh MUḤAMMAD AL-MAHDĪ (1033-1109/1624-98) b. Aḥmad (d. 1062/1653) b. 'Alī b. Yūsuf, was the author of a number of important works some of which have survived, on the Kur'ānic readings, the *Sīra*, law, mysticism etc. and most notably of a biography of Abū 'l-Maḥāsin, *al-*



Djawāhir al-safīyya (ms. Rabat D 1234), an abridgement of his *Rawdat al-mahāsīn al-zahīyya*.

VIII. — Abū ‘Abd Allāh MUḤAMMAD AL-ṬAYYIB (d. 1113/1701) b. Muḥammad (d. 1116/1704) b. ‘Abd al-Kādir (no. V) left no works of importance, but his cousin Abū ‘Abd Allāh MUḤAMMAD (1058-1134/1648-1722) b. ‘Abd al-Rahmān (no. VI) was the author of several works, among which attention should be drawn to a *fahrasa* [q.v.], entitled *al-Mīnah al-bādiyya fi ‘l-asānīd al-āhiyya* and used by al-Ifrānī [q.v.] (ms. Rabat K 1249; see also al-Maknāsī, *Aḥamm maṣādir*, 121-2).

IX. — Abū Madyan MUḤAMMAD (1112-81/1701-68) b. Aḥmad b. Maḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Kādir (no. V), preacher and teacher at the Karawīyyīn, wrote, besides conventional commentaries, some literary compositions of which the titles are sufficiently revealing: *al-Muḥkam fi ‘l-amṭāl wa ‘l-hikam*, *Tuḥfat al-arīb wa-nuḥḥat al-labīb* (ms. Rabat D 590, fols. 81 b - 144 b; summarily edited and translated into Latin by Fr. de Dombay, Vienna 1805), *Madmū‘ al-zuraf wa-ḡāmi‘ al-zuraf* (ms. Rabat K 1717, fol. 2-93); these are *adab* compilations.

X. — Abū ‘Abd Allāh MUḤAMMAD (1118-79/1706-65) b. Aḥmad b. Maḥammad, brother of the preceding, was the author of biographical works of which only one, a short treatise on the Chorfa of Morocco, would appear to have survived.

XI. — The son of the preceding, Abū l-‘Abbās AḤMAD (1166-1213/1753-99) composed, on his return from the Pilgrimage (1211/1796) a *riḥla* of which a number of manuscripts exist and which has recently been published by M. El Fasi (Rabat); this story of a journey is remarkable among works of the genre on account of the simplicity of the style, the detail of the description and the accuracy of observation.

XII. — His brother Abū Mālik ‘ABD AL-WĀḤID (1172-1213/1758-99) was a poet who wrote a *fahrasa* partially in verse, a monograph on the Šikillīyyūn Chorfa (ms. Rabat G 97) and an *urḡūza* on the Kādīriyyūn (ed. Tunis).

XIII. — A descendant of Muḥammad al-‘Arbī (no. IV), Abū Ḥafṣ ‘UMAR (1125-88/1713-74) b. ‘Abd Allāh b. ‘Umar b. Yūsuf b. Muḥammad al-‘Arbī was a polygraph who composed various commentaries, annotations, letters of a judicial nature and a *Dīwān* containing numerous imitations of more or less well-known poems on subjects generally of a mystical flavour.

XIV. — A distant cousin of the preceding, Abū ‘Abd Allāh MUḤAMMAD (1130-1214/1718-99) b. ‘Abd al-Salām b. Maḥammad b. ‘Abd al-Salām b. Muḥammad al-‘Arbī (no. IV) specialised in the Qur’ānic readings, to which he devoted a number of writings that have in part survived.

XV. — Abū ‘Abd Allāh MUḤAMMAD AL-ṬĀHIR (1246-85/1830-68) b. ‘Abd al-Rahmān is considered to be one of the most brilliant members of the family, although he went against the example of his parents and entered government service; as Palace secretary he was a member, in 1276/1860, of a diplomatic mission sent to London, to the court of Queen Victoria, by Sultan Sīdī Muḥammad (1276-90/1859-73) and, on his return, composed an account of his journey which has just been published by M. El Fasi. As usual, the traveller expresses his wonder at the novelties that he has seen and relates his experiences in language that is simple and devoid of all pretension.

XVI. — Finally, one should mention ‘ABD AL-KABĪR (d. 1296/1879) b. al-Madjdihūb (d. 1260/1844)

b. ‘Abd al-Ḥāfiẓ b. Muḥammad (no. IX) a preacher of Fās who is said to have been the author of a chronological index entitled *Tadhkirat al-muḥsinīn bi-wafayāt al-‘ayān wa-hawādiṭh al-sinīn*, which is still missing.

Were one to attempt to assess the contribution of the Fāsiyyūn to Arabic culture and literature, it would appear from their impressive corpus of writings that they contributed most of all, as much by their teaching as by the commentaries and annotations that they composed, to the maintenance of the classical tradition in the intellectual capital of Morocco; some of them were composers of verse, but not one of them proved to be a true poet. Hence we can doubtless declare without injustice that their most tangible contribution consists in their *fahrasas*, their accounts of journeys, and their monographs on their family or on certain of its members.

Bibliography: In addition to the general biographical works, see especially Muḥammad al-Fāṣī (no. IV), *Mir’āt al-mahāsīn*, lith. Fās 1324; Sulaymān al-‘Alawī, *‘Ināyat ūlī ‘l-madjd bi-dhikr al-Fāṣī b. al-Djadd*, Fās 1347/1928; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Chorfa*, index; M. El Fasi, in *Hesperis*, xxix (1942), 65-81; ‘A. Gannūn, *al-Nubūgh al-maghribī*?, Beirut 1961, index; M. Lakhdar, *La vie littéraire*, index; M. Hajji, *L’activité intellectuelle au Maroc à l’époque sa’dide*, Rabat 1976-7, index.

(CH. PELLAT)

FAṢṢĀD, HADJIDJĀM (A.), two terms denoting blood-letting (*faṣṣād*, lit. “phlebotomist” and *hadjdjām*, lit. “cupper”). Al-Djāhīz indicates that *hidjāma* (cupping) and *faṣḍ* (phlebotomy) are similar professions. Some pseudo-scientific books on phlebotomy and blood-letting were written by reputable physicians in ‘Abbāsīd Baghdad and Aghlabīd Kayrawān in the 3rd/9th century, e.g., Yuḥannā b. Māsawayh (d. 243 H./857) wrote a *Kitāb al-Faṣḍ wa‘l-hidjāma* (“Book of phlebotomy and blood-letting”), and Iṣḥāk b. ‘Umrān (d. 279/892) wrote in Kayrawān a medical treatise called *Kitāb al-Faṣḍ* (cf. Ibn Djuḍjūl, *Tabakāt al-aṭibbā’ wa‘l-hukamā’*, Cairo 1955, 65, 85). The phlebotomist was required by customary law to be learned and reliable in the anatomy of organs, veins, muscles and arteries, and he practised his craft in consultation with a physician. They bled veins of the human body and also performed circumcision (*khūtān*) for men as well as women in Arab society. Phlebotomy involved some hazards. Many persons actually died as a result of improper venesection, according to Ibn Bassām al-Muḥtasib. Arab customary law made the *faṣṣād* liable to pay compensation in the event of injury or death of a patient resulting from careless opening of veins. This was probably the reason why the *muḥtasib* stipulated that the *faṣṣādūn* should practise their craft in public places and that they must keep a number of their instruments, including lancets, in good condition. Among Muslim jurists, Abū Ḥanīfa reckoned phlebotomy as a recommendable practice (*sunna*), and not a compulsory duty, but others regarded it as a compulsory duty. Available evidence suggests that the *faṣṣād* had a better social position than the *hadjdjām*, and that there was no stigma attached to the phlebotomist’s profession.

Hidjāma (cupping) was a less hazardous profession than *faṣḍ*, but it was also a less popular work than phlebotomy. The *hadjdjām* existed in pre-Islamic Arabian society and continued to render service to Islamic society until recent times. The cupper is a much-satirised character in Arabic tales, and had a

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very low status. Unlike the phlebotomist, the cupper practised blood-letting on parts of the human body other than veins, and used his cup for relief of pain or itching.

Abū Ṭayyiba was a *ḥadīdjām* who served the Prophet Muḥammad and was much honoured in early Islamic society. He performed *ḥidjāma* on men as well as women. Although *ḥidjāma* was permitted by the *sunna*, there are conflicting Islamic traditions about it. A saying attributed to the Prophet described the earnings of a cupper as evil (*khābīṭh*), analogous to the earnings of a whore. Some other traditions state that the cupper was paid in cash and kind by the Prophet. The anti-*ḥadīdjām* traditions are likely to be apocryphal and they only express the prejudices of the Arabs of the Umayyad and 'Abbāsīd periods. Arab writers cite instances of cuppers, including the poet Abū 'l-ʿAtāhiya, who did not accept any fee for *ḥidjāma* from their clients. Tuesday and Saturday were regarded as auspicious days of the week for *ḥidjāma*, according to an Arab taboo of the 'Abbāsīd and Mamlūk periods.

A proverbial saying of the 3rd/9th century crystallised public opinion: "A look in the mirror of the *ḥadīdjām* is demeaning (*dana'a*)."¹ The cupper was said to be given to gossip, and the allegation was illustrated by anecdotes about Abū Hanīfa [q.v.] and a cupper, and also about Hārūn al-Raṣhīd [q.v.] and a talkative *ḥadīdjām*. The social isolation of cuppers probably led some of them to narrate traditions (*ahādīṭh*) on chains of narrations from one *ḥadīdjām* to another only, says al-Samʿānī. The prejudice against the cupper may be explained in part by the fact that body services were generally considered repugnant, and also partly by the fact that most cuppers were men of inferior social origins, such as *mauālī* and slaves. The cupper was disqualified from giving valid testimony (*shahāda*) in a court of law, and the *ḥadīdjām* was deemed unfit to marry a woman from a social group outside his profession; one source further states that the son of a *ḥadīdjām*, irrespective of his merits, was automatically unsuitable to be a boon-companion (*nadīm*) of the sovereign.

Bibliography: Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, Cairo 1313/1896, iii, 464; Aḥmad b. Saḥl al-Razzāz al-Wāsiṭī, known as Baḥṣhal, *Taʾrīkh Wāsiṭ*, ed. Gurguis 'Awwād, Baghdād 1967, 171; al-Djāhīz, *Rasāʾil*, ed. Sandūbī, Cairo 1933, 127; idem, *al-Bukhālāʾ*, Cairo 1963, 118; idem, *Hayawān*, Cairo 1938, iii, 32; Ps.-Djāhīz, *Kutāb al-Tādī*, Cairo 1914, 23-4; Wakiʿ, *Akhbār al-kudāt*, Cairo 1947, ii, 54; al-Tanukhī, *Nishwār al-muhādara*, London 1921, i, 174; al-Thaʿlibī, *Khams rasāʾil*, Istanbul 1301/1883, 131; idem, *Arbaʾ rasāʾil*, Istanbul 1883, 204; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Kutāb al-Tatfīl*, Damascus 1346/1927, 83-4; Badīʿ al-Zamān al-Hamadḥānī, *Maḳāmāt*, Beirut 1924, 180; al-Samʿānī, *al-Ansāb*, Hyderabad 1964, iv, 69; al-Zamakhsharī, *al-Mustakṣā*, Hyderabad 1962, i, 40, 270; Ibn Bassām, *Nihāyat al-nūba fī ṭalab al-ḥisba*, Baghdād 1968, 110-18; Ibn al-Ukhuwwa, *Maʾālim al-kurba*, London 1938, 159-64; al-Rāghib al-Isfahānī, *Muḥādaraṭ al-udabāʾ* (basic), Beirut 1961, ii, 462-3; Bar-Hebraeus, *The laughable stories*, tr. E.A.W. Budge, London 1897, 122-8; Syriac text, 98-103; Ibshīhī, *al-Mustatraf*, Cairo 1308-10/1890-2, i, 66; Ibn Ṭūlūn, *Rafʿ al-malāma ʿamma kīla fīʾl-ḥidjāma*, Chester Beatty ms., 3317, ff. 59a-66b; Aḥmad Ibrāhīm al-Sharīf, *Makka waʾl-Madīna fīʾl-djāhiliyya wa-ʾahd al-Rasūl*, Cairo 1965, 38, 221-2; R. Brunschwig,

Métiers vils en Islam, in *SI*, xvi (1962), 49 ff.

(M.A.J. BÉG)

FATE [see AL-KAḌĀʾ WA-ʾL-KADAR].

FAYD, an important settlement in Naḡjd during mediaeval times, now a village, situated in lat. 27° 8' N. and long 42° 28' E. It lies on a plain in the borderlands between the two regions of the Djabal Shammar to the north-west and al-Kaṣīm [q.v.] to the south-east, some 80 miles/130 km. south-east of Ḥāʾil [q.v.]. The early Islamic geographers locate it in the territory where the pasture grounds of the B. Ṭayyīʾ and the B. Asad marched together, near to the frequently-mentioned "two mountains of Ṭayyīʾ", sc. Salmā and Adjāʾ. Bakrī, followed by Samhūdī, describes it as a famous *ḥimā* [q.v.] of pre-Islamic times, and they and Harbī mention that when the chief of Ṭayyīʾ Zayd al-Khayl b. Muḥalhil became a Muslim, the Prophet renamed him Zayd al-Khayr and awarded him Fayd as a *kaṭiʿa*. Apparently there was a popular belief that its full name was Fayd b. Ḥām b. ʿAmaliḳ after the first dweller there. Accordingly, the settlement probably existed in some form during the Djāhiliyya, especially as it is mentioned in early poets like Zuhayr b. Abī Sulmā and al-Shammākh (Ibrāhīm b. Ishāḳ al-Harbī, *K. al-Manāsik wa-amākin turuk al-ḥadīdjī wa-maʾālim al-djazīra*, ed. Hamad al-Djāsir, Riyadh 1389/1969, 306-9; Bakrī, *Muḥjam mā ʾstaḍjam*, iii, 1032-5; Samhūdī, *Wafāʾ al-wafāʾ*, iii, 1102).

Fayd's importance under Islam came from its position being roughly half-way along the pilgrimage route from Kūfa in ʿIrāḳ to Mecca and Medina, that route known subsequently as the Darb Zubayda [q.v. in Suppl.]. Already in the earliest decades of Islam, the caliph ʿUṭmān is said to have done irrigation works there (Harbī, *op. cit.*, 309; Samhūdī, *loc. cit.*); in the early ʿAbbāsīd period, similar charitable works are attributed to al-Manṣūr, al-Mahdī and the vizier al-Faḍl b. al-Rabīʿ; whilst in the 4th/10th century, the Būyid amīr ʿAḍud al-Dawla made further improvements, according to Muḳaddasī (see below). It now became a place of fair importance, and the Arabic geographers and travellers describe it as possessing two well-fortified citadels, a bath, a Friday mosque and many other amenities. It had ample supplies of running water from springs and from wells, used to irrigate date palm groves and stored in cisterns. Supplies of food and fodder were kept there for the pilgrims, and heavy baggage could be deposited there with reliable agents and recovered when the pilgrims returned from the Haramayn. It was consequently the headquarters of the state-appointed warden of the pilgrimage and its route across Arabia, the amīr al-ḥadīdjī or ʿāmil al-ṭarīḳ, and his contingent of guards (see Harbī, *loc. cit.*; Ibn Khurraḍādhbih, 127; Ibn Rusta, 176, tr. Wiet, 204; Yaʿkūbī, *Buldān*, 312, tr. Wiet, 146; Muḳaddasī, 108, 254; Ibn Djubayr, *Rihla*, 205-6, tr. R.J.C. Broadhurst, 214; Yāḳūt, *Buldān*, Beirut 1374-6/1955-7, iv, 282-3). The arts of peace must also have been cultivated to some extent, since Yāḳūt, *loc. cit.*, lists certain ʿulamāʾ stemming from Fayd.

The stationing of the amīr al-ḥadīdjī at Fayd was vital, for travel along the pilgrimage route was always fraught with dangers from the predatory Bedouins or from schismatics, and the historical annals abound with accounts of attacks [see *HADJDJ*, iii. The Islamic *Ḥadīdj*]. Thus in 294/906-7 the Ṭayyīʾ besieged al-Muktafi's amīr al-ḥadīdjī Waṣīf b. Suwārtigin in Fayd for three days (Ṭabarī, iii, 2278;



Ibn al-Aṭḥīr, Beirut 1385-7/1965-7, vii, 553); in 312/924 the Carmathians under Abū Ṭāhir al-Djannābī massacred near there a large part of the pilgrimage caravan of the East and elsewhere (ʿArib, *Silat T. al-Ṭabarī*, 118-19; Hamadānī, *Takmilat T. al-Ṭabarī*, ed. A.Y. Kanʿān, Beirut 1961, i, 43); whilst in 412/1021-2 the Nabḥān of Ṭayyī, under their chief Ḥammād b. ʿUdayy, besieged in Fayd the pilgrimage from Khurāsān financed by Maḥmūd of Ghazna, after receiving already a payment of 5,000 *dīnārs* as protection-money [see KHUWWA], but were finally repelled (Ibn al-Djawzī, *al-Muntazam*, viii, 2; Ibn al-Aṭḥīr, ix, 325). Ibn Djubayr, *loc. cit.*, and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Rihla*, i, 409-10, tr. Gibb, i, 252-3, record that in their time, the pilgrims entered Fayd in warlike array in order to ward off the Bedouins.

In later times, Fayd began to lose its importance in favour of Ḥā'il when the pilgrimage route began to pass through the latter town and caravans went via the oasis of al-ʿAdwa (cf. A. Musil, *Northern Negd, a topographical itinerary*, New York 1928, 66). It is first described in its more modest circumstances by European travellers in the later 19th century. W.G. Palgrave passed through it en route from Ḥā'il to al-Kašīm (*Narrative of a year's journey through Central and Eastern Arabia (1862-63)*, London and Cambridge 1865, i, 227-30), as did C.M. Doughty, when Fayd was in the territories of Ibn Rashīd, *amīr* of Ḥā'il (*Travels in Arabia Deserta*, London 1921, ii, 19). Musil says that it comprised only 35 huts, inhabited by Tamīmīs. It is now a large village, with date palms, pasture for beasts and a good supply of fresh water. The mediaeval settlement lies about one mile/1½ km. to the north, and has remains of buildings and cisterns, and possibly of a mosque, together with deep wells; these constructions have been much reduced in recent times by stone-plunderers.

Bibliography: Given substantially in the article, but see the survey of earlier historical and geographical information in Musil, *loc. cit.*, Appx. IV. The station of Fejd in history, 216-20, and now the doctoral thesis of S.ʿA. al-Rashīd, *A critical study of the Pilgrim Road between Kufa and Mecca (Darb Zubaydah), with the aid of field-work*, Leeds 1977 (unpublished), with a full description and plan of the site.

(C.E. BOSWORTH)

FAYḌ-I KĀSHĀNĪ, the pseudonym by which Muḥammad b. Murtaḍā, called Mawlā Muḥsin, one of the most prolific Shīʿī theologians of his time, is better-known. He was a poet, philosopher, expert on *ḥadīth* and skilled authority on Shīʿī law; his mind dominated most of the religious sciences of his time, and his writings touched on several differing domains.

The exact date of his birth is unknown, but he died in 1091/1680 at an advanced age, so that he must have been born, in the town of Kum(m), in ca. 1007/1598. After initial studies in his natal town, he left for Shīrāz to hear the lectures of the famous philosopher Ṣadr al-Dīn Shīrāzī, who gave to him one of his daughters in marriage. His incisive mind allowed him to assimilate a large range of subjects, but he was generally recognised as one of those theologians especially attached to the traditions of the Prophet and the *Imāms*, and as a traditionalist scholar, was the adversary of the philosopher and founder of the *Shaykhī* trend of thought, *Shaykh* Aḥmad Aḥsāʾī [q.v.]. However, he incurred equally the hostility of some traditionalist theologians who opposed certain of his mystical ideas. He was, in

fact, a poet who also excelled at the philosophical sciences. His main work is undoubtedly the *Abwāb al-djinnān* ("Gates of paradise"), written in 1055/1645; as a philosophical mystic, his intuition and incisive mind made him close to al-Ghazālī. His other works include the *ʿIlm al-yakīn fī uṣūl al-dīn*, which is an exposition of the principles of Shīʿī faith, apparently modelled philosophically on Ibn Sīnā's *Ishārāt*, since it is made up of a series of *uṣūl* or principles just as Ibn Sīnā's work is a series of *ishārāt* or indications. His second important work here is the *Minḥādī al-naḍīāt*, in which Kāshānī deals with the practice of the principles of Shīʿī faith. It is divided into chapters corresponding to the five articles of faith, (1) the divine unity; (2) the divine justice; (3) prophethood; (4) the imamate; and (5) the resurrection.

Kāshānī's abundant output comprises over 90 works in Persian and Arabic, in all of which is discernible his predilection for poetry; all of his prose is sprinkled with his own verses or with those of the great Persian and Arabic poets, e.g. the Arabic text of his *Kalimāt makhnūna* is full of Arabic and Persian quotations. Several others of his family were noted as scholars, and especially his brother, the author of several works on ethics.

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FAYOUM [see AL-FAYYŪM].

FAYṢAL B. ʿABD AL-ʿAZĪZ B. ʿABD AL-RAḤMAN ʿĀL SUʿŪD (ca. 1323-95/ca. 1906-75), king of Suʿūdī Arabia (regn. 1385-96/1964-75). His mother was Ṭurfa ʿĀl al-Shaykh. Educated traditionally, the young prince rode in battle at the age of 13 and soon became his father's stalwart commander; at the same age, he began his diplomatic career when, in 1337-8/1919, his father deputed him to congratulate the English king on the defeat of Germany. Abroad, he made characteristically acute independent observations of Western society and, most exceptionally, ultimately learned English and French privately. Soon after ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz [q.v. in Suppl.] conquered al-Ḥiǧāz (1345/1925), he appointed Fayṣal viceroy of the new province and foreign minister. He lived most of the next thirty years in al-Ḥiǧāz, but diplomacy took him to Europe frequently, and, following the establishment of diplomatic relations with the United States (1359/1940), to that country also.

Fayṣal had a total of four wives. First was Sulṭāna b. Aḥmad al-Sudayrī, by whom he had ʿAbd Allāh. In 1350-1, he married ʿIffat b. Aḥmad ʿĀl Ṭhunayyān, a relative raised in Turkey. They had six sons: Muḥammad, Suʿūd, Turkī, Saʿd, ʿAbd al-Raḥmān, and Bandar. Around 1359/1940 he married Ḥayya b. Turkī b. Djalwī, and they had Khālīd. All the sons were educated in the United States and England as, reportedly, were several of his six (?) daughters. Of his wives, two were divorced years before his death, and one died; ʿIffat remained his constant helpmate and encouraged him to more liberal attitudes toward women.

Before King ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz died in 1373/1953, he had arranged that his eldest living son, Suʿūd, should succeed him, and he had designated Fayṣal as Suʿūd's successor. Fayṣal served as prime minister for part of Suʿūd's reign as well as foreign minister. The reign did not prove successful. In 1376-7/1957 Fayṣal had several stomach operations in the United States, and when he returned home, he found

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the kingdom in some disorder and near bankruptcy. Senior members of the royal family decided to ease out Su'ūd, who in 1377/1958 "voluntarily" surrendered power to Fayṣal while remaining king nominally. By 1379-8/1960 Su'ūd reasserted himself, but the family will prevailed, and in 1384/1964 Fayṣal was proclaimed king.

Intelligent and equally at home in Bedouin tent or Western capital, King Fayṣal proved a masterful ruler. Domestically, he faced with considerable success the challenge of leading a very conservative traditional society, propelled by unprecedented oil-based revenues, into the modern world. Externally, he opposed Israel and communism, headed the conservative Muslim bloc, and maintained friendship with the United States. After 'Abd al-Nāṣir's [q.v. in Suppl.] death in 1390/1970, Fayṣal reached an understanding with the new Egyptian leader al-Sādāt, financed Egypt and Syria in the Arab-Israeli war of 1393/1973 and participated fully in the subsequent oil embargo and in the phenomenal OPEC-sponsored oil price increases.

When shot down in *maḍlis* [q.v.] on 26 March 1975 at the age of 70 by a youthful royal assassin, King Fayṣal's country had been set on a peaceful course of modernisation and was a major force in Arab and world affairs. Personally, he enjoyed wide respect for his astute politics, his piety, and his simple ways. He was succeeded by his brother Khālīd.

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(R. BAYLY WINDER)

AL-FAZĀRĪ, ABU 'L-KĀSIM (?) MUḤAMMAD, SUNNĪ poet of al-Ḳayrawān and contemporary of the first four Fāṭimids. His life, like that of many of his contemporaries in Ifrīkiya, is very little known. Thus there is no notice of him in the ancient sources, unlike his grandfather Ibrāhīm (?), classed by al-Khushanī amongst the Mu'tazila; convicted of *ta'tīl*, the "stripping away of God's attributes", he was executed for it. As for his father, 'Āmir, 'Abd Allāh or 'Alī, he is classed by al-Zubaydī amongst the grammarians of the Ifrīkiyan capital; he is said to have appropriated the sums of the *kharaḍj* which he had collected in the Sahel of Tunisia on behalf of the Shī'ī caliphs and to have taken refuge in Egypt. These two "stains" on Abu 'l-Kāsim's lineage brought him the gibes of a certain Muḥammad al-Tūnisī, who may have been, we think, his pro-Shī'ī compatriot al-Iyādī [q.v.].

Nearer our own time, H.H. Abdul Wahab has given a brief notice of him, from which it appears that the poet was born and lived at al-Ḳayrawān and that he died in 345/956, but these are pieces of information of little reliability since they are not based on any explicit source.

Some 112 verses only of al-Fazārī's poetry, scattered in the *Riyād al-nufūs* of al-Mālikī, have been recovered and put together by M. Yalaoui: a *kaṣida* against the "Ubaydīs", but largely made up of a lively eulogy of al-Ḳayrawān and its scholars; a fragment of another satire against the Fāṭimids, but more violent in its language; and an elegy in memory of al-Mammasī, one of the "85 martyrs" of al-Ḳayrawān who fell in the ranks of Abū Yazīd [q.v.]. To these gleanings should be added the 63 verses of the *Kaṣida Fazāriyya* dedicated to al-Manṣūr [q.v.] after his victory over the Khārījī. This poem seems to owe its fame not so much to the originality of its laudatory themes as to its curious prologue, viz. 33 verses in which the poet passes in review the legendary heroes of the Arabic knightly tradition, in a laboured parallel between these great names and that of the dedicatee, as if the poet, ashamed of his palinode, were reducing to a strict minimum the eulogy of a recent adversary.

In sum, al-Fazārī is a minor poet, but a representative one, at the side of his compatriot Sahl al-Warrāḳ, of the Mālikī current in urban Ifrīkiya, divided between his hatred of the Fāṭimids and his distrust of the revolutionary tendencies of the "man on the donkey", Abū Yazīd.

Bibliography: The poetry of al-Fazārī has been edited by Yalaoui in the *Annals of the University of Tunis (Hawliyyāt)* [1973], 119 ff.; see also al-Khushanī, *Classes des savants de l'Ifrīqiya*, ed. Ben Cheneb, 220; al-Mālikī, *Riyād al-nufūs*, B.N. Paris ms. 2153; Ibn Nāḍī al-Dabbāgh, *Ma'ālim al-īmān*, Tunis 1320; al-Zubaydī, *Ṭabaḳāt al-nahwīyyīn wa 'l-lughawīyyīn*, Cairo 1954, 272; al-Kifṭī, *Inbāh al-ruwāt*, No. 531; Brockelmann, S I, 148; Sezgin, *GAS*, ii, 659; H.H. Abdul Wahab, *Muḍīmal ta'rīkh al-adab al-tūnisī*.

(M. YALAOUI)

FEISAL [see FAYṢAL].

FENNEC [see FANAK].

FERGHANA [see FARGHĀNA].

FIBRE, NET [see ṢAYD].

FIDĀ' (A., pl. *afḍiya*) "redemption, repurchase, ransoming". The dictionaries give several meanings for *fidā'* and its derivatives, amongst which *fidā'ī* offers especial interest [see FIDĀ'Ī, FIDĀ'IVYĀN-I ISLĀM]. Another word derived from the same root, *fidya*, appears in the Ḳur'ān to denote the fast which compensates for the days of Ramaḍān in which fasting has not been practised (II, 180/184, 192/196) or the impossibility of purchasing a place in paradise (LVII, 14/15). The verbal forms *fadā*, *tafadā* and *ifḍā* are more common there (e.g. *fadaymā-hu* in regard to the ransoming of Ismā'il, XXXVII, 107), but the sole occurrence of *fidā'* (XLVII, 4-5/4) concerns the ransoming of captives of war taken from Muḥammad's enemies: "When you come up against the infidels, smite their necks, then, when you have made wide slaughter among them, tie fast the bonds; then either set them free as an act of grace or by ransom until the war lays down its burdens". The present article deals with the ransoming of Muslims, prisoners or slaves held by unbelievers, in the West. For the East, see LAMAS-SU.

(Ed.)

The most perfect form of *fidā'*, recommended in

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the West by the Mālikī *fukahā'* as a means of redeeming believers held captive in Christian territory, is the payment of this ransom in the form of pigs and wine previously submitted by *dhimīs* to the Islamic community, this contribution then being reckoned acceptable as an element of the payment of the *ḡiḡya* owed by these tributaries. But this did not often happen.

More frequently, *fidā'* operates on a financial basis. In principle, it is the Muslim state which has the obligation to provide the necessary money, deducting it from public funds; however, the ransom is usually put together by relations or friends of the captives, and it consists of contributions made for this purpose by individuals. In 578/1182, for example, in the time of the Almohad caliph Abū Ya'kūb Yūsuf, the town of Seville ransomed, at a price of 2,700 *ḡinārs*, seven hundred of its citizens who had been captured by Alfonso VIII of Castille; this money had been raised by appeals made for this *fidā'* in the mosques of Seville.

The devout individual who devotes himself totally or episodically to the ransoming of Muslims held captive by infidels is called *al-fakkāk*. It is not often that such an agent is able to travel alone and spontaneously in Christian territory for the purpose of arranging the release of captives; the "infidel" power tends to be uncooperative. In 1318, for example, the king of Aragon rejected a request from his subjects in Lorca, asking him to grant safe-conducts authorising the free movement of "*alfaqques moros*" across his estates (*Registre de Chancellerie* no. 244, of the *Archives de la Couronne d'Aragon*, Barcelona, fo. 234).

In practice, *fidā'* is often linked to a reciprocal act of compensation; the liberation or ransom of Christian prisoners or slaves in the hands of Muslims. In fact, in a case where the infidel refuses to allow the Muslims whom he holds to be ransomed in any other way, Islam permits these men to be exchanged for Christian captives, even if the latter are subsequently likely to take up arms against the *dār al-Islām*.

At the same time, one should note the appearance in a Christian context of an equivalent of the Muslim "redeemer": he is called *alfaqque* in Castilian, *exea* in Catalan (from the Latin *exire* "to go out"). To some extent, members of the Trinitarian and Mercedarian religious orders, of which the former arose at the end of the 12th century, the latter at the beginning of the 13th, may be regarded as Christian *alfaqques*. The term *al-fakkāk* thus comes to denote not only the Muslim who ransoms one of his brothers, but, in a more general sense, the man who liberates a captive.

In principle, every *fakkāk* is respected by the opposing side: neither his liberty of his dignity is compromised. Sometimes, however, this rule is not followed. In 772/1371, for example, a Catalan "*alfaqque*" or "*exea*", from the island of Ibiza, was detained in Granada, although he arrived there armed with a safe-conduct from the Naṣrid sovereign; he was acting as guide to a group of Granadans whom he had ransomed in the Balearic Isles and whom he was in the process of returning to their compatriots. The sultan ordered his release once he was satisfied as to the authenticity of the official safe-conduct with which had been given to the Catalan, but he refused to set free some other Christians, who had accompanied this accredited "*alfaqque*" to Granada.

In the liberations thus effected, the *fidā'* is clearly

supplemented by a commercial enterprise, where the operative is inspired by the profit-motive. The agents who used their own funds to ransom Muslim slaves held in Christian lands and subsequently negotiated their return to Muslim territory, sought to profit by the operation; on their return, they repeated the process elsewhere, in the opposite direction. Very often, Jews took on the role of commercial *alfaqques*: in 1004, for example, the Count of Barcelona granted to four Jews the right to ransom and to restore to Islamic territory Muslim captives held in Catalonia.

Most often, liberations were effected in the course of diplomatic transactions, claims and exchange of ambassadors; normally, an ambassador acted as "redeemer", where necessary retaining a specialist *fakkāk* in his entourage. Examples of liberations by exchange made in the context of these missions and negotiations are: in 713/1313, between Bougiots held as slaves in Majorca, and Majorcan slaves in Bougie; in 1321, between Catalan slaves in the Naṣrid kingdom and Granadans held captive in the lands of the Crown of Aragon; also, in 837/1434-5 between subjects of Alfonso the Magnanimous, King of Aragon and Sicily, held prisoner in Hafṣid territory, and Tunisian slaves in the lands of King Alfonso; etc.

There were other ways in which the *fidā'* could operate; sometimes, a Muslim captive sends for a number of co-religionists from his own land and makes them hostages, as a guarantee for the ransom which he has promised and which he himself goes to raise. This was the course followed by, for example, in Oviedo, ca. 287/900, by an important member of the court of Cordova, who left in his place one of his sons, two of his brothers and a nephew, who had come to the Asturias for this purpose. Sometimes, a slave concludes a "contract of liberation" (contract of "talliage") with his proprietor: either because he is authorised to collect money, or because he is hired out to a third party and is allowed to keep the supplementary payments given him by the latter when the occasion arises, or because he makes his living in one way or another, or because he receives money from home, such a captive is free from the day that he succeeds in remitting to his master the sum required within a period determined under the contract. In 703/1303, for example, two Muslim slaves in the kingdom of Valencia were authorised by their proprietor to travel round the country to raise a certain sum within ten months, demanding from their co-religionists (the free Muslims of the kingdom) "alms of precept" and "supplementary gifts". This fact is known to us from a deed drawn up by a *kādī* of Valencia in Rabī' I 703, preserved in the archives of the Kingdom of Aragon in Barcelona; this is a document designed to facilitate fundraising on the part of slaves who were bearers of it, introducing them to all *fukahā'*, '*ulamā'*', *imāms*, *shaykhs*, administrators, notables and other Muslims living in the territory of the King of Aragon.

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A remarkable work inspired by a ransom mission is that of Ibn 'Uthmān [q.v. in Suppl.], *al-Iksār fi fikāk al-asir*, ed. Muḥammad al-Fāstī, Rabat 1965. (CH.-E. DUFOURCQ)

FIGS [see TĪN].

FİNDİKOĞLU, FİYĀ' AL-DĪN FAHİRİ, modern Turkish ZIYAEDDİN FAHRİ FİNDİKOĞLU (1901-74) (he also occasionally used his original name AHMED KHALİL), Turkish sociologist and writer. He was born in Tortum near Erzurum in Eastern Anatolia, and graduated from the School of Posts and Telegraph (*Posta-Telgraf mekteb-i âlîsi*) in 1922, and also from the Department of Philosophy of Istanbul University (1925). He taught philosophy and sociology in various schools in Erzurum, Sivas and Ankara, until in 1930 he went to France on a government scholarship and obtained a Ph.D. in philosophy from the University of Strasbourg (1936), being then appointed lecturer (*doçent*) in the University of Istanbul. In 1937 he transferred to the Faculty of Economics, where he became Professor in 1941. He died in Istanbul on 16 November 1974.

Fındıkoğlu became interested at an early stage in literature and folk-lore, and published poems and studies on folk poets (e.g. *Bayburtlu zihni*, 1928). Later, he concentrated on research about Fiyā' (Ziya) Gökalp and Ibn Khaldūn and on problems of social change in their legal and sociological implications, and also on the co-operative movements, making considerable contributions to both these fields. From being a moderate liberal, he developed into an extreme conservative and traditionalist, and in his many articles in various periodicals, particularly in his own *İş* ("Action"), he waged a relentless war against reformist tendencies and against all innovations (e.g. he signed Fındıkoğlu Ziyaeddin Fahri instead of Ziyaeddin Fahri Fındıkoğlu, as the former was more in keeping with old Turkish usage). He joined the opponents of the language reform movement and carefully avoided all neologisms in his writings.

Fındıkoğlu is the author of the following major works: *Ziya Gökalp, sa vie et sa sociologie*, Nancy 1935; *Essai sur la transformation du code familial en Turquie*, Paris 1935; *Ibn Haldun'un hukuka ait fikirleri ve tesiri* ("Ibn Khaldūn's ideas on law and their impact"), 1939; *Ahlak tarihi*, 3 vols., 1945-6; *Sosyalizm*² (1965); *Kooperasyon sosyolojisi* (1967).

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(FAHİR İZ)

FINDIRISKĪ, MĪR ABU 'L-KĀSIM B. MĪRZĀ HUSAYNĪ ASTARĀBĀDĪ, known in Persia as Mīr Findiriskī, Persian scholar and philosopher. He was probably born in Iṣfahān, where he studied and spent much of his life. He also travelled extensively in India, and died in Iṣfahān in 1050/1640-1. His tomb is located in the Takht-i Fulād cemetery, and this shrine is visited by many devotees throughout the year. Mīr Findiriskī was one of the most famous of the philosophers and scientists of the Ṣafawid period, respected by both Shāh 'Abbās and the Mughal court in India, yet little is known of the details of his life. In Iṣfahān he taught the sciences, and especially the philosophy of Ibn Sīnā, above all the *Shifā* and the *Kānūn*, and such well-known figures as Akā Husayn Khān Hidāyat, Muḥammad Bākīr Sabzawārī, Raḍjab 'Alī Tabrīzī, and possibly Mullā Ṣadrā, studied with him. Yet he was far

from being merely a rationalistically-oriented philosopher; he was also a Šūfī, an alchemist, a profound student of Hinduism, a gifted poet and one who was believed by his contemporaries to possess supernatural powers. Besides being, along with Mīr Dāmād and Bahā' al-Dīn 'Āmilī, one of the main figures of the "School of Iṣfahān", Mīr Findiriskī was also the most notable intellectual link between the tradition of Islamic philosophy in Persia and the movement for the translation of Sanskrit texts into Persian in India which is usually associated with the name of Dārā Shukōh [q.v.].

Few works survive from Mīr Findiriskī's pen, but those which do are all of exceptional interest. Perhaps the most important of his works, which is also unusual in both its theme and treatment in the annals of Islamic philosophy, is the Persian *Risāla-yi šinā'iyya*, which concerns the metaphysical study of human society. In this work, various occupations and professions in society are placed in a hierarchy corresponding to the hierarchy of knowledge and also of being. Another of his treatises, *Risāla-yi harakat*, again in Persian, deals with a refutation of the Platonic ideas upon the basis of Aristotelian physics. This is quite surprising, because Mīr Findiriskī is the author of one of the most famous philosophical *kašidas* of the Persian language, beginning with the verse:

Heaven with these stars is lucid,
pleasing, and beautiful;
Whatever exists in the world above,
has in the world below a form.

These verses clearly confirm the reality of the archetypal world.

As a matter of fact, this *kašida* is the best-known of Mīr Findiriskī's works in Persia, and one upon which his philosophical reputation rests. It was commented upon by such later figures as Muḥammad Šālih Khalkhālī and Hakīm 'Abbās Dārābī. In his Persian answer to the question of Akā Muẓaffar Kāshānī on whether there is analogy in quiddities, he follows those who believe in the principality of quiddity, and is far from the position of a metaphysician of being such as Mullā Ṣadrā. Mīr Findiriskī, this contemporary of Michael Meier and Robert Fludd, was also widely known as an alchemist, and in fact was buried in an iron coffin to prevent his body from being stolen. He is thus the author of an Arabic treatise on alchemy, as well as a Persian poem on the royal art, both of which have been discovered recently but remain unedited. Finally, he is the author of a summary of the *Yoga Vasistha* and a voluminous commentary upon the Persian translation of this work by Nizām al-Dīn Pānīpātī, both of which are also still unedited. This commentary is without doubt one of the peaks of the intellectual encounter between Islam and Hinduism. Although only these few works survive from Mīr Findiriskī, and the manuscript of the *Usūl al-fuṣūl* on Hinduism and a history of the Ṣafawids attributed to him have never been discovered, he remains a vivid and lively figure in the later history of Islamic philosophy in Persia and survives to this day, even in the consciousness of the common people, as one of the greatest sages of the Ṣafawid period.

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(SEYYED HOSSEIN NASR)

FIRDOUSI [see FIRDAWSĪ].

FIROUZ [see FĪRŪZ].

FĪRRĪM, **PIRRĪM**, a stronghold in the Elburz Mountains mentioned in mediaeval Islamic times as held by the Iranian native princes of the Caspian region, firstly the Kārinids and then the Bāwandids [q.v.]. Its exact position is unfortunately not fixed in the itineraries of the geographers, and an authority like Ibn Ḥawqāl, ed. Kramers, 377, tr. Kramers-Wiet, 367, following Iṣṭakhṛī, merely mentions it as the capital of the Kārinids since pre-Islamic times, where their treasures and materials of war were stored; Yāqūt adds to this information that it was one stage from Sārī, the town of Tabaristān in the coastal region (iii, 890; ed. Beirut, iv, 260). The information that Fīrrīm was the fortress of the Kārinids was anachronistic by these geographers' times, since the execution of Māzyār b. Kārin in 225/840 meant the extinction of that dynasty; it probably passed soon after then to the Kāwūsiyya line of the Bāwandids, who were certainly installed there in the 4th/10th century.

In the *Hudūd al-'ālam* (372/982) we have quite a detailed description of the Kūh-i Kārin, the district in which Fīrrīm was situated, and of the town itself, with some interesting sociological and folkloristic observations. Much of the population of the district was still Zoroastrian, but Fīrrīm contained Muslim immigrants, merchants and artisans; the Bāwandid Ispahbads' military camp was half-a-*farsakh* outside the town itself (tr. Minorsky, 135-6). A certain amount of Muslim settlement may have taken place from early 'Abbāsīd times onwards, since Ibn Isfandiyār in his *Ta'rīkh-i Tabaristān*, abridged tr. E.G. Browne, Leiden-London 1905, 122-3, records that al-Manṣūr's governor Abū Khuzayma al-Tamīmī (143-4/760-1) placed a garrison in Fīrrīm of 500 men under Khalīfa b. Bahrām. It is also recorded that Māzyār established a mosque in Fīrrīm (Ibn al-Fakīh, 306, tr. Massé, 362). From mentions in the sources on the confused fighting in northern Persia amongst Daylamī and other adventurers during the Būyid period, it seems that the Bāwandids continued to hold Fīrrīm. They minted coins there with legends of *Shrī* type, usually acknowledging on them the 'Abbāsīd caliphs and the Būyids of Ray as their suzerains, during the second half of the 4th/10th century (coins of Rustan b. Sharwīn, reigned ca. 353-69/ca. 964-80, and of Shahriyār b. Dārā, reigned ca. 358-96/ca. 969-1006, the first perhaps with his power contested), though their extant issues from 499/1105 onwards are all from the Sārī mint (see G.C. Miles, *The coinage of the Bāwandids of Tabaristān, in Iran and Islam, in memory of the late Vladimir Minorsky*, ed. C.E. Bosworth, Edinburgh 1971, 443-60, and idem, in *Cambridge history of Iran*, iv, 373, 375).

None of these pieces of information enables us to fix with sureness the exact location of Fīrrīm.

P. Casanova, in *Les Ispahbads de Fīrrīm*, in *'Ajābnāma, A volume of oriental studies presented to Edward G. Browne*, ed. T.W. Arnold and R.A. Nicholson, Cambridge 1922, 117-21, argued for an identification with the mediaeval and modern town of Fīrūzkūh [q.v.] on the Tehran-Sārī highway. Minorsky, on the other hand, in *Hudūd al-'ālam*, comm. 387, thought that Fīrrīm must have lain on the western branch of the Tīdjīn-Rūd, to the south-south-east of Sārī and north of Simnān. Certainly, the geographers were not sure whether it should be attached administratively to Sārī and Ṭabaristān or to Kūmis [q.v.] on the southern slopes of the Elburz, cf. Ḥamd Allāh Mustawfī, *Nuḥḥat al-kulūb*, ed. Le Strange, 162, tr. 158. The fact that in early 20th century Persia there was a *bulūk* or district called Farīm in the larger division of Hazārdjārīb (H.L. Rabino di Borgomale, *Māzandarān and Astarābād*, London 1928, 56-7) may strengthen the latter identification, but is probably only really archaeological exploration which can finally decide.

Bibliography: In addition to references given in the text, see for the coins minted at Fīrrīm, E. von Zambaur, in *Wiener Numismatische Zeitschr.* xlvii (1914), no. 472 (discusses all issues then extant), and idem, *Die Münzprägungen des Islams zeitlich und örtlich geordnet*, Wiesbaden 1968, i, 185-6 (coins from 225-840 ('Abbāsīd) to 746/1345-6 (Il-Khānīd)).

(C.E. BOSWORTH)

FĪRŪZ SHĀH KHALDJĪ [see KHALDJĪS].

FISH [see SAMAK].

FLOOD [see MĀ].

FLUTE [see NĀY].

FONDOUK [see FUNDUK].

FOSTAT [see AL-FUSTĀT].

FOUAD [see FU'ĀD].

FOULBÉ [see FULBÉ].

FREEDOM [see DUMḤURIYYA, HURRIYA].

FREEMASONRY [see FARĀMŪSH-KHĀNA, FAR-MĀSŪNIYYA].

FRIEZE [see KHIRKA, ŠŪF].

FŪDHANDJ (*fawdandj*, *fawtandj*, etc.) is mint *Mentha* L. (Labiatae). The term is of Persian, and ultimately of Indian origin (*pūdāna*), which explains the various ways of transcription in the Arabic rendering. Under the name *ḥabaḳ* mint was well-known to the Arab botanists (Aṣma'ī, *K. al-Nabāt*, ed. 'Abd Allāh al-Ghunaym, Cairo 1392/1972, 17). They describe it as a fragrant plant with an acrid taste, square-sectioned stalk and leaves similar to those of the willow. It often grows near water and resembles the water-mint, called *nammām*. The Beduins considered it as a means to check in both man and animal the longing for coitus (Abū Ḥanīfa al-Dīnawarī, *The book of plants*, ed. D. Lewin, Uppsala-Wiesbaden, 1953, no. 247, and *Le dictionnaire botanique*, ed. M. Hamidullah, Cairo 1973, no. 840).

The Arabic nomenclature of the mint is abundant, as was already the Greek one, but it is rather confused, and so the identification of the individual kinds is made considerably difficult. Ibn Dījldjūl [q.v.] of Cordoba equates the *καλαμίνθη* of Dioscorides, which appears as *kālāminthī* (and variants) in Stephanos-Hunayn, with *fūdhandj* (see Anonymous, Nuruosmaniye 3589, fol. 99a-b) and knows the following three kinds of it: (a) *fūdhandj nahī*, the "river-mint", also called *dawmarān*, apparently *Mentha aquatica* L.; (b) *fūdhandj djabālī*, the "mountain-mint", also called *nābuḥa* (< Latin *nepeta*, cf. F.J. Simonet, *Glosario de voces ibéricas y latinas usadas entre los mozárabes*, Madrid 1888, 397 f., with Mozarabic complementary forms), probably *Mentha*

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tomentella Link; (c) *fūdhandj barrī*, the "wild mint", also known as *ghalikkhun* (γλήχων), *Mentha pulegium* L.

This simple basic pattern was completed and differentiated by later pharmacologists. For the river-mint there appear the Arabic terms *nammām*, *habāk al-mā'* and *habāk nahrī*, in Egypt *habāk al-timsāh*, in Andalusia the Mozarabic *mantarāshlaruh* (*mastranto*, etc., see Simonet, *op. cit.*, 359); the last term indicates in fact another kind, namely *Mentha rotundifolia* L. In the literature of translations the river-mint probably corresponds with σισυμβριον = *sisinbaryūn* (and variants). The mountain-mint is later mostly equated with the "rocky" (*al-ṣakhrī*) and with the wild mint (according to Ibn al-Wahshiyya in Nuwayrī, *Nihāya*, xi, Cairo 1935, 69, 7). In Mozarabic the wild mint is called *bulāyuh*, *fulāyuh* (*poleo* < Latin *pulegium*, German *Polei*, see Simonet, *op. cit.*, 452), and also *ghubayrā'* or *'imid*. To this should be added above all the "cultivated mint" (*fūdhandj bustānī*), that is, the pepper-mint, *Mentha piperita*, the ἡδύσμουρον *idīyāsmun* of the literature of translation, well-known and favoured as *na'na'* or *nu'nu'*. Other kinds are also mentioned, which can be omitted here; they are not at all to be connected with the genus mint (like *ḡaytal*), or only with some restriction (like *ṣufayrā'*).

As still today, mint had a many-sided medicinal effect, above all from the menthol contained in the volatile oil of the leaves of the peppermint. For the preparation of fragrant peppermint tea, Ibn Wahshiyya (in Nuwayrī, *op. cit.*, 70) recommends a method which is based upon all kinds of superstitious notions. The juice of the river-mint, taken with honey, has a strong heating and sweat-producing effect; taken with water, it helps against shooting pains and sciatica, promotes menstruation, drives off the tape-worm and is useful against jaundice since it opens up the sluggishness of the liver. Mountain-mint dilutes thick and sticky fluids which accumulate in the breast or lungs, and secretes them. Peppermint, taken with vinegar, does away with nausea and vomiting and checks haemorrhages. On the specific effect of menthol is based its use, common until now, for diarrhoea, gripes, flatulence and, above all, catarrh of the respiratory tubes. A few verses praising the fragrant peppermint tea are found in Nuwayrī, *op. cit.*, 71 f.

Bibliography: (besides the titles already mentioned): Dioscorides, *De materia medica*, ed. Wellmann, ii, Berlin 1906, 40-8 = lib. iii, 31-5; *La "Materia medica" de Dioscorides* (Arabic tr. and ed. Dubler and Terés, Tetuán 1952, 253-6; Rāzī, *Hāwī*, xxi, Ḥaydarābād 1388/1968, 243-51 (no. 621), with many quotations and recipes; *Die pharmakolog. Grundsätze des Abu Mansur . . . Harawī*, tr. A.Ch. Achundow, Halle 1893, 238 f.; Ibn al-Djazzār, *ʿItimād*, Ms. Ayasofya 3564, fols. 83a-84a; Zahrāwī, *Tasrīf*, Ms. Beşir Ağa 502, fol. 508b, 29-32; Ibn Sīnā, *Kānūn* (Bulāḡ) i, 409 f.; Bīrūnī, *Ṣaydala*, ed. H.M. Sa'īd, Karachi 1973, Arab. 296, Engl. 256; Ibn 'Abdūn, *ʿUmda*, Ms. Rabat, Bibl. Gén. 3505 D, fols. 130a, 19-131a, 2; Ibn Bīklārīsh, *Mustaʿīnī*, Ms. Naples, Bibl. Naz., iii, F. 65, fol. 78b; Ibn Hubāl, *Mukhtārāt*, Ḥaydarābād 1362, ii, 157 f.; P. Guigues, *Les noms arabes dans Sérapion*, in *JA*, 10ème série (1905), v, s.v. *fandenegi* (no. 175); Maimonides, *Sharḥ asmā' al-ʿuḡkār*, ed. Meyerhof, Cairo 1940, no. 309; Ibn al-Bayṭār, *Djāmī*, Bulāḡ 1291, iii, 170-2, tr. Leclerc, no. 1712; Yūsuf b. 'Umar,

Mu'tamad, ed. M. al-Sakkā', Beirut 1395/1975, 372-4; Suwaydī, *Simāt*, Ms. Paris ar. 3004, fol. 221a-b; Ghassānī, *Hadīkat al-azḡār*, Ms. Hasan Ḥusnī 'Abd al-Wahhāb, fol. 93a; Dāwūd al-Anṭākī, *Tadhkira*, Cairo 1371/1952, i, 252 f.; *Tuhfat al-aḡbbāb*, ed. Renaud and Colin, Paris 1934, no. 283, 325; F.A. Flückiger, *Pharmakognosie des Pflanzenreiches*³, Berlin 1891, 722-9; I. Löw, *Die Flora der Juden*, ii, 1924, 75-8; *The medical formulary or Aqrābādīn of al-Kīndī*, tr. M. Levey, Madison etc., 1966, 312 f. (A. DIETRICH)

FUḲAHĀ' AL-MADĪNA AL-SAB'A, the seven "jurists" of Medina, to whom tradition attributes a significant role in the formation of *fiḡh*. J. Schacht, who was especially interested in these *fuḡahā'*, wrote (*Esquisse d'une histoire du droit musulman*, Paris 1952, 28; cf. idem, *An introduction to Islamic law*, Oxford 1964, 31): "The Medinans . . . traced back the origin of their special brand of legal teaching to a number of ancient authorities, who died in the final years of the first and the early years of the second century of the Hegira. In a later period, seven of them were chosen as representatives; these are the 'seven jurisconsults of Medina' . . . Almost none of the doctrines attributed to these ancient authorities can be considered as authentic. The transmission of the judicial doctrine of Medina only becomes historically verifiable at the same period, approximately, as in Iraq, with Zuhri (died in the year 124 of the Hegira)." It may further be noted, in this context, that the name of al-Zuhri [q.v.] figures prominently in the enumeration, by the biographers, of those who supposedly formed the audience of the seven *fuḡahā'*. J. Schacht (*The origins of Muhammadan jurisprudence*, Oxford 1950, 22 ff.; 243 ff.) is also able to show that the list of these jurisconsults, to some extent variable, but finally fixed *ne varietur*, rests on no foundation, and he considered that in fact it is a question of a conventional group of *tābiʿūn* mentioned for the first time in definitive form by al-Taḡhawī (d. 321/933) in his *Sharḥ maʿānī l-ʿaṡḡār* (Lucknow 1301-2, i, 163), then by Abu 'l-Faraj al-Isfahānī (d. 356/967) in the *Aḡḡānī* (ed. Beirut, ix, 136, 145). He recognises, however, that this list was definitely drawn up at an earlier date, although he cites no reference in this context. Now the *Fihrist* (ed. Cairo, 315) mentions a work of Ibn Abi 'l-Zinād (d. 174/790-1 [q.v. in Suppl.]) entitled *Ra'y al-fuḡahā' al-sab'a min ahl al-Madīna wa-mā' khtalafū fiḡhi*, which creates the impression that this group—whose composition had been probably already fixed—was felt, towards the middle of the 2nd century A.H. not only as a historical reality, but also as early evidence of the doctrinal pluralism accepted by Islam, since it was possible to find out divergencies of opinion from among equally-respected "scholars". The fact remains, however, that the seven *fuḡahā'* chosen would appear above all else to be purveyors of tradition, for whom the sources are, in the nature of things, almost all the same. In addition, it may justifiably be supposed that their reputation was established considerably later than the time of their disappearance, since the date of death of the majority of them is not known with certainty; one might however expect it to be fixed in the year 94/712-13, designated precisely by the name *sanat al-fuḡahā'*, since according to tradition a number of them are said to have died in that year.

Whatever the case may be, the definitely-adopted list comprises the following personalities, with regard to whom it has not been judged beneficial, for



the studies of J. Schacht, to undertake researches into the works of *fikh*:

I. — ABŪ BAKR B. 'ABD AL-RAḤMĀN b. al-Ḥārith b. Hishām b. al-Mughīra AL-MAKHZŪMĪ, a prominent Kurayshite who became blind and was surnamed al-Rāhib or Rāhib Kuraysh on account of his piety. Al-Tabarī (ii, 272) is the only one to give him the name of 'Umar, and Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel (Tab. 23) mentions only two other sons of 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. al-Ḥārith. Too young to serve as a combatant at the Battle of the Camel [see AL-DJAMAL], he remained in Medina, where he became intimate with 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān, who commended him to the care of his son al-Walid. He passed on some *ḥadīths* of Abū Hurayra and of the wives of the Prophet to a number of traditionists, among whom the most notable would appear to be al-Zuhri. He died in 94/712-13.

Bibliography: Muṣ'ab al-Zubayrī, *Nasab Kuraysh*, 303-4; Ibn Kutayba, *Ma'ārif*, 282, 588, 599; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, ed. Ihsān 'Abbās, Beirut, no. 117; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, ed. Beirut 1388/1968, ii, 383; Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, v, 132-4 = §§ 1889-90; Ibn al-Imād, *Shadharāt*, i, 104; Nawawī, *Tahdhīb*, 672-3; Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, xii, 30-2; Safadi, *Nakt al-himyan*, 131.

II. — KHĀRIDJA B. ZAYD B. THĀBIT AL-ANṢĀRĪ, Abū Zayd (d. 99 or 100/717-19) son of the Prophet's secretary. Appointed *mufī* of Medina, he collected traditions from his father and passed them on, most notably to al-Zuhri.

Bibliography: Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, index; Ibn Khallikān, no. 211; Nawawī, *Tahdhīb*, 223; Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, iii, 74-5; idem, *Isāba*, no. 2136; Ibn 'Asākir, *Tārīkh Dimashq*, vi, 24-5; Ibn al-Imād, *Shadharāt*, i, 118.

III. — 'URWA B. AL-ZUBAYR B. AL-'AWWĀM, Abū 'Abd Allāh (b. ca. 23/644, d. between 91 and 99/709-18), grandson of the first caliph through Asmā' bint Abī Bakr [q.v.]. He was considerably younger than his brother 'Abd Allāh [q.v.], in whose activities he played no part; in fact, he avoided involvement in politics, but it was he who is said to have brought to 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān, in 73/692, the news of the defeat and death of the anti-caliph. He lived subsequently in Medina, where he is said to have written, on the instruction of 'Abd al-Malik, a series of epistles on the beginnings of Islam. He collected traditions from his aunt 'Ā'isha, from his mother, from his father (?) and from Abū Hurayra and passed them on notably to his own sons, to Sulaymān b. Yasār (see below) and to al-Zuhri. The biographers tell that he was most courageous and that he endured in silence the amputation of a foot.

Bibliography: Muṣ'ab al-Zubayrī, *Nasab Kuraysh*, 245 and index; Tabarī, i, 1180, ii, 1266; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, index; Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, Tab. 19 and ii, 575; Ibn Khallikān, no. 416; Nawawī, *Tahdhīb*, 420-1; Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, vii, 180-5; Ibn Kutayba, *Ma'ārif*, index; I. Goldziher, *Muh. Studien*, ii, 20.

IV. — SULAYMĀN B. YASĀR AL-ḤILĀLĪ, Abū Ayyūb/Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān/Abū 'Abd Allāh (d. ca. 100/718-9) *mawlā* of Maymūna, wife of the Prophet, who passed on traditions acquired from 'Ā'isha, Ibn (al-)Abbās, Abū Hurayra and others and whose audience included notably al-Zuhri.

Bibliography: Ibn Kutayba, *Ma'ārif*, 459; Tabarī, index; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, 266; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, index; Ibn Khallikān, no. 270; Nawawī, *Tahdhīb*,

302-3; Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, iv, 228-30; Mas'ūdī, v, 462 = § 2214; Ibn al-Imād, *Shadharāt*, i, 134.

V. — 'UBAYD ALLĀH B. 'ABD ALLĀH b. 'Utba b. Mas'ūd al-Hudhālī, Abū 'Abd Allāh, great-nephew of 'Abd Allāh b. Mas'ūd [q.v.], who collected traditions from his father, from Ibn (al-)Abbās, from Abū Hurayra and other Companions and had a number of transmitters, in particular al-Zuhri. He was extremely learned, according to his biographers, and he is said to have been the teacher of 'Umar b. 'Abd al-Azīz at Medina. He is known as a Murjī'ite. He owes to his skill as a poet his inclusion in the *Aghānī* (ed. Beirut, ix, 135-47) and it is in the chapter devoted to him that Abū 'l-Faraj enumerates twice (135, 145) the seven *fukahā'*, the second time with reference to a passage in which 'Ubayd Allāh is supposed to cite his six colleagues; Schacht (*Origins*, 244) believes with some justification that this is a fabrication invented for the requirements of circumstances; it seems in fact to have a mnemonic quality, like two verses (with rhyme-*dīh*) quoted by Ibn Khallikān in the article on Abū Bakr b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān 'Ubayd Allāh, who was blind, died in about 98/716-7 and was buried at al-Bakī.

Bibliography: Djāhīz, *Bayān*, i, 356 and index; idem, *Ḥayawān*, i, 14 and index; Tabarī, index; Abū Tammām, *Ḥamāsa*, ii, 126-7; Ibn Kutayba, *Ma'ārif*, 250, 251, 588; Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabaqāt*, index; Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, v, 376 = § 2129; Husrī, *Dīwān al-djāwāhir*, 4; Harawī, *Ziyārāt*, 94/215; Ibn Khallikān, no. 356; Nawawī, *Tahdhīb*, 400-1; Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, vii, 180-5; Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-huffāz*, i, 74; Abū Nu'aym, *Hilyat al-auliya'*, ii, 188; Safadi, *Nakt*, 197-8; Ibn al-Imād, *Shadharāt*, i, 114; Zirikli, iv, 360.

VI. — SA'ĪD B. AL-MUSAYYAB b. Hazn al-Makhzūmī, Abū Muhammad. A true Kurayshite, this oil merchant collected traditions from his father-in-law Abū Hurayra and from other Companions and acquired a great reputation for piety and knowledge in the domain of *ḥadīth*, of *fikh*, and of *tafsīr*. Given the title Sayyid al-Tabi'in, he seems to have been preferred to the other *fukahā'* by the Medinans, who subsequently abandoned his doctrine, which was different from that of Mālik (cf. Schacht, *Origins*, 7) but was judged sufficiently important to merit a monograph by al-Dhahabī. Politically, he affirmed his desire for independence by refusing to recognise Ibn al-Zubayr, which cost him sixty strokes of the lash, then refusing to pay allegiance to the sons of 'Abd al-Malik, al-Walid and Sulaymān, which earned him a second flogging. His biographers also speak of his ability to interpret dreams. The date of his death varies considerably in the sources, but it is possible to pinpoint the year 94/712-13. He was buried at al-Bakī.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, Tab. 22 and ii, 501; Ibn Kutayba, *Ma'ārif*, index; Ibn Hishām, *Sīra*, index; Tabarī, index; Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, index; Ibn Sa'd, index; Muṣ'ab al-Zubayrī, *Nasab Kuraysh*, 345; Ya'qūbī, *Historiae*, ii, 276; Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, iv, 148, 254, 255, v, 118 = §§ 1479, 1581, 1874; Ibn Tīkākā, *Fakhrī*, ed. Derenbourg, 167, 168; H. Laoust, *Ibn Baṭṭa*, 51; Harawī, *Ziyārāt*, 94/125; Maḳdisī, *Création*, index; Ibn Khallikān, no. 262; Nawawī, *Tahdhīb*, 283-5; Ibn Hajar, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, iv, 84-8; Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-huffāz*, i, 51-3; Ibn al-Imād, *Shadharāt*, i, 102-3; Ibn Taghribardī, *Nudjūm*, i, 228; Goldziher, *Muh. Studien*, ii, 31, 97.

VII. — AL-KĀSIM B. MUḤAMMAD B. ABĪ BAKR, Abū 'Abd al-Raḥmān/Abū Muḥammad. Grandson of



the first caliph, and, as the story goes, of the last Sāsānid, because his mother was allegedly one of the three daughters of Yazdadjird (see al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, index, s.v. *Shahrbanū*), he was adopted by his aunt 'A'isha after the death of his father in 38/658. He transmitted to al-Zuhrī and to a number of other recipients traditions from his aunt and from several Companions, including Abū Hurayra. He died in ca. 106/724-5 at Kūdayd and was buried at al-Abwā' [q.v.].

Bibliography: *Djāhīz*, *Bayān*, ii, 322; Ibn

Kutayba, *Ma'ārif*, 175, 588; Muṣ'ab al-Zubayrī, *Nasab Quraysh*, 279; Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, Tab, 21; Ibn Sa'd, index; Abū Nu'aym, *Hilyat al-awliyā'*, ii, 183; Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, v, 463 = § 2214; Maḳdisī, *Création*, vi, 80; Ibn Khallikān, no. 533; Harawī, *Ẓiyārāt*, 89/205; Nawawī, *Tahdhīb*, 507-8; Ibn Hajar, *Tadhīb al-Tahdhīb*, viii, 333-5; Šafadī, *Nakt*, 230; Ibn al-'Imād, *Shadharāt*, i, 135.

(CH. PELLAT)

FUNERAL OBSEQUIES [see *DIJANĀZA*].

FUR [see *FARW*].

G

GADĀ'Ī KAMBŌ, *SHAYKH*, Šūfī saint of Muslim India.

He was the eldest son of *Shaykh* *Djamālī Kambō* (d. 941/1535), an important Suhrawardī Šūfī saint, who enjoyed the status of poet-laureate at Sikandar Lōdī's court and later served the Mughal emperors, Bābur and Humāyūn as their courtier. Having completed the customary education, *Shaykh* *Gadā'ī* perfected himself in the exoteric as well as esoteric sciences of the Šūfī. His father then made him his *khalīfa* or spiritual successor, with permission to enrol *murīds* or disciples in the Suhrawardī order. On *Shaykh* *Djamālī*'s death, he inherited half of his father's huge fortune as the remaining half going to his younger brother, *Shaykh* 'Abd al-Hayy, known as Hayātī. In recognition of his father's services, Humāyūn made *Gadā'ī* his courtier in place of *Djamālī*. *Gadā'ī* was also a gifted poet and musician, composing verses both in Persian and Hindi, his musical compositions in Hindi being famous during Akbar's reign.

After Humāyūn's defeat by *Shēr Shāh Sūr* near Kanawdj in 947/1540, *Gadā'ī* fled to Guḍjarāt out of fear of the Afghāns, for the Indian allies of the Mughals had to be punished, and from there went to Arabia for the pilgrimage. On his return he remained in Guḍjarāt where he was joined by his *murīds*, some of whom belonged even to Afghān families, and he became famous in Guḍjarāt for his opulent sessions of *samā'*.

With the restoration of Mughal rule in India in 962/1555, the political situation changed, and *Gadā'ī* again joined Akbar's court in the Panḍjāb some time before the second battle of Pānīpat took place in Muḥarram 964/November 1556. Bayram *Khān Khān-i Khānān*, who had become the regent, appointed *Gadā'ī* as *Sadr* of the Mughal empire for old friendship's sake as well as for political reasons, hoping that *Gadā'ī* would act as a liaison between the Mughals and the Indian élite. But the Mughal historians of Akbar's reign, who generally compiled their works after the fall of Bayram *Khān*, are critical of *Shaykh* *Gadā'ī*, accusing him of arrogance, high-handedness and favouritism in the distribution of land-grants and stipends among the *Shaykhs*, Sayyids, scholars and other deserving persons. Akbar also complains in his *farman* to Bayram *Khān*, issued at the time of the latter's dismissal, that one of his misdeeds was the elevation of *Shaykh* *Gadā'ī* to the *Šadārāt* in preference to Sayyids and 'ulamā' of nobler origin. In fact, all such complaints and grievances were concocted to provide Akbar

with a pretext for removing Bayram *Khān* from power.

According to *Shaykh* Rizk Allāh Muṣhtākī, the earliest source, *Gadā'ī* played an important role at the beginning of Akbar's reign, and the regent consulted him on every matter because of his familiarity with Indian affairs. The Tūrānī nobles got annoyed with him when he did not join hands with them against the Šī'ī Bayram *Khān*, in spite of the fact that he himself was an orthodox Sunnī. He retired largely from politics after Bayram *Khān*'s dismissal and settled in *Djaysalmer*. After a few years, *Gadā'ī* came back to Dihlī and spent his last years as a Šūfī there. On his return, Akbar showed him much respect, most probably for his past services at the crucial time of his reign, and his land was also restored to him. Being wealthy, *Gadā'ī* led a luxurious life; he was very fond of participating in the 'urs ceremonies of the past saints of Dihlī, and spent much money on arranging *samā'* sessions. He also acquired a number of beautiful slave girls and enjoyed their company in his old age. He died at Dihlī in 976/1568-9 and was buried inside the tomb of *Shaykh* *Djamālī* in Mīhrawlī.

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(I.H. SIDDIQUI)

GALENA [see *AL-KUHL*].

GALLEY [see *SAFINA*, *SHĀNIYA*].

GANGES [see *GANGĀ*].

GANGŌHĪ, 'ABD AL-KUDDŪS, a prominent Šūfī saint of Gangōh (Sahāranpūr district, Uttar Pradesh, India). Kuṭb al-'Ālam 'Abd al-Kuḍdūs b. Ismā'īl b. Šafī al-Dīn Ḥanafī Gangōhī was born ca. 860/1456 and received his Šūfī formation at Rudawlī, a Čiṣṭī centre (*khānqāh*) in the region of Awadh that was organised by Ahmad 'Abd al-Ḥaḳḳ Rudawlī (d. 837/1434) and is supposed to derive its

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tradition from 'Alā' al-Dīn 'Alī b. Aḥmad al-Ṣābir (d. 690/1291) of Kalyar, the founder-figure of the Ṣābiriyya branch of the Čiṣṭiyya. Though nominally the disciple and successor (*khalīfa*) of his brother-in-law, Muḥammad b. 'Arif b. Aḥmad 'Abd al-Ḥaqq, 'Abd al-Kuddūs appears to have been initiated into Ṣūfī practices by Shaykh Piyārē, an old servant at the *khānkāh*. In 896/1491 'Abd al-Kuddūs migrated to Shāhābād (midway between Sirhind and Pānīpat) at the suggestion of Sikandar Lōdī's amīr 'Umar Khān Kāsī. When Bābur sacked Shāhābād in 932/1526, 'Abd al-Kuddūs moved across the Djamnā River to Gangōh where he died in 944/1537 (not in 950/1543 as noted in *Ā'in-i Akbarī*), and is venerated at his shrine until today.

His most important disciples are his son, Rukn al-Dīn Muḥammad (d. 982/1574) who collected the anecdotes about his father in the *Laṭā'if-i Kuddūsī* (Dihlī 1311/1894; including the reminiscences of the Afghān soldier Dattū Sarwanī); his chief *khalīfa*, Djalāl al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd Thānēsārī (d. 989/1582), the author of *Tahkik arāḍi al-Hind* (Karačī 1383/1963), to whom Akbar paid a visit (Storey, i, 17, no. 25; 1198); and 'Abd al-Aḥad (d. 986/1578), the father of Aḥmad Sirhindī [q.v.]. His grandson 'Abd al-Nabī b. Aḥmad (d. 990/1582), known as the author of two Arabic treatises (*GAL S II*, 602), held for some time the office of *ṣadr al-ṣudūr* at Akbar's court. 'Abd al-Kuddūs wrote commentaries on Suhrawardī's *Awārif al-ma'ārif* and Ibn al-'Arabī's *Fuṣūṣ al-ḥikam*. The scope of his influence as a spiritual guide during the period of transition from Lōdī rule to the Tīmūrid empire is reflected in the collection of his letters, *Maktūbāt-i kuddūsiyya* (Dihlī 1287/1870; abridged, Dihlī 1312/1895), some of which were addressed to Sikandar Lōdī, Bābur and Humāyūn as well as to various Afghān and Mughal nobles. His works also include the *Anwār al-'uyūn fī asrār al-maknūn* (Lakhna'ū 1295/1878; 'Aligarh 1323/1905; Lakhna'ū 1327/1909) which records the sayings of Aḥmad 'Abd al-Ḥaqq Rudawlawī; a Ṣūfī tract, *Gharā'ib al-fawā'id* (Djahdjdjar 1314/1897?); and two mystical treatises entitled *Nūr al-hudā* and *Kurāt al-a'yūn* (MS Ethé 1924, 14 and 16). His brief compendium of Ṣūfī principles, *Ruḥd-nāma* (Djahdjdjar 1314/1897), advocates a popularised version of *waḥdat al-wuḍūd* [q.v.], alludes to Nathapanthī Yogic practices and includes a series of Hindī verses (added in the margin of MS Princeton 113). 'Abd al-Kuddūs was renowned for mystic states under the spell of *dhikr* [q.v.] which were induced by his fervent practice of *samā'* [q.v.] and *ṣalāt-i ma'kūsa* [q.v.].

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al-Ḥaqq Kuddūsī, *Shaykh 'Abd al-Kuddūs Gangohī awr unki ta'limāt* [Urdu], Karačī 1961; S. Digby, *Dreams and reminiscences of Dattū Sarwanī*, in *The Indian Economic and Social History Review*, ii (1965), 52-80; 178-94; 'Azīz al-Rahmān, *Tadhkira Maḥdūm 'Alī Aḥmad Ṣābir Kalyarī*, Dihlī 1391/1972 (quoting an anonymous *Sawānih-i Kuddūsī*); S. Digby, *Abd al-Kuddūs Gangohī*, in *Medieval India: a miscellany*, iii, 'Aligarh 1975, 1-66.

(G. BÖWERING)

GARDEN [see BOSTĀN].

GAZ, a measure of length in use in Muslim India, considered equal to the *dhirā'*, which was treated as a synonym for it. Sixty *gaz* formed the side of the square *bigha*, a traditional measure of area. Five thousand *gaz* made the length of a *kuroh* (Persian) or *krosa* (Sanskrit), the traditional measure of road-length.

The length of the *gaz* varied, often according to locality and also according to the subject of measurement (land, cloth, etc.). There is no way of knowing the standard length of the *gaz* under the Dihlī Sultans. But under Sikandar Lōdī (894-923/1489-1517) the measure known as *gaz-i Sikandarī* was about 30 inches long. The Mughal Emperor Humāyūn increased it to 30-36 inches. This measure continued in use until 994/1586, when Akbar instituted the *gaz-i ilāhī*, equal to ca. 32-32½ inches.

The *gaz-i ilāhī* was the standard unit of measurement during the reign of Akbar, and continued to be so during the reign of Djahāngīr. During the reign of Shāh Djahān, a slightly longer measure, the *dhirā'-i Shāh Djahānī*, of about 32.80 inches, was introduced for calculating road lengths; while a much smaller *gaz* was brought into use for measuring area.

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GEHENNA [see DJAHANNAM].

GEMINI, TWINS [see MINTAKAT AL-BURŪJ, NUDJŪM].

GENESIS [see TAKWĪN].

AL-GHĀFIKĪ, ABŪ DJA'FAR AḤMAD B. MUḤAMMAD B. AḤMAD IBN AL-SAYYID, Spanish-Arabic pharmacobotanist, native of the fortress Ghāfik near Cordova. His dates are not known, but he may have died around the middle of the 6th/12th century. He was considered to be the best expert on drugs of his time; he elaborated thoroughly the material transmitted from Dioscurides and Galen and presented it in a concise, but appropriately complete form in his *Kitāb al-Adwiyā al-mufrada*. According to Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a (*'Uyūn al-anbā'*, ii, 133, 14), Ibn al-Bayṭār was accustomed to take this work continuously with him on his scientific journeys, together with a few others. Other writings of al-Ghāfikī are not known.

M. Meyerhof repeatedly expressed as his belief that al-Ghāfikī was the most important pharmacobotanist of the Islamic Middle Ages (latterly expressed in *Sharh asmā' al-'uḳkār. Un glossaire de Matière médicale composé par Maimonide*, Cairo 1940, introd., xxix f.). In accordance with our actual knowledge, Ibn Samadjūn and Ibn al-Rūmiyya, both also Spaniards, will have to be put on the same level as al-Ghāfikī. The three of them, especially Ibn al-Rūmiyya, were primarily not pharmacists but botanists; because of their exact description of

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plants they were copied by Ibn al-Bayṭār, not entirely—as Meyerhof thought—but to a great extent. The Arabic text of al-Ghāfiḳī has become known only in recent times; until then one had to depend on a Latin translation from which M. Steinschneider compiled a list of drugs, *Gafiki's Verzeichnis einfacher Heilmittel*, in *Virchow's Archiv für pathologische Anatomie und Physiologie*, lxxvii (1879), 507-48; lxxxv (1881), 132-71. To the manuscripts enumerated in M. Ullmann, *Medizin im Islam*, 277, should be added a valuable copy, found in Tamgrut and now preserved in Rabat, which contains the first part of the work (up to the letter *zāy*) (cf. Shaykh Muḥammad al-Fāsi, in *Trudy 15. Meždunarodnogo Kongresa Vostokovedov*, ii, Moscow 1963, 19).

Al-Ghāfiḳī arranged his collection according to the *abjad* alphabet. Names of drugs beginning with the same letter appear twice under this letter: firstly as heading of a *ḳism fi 'l-ḳalām 'alā 'l-adwiya*, in which the drugs are described in detail and the sources relating to this are mentioned, then again in a *ḳism fi sharḥ al-asmā'*, i.e. a short list of synonyms from various languages. As sources are mentioned Dioscurides, Galen, al-Rāzī, Abū Ḥanīfa al-Dīnawarī, Ibn Samadjūn, Ishāk b. 'Imrān, Masīḥ (al-Dimashḳī), al-Ṭabarī ('Alī b. Rabban), Ibn Wāfid, Ibn Sīnā, an unknown person (*maḏḥūl*, often), Ibn Māssa, Ibn Māsawayh, al-Isrā'īlī (Ishāk b. Sulaymān), *al-Filāḥa al-nabaṭiyya*—to name only those who occur most; personal observations of the author often form the conclusion. The status of the manuscripts now known is sufficient to justify a critical edition of this important work.

A century after al-Ghāfiḳī, Barhebraeus [see IBN AL-'IBRĪ] composed an extract from his book on drugs under the title *Muntakhab Kitāb Dhāmi' al-mufradāt li-Aḥmad . . . al-Ghāfiḳī*, available in an edition, with translation and valuable commentary, by M. Meyerhof and G.P. Sobhy, that unfortunately reaches only as far as the letter *dhāl*, *The abridged version of "The book of simple drugs" of Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Ghāfiḳī by Gregorius abu 'l-Farag (Barhebraeus)*, fascs. 1-3, Cairo 1932, 1933, 1938. The discovery of the Ghāfiḳī manuscripts was the reason for the interruption of the edition of the *Muntakhab*.

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(A. DIETRICH)

AL-GHĀFIKĪ, ABU 'L-KĀSIM [see AL-KĀTAWRĪ].

GHALAṬA, a district, now called Beyoğlu, of Istanbul [*q.v.*], which occupies the broad angle of land between the lower northern shore of the Golden Horn (*Ḳhalīdj*) and the Bosphorus. Historically, Ghalata comprises more particularly (a) the quarters *intra muros*, i.e. the site of the (formerly) walled Genoese colony of Pera which surrendered on terms (*vire ile*) to Meḥmed II in

1453; and (b) the post-conquest area of largely "Frankish" and Greek settlement *extra muros*, known to the Ottomans from the early 16th century as Beyoğlu and to non-Muslims as Pera. "Greater" Ghalata—i.e. the area of at least partial "Frankish" settlement—in the 16th to 18th centuries and subsequently was bounded by what were commonly regarded as its suburbs: on the Golden Horn the Muslim quarter of Kāsim Paṣa, the site of the Ottoman arsenal (*tersāne-yi 'āmiri*) and, on the Bosphorus, that of Topḳhāne, which developed after the conquest around the state cannon-foundry (*topḳhāne-yi 'āmiri*) outside the Porta de li Bombarde/Topḳhāne kapısı.

Ghalata (from the quarter "of the Galatians" in the early Byzantine settlement of Sykai) was of little significance until the aftermath of the Fourth Crusade and the restoration of Byzantine rule in Constantinople. The original concession situated in a *locus apud Galatham*, granted to Genoa in 1267, lay along the lower shore of the Golden Horn, between the present-day Atatürk bridge and the ferry terminus at Karaköy, with its landward limits marked by what is now Voyvoda Djaddesi and Yanık Kapı Şokaghi. This settlement was burned by the Venetians in 1296; rebuilt and surrounded by a ditch; delimited by an Imperial edict of 1 May 1303 (translation in Belin, *Latinité*, 129); destroyed once more by fire in 1315 (*accessit . . . igne accidentali quasi tota Peyre combusta est*); and, despite a Byzantine interdiction, fortified on the land side and rebuilt in the following year. Thus established, Ghalata *intra muros*, the "comunità de Peyre", self-governing under the authority of a *podestà* sent out annually from Genoa, developed rapidly to reach its final form and extent in the years immediately preceding the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople. The first extension to the original *enceinte* was constructed in 1348-9, enclosing a triangle of steeply rising ground with its base formed by the eastern half of the long land-wall and its apex marked by the massive circular Torre di Christi, i.e. the Ghalata Kulesi which has ever since been the major landmark and symbol of the district.

From this time, i.e. from the middle of the 8th/14th century, the Republic of Genoa and its colony of Pera cultivated close relations with the rising power of the Ottomans—cf. the letter of the Signoria dated 21 March 1356 to "Messer Orham, grande amirao (*i.e. amīr kabīr*) de la Turchia", from which it is clear that the Genoese of Ghalata—"li nostri de Peyra che sum vostri figi e servioi e veraxi"—were already closely involved in commercial relations with the Ottomans and acting as their political allies against Venice and Byzantium. By the latter part of the same century, if not earlier, Muslim merchants must have been a familiar sight on the streets of Pera: the agreement concluded in 789/1387 between Murād I and Genoa (Belgrano, 146-9) provided for the partial exemption from customs dues of "Turks" who were engaged in commercial activities in Ghalata, and in the reign of Bāyezīd I Ottoman envoys were received by the *podestà*, and members of leading Perote families were sent to the Ottoman court as ambassadors (Belgrano, 153, 160).

In the late 14th/early 15th centuries, almost certainly in response to the first Ottoman siege of Constantinople by Bāyezīd I, Ghalata *intra muros* took on its final form. The districts which lay immediately to the west of the original concession and the extension of 1348-9 were enclosed by a wall which



ran from the Tower to the Golden Horn, and slightly later the entire eastern quarter of *Ghalata*, fronting the Bosphorus, was also enclosed by a wall. The total area of *Ghalata intra muros* was thus brought to approximately 370,000 square metres, the circuit of the outer wall being approximately 2,800 metres (cf. J. Gottwald, *Die Stadtmauern von Galata*, in *Bosporus*, N.F. iv [1907], 22).

The fortifications of *Ghalata* were further strengthened and improved by the efforts of successive *podestàs* in the last decades of Genoese rule. Most of the surviving or recorded inscriptions date from this period (cf. the collections, made from the 17th century onwards, by Covell, de Mas Latrie, Belgrano, Gottwald, etc., listed in the *Bibliography*). The Genoese colony at this time played an ambiguous role between the Ottomans and the Christian powers, e.g. in 1444 field-guns ("canons et cullevrines") were supplied from *Ghalata* to Murād II (Wavrin, *Recueil de chroniques*, v, 49). Even at the last hour, when the fate of Constantinople was sealed, the authorities in Pera made desperate attempts to avoid the inevitable conquest by the Ottomans. In 1452 a semi-circular curtain-wall was built on the uphill side of the Tower in order to provide protection from artillery bombardment, but in the new era of gunpowder and greatly-improved siege guns, *Ghalata* and its defences were vulnerable from the heights to the north of the Tower. On 30 May 1453, the day following the fall of Constantinople, *Ghalata* surrendered. The last *podestà* and the principal citizens were allowed to depart and the colony passed into Ottoman hands.

The preliminary agreement to surrender *Ghalata* had been concluded in the Ottoman camp on 28 or 29 May; by the terms of the capitulation itself (cf. N. Iorga, *Le privilège de Mohammed II pour la ville de Pera (1er juin 1453)*, in *Académie Roumaine, Bulletin de la section historique*, ii [1913-14], 11-32; E. d'Allegio d'Alessio, *Traité entre les Génois de Galata et Mehmet II (1er juin 1453)*, in *Echos d'Orient*, xxxix [1940], 161-75), *Ghalata*, *urbem nostratium pulcherrimam et singularem* (Adam de Montaldo, *Genuesis*, "de Constantinopolitano excidio", ed. C. Desimoni, *Atti Soc. Ligu. Patria*, x [1874], 342), was placed under the authority of an Ottoman *voyvoda*. The inhabitants were permitted to retain "their property and houses; their shops and their vineyards; their mills and their ships; their boats and their merchandise entire; and their women and children according to their wishes". The property of the inhabitants who had fled was confiscated by the state. The inhabitants were given freedom to trade in the Ottoman Empire and to come and go by land and sea without paying any taxes except the poll-tax. The existing churches were to remain in the hands of the inhabitants, who might hold services in them, but without sounding bells or clappers. No new churches were to be built. Further conditions excluded the male children of the inhabitants of *Ghalata* from the *devshirme* [q.v.]: "we shall not take their children as janissaries", and prohibited the settlement of Muslims in *Ghalata*.

Under Ottoman rule, "greater" *Ghalata* came to be constituted one of the three important *kāḍīlik*s of the *bilād al-thalāṭha*, i.e. Eyyūb, *Ghalata* and Üsküdar; much of the area appears rapidly to have been established as *wakf*. The topography of *Ghalata intra muros* in the Ottoman period has received considerable attention (cf. in particular A.M. Schneider and M.Is. Nomidis, *Galata. Topographischarchäologischer Plan*, Istanbul 1944; W. Müller-

Wiener, *Bildlexikon zur Topographie Istanbul*, Tübingen 1977, *passim*), and both western and Islamic literary sources are largely known (for a survey of the latter see E. Rossi, *Galata e i geografi turchi*, in *Studi bizantini*, ii [1927], 67-74). Detailed work on the demographic, social and administrative history of *Ghalata* in the high Ottoman period must await the full exploitation of the relevant Turkish archival materials (cf. the list for Istanbul generally in *EP*, iv, 244-5 by H. İnalcık).

The four centuries between the Ottoman conquest and the late Tanzīmāt period were marked in *Ghalata* by a slow but steady process of demographic change, cf. in particular, K. Binswanger, *Untersuchungen zum Status der Nichtmuslime im osmanischen Reich des 16. Jahrhunderts*, Munich 1977, 128-46. The guarantees given by Mehmed II for the security of the churches and the reservation of the area *intra muros* to non-Muslims were soon disregarded (e.g. by the conversion of the church of S. Paolo (e. S. Domenico) ca. 880-3/1475-8 and the subsequent (late 9th/15th century) settlement around what thereby came to be called the 'Arab *Djāmi*' of large numbers of Muslim refugees from Spain (B. Palazzo, *Arap Djami ou Eglise Saint-Paul à Galata*, Istanbul 1946; Müller-Wiener, 79 f.). Partly-Muslim quarters also rapidly came into existence in the parts of *Ghalata* which were not covered by the capitulation of 1453, i.e., the strips of land outside the walls along the Bosphorus and the Golden Horn and the hilly area to the north of the Tower. Two centuries after the conquest, Ewliyā Çelebi noted (*Seyāhat-nāme*, i, Istanbul 1314, 426-36) that in the reign of Murād IV, *Ghalata* possessed 60,000 Muslim and 200,000 non-Muslim inhabitants, divided amongst eight Muslim, seventy Greek, three "Frank", i.e. Latin, and two Jewish quarters (*mahalle*).

Simultaneously with the establishment and growth of Muslim settlement occurred changes in the composition of the Christian population of *Ghalata*. Elements of the Latin population were enumerated in 1580-1 as 500 *kharāḍī*-paying subjects of the sultan; 5,000 liberated slaves; 2,000 slaves "of all nationalities"; five or six hundred "étrangers de passage", mostly from Spain, Sicily and Venice; one hundred staff of embassies and a further six or seven thousand slaves (? including the labour corps of the arsenals at Topkhāne and Kāsım Pasha). Many of these post-conquest Latin elements in *Ghalata* later came to claim a more exalted pre-conquest lineage.

After 1453 the walls of *Ghalata* lost most of their significance, and from the early 10th/16th century, settlement on the heights of Pera, e.g. by the "bey's son" Luigi Gritti, son of a doge of Venice and confidant of the Grand Vizier Ibrahim Pasha, from whom the district took its name of Beyoghlu, increased. The envoys of Venice established themselves there early in the reign of Süleymān I, sending their despatches "da li vigne di Pera". Pera in this period was thinly populated, a salubrious locality forming an easy refuge from the plague-infested alleys within the walls (cf. T. Bertelé, *Il Palazzo degli ambasciatori di Venezia in Costantinopoli*, Bologna 1932, 81). In the building of an embassy in this quarter, Venice was to be followed in the 16th century by France and England and, later, by Holland and other European states which sent envoys to reside at the Ottoman court, a fact which, above all others, gave to Beyoghlu its special character until the 20th century.

The greatest change since the conquest to affect



Ghalaṭa occurred in the middle of the 19th century. In 1844 de Mas Latrie could still describe Ghalaṭa as “une ville franque, qui existe en entier avec son donjon, ses tours, ses églises, ses crénaux”. Within twenty years, the walls, with the exception of the Tower and some fragments, were demolished and the land-wall ditch filled in. This act, together with the construction of one, later two bridges across the Golden Horn, the rapid expansion of Pera/Beyoğlu to the north in the latter part of the 19th century; the granting of a degree of municipal autonomy to Beyoğlu and the construction of a short underground railway (1884) from Karaköy to the heights of Pera and of tramways, began the final effacement of Genoese and Ottoman Ghalaṭa *intra muros* as an identifiable entity. Since then, the process has accelerated, and the development of a new economic centre of gravity in Beyoğlu on the axis of Taksim-Harbiye, when coupled with the decline into insignificance of the non-Muslim indigenous population of Beyoğlu and the demolition of older quarters for urban renewal and road-widening, has tended to erase further the differences between Ghalaṭa and the rest of Istanbul.

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(C.J. HEYWOOD)

GHANAM (A.), a feminine singular noun with the value of a collective (with the plurals *aghnam*, *ghunūm* and *aghānīm*) designates the class of small livestock with a predominance, according to the countries, of either sheep (*shā' al-da'n*, *shiyāh al-da'n*, *dā'ina*), or goats (*shiyāh al-mā'z*, *mā'iza*). Like the two other collectives *ibīl* [q.v.] “camelidae” and *khaṭl* [q.v.] “equidae”, *ghanam* defines one of the three aspects of nomadic pastoral life covered by the term *badw* [q.v.] as well as an important activity of the sedentary agriculturalist countryfolk [see *FILĀḤA*], who may be periodic migrants; small livestock constitute for the one group a direct and unique source of subsistence (*kanī al-ghanam*) with the milk, fleece, hide and rarely the meat and, for the others, an extra product negotiable in the fairs through the intermediary of the sheep merchant (*ḥallāb*).

The root *gh-n-m* implies the acquisition of goods by means other than those of barter and purchase; the synonyms *ghunūm* and *ghanima* [q.v.] “booty, war trophy” set in relief this idea, excluding from it any allusion to the means of illegal and immoral appropriation. Also, *ghanam* (dialect. *ghnem/ghlem*) is understood in the sense of “sheep-goat patrimony” (see *Kur'ān*, VI, 146/147, XX, 19/18, XXI, 78) completing with *bakar* [q.v.] “cattle” the full meaning of *na'am* “livestock” (pl. *an'am*, used 32 times in the *Kur'ān*). In Arabic, it is the equivalent of the Latin nouns *peculium* and *pecunia*, derived from *pecus* “herd”. Parallel with *ghanam* and with the same meaning, one finds, especially in the Maghrib, the terms *māl* [q.v.] and *kasb/kish* [q.v.], whence the dialectal *ksība/ksib* “flock of sheep” (cf. Berber *ulli*, from the radical *l* “to possess”).

Although the *Kur'ānic* verse (VI, al-An'am, 144/143) saying: “[Allah has provided you] with eight species of animals in pairs, two for the sheep and two for the goats...” does not make any discrimination between the two species, a long polemic between intellectuals reported by al-Djāhiz (*Hayawān*, v, 455 ff.) brought into opposition the partisans of the sheep and those of the goat. However, this sheep-goat duality was not new, since echoes of it are found in the two monotheistic religions prior to Islam. In fact, to the degradation of the goats, the Jews had their rite of the “scapegoat” at the time of their Festival of Atonement, while Christian demonology saw in this animal an incarnation of the devil. By contrast, sheep enjoyed the favour of the two communities, as they were favourites of God; there is the ram of Abraham, the paschal lamb, the symbol of the mystical lamb applied to Christ and the parable of the “good shepherd” wisely leading his “sheep” (Vulgar Latin *ovicula*, from *ovis*). The Arabs, long

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before Islam, used to sacrifice a ewe (*ʿatīra*) to their divinities, in the month of Radjab, whence its name of *radjabīyya*, by way of prayer and as an act of thanksgiving; while in the Maghrib and Tunisia in particular, the cult of the ram was widespread, reminiscent of the Egyptian cult of Ammon Ra, and it was only definitively abolished by the energetic repressions of the Aghlabid *amīrs*, in the 3rd/9th century (see T. Lewicki, *Culte du bétail dans la Tunisie musulmane*, in *REI* [1935], 195-200; G. Germain, *Le culte du bétail en Afrique du Nord*, in *Hespéris*, xxxv [1948], 93-124). In veneration for Abraham, Islam preserves the rite of the sacrifice of the sheep on the 10th of the month of Dhu 'l-Hijja, the day of the pilgrimage (see HADJIDJ), culminating at Minā [*q.v.*] called *yawm al-naḥr* "day of slaughter"; for all the Muslim countries it is the "feast of the sacrificial victims" (*ʿīd al-aḥḥā*) or "feast of the offerings" (*ʿīd al-kurbān*) and, in the Maghrib, "the great feast" (*al-ʿīd al-kabīr*). Engaging in historico-religious arguments, the apologist for the sheep would point out the superiority of the former over the goat on account of its wool, its milk and its flesh; furthermore, in grazing, the sheep does not have the "acid tooth" of the goat which uproots the plants, damages the bushes by devouring the buds and breaks down buildings by its need to climb over everything, whence the proverb *al-mʿzā tubhī wa-lā tubnī* "the goat destroys and does not build". Finally, the sheep with his thick fleece and covering tail decently conceals his posterior, whereas the stump of tail of the goats, shamelessly raised, is a defiance to modesty, not to mention the goatish odour which makes the company of the *tayyās* "goat-herd" shunned. Linguistically, to call someone a *tays* (pl. *tuyās*, dialect. *tīs*) was a great insult and, notably, in the expression *mā huwa illā tays fī safīna* "he is only a goat in a boat", alluding to the nauseous and persistent smell which the animal leaves wherever it has stayed. On the contrary, the nickname *kabsh* "ram" was eulogistic and flattering, especially in the metaphor *huwa kabsh min al-kibāsh* "he is a chief ram", synonymous with *huwa faḥl min al-fuḥūl* "he is a chief stallion", i.e. "he is a champion". Against these notions is the defender of the goats *ṣāhib al-mʿz*, in whom one should see, at the time, either the Hijāzī or the Yemenī, their respective homelands being particularly abundant in goats; for such a person, the goat outclasses the sheep as much by the varied products which it supplies as by its vitality and resistance. In the society of goat-herds one would say of an energetic man: *huwa māʿiz min al-riḡāl* "he is a goat among men", whereas one would snub the incapable weakling with *mā huwa illā naʿḍja min al-mʿāḍi* "he is only one of the ewes". Apart from the important place occupied by goats' hair, as smooth (*sabad*) as flock (*mirʿizz*), the equal of wool (*labad*, *sūf*) among weavers, goats' hide was and still is the principal material for containers, bags, straps, shoes, cloths and covers (see the list in *Ḥayawān*, v, 485); although camel-breeders, the tribesmen of Mudār remained faithful to their red tents of goats' hide.

In fact, this polemic, puerile as it may appear, was not solely literary, for it was the reflection of an old antagonism dividing the tribes according to the kinds of husbandry that they practised; a series of more or less authentic Prophetic traditions testifies to this antagonism between breeders (see al-Damīrī, *Ḥayāt*, s.v. *shāt*, ii, 41-8; *ghanam*, ii, 186-92; *mʿz*, ii, 326-7; *ḡaʿn*, ii, 76-80, and *Ḥayawān*, v, 503-8) and one of the most typical says "Pride

(*fakhr*) is characteristic of the owners of horses, brutal roughness (*djafāʾ*) of the owners of camels, and serenity (*sakīna*) of the owners of small livestock". Among the great nomadic camel-breeders scorn for the small nomadic sheep-breeders was expressed by degrading proverbs such as *al-unūk baʿd al-nūk* "the she-goats after the she-camels", stigmatising the misfortune of a group forced by poverty to give up camels for small livestock, for, to them, this meant really a descent, since *al-zīf lā yurā maʿ al-khuff* "the cloven hoof [of the small livestock] is not seen alongside the hoof [of the camel]". All these tribal oppositions arising from the kinds of husbandry were to vanish with Islam, for the position of the Prophet in favour of small livestock was very clear; having been a shepherd himself, he was pleased to say "Among all things, small livestock is an invitation to modesty and an incitement to choose poverty, leaving aside grandeur and pomp; prophets and just men were pastors of small livestock". In his eyes, the sheep-goat association was for man a divine gift and he used to say, moreover, "I recommend you to have the greatest care for sheep, clean their mucus (*rughām*) and clear their enclosure of every thorn and stone, for these animals are also to be found in Paradise", advising the shepherd to perform his prayers near the fold. Small livestock also provide him with a metaphor to express his aspirations for the Islamisation of the conquered regions by encouraging the crossing of beasts with a black fleece (= the Persians) with those with a white fleece (= the Arabs, of superior race).

In the linguistic domain, sheep and goats were defined by a considerable number of terms which the great Arab philologists of the 2nd/8th and 3rd/9th centuries attempted to gather together in specialised works, of which very few have been preserved for us. One of the first seems to be al-Naḍr b. Shumayl (d. 203/818) [*q.v.*] with his *Kitāb al-ghanam*, the fourth volume of his huge encyclopaedia of Bedouin life, the *Kitāb al-Ṣifāt*. At a later date there are a *Kitāb Naʿt al-ghanam* and a *Kitāb al-Ibāl wa 'l-shāʾ* of Abū Zayd al-Anṣārī (d. 214/829) [*q.v.*], a *Kitāb al-ghanam* ascribed to al-Akhfash al-Awsaṭ (d. ca. 215/830 or 221/835) [*q.v.*], the *Kitāb al-Shāʾ* (ed. Haffner, 1895) of al-Aṣmaʿī (d. 213/828) [*q.v.*] and, finally, a *Kitāb al-ghanam wa nuʿūtiḥā* of Abū ʿUbayd al-Kāsim b. Sallām (d. 224/838) [*q.v.*]. Ibn Sīdūh gives an idea of the extent of ancient terminology concerning goats and sheep in his *Mukhaṣṣas* (vii, 176-95; viii, 2-20) in the chapter *kitāb al-ghanam*, consisting of about forty pages. To this ancient base must be added the other mass of material contained in the different Arab and Berber dialects, from Irāk as far as the Atlantic Ocean, of the tribes devoted to the husbandry of small livestock. The scanning of several lexicons dedicated to these dialects, such as that of G. Boris for South Tunisian (*Parler arabe des Marazig*, Paris 1958) or that of Cl. Denizeau (*Parlers arabes de Syrie, Liban et Palestine*, Paris 1960) allows the evaluation of a minimum of two hundred terms, the elementary word-store which each tribal group uses in the exercise of its pastoral activity; this approximate figure still remains well below the reality for some sections. Such an abundance of vocabulary sets in relief the vital character which the husbandry of sheep and goats presents for a mass of Muslim populations, sedentary as well as nomadic; this linguistic richness is not specifically that of the Arabic language, but is to be found among Turkish-speaking shepherds as



well as Persian-speaking ones and Berber speakers.

In spite of this plethora of terminology, it remains hard to define precisely the many strains of sheep and goats belonging to the Arabs and other Islamised peoples, just as in the West the zootechnicians have had some difficulty in unravelling the skeins of the domestic strains of the sheep (*Ovis aries*), undoubtedly descended from an oriental wild sheep (*Ovis ammon*), as well as those of the goat (*Capra hircus*), possibly a descendant of the Aegagrus or Pasang (*Capra ibex aegagrus*), as these two species are naturally polymorphs. Among the sheep one can distinguish, according to the language and in a very general manner, the strains with a large fatty tail (*alya*) or Barbary sheep (= from Barbary or the Maghrib), those with a long, non-fatty tail, those with long hoofs peculiar to India and Guinea and from which derive the strains of Northern Europe and, finally, those of Spain with the "merinos" introduced from the Maghrib under the dynasty of the Marīnids whose Hispanised name it has kept. All these strains are subdivided, according to the desired aim of their breeding, into wool sheep and dairy sheep; the sheep kept for its meat, despite the absolute legality of the consumption of its flesh, has not attained in the lands of Islam the importance that it has attained in feeding Western Christendom.

On the subject of zoological strains, the Arab authors and al-Djāhīz in particular (*Hayawān*, v, and vi, *passim*, see index), speak only of a few, especially in Arabia, the most widespread being distinguished by some typical anatomical anomaly such as dwarfishness. Also among the species with a very foreshortened shape there is the *hadhaf* "the docked one" of the Hīdžāz and Yemen with a black fleece and almost without a tail and ears; similar was the *kahd*, but with a russet-coloured fleece. Baḥrayn had the *naḳad* "puny beast", a stunted sheep, but a good wool producer, whose small size gave rise to the image *adhall min al-naḳad* "slighter than the dwarf sheep". In Yemen the *ḥaballak* is still bred, itself a dwarf, and the *timtim* with shorn ears and with a woolly dewlap under the throat; whereas the *sāḍīṣī* was large and its wool of a pure white, while the *djalām* of Tā'if, very high on its hooves, had a fleece so smooth that it appeared bald; it was of African origin. Among the strains with a fatty caudal wen, apart from the Barbary sheep (dial. *mazmūzī*), the "Caracul" [see *ḲARĀ KŌL*] of Central Asia cannot be omitted, with its long wavy black fleece whose lambs were frequently sacrificed for their precious coat called "breitschwanz" or "astrakhan" [see *ASTRAKHĀN*].

As for the goats, it can be maintained that the majority of the strains of Arabia and the Near East were of African origin. The *nūbiyya* "Nubian" and the *ḥabashīyya* "Abyssinian" goat were distinguished from each other, both large with broad, hanging ears and a short fleece. Quite similar was the *ḥadaniyya* (from Mount Ḥadān) in Naḳd and whose hair was black or deep red. The *shāmiyya* "Syrian" strain was long-haired, being related to the strains of Asia whose most renowned representative across the centuries remains the "angora" (*anḳarī*) [see *ANḲARA*] from the name of the great Turkish commercial centre where its "flock" (*mir'izz*, *mir'izzā*, *mir'izzā*, see *LA* under *r'-z*; *Hayawān*, v, 483; *Kitāb al-Tabaṣṣur*, tr. in *Arabica*, i [1954], 158, §§ 10-11) was woven (*ṭhaub mumar'az*) and exported, but which came, in fact, from the herds of Armenia and the Caucasus of Tibetan stock. The success which the textile "mohair" (an Arabo-English term

derived from *mukhayyar* "chosen" with the complement of "hair") still has on the world market and the different "camelots" (diapered, waved, moiré and watered) testifies to the high quality of the goat fleeces and confers on them an equal rank in value to that of the best sheep's wools. It is the same with the goats of Kashmir and Tibet, whose silky down covered with long gander is collected daily by carding and woven and gives the shawls of India their renown.

Among the pastoral peoples, nomadic and sedentary, the methods of husbandry of each species have hardly varied since antiquity, having attained by experience a degree of adaptation which would be hard to improve upon. For the former, the rhythm of the seasons unfolds in a permanent quest for even only slightly green pastures (*marā'ī*) and unpolluted watering places, in the steppes bordering the great deserts, for access to the luxuriant, jealously-guarded oases is forbidden to them just as that to the private *ḥimā* was forbidden to them in pre-Islamic times. In Africa as well as in the East and in Asia, these movements are apparently organised, i.e. codified, according to ancestral agreements in the manner of customary right based on group precedence; there is no need to dwell on the interminable conflicts which these questions of pasturage can lead to, especially in the period of drought. At the beginnings of the agricultural zones and after the cereal harvests, contracts of location of pasture (*sarha*) on the stubble and fallow can be concluded between cultivating owners and wandering or migratory shepherds (*'uzzāb*). The encampment or *dawār* [q.v.] "circle of tents" is placed as near as possible to a well [see *BŪ'R*], a spring or a pool offering the watering place (*mawrid*) indispensable for the animals. The circular area delimited by the tents (*murāḥ*), whose enclosure is completed by a barrier of thorny brushwood, assures the flock of a relative nocturnal security reinforced by the vigilance of these half-wild dogs called with precision "camp dogs" [see *KALB*]. The twice-daily milking takes place after the separation of the unweaned young, before the morning departure of the flock for pasturage and in the evening on its return from the watering place; in the East it is mostly the men who perform it, whereas in the Maghrib it is one of the numerous women's chores (see G.S. Colin, *Chrestomathie marocaine*, Paris 1939, 214-18). The fresh milk (*ḥalīb*) is immediately churned by swinging in the goatskin container (*shakwa*) hung on posts; there is derived from it, on the one hand, buttermilk (*laban*) consumed immediately either as a drink or as a food or put to curdle with the rennet (*infahā*) to make a mild cheese (*djūbn*) whose residual whey (*mā' al-djūbn*) is given to the lambs and kids or incorporated in culinary preparations. On the other hand, the fresh butter (*zūbda*), unwashed and separated from the buttermilk, is immediately put in the goatskin, sometimes salted, to obtain, after it has become rancid, preserved butter (*samn*), a substance based on the fat and used in all foods [see *GHIDHĀ*]. To consume the fresh milk and the butter as it comes from the churn would be, in the eyes of the Bedouin, an unthinkable waste in view of the three or four sub-products present in the milk; hence comes the interest shown in the goatskin churn and its contents in this dialectal metaphor from the Maghrib *yeddoh fī sh-shakwa idhā mā djbēd el-lben yedjbēd ez-zabda!* "He has his hand in the churn; if he does not draw out buttermilk, he will draw out butter!" to describe someone who has



found a situation which is very lucrative and not very tiring, and parallel to the French image "avoir trouvé un bon fromage" (cf. American English "He became a big cheese").

Apart from the two daily necessities of the watering and the milking, the shepherd's year numbers several major activities for the life and survival of men and beasts. First, at the beginning of winter, there is the shearing (*djazzā*) of the wool-bearers and the shearer (*djazzāz*) has to know how to manage the shears (*djalam*) with dexterity and rapidity on the animal, while it is held on the ground; the mass of wool obtained (*djazzā*) will serve as exchange currency in the oases for utensils and durable foodstuffs (dates, sugar, flour etc.). Another crucial period and, perhaps, the most harassing for those responsible for the flock who have to stay awake day and night, is that of the parturition (*nitādj*) of the pregnant females with all the care demanded by mothers and newborn, lambs and kids being confused at the beginning under the names *sakhla* (pl. *sakhil, sikhāl, sukhilān*) and *bahma* (pl. *baham, bihām*). The latter, as they grow, take on different names whose system of nomenclature will not be treated exhaustively here, as it varies from one region to another. If a birth threatens to be difficult and may endanger the life of the female in labour and that of the young, there is no hesitation in practising a Caesarian section and the offspring saved is called *hullān, hullām*. In ancient terminology, the distinction between lamb and kid only appeared clearly at the age of weaning (*fiṭām*) around four or five months. Until then, the young lamb-kid (*badhādī, farīr, furār, furfur*), is left to its mother, but when it is over three months, the teats are progressively taken from it, ending by their being forbidden it, the maternal mammarys being enclosed in a bag (*shamla, shumāl*), which may be made of a hedgehog skin [see KUNFUDH]; a gag (*fattāma*) is also used, applied to the muzzle of the young in the company of its mother. In the hours of milking the young are kept apart. After weaning, the kid becomes a *djafr* (pl. *djifār*) and the lamb *khārūf* (pl. *khārifān*) and, before it is one year old, the sex is distinguished, with *djady* and *uṭṭu* for the he-kid, *anāk* for the she-kid, *hamal* and *immar* (dial. *allūsh*) for the he-lamb and *rikhl* and *immarā* for the she-lamb. When one year has passed, with the goats, the male is the *atūd* or the *arūd*, then, around two years, the *djadha* or *tays*, whereas the female becomes *anz* or *ṣafyya*; progressively each of them are called *thanī, rabāʿī, sadīs* and after seven years, *sāligh*. The he-goat sire is, in the dialects, the *atūs*. As for the sheep, by a similar terminological graduation, one arrives at the *kabsh* for the ram and the *naʿdja* for the reproductive ewe; castration of the males is not always practised, for it is proscribed by Qurʾānic law and the he-lambs and kids remaining are taken, in the care of the *djallāb*, to the abattoirs (*madjzar* pl. *madjāzir*) of the urban centres or delivered directly to the butcher (*kaṣṣāb*) of the nearest village. Those which supply the feasts and ceremonies of the tribal group are only an infinitesimal part.

According to the social organisations peculiar to each Muslim people, the groupings of sheep and goats can be very variable as to the number of heads of livestock; also, the term "troupeau" (French) and "flock" (English), without numerical precision, do not have a direct correspondent in Arabic. The small family flock of ten to forty animals (*kafīʿ*, dial. *rasla, kafʿa, nūba*) is called *fizr*, if there are only sheep, and *ṣubba*, if there are only goats. With the

hundred, one speaks of *kīnā* of sheep and *ghīnā* or *kawt* of goats. With two hundred, it is the *khīr* and above that the *wakīr* without distinction of species. The joining together, for common needs, of several *wakīr* with their dogs and carrier donkeys forms a *firk* or a *mughnam*, which may number several thousand head; such a moving mass can be described further as a *ghanam mughannama* (comp. "a sea of sheep and goats") and with this idea of multitude it will be said, *adʿana ʿl-kawm wa-amʿaza* "the group is very rich in sheep and goats".

Equally highly variable is the condition of the pastor (*rāʿī*, dial. *sārīh*, Berber *ameksa, amadan*), shepherd or goatherd, or most often, both at once, according to the framework of the society in which he is integrated. Among the sedentaries, a youth suffices to guard the few beasts of the family circle, but, in some villages, the livestock of each is gathered into a single flock which may be quite large, each animal bearing the mark of its owner, and they also have recourse to a professional shepherd. He is engaged under a renewable seasonal contract covering two seasons (*kamāla*, either summer-autumn, or winter-spring) and he is paid mainly in kind. On the day of his engagement he receives a small sum as a deposit, the outer garment (*ʿabāʿ, burnus*, Morocco *sel-hām*) indispensable against inclement weather, a large woollen haversack (*kurz, amāra*) to carry his personal possessions and, also, for those of the newborn who may arrive during the journey for pasture, and a crook (*ukkāz, hanfā*) which can be a strong club as a defensive weapon. He is assured of daily food and at the expiry of his contract, he has the right to twenty lambs and kids (*ridāya*). In the case of his contract not being renewed, he gives back the deposit, the cloak and the haversack. In fact, the good shepherd is automatically re-employed and his services for the same employer can last a lifetime (see Colin, *Chrestomathie marocaine*, 216 ff.).

However small a flock may be, the shepherd has to be vigilant at all times; he must prevent the animals from trespassing on the cultivated lands, round up the stragglers, ward off every danger from predatory carnivores and thieves, assist a female in her labour and take care of the newborn. He is bound to compensate for every animal that dies through his negligence, but if a wolf or lion or panther kills it despite his intervention, he is cleared, if he can bring the carcass (*biṭāna*) to justify himself. This last clause hardly functions nowadays where governments have practically eliminated the insecurity reigning in the isolated regions, but the danger from thefts has not entirely disappeared. In addition to his dog, the shepherd may have the help of a youngster (*rassāl*) to keep the young apart while their mothers are milked or to lead the animals in small groups to the watering place. It is in this school that the boys learn the craft. Even among his flock the shepherd finds auxiliary help with, on the one hand, the "leader" (*dalūl, marīʿ, marīr*) wearing the chief's alfa collar (*shabbāh, shaband*), and old ram or billy-goat whom the flock follows blindly in ranks fleece against fleece and, on the other hand, the "haversack bearer" (*karrāz*), whose solid horns scarcely suffer from this extra burden. In the evening, the flock having returned to its covered or open fold (*zarb, zarība, markad, ḥazīra, šīra*), the shepherd goes to eat with his master and returns to sleep among his animals. They, confident in the man, obey his orders expressed by fixed onomatopoeic calls such as *būbū!* to gather them together, *sikk!, ikht!, herr!, tūt!, terr!* to urge them



on, *hish!*, *kahkah!*, *tahtah!*, to stop them and *hirhir!* to invite them to the water. Contrary to the usage in Christendom, the animals of flocks, in Islam, do not wear bells.

In the mountainous regions (the Atlas, Lebanon, Sinai, etc.) an annual migration takes place following the periods of the growth of herbage at high altitude. For these fixed migrations the flocks of several clans or villages are joined together and the long line of horns and undulating chimes slowly climbs the slopes accompanied by the cohort of dogs, mules and donkeys charged with the food and necessary impedimenta for camps of several months. For this occasion, each owner delegates a man in charge (*ka'ād*) to coordinate and control the movements of the group and to ensure the feeding of the shepherds. This putting out to grass (*tarbī'*) can be prolonged for four or five months according to the atmospheric conditions encountered at the high altitudes. During the hot hours and the night, the animals are put under cover in caves (dial *kaṭīn*, *ma'zab*, *shakīf*) and other natural shelters.

Among the small sheep nomads, all the men are shepherds and their life is much harder than that of the sedentary shepherds, for it is linked to a constant quest for pastures and drinkable water, while having to face the merciless competition of the great camel nomads.

The condition of the shepherd of small livestock, notwithstanding the eulogistic Prophetic traditions, concerning him, seems always to have been the object of disrepute in general Muslim opinion; to be a *shāwī* still retains a pejorative nuance (see W. Marçais and A. Guiga, *Textes arabes de Takroûna*, i, Paris 1925, 257-9, nn. 37 and 39). In the eyes of the cultivator, the shepherd passes for a pilferer, when he is not reproached with particularly shameful practices with his animal (*Hayawān*, v, 458). In pre-Islamic Arabia the protection of the livestock was often the task of slaves and, in the Middle Ages, this scorn for the pastor might also be reinforced by racial oppositions (see Ibn Khaldūn, *Berbers*, i, 106). Al-Djāhīz cites (*Bukhālā'*, French tr. Ch. Pellat, *Le livre des avarés*, Paris 1951, 198) this Bedouin's curse hurled at his adversary: "If you lie, may you draw milk seated" (= may Allah change your noble she-camels into vile ewes). In the Maghrib, the shepherd is in the lowest rank of the country proletariat, writes W. Marçais (*op. laud.*), lower than the *khammās* and the jobbing workman and, in the mouth of the countrywomen with their unpolished language, the supreme insult hurled at a rival is that of "maid for shepherds".

In spite of so much disgrace and by force of circumstances, the pastor of small livestock remains, in all the lands of Islam, one of the indispensable artisans, ensuring the subsistence of the rural and civic populations. Furthermore, the shepherds, constantly observing nature and the sky, and this since the domestication of the goat and sheep (the verb *ra'ā* means at the same time "to pasture the flock" and "to observe the stars"), have made a great contribution through their experience acquired in the progress of the astronomy and meteorology proper to each season. To be convinced, one has only to consider the sum of precise evidence preserved, in a concise form, in the rhymed sayings that these contemplators of the heavenly vault composed for each of the twenty-eight *anwā'* of the year (see Pellat, *Dictionnaire rimés, anwā' et mansions lunaires chez les Arabes*, in *Arabica*, ii [1955], 17-41); these sayings mention the notable influences on the flocks of the

evolution of time in the course of the twelve months; for the craftsman, their laconicness is very telling. By way of example, two of these sayings taken from the fifty best known will suffice to sketch the rough contrasts of climate which the shepherd had to endure. The first evokes the dog-days and the scarcity of water (Pellat, No. 14) in these brief terms, "When Sirius rises [at the end of June] in the morning (*saḡarā*), if you do not see rain (*maṭarā*), do not give food to the she-lambs or he-lambs (*immarā*) . . ." [for they will risk dying of thirst]. The second relates to mid-December when the water becomes ice (Pellat, No. 32), "When *al-Nā'ā'im* ("the Ostriches", i.e. γ, δ, ε, η, σ, φ, τ, ζ, Sagitarii) rise, the animals stay motionless (*al-bahā'im*) because of the constant (*al-dā'im*) ice, and the cold awakens every sleeper (*nā'im*)". With this monthly guide to the constellations the shepherds regulate their migrations which, far from straying, lead them where their flocks will find the best conditions of subsistence.

Apart from the vicissitudes arising from the harsh weather to which the animals of the flock are exposed, they can also be the victims of accidents and individual or collective illnesses. In the past, with the lack of effective therapeutics, the shepherds had to lament a percentage of certainly high losses. Epi-demics (*wabā'*, *mawṭan*) would occur periodically with their terrible consequences; spontaneous abortion (*ikhḍāḍj*, *iskāt*, *ikhḍād*), agalactia (*shīṣās*) and sterility (*ukr*). The causes were attributable especially to many neighbouring viruses of the brucella type entailing brucellosis or Maltese fever (*ḥummā māliṭiyya*) and foot-and-mouth disease (*ḡilākh*, *ḥummā kulā'iyya*). The sheep pox (*amīḥa*, *nabkh*) also ravaged them, as did coccidiosis (*ḡu'ām*), bringing on diarrhoea and anaemia. Sarcotic mange or "black-muzzle" (*naghaf*), psoroptic mange (*kuḥāl*, dial. *bū tagga*), gastro-intestinal strongylosis and fluke-worm due to the small fluke of the liver (*Dicrocoelium lanceolatum*), all leading to aqueous or dry cachexia, also destroyed a good number of animals. Microbial infections of the feet and hooves such as foot rot (*iltihāb al-fawl*) and hoof inflammation (*kuwām*), which could lead to the dropping-off of the horn cover and decalcification of the instep (*ukāb*, *khumāl*), condemned their immobilised victims to enforced slaughter. Infections of the respiratory tubes were endemic, with pleuropneumonia of goats (*kaṣaba*, dial. *bū farda*), pulmonary strongylosis provoking sneezing (*kudās*, *nathīr*) and mucus or glanders (*mukḥāt*, *zikhrit*, *rughām*), attested by the Prophetic tradition cited above. Finally, cases of cenurosis or turnsick (*ṭhawāl*, dial. *bū nshīnīsh*) were frequent, as were swellings (*hubāt*) and convulsus of the oesophagus (dial. *farrās*) due to dehydration. Against this cohort of invisible enemies constituted by the microbes, the shepherd would find himself totally unarmed, attempting, despite everything, some empirical treatments for the external infections. Purulent sores were cauterised with a red-hot iron (*kayy*), and mange (*ḡarab*) and ringworm (*karā'*) are, even nowadays, treated by the application of tar (*kaṭrān*, *kīr*). It is with tar also that the waters of the brackish or magnesian watering place are purified (*mashāḍj*) and, in Syria, a billy-goat or ram carries around his neck a cow-horn (*baṭṭāl*) full of this substance to provide for the hour of watering. Many other therapeutics, sometimes extravagant, mixed with conjuratory magical practices take place everywhere in Islam, as in Christendom, and the list would be very long.



Meanwhile, in modern times, veterinary science is propagated under the auspices of the authorities of each state, and competent services periodically bring effective prophylactic measures, to the countryside by means of vaccination (*talkih*), disinfection (*tathir*) of contaminated sites and by injection (*hakn*) of powerful medications absorbed into the body of the sick patients; it can also be confirmed that at present the flocks of sheep and goats of the Muslim countries are almost freed from the scourge of the great epidemics.

Man has very often known how to exploit to his profit the natural gentleness and docility of sheep and goats, and the servility in which he keeps them makes them the object of griefs with which the ram reproaches him in the course of the whole philosophical "colloquium" which the *Ikhwan al-Safa'* [q.v.] hold with the domestic animals in their memorable *Epistles* (see *Rasa'il*, ed. Beirut 1957, ii, 215). In fact, sheep and goats had not only to feed their dominator, but also to amuse him; jugglers and circus performers would be seen distracting the market crowds with their "knowledgeable" (*lakina*) sheep and goats in association with dogs and monkeys [see *kird*] in turns of balance and dance, and the Meccan sheep (*shat makkiyya*) passed as particularly gifted in this kind of exercise (*Hayawan*, vii, 218). In the East and the Near East the public still shows an indefatigable taste for ram fights (*nilah*), giving rise to bets which can reach large sums; the organisation of these fights is the affair of the *kabbash*, breeder-selector of rams, whose lucrative profession was not besmirched with the disfavour of that of the goatherd (*ma'az*), for it satisfied the innate passion of orientals for the game.

The names taken from the vast Arabic terminology concerning small livestock are numerous in the fields of zoology and astronomy. In the former are found 'anz/anza, designating at the same time the females of the vulture, the eagle and the houbara bustard; it is also the name of the reef heron (*Egretta gularis*), while the glossy ibis (*Plegadis falcinellus*) is nicknamed 'anz al-ma' and ma'azat al-ma' "water goat". 'Anz al-ma' is also the trigger fish (*Balistes capricus*) and 'annaz "goatherd" used to designate the black stork (*Ciconia nigra*), one of fourteen homologous birds (*tuyur al-wadji*) for the sporting bands of crossbow shooters (*rumat al-bunduq*) until the 7th/13th century. As for the *na'dja* "the sea ewe" (*na'djat al-bahr*) represents both the turnstone (*Arenaria interpres*) and the oyster-catcher (*Haematopus ostralegus*), which are generally confused. The great white oryx and addax antelopes [see *MAHA*] are nicknamed *na'dji al-raml* "ewes of the sands" and the diminutive *na'aydja* is applied to the wood ibis (*Ibis ibis*). The manatee (*Manatus*) is called "sea lamb" and, finally, the cattle egret (*Bubulcus ibis*) is nicknamed *abu ghanam* because of its symbiosis with the flocks which it clears of flies and parasites of the fleece.

In astronomy, "the shepherd" is the constellation of Ophiuchus (or Serpentarius) with the star *Katf al-ra'i* "the shepherd's shoulder" (= β Ophiuchi) called wrongly "Celbalrai" (*kalb al-ra'i* "the shepherd's dog"). A similar error is that of some authors who named *ra'i* and *kalb al-ra'i* the stars γ Cephei and ρ , κ Cephei; the same applies to "Rigel" (β Orionis) which is *ridl al-djawza'* "Orion's foot" and not *ra'i al-djawza'*. By contrast, *ra'i al-na'aim* "the shepherd of the ostriches" corresponds to λ Sagittarii. The constellation of the Coachman (*Auriga*) is named 'annaz "goatherd", a name

confused with 'anah al-ard "ground lynx" or caracol designating the star γ Andromedae. In the Coachman, the star "Capella" (α Aurigae) answers to the names *al-ayyuk* "the she-kid" (= Alhayoc), *al-anz* "the she-goat" and *al-atud* "the young ram" (= Alhatod). In the same constellation belong *al-djadyan'* "the two kids" (ζ , η Aurigae) with the former (*muqaddam*) and the latter (*mu'akkhar*). The first zodiacal constellation, the Ram (*al-hamal*), comprises *al-nath* or *al-natih* "that which butts" (= α Arietis) which with β Arietis represents "the two horns of the Ram" (*kama' l-hamal*). Finally, *al-djady* "the kid" applies, on the one hand, to the tenth zodiacal constellation, Capricorn, with the star "Algiedi" (= α Capricorni) and, on the other, to the polar star or "Algiedi" (= α Ursae minoris), an abbreviation of *djady al-farkadayn* "kid of the two young oryx" i.e. the kid of the region of β and γ Ursae minoris. One must not forget that for a thousand years the Pole Star was, not λ , but β Ursae minoris for all these stars, see A. Benhamouda, *Les noms arabes des étoiles*, in *AIEO*, Alger, ix [1951], 76-210; P. Kunitzsch, *Untersuchungen zur Sternnomenklatur der Araber*, Wiesbaden 1961).

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GHANĪMAT KUNDJĀHĪ, MUHAMMAD AKRAM, poet of Mughal India and exponent of the "Indian style" (*sabk-i hindī* [q.v.]) in the Persian poetry of the subcontinent.

He was born at an unknown date in the first half of the 11th/17th century at Kundjāh, a small village in the Gujrat district of the northern Panjdāb (now in Pakistan). He was an adherent of the Šūfī order of the Kādiriyya [q.v.], but apart from stays in Kashmīr, Dihlī and Lahore, did not go very far from his native village, where he died in ca. 1106/1695. His works comprise a *Dīwān*, mainly of *ghazals*, and a *mathnawī* poem written in 1092/1681 called the *Nayrang-i 'ishk* "Talisman of love", a romance set in contemporary India with mystical and symbolical overtones (*Dīwān*, ed. Ghulām Rabbānī 'Aziz, Lahore 1958; *Nayrang-i 'ishk*, ed. idem, Lahore 1962, replacing Nawal Kishore texts). Aziz Ahmad has detected in the *mathnawī*'s sensuousness and sentimentality signs of Mughal decadence (*Studies in Islamic culture in the Indian environment*, Oxford 1964, 227). A. Bausani, whilst conceding this charge, has pointed out the interest of Ghanīmat's poetry as examples of the peculiarly "Indian style", and has suggested that his fondness for lengthy compound expressions echoes the enormous compound epithets of Sanskrit poetry of the *Kāvya* style, especially as Ghanīmat's century was one of considerable Muslim-Hindu cultural interaction, in which, for instance, several Sanskrit works were translated into Persian at the Mughal court (*Indian elements in the Indo-Persian poetry: the style of Ganīmat Kundjāhī*, in *Orientalia hispanica sive studia F.M. Pareja octogenario dicata*, ed. J.M. Barral, Volumen I *Arabica-Islamica*, pars prior, Leiden 1974, 105-19).

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GHĀRŪKA, a system whereby a debtor landowner transfers part of his plot, and the right to cultivate it, as security on a loan until redemption. Other Arabic terms for the same system were *rahn* *hiyāzī* and *bay' bi'l-istighlāl*, and in Ottoman Turkey *istighlāl* (Pakalın, ii, 97). This is the French *antichrèse*. It is not identical with *al-bay' bi'l-wafā'* (the French *vente à réméré*), i.e. a "conditional sale" to the lender to be nullified as soon as the debt is redeemed, a system preferred by fellahs who hesitate to part with the material possession of their land. In fact, however, the difference was small, since according to the latter contract too the creditor often "leased" the land to his debtor, i.e. the yield of the land served as interest on the loan in the form of "rent". Both systems were rather common prior to the 19th century because Islamic and Ottoman law did not provide for mortgages, but they did not disappear after the introduction of mortgages, because of administrative difficulties involved in the latter.

Ghārūka is a form of usury, and as such prohibited by the *sharī'a*. According to all four law schools or *madhāhib*, a profit derived from a pledge belongs to the debtor and the creditor is not allowed to gain from it. A Mālikī Azharī has even stated explicitly *wa-mā taf'aluhu al-āmma min al-ghārūka harām* (Shenouda, 39 n. 1). The Hanafī school, however, has created a loophole by making it lawful for the debtor to cede of his own free will the profit from the pledge to the creditor (*Multakā al-abhur, fasl* entitled *rahana raḡḡulun 'asāran; Hidāya*, book xlviii, ch. 4).

Early this century, *ghārūka* seems to have been common usage in Egypt. One of the customary systems of pledging land in Irāk was identical with the Egyptian *ghārūka* (S.M. Salīm, *al-Ġibāyish*, Baghdad 1957, ii, 281).

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GHASSĀL (A.), lit. "a washer of clothes and also of the dead", is nearly synonymous with the word *kaṣṣār* (al-Khaṭīb, cf. *Ta'rikh Baghdad*, vi, 127). In classical Arabic there are a number of terms for corpse-washer such as *ghassāl al-mawtā*, *ghāsil al-mawtā* and simple *ghāsil*. The modern Arabic term for a washer of clothes is *ghassāl*, but the corpse-washer (*ghāsil*) in Syria is also called *mughassil*.

The act of washing the corpse, putting a shroud on it, attending the funeral prayers and burying the deceased are some of the obligations on all Muslims, according to the *Sharī'a*. The minimum qualification of the *ghāsil* is that he must be well-versed in the *Kitāb al-Djanā'iz* (the book of funeral rituals) in Islamic jurisprudence. The corpse-washer is required to wash the dead body three times according to standard Islamic practices. In the case of a female corpse, the daughter of the deceased, a near relative or a female corpse-washer (*ghāsila*) is employed for ritual washing. The corpse-washer must not look at the genitals of the deceased or divulge any knowledge of physical deformities of the *mayyit*. It is, therefore, necessary that the *ghāsil* should be a trusted (*amīn*), reliable (*thika*) and an honest (*sālih*) Muslim, says Ibn Qudāma. A tradition of the Prophet reads: "Let the trustworthy persons wash your corpse" (*al-*



Mughnī, ii, 379). Some individuals performed the work of corpse-washing out of an inner sense of piety (*wara'*), asceticism (*zuhd*) and observance of the *sunna*, wrote Khayṭ al-Baghdādī.

Under normal circumstances, the male as well as female corpse-washers performed their work without any interference from government officials. But during the Fāṭimid rule in Egypt, the caliph al-Ḥākim imposed a number of restrictions on outdoor activities of women, who were prevented from going out of their house, from entering a public bath (*ḥammām*) and from asking a cobbler to make shoes for them. Consequently, every female corpse-washer (*ghāsila*) had to seek a special permission or license from the *ṣāhib al-ma'ūna* and judicial authorities to practise her trade from the year 405/1014 onwards (cf. *al-Muntazam*, vii, 269). However, some writers tend to suggest that a similar ban on female corpse-washers was enforced for the first time in the year 253/867 in Egypt under 'Abbāsīd administration. The *ghāsila*'s work was probably a part-time occupation; it usually earned him an adequate wage which, of course, varied according to capability of payment of hirers, who naturally came from all strata of society. At least in one untypical case, a *ghāsila* sold off garments like a *kamīš* and a *qubba* worn by a deceased person and thereby earned an extra sum of eight *dīnārs*, besides his usual wage, in the late Mamlūk period (ca. 905/1500). The profession of the corpse-washer has tended to become hereditary in some countries of the Middle East until very recent times, but in non-Arab Muslim countries we do not find the existence of a professional group of corpse-washers.

The *ghassāl*, washer of clothes, has been one of a group of manual workers since early Islamic civilisation serving mostly the middle and the upper classes of society. He had to adhere to a code of conduct outlined by *hisba* officials. The washerman was asked not to beat more than one set of clothes on his washing stone and not to press garments against wooden tools, in order to avoid damage. They were advised to wash clothes in clean water and not to mix up one customer's garments with another's. However, the washerman (*ghassāl*) and the bleacher often ignored this code of conduct and gained widespread notoriety for their untrustworthiness in mediaeval Arab society, according to one *hisba* official and writer. The *ghassāl*, it appears, not only washed clothes of customers but also cleaned up dilapidated sites of the 'Abbāsīd city of Baghdad. During the Buwayhid period, Fakhr al-Dawla bought at a price of three *dīnārs* some old stones from rings from a *ghassāl* who had found the precious objects while cleaning up the ruined sites of the city. One of these stones turned out to be a ruby and another a turquoise and both were set into a gold ring which fetched 20,000 *dīnārs* (Ibn Tiktākā, *al-Fakhri*, Beirut 1966, 293-4). During the Saljūk period, some *ghassālūn* were arrested for their alleged dishonesty. The *ghassāl*, says Djāhiz, did not have any surplus income, but he lived on his meagre earnings, all of which he spent daily.

In the modern period, the work of washing clothes has been performed in Syria and Egypt by the washerwoman, *ghassāla*. These poor women workers visit the houses of the wealthy to wash and clean clothes and earn between three and six piasters (*kirsh*) for each garment they wash. They supply soap, washing tools and their labour and in return get a cash wage as well as food from their employers. The wages of *ghassālāt* in Egypt were lower than those of Syria during the early decades of the 20th century.

The social position of the corpse-washer (*ghāsila*) has been higher than that of the washer of clothes (*ghassāl*). This difference has been influenced by Arab and Islamic traditions. A number of statements attributed to the Prophet Muḥammad describe corpse-washing as a meritorious work which delivers the *ghāsila* from sin (cf. *al-Mughnī*, ii, 379). In contrast with this favourable position of corpse-washer, the washer of clothes had a low status, due to the servile nature of his work. The word *ghassāl* was rarely used as a name indicating profession during the classical period of Islamic civilisation. Moreover, the *ghassāl*, like other workers of despised status, such as the copper (*ḥadīdjām*), the veterinarian (*bayṭār*), the sweeper (*kannās*), the watchman (*ḥārīs*), the fishmonger (*sammāk*) and the tanner (*dabbāgh*), were denied the honour of being addressed by their patronymic (*kunya*) in Arab society (cf. Tawhīdī, *Basā'ir*, Damascus 1964-6, i, 355).

Bibliography: Ibn Sa'd, *Tabakāt*, Beirut 1958, vii, 503; Djāhiz, *al-Bayān wa'l-tabyīn*, Cairo 1950, iii, 191; Ya'kūbī, *Tārīkh*, Beirut 1970, ii, 281; Abū Nu'aym, *Akhbār Ishbān*, Leiden 1934, ii, 299; Ibn al-Djawzī, *al-Muntazam*, vii, 269, x, 68; Ibn Qudāma, *al-Mughnī*, Cairo n.d., ii, 378-82; Ibn Bassām al-Muhtasib, *Nihāyat al-rutba fī ṭalab al-ḥisba*, Baghdad 1968, 81, 83, 179; Ibn al-Ukhuwwa, *Ma'ālim al-kurba*, ed. Levy, London 1937-8, 36-51; Ibn Taymiyya, *al-Ḥisba fī'l-Islām*, Cairo n.d., 22; al-Bundārī, *Zubdat al-nuṣra*, Cairo 1900, 202; Ibn Tūlūn, *Mufākahat al-khillān fī hawādith al-zamān* (*Tārīkh Misr wa'l-Shām*), Cairo 1966, i, 301-2; Djamāl al-Dīn al-Kāsimī—Khalīl al-'Azam, *Dictionnaire des métiers Damascains*, Paris 1960, ii, 239, 459; al-Kattānī, *al-Tarātib al-idāriyya*, Beirut n.d., i, 64 (sic) (citing al-Khuzā'ī); A. Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islams*, 341-42, Eng. tr. 362; Lane, *Arabic-English lexicon*, vi, 2259; R. Le Tourneau, *Fes*, 551. (M.A.J. BEG)

GHAWṬH (A.), literally "succour, deliverance", an epithet of the *Kuṭb* [q.v.] or head of the Ṣūfī hierarchy of saints. It is used of him only when he is thought of as one whose help is sought, but that, from the nature of the *Kuṭb*, is practically always; thus it is a normal sequent to *Kuṭb*. Other, however, say that the *Ghawṭh* is immediately below the *Kuṭb* in the Ṣūfī hierarchy. In Sunnī Islam, such a figure as al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī [q.v.] came to be thought of as the institutor of Sunnism and the *Ghawṭh* of his time; and we also find an allusion to the term in the title of one of the pseudopigraphia of 'Abd al-Qādir al-Djilānī [q.v.], sc. the *Ghawṭhiyya* or *Mīrādīyya*, a questionnaire on Ṣūfī terminology.

Bibliography: Djurdjānī, *Tārīfāt*, Cairo 1321/1903-4, 109; *Dictionary of technical terms*, 1091, 1167; Lane, *Lexicon*, s.v.; T.P. Hughes, *A dictionary of Islām*, 139, s.v. *Ghaus*; Hudjwīrī, *Kashf al-mahjūb*, tr. Nicholson, 214; L. Massignon, *Essai sur les origines du lexique technique de la mystique musulmane*, Paris 1954, 133, 199; J.S. Trimingham, *The Sufi orders in Islām*, Oxford 1971, 160, 164.

(D.B. MACDONALD*)

GHAZAL.

i, ii. — See Vol. II, s.v.

iii. In Ottoman Turkish literature.

After their conversion to Islam, the Turks adopted and assimilated Arabo-Persian cultural institutions, but in literature they tended to follow the Persian type. Thus it was the Persian *ghazal* rather than the Arabic one which became a model both in Eastern (Çağatay) and Western (Ottoman) Turkish litera-

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ture. The Turkish *ghazal*, which became the most popular poetical form after the *mathnawī* [q.v.], is very similar to the Persian *ghazal* from the point of view of technique [see GHAZAL. ii. In Persian literature]. It is a short poem of 5-15 *bayts*, with a single rhyme. In the first *bayt*, called the *maṭlaʿ*, both *muṣṣāʿ*'s rhyme together; the last *bayt*, in which the author mentions his *makhṭaʿ* ("pen-name") is called *maḳṭaʿ*. The content is of love, mystical or real, the joys of life, wine, the beauties of nature, etc. There are also edifying and didactic *ghazals* which concentrate on *ḥikmet* [see HIKMA], philosophical statements on the world, human destiny and actions, such as the majority of the *ghazals* of the 11th/17th century poet Nābī [q.v.]. Each *bayt* of a *ghazal* is an independent unit in content, and need not be connected with the preceding and following *bayt* except by rhyme. Occasionally a *ghazal* may have a unity of subject, in which case it is called *yek-āwāz* ("one harmony"). The most commonly-used metres in the Turkish *ghazal* are *hazaj*, *ramal*, *radjaz*, *muḍārī* and *mutakārib*. One shortcoming of Turkish poets writing in 'arūd is particularly striking in the *ghazal* form. This is *imāle* (*imāla*) (the reading of a short vowel as a long one in Turkish, which has no long vowels, simply for the sake of metre), which no master of versification ever succeeded in completely avoiding, so much so that the *imāle* (considered by some as a proof of the existence of long vowels in Turkish, see *Bibl.*) ended up by being considered as an embellishment during the post-classical period. Most folk poets (*Sāz şairleri*), with rare exceptions [see KARADJAĞOHLAN] occasionally used 'arūd and also wrote *ghazals* in imitation of *diwān* poets (M. Fuad Köprülü, *Sāz şairleri*, Istanbul 1962, Introd.). The *ghazal* form was cultivated in Turkish literature from the 7th/13th century until the second half of the 19th one, and then only sporadically by some modernist and neo-classicists (see Köprülü-zāde Mehmed Fu'ād, *TURKS III. Ottoman Turkish literature, in EI'*). Turkish biographies of poets (*tedhkir-e-yi shu'arā'*) list the names of several hundred poets who each produced a *diwān* (the bulk of which, as a rule, consists of *ghazals*), but only half a dozen outstanding and about a dozen minor poets wrote *ghazals* which rise above the level of mediocrity and have a claim to art. Although Turkish poets (both Čaghatay and Ottoman) were inspired and influenced by classical Persian poets, it would be a superficial judgment to consider the former as blind imitators of the latter, as is often done. A common technique and limited vocabulary, and the same world of imagery and subject matter based mainly on Islamic sources, were shared by all poets of Islamic literatures (see Fahir İz, *Eski Türk edebiyatında nazım*, ii, Istanbul 1967, Introd.), and a mere parallelism of these in poets of the same or diverse languages might easily tempt one to draw easy and misleading conclusions (as e.g. by Hasibe Mazioglu, *Fuzuli-Hafiz*, Istanbul 1962). A closer study reveals that outstanding Turkish poets of the early periods such as Kaḍī Burhān al-Dīn, Nesīmī [q.v.], 'Alī Shīr Newā'ī, Nedjātī, and many of the classical era like Fuḍūlī, Bākī, Shaykh al-Islām Yahyā, Nef'ī, Nā'īlī and particularly Nedīm [q.v.] and others, wrote, under common conventions, many original *ghazals* with a strong personal flavour (for a chronological selection of Ottoman Turkish *ghazals*, see Fahir İz, *op. cit.*, i). Many Turkish *diwān* poets, particularly Nef'ī and Nedīm, were conscious of this originality and they expressed their own feelings in many of their *ghazals* and *fakhrīyyes*. It is fair to say that

outstanding Turkish classical authors managed to retain their personal and their Turkish character, even though using Persian set themes, figures, conceits and imagery, in the same way that Corneille and Racine remained French in spite of their use of Greek and Latin poetical conventions, characters and plots. During the literary *Tanzīmāt* movement of the mid-19th century, the *ghazal* continued to be cultivated partly by modernists like Dīyā' (Ziyā) Pasha, Nāmīk Kemāl and others, and exclusively by the "neo-classicists" of the so-called *Endjūmen-i shu'arā'* group (Leskofçalı Ghālib, Yeñişehirli 'Awnī, etc.). In contemporary Turkish literature the *ghazal* form was revived by Yahyā Kemal Beyatlı (1884-1958 [q.v.]), who from 1918 until his death wrote a number of *ghazals* in the language and style of some 17th and 18th century poets (particularly Nā'īlī and Nedīm) which were posthumously collected in a book as *Eski şirin rüzgārīle* ("With the breath of past poetry"). These very popular and successful pastiches did not go beyond being curiosities, and the *ghazal* form was not practised after the 1920s except by an occasional traditionalist or for humorous and satirical purposes (e.g. in Kāhalīl Nihād Boztepe's *Sihām-i ilhām* (1921) and Faruk Nafiz Çamlıbel's *Tatlı sert* (1938)).

Bibliography: M. Fuad Köprülü, art. *Anız* in *İA*; Ahmed Ateş, art. *Gazel*, in *İA*, Mu'allim Nādjī, *İstīlāhat-i edebīyye*, Istanbul 1307 rumi/1894, 166-78; Gibb, *HOP*, i, 80; Ahmed Tal'at, *Khalk şairlerinin şekil ve new'ileri*, Istanbul 1928; Talāt Tekin, *Ana Türkçede aslı uzun ünlüler*, Ankara 1975.

(FAHIR İZ)

GHĀZĪ KHĀN, Indo-Muslim military leader. Known to Kashmīr chroniclers as Sulṭān Ghāzī Shāh Čak, he was the son of Kādī Čak, the leader of the Čaks [q.v.] and a powerful chief. Nothing is known of Ghāzī Khān's early life except that in 933/1527 Ghāzī with other chiefs defeated the Mughals sent by Bābur to help Sikandar, son of Sulṭān Fath Shāh, against Muhammad Shāh the reigning Sulṭān of Kashmīr. Next year, however, the Čaks were defeated, and Ghāzī Khān, who fought under his father, was taken prisoner. In the middle of 959/1552, he joined the Kashmīr nobles to defeat Haybat Khān Niyāzī and his Afghān followers. Towards the end of 962/1555, he became *Wazīr* of Sulṭān Ismā'īl Shāh by setting aside his cousin Dawlat Čak and blinding him. Early in 963/1556, Abu 'l-Ma'ālī, a turbulent Mughal noble, having escaped from the wrath of Akbar, invaded Kashmīr, but Ghāzī Khān defeated him, and then suppressed the rebellion of Kashmīr nobles, who were against him. In the summer of 967/1560, Akbar sent Karā Bahādūr, a cousin of Mīrzā Haydar Dughlāt, with an army to invade Kashmīr, but the latter was defeated at Radjaurī and then at Danaor.

In 968/1561, under the pretext that Habīb Shāh (964-8/1557-61), grandson of Muhammad Shāh and his own nephew, was incompetent, Ghāzī Khān set him aside and himself ascended the throne, assuming the title of Sulṭān Naşīr al-Dīn Ghāzī Čak and thus laying the foundation of the Čak dynasty. He was brave, able and a man of strong will. He suppressed rebellions, established law and order and successfully defended Kashmīr against the Mughals. He was a cultured man and a poet and patronised learned men; but he was also the first Kashmīr ruler to introduce the practice of blinding his political rivals and cutting off their limbs. In his old age he suffered from leprosy, which impaired both his health and eyesight; hence he entrusted the work of the govern-

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ment to his brother, Ḥusayn Khān. Later, he changed his mind and tried to recover power, but Ḥusayn Khān deposed him and himself ascended the throne. Ghāzī Shāh died after four years in 974/1566-7 at the age of 58.

Bibliography: the best accounts of Ghāzī Shāh are in the anonymous *Bahārīstān-i Shāhī*, India Office ms. 509, and in Ḥaydar Malik's *Ta'rikh-i Kashmīr*, I.O. ms. 510; see also Mohibbul Hasan, *Kashmīr under the Sultāns*, Srinagar 1974; G.M.D. Sufi, *Kashmīr*, Lahore 1948-9. (MOHIBBUL HASAN)

GHĀZĪPŪR (area, 1,473 sq. m.), a District in the easternmost part of the state of Uttar Pradesh in India. It lies in the great alluvial plains of the Ganges and extends in equal portions on either side of the river. Though one of the smallest in size, it is one of the most thickly-populated and closely-cultivated districts of the state. For administrative purposes, it is divided into four *tahsīls*, namely Ghāzīpūr, Muḥammadābād, Sa'īdpūr and Zamāniyya. Paddy, wheat, cotton, sugar and tobacco are the traditional products of the district.

Ghāzīpūr is obviously a name of Muslim origin, and the Hindu tradition, which ascribes the foundation of Ghāzīpūr town to the eponymous hero Rājā Gādhi, who called his stronghold Ghāzīpūr, has no historical basis whatsoever. Though the territory constituting the modern District has a long history going as far back as the days of early Indo-Aryan colonisation, the town was not really founded until about the middle of the 8th/14th century. According to reliable local records, during the reign of Sultān Firūz Shāh, one Čakāwa Mandhātā, a descendant of the famous Rājā Prithivirāj of Dihlī, obtained a large tract of land at Kathāwat near the present village of Ghausegunj in the *tahsīl* of Muḥammadābād and later, building a fortress there, declared himself independent of the Dihlī Sultān. It is said that once his nephew and heir seized a Muslim girl, whose widowed mother appealed to the Sultān for the redress of the affront. Responding promptly, the then ruling Sultān Muḥammad Tughluq despatched a band of 40 warriors under one Sayyid Mas'ūd, who reached the place in 730/1330, and in a battle fought on the site of Ghāzīpūr town, Mas'ūd slew the rebellious Rājā. The Sultān thereupon granted Mas'ūd the estates of his vanquished enemy, with the title of Malik al-Sādāt Ghāzī, which gave the name to the newly-founded city. Mas'ūd Ghāzī left behind six sons, one of whom, Sayyid Kuṭb al-Dīn, was married to the daughter of Sayyid Muḥammad and had himself two sons, Sayyid Dūst Muḥammad and Sayyid Yaḥyā; the descendants of the former settled in the village of Para, while those of the latter in Nonhera, both situated in the *tahsīl* of Ghāzīpūr.

For the greater part of the 9th/15th century, Ghāzīpūr remained part of the dominions of the Shārkīs [q.v.] of Djaupūr, after whose decline it reverted to the possession of the Dihlī Sultān. After the battle of Pānīpāt in 932/1526, the Mughal emperor Bābur [q.v.] annexed Ghāzīpūr to his conquests of northern and eastern India. Ten years later, it went out of Mughal hands, following Humāyūn's defeat by Shīr Shāh in the decisive engagement fought at Baxar, close to the southern borders of the district. Ghāzīpūr remained under the peaceful administration of the Afghāns till it was recovered for the Mughals in 974/1569 by 'Alī Kulī Khān Khān-i Zamān, governor of Djaupūr, from whom the town Zamāniyya derives its name. Abu 'l-Faḍl

in his *Ā'in-i Akbarī* speaks in detail of Ghāzīpūr as being a flourishing *sarkār* in the *ṣūba* of Allāhābād. Sādāt Khān, the first Nawwāb-Wazīr of Awadh or Oudh [q.v.], placed Ghāzīpūr in charge of 'Abd Allāh Khān, a native of the district, who has left his imprint on the city by his magnificent buildings, whose ruins still exist. With the taking over of the district by the British in 1781, Ghāzīpūr enjoyed undisturbed peace till the outbreak of the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857 which took a heavy toll of life and property in the eastern part of the district, bordering Bihār. Normalcy could not be restored until five months of complete confusion had elapsed.

Ghāzīpūr town, which is the headquarters of the District of the *tahsīl* of the same name, stretches along the north bank of the Ganges for nearly four km. Before the introduction of the railways, it used to be a centre for trade and river-traffic. Among the antiquities of the town, the most notable are the ruins of the Čihil Sutūn or "Hall of the Forty Pillars", which was the palace of the above-mentioned 'Abd Allāh Khān, who lies buried in the garden known as *Nawāb kī Čahār Dīwārī*. Another landmark is the tomb of Lord Cornwallis, who died there in 1805; this consists of a domed structure supported on twelve Doric pillars, with a marble bust executed by Flaxman.

Bibliography: *The imperial gazetteer of India*, xii, 1908; *Ghazipur District gazetteer*, Allahabad 1909; *Census of India* 1961, xv/4, Delhi 1965.

(ABDUS SUBHAN)

AL-GHAZZĀL, ABU 'L-'ABBĀS AḤMAD B. AL-MAHDĪ AL-GHAZZĀL AL-ĀNDALUSĪ AL-MALAKĪ, the secretary of the sultan of Morocco Sīdī Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh (1171-1204/1757-89), who entrusted to him various diplomatic missions. In 1179/1766 he was the head of a delegation sent to negotiate an exchange of captives with Charles III of Spain; he was received with great honour in Madrid, and was able to return to Morocco with a Spanish mission which made a peace treaty with the sultan and an agreement about the exchange of prisoners. In 1182/1768 he was sent to Algiers to oversee the exchange of Algerian with Spanish prisoners and accomplished this with success. However, the Spanish king, after the sultan had besieged Melilla in 1185/1771, had to renounce the terms of the treaty made between the two rulers and drawn up by al-Ghazzāl, so that the latter fell into disgrace. He retired to Fās, where he died in 1191/1777 and was buried in the *zāwiya* of 'Abd al-Qādir al-Fāsī [see AL-FĀSĪ, above].

This diplomatist left behind an account of his journey to Spain called *Natīdjat al-idjtihād fī 'l-muhādana wa 'l-djihad*, of which numerous mss. are extant; a résumé was made by Bodin in *AM*, iii (1918), 145-85, and it was published by A. Bustānī at Tetuan in 1941. Al-Ghazzāl's *riḥla* is doubly interesting. From the historical aspect, it is a valuable document since the author gives details about the aim of his mission and lists the names of the Muslim prisoners; from the literary point of view, although it is written in rhymed prose, it describes the stages of the journey and gives a picture of Spain under Charles III. He notes, like other travellers in Europe, the things which were new to him, but shows himself somewhat partial, insisting on the superiority of his own country.

He is, furthermore, the author, notably, of epistles in praise of his sultan and of a biography of the head of the 'Isāwa religious order, *al-Nūr al-shāmīl* (ed. Cairo 1348/1929).



Bibliography: E. Lévi-Provençal, *Chorfa*, 327-30; H. Pérès, *L'Espagne vue par les voyageurs musulmans*, Paris 1937, 23; Ibn Sūda, *Daḥil mu'arrikh al-Maghrib al-aḳṣā*, Casablanca 1960, i, 124, 167, 174, 234, ii, 366-7; Brockelmann, S II, 712; M. Lakhdar, *Vie littéraire*, 249-52 and bibl. given there.

(Ed.)

AL-GHAZZĪ, ABŪ IṢHĀK IBRĀHĪM [B. YAḤYĀ?] B. 'UṬHMĀN B. 'ABBĀS AL-KALBĪ AL-AṢḤHĀBĪ (441-524/1049-1129), Arabic poet of the Saldjūk period.

He was born in Ghazza [*q.v.*] at a time when that town was still under Fāḡimid rule, but as a Shāfi'ī Sunnī and as a person especially proud of emanating from the Imām al-Shāfi'ī's own birthplace, his life was to be orientated towards the East, where the establishment of the Saldjūks favoured a resurgence of Sunnī orthodoxy. He was studying in Damascus in 481/1088 as a pupil of the traditionist Naṣr b. Ibrāhīm al-Maḳḍisī (d. 490/1096, see Brockelmann, S I, 603), but then left for 'Irāk. Disappointed at Hilla in his expectations of the Mazyadid Sayf al-Dawla Ṣadāka, he spent some time at the Nizāmiyya madrasa in Baghdād during the caliphate of al-Mustazhir, but then departed for Persia, where he spent the remainder of his long life, travelling extensively in search of congenial patrons.

He was in Ādharbāyḍjān and Shīrwān, where he was again disappointed, this time by the Yazīdid Shīrwān-Shāh Farībuz b. Sālār; in Iṣfahān, where he stayed with a member of the Banū Faḍlūya, the Shabānkārā'ī Atabegs of Fārs; in Kirmān, where he enjoyed the patronage of the vizier of the local Saldjūk amīrs Naṣīr al-Dīn Mukram b. 'Alā'; and also in Khurāsān, where he journeyed as far as Samarkand and the court of the Karakhānids. Here in the farther east of the Saldjūk empire he seems to have found favour with the Sultān Sandjar at Marw, and it was there that the scholar 'Abd al-Karīm b. Muḥammad al-Sam'ānī [*q.v.*] met him at the end of al-Ghazzī's life when he had, so al-Sam'ānī says, reached 90 years of age but had apparently fallen into poverty. Al-Sam'ānī, in his *Muḥḥayyal* to the *Ta'rikh Baghdād* of al-Khaṭīb [*q.v.*], cited by 'Imād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī, met him in Marw, where al-Ghazzī was staying at the local Nizāmiyya madrasa. When al-Ghazzī left for Balkh on his last journey, he sold about ten *riṭls* weight of the autography manuscripts of his poems, which al-Sam'ānī was subsequently able to acquire and to copy out from them over 5,000 verses; the remainder of his verses, however, al-Ghazzī also sold, and these later perished in a fire at Balkh. Al-Ghazzī died before he could reach Balkh, and his body was taken there for burial.

Nearly 5,450 verses of his *diwān* survive, in a considerable number of manuscripts, but clearly in the course of a long life as a panegyric poet al-Ghazzī must have written much more than this; al-Sam'ānī says that he was "sparing" (*danīn*) of recording his poetry. It seems probable that the extant manuscripts stem ultimately from al-Sam'ānī's copy. The great majority of his verses are in the genre of eulogy, addressed to 58 different *mamduḥūn*; it seems that al-Ghazzī was willing to travel anywhere in the hope of reward. The rest of his poetry can be classified as satire, *ṭiāb*, etc., with some erotic poems addressed *more temporis* to boys. Al-Ghazzī enjoyed considerable contemporary renown, at a time when Arabic poetry was still in its post-'Abbāsīd period of florescence, so that 'Imād al-Dīn could say that his poetry became proverbial in its time and that he was one of the quadrumvirate

of great contemporary poets, together with his friend and correspondent Abū Ismā'īl al-Husayn al-Tughrā'ī and with Abu 'l-Muzaḥfar Muḥammad al-Abīwardī and Abū Bakr Aḥmad al-Arradjānī [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: 'Imād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī, *Khariḍat al-kaṣr, kism shu'arā' al-Shām*, ed. Shukrī Fayṣal, Damascus 1375/1955, i, 3-75 (the principal source); Sibṭ b. al-Djawzī, *Mir'āt*, viii, 133-4; Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntazam*, xi, 15-16; Ibn Khallikān, ed. Ihsān 'Abbās, i, 57-62, No. 18, tr. de Slane, i, 38-42; Ziriklī, *A'lām*, i, 44; Brockelmann, F, 294, S I, 448; 'Alī Djawād Āl Tāhir, *al-Shi'r al-'arabī fi 'l-'Irāk wa bilād al-'Adjam fi 'l-'aṣr al-saldjūkī*, Baghdād 1961, i, 177-84.

(C.E. BOSWORTH)

AL-GHITRĪF B. 'ATĀ' AL-DJURASHĪ, 'Abbāsīd governor. He was the brother of the famous Khayzurān [*q.v.*], the Yemeni girl of slave origin who married the caliph al-Mahdī and was mother of the two successive caliphs al-Hādī and al-Rashīd. Al-Ghitrīf is also given the *nisba* of "al-Kindī" in the biography of him by Gardīzī (probably stemming from al-Sallāmī's lost *Ta'rikh Wulāt Khurāsān*) and by al-Sam'ānī, and may accordingly have been a *mawla* of the great South Arabian tribe of Kinda [*q.v.*] (*Ḍayn al-akhbār*, ed. 'Abd al-Hayy Habībī, Tehran 1347/1968, 96, 129-30). From complete obscurity, as a slave who watched over vineyards at Djurash in the Yemen, his fortunes rose with Khayzurān's great influence in the state and from his position as *khāl*, maternal uncle, of the caliphs. A daughter of his, 'Azīza, married Hārūn al-Rashīd. In 170/786-7 he was appointed governor of the Yemen (Khalifa b. Khayyāt, *Ta'rikh*, ed. Zakkār, ii, 742; al-Ya'kūbī, *Historiae*, ii, 481; *Aghānī*, xiii, 13), and then in 175/791-2 governor of Khurāsān, Sīstān and Gurgān in succession to al-'Abbās b. Dja'far, an office which he held until he was replaced in 177/793 by Ḥamza b. Mālik al-Khuzā'ī (Khalifa, ii, 745; al-Ya'kūbī, ii, 488; al-Dīnawarī, *al-Akhbār al-tiwāl*, Cairo 1960, 387; al-Tabarī, iii, 590-1, 612, 626, 740; Ḥamza al-Iṣfahānī, *Ta'rikh sinī mulūk al-'ard*, Beirut 1961, 164-5; al-Azdi, *Ta'rikh Mawṣil*, 277). Establishing himself at Bukhārā in order to deal with the disturbed situation in Transoxania, with internal threats and threats from the Turks of the Central Asian steppes (cf. Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*, 198 ff.), al-Ghitrīf despatched an expedition in 175/791-2 under 'Amr b. Djamīl into Farghāna against the *Tabghu* of the Karluk [*q.v.*] and one under his deputy Dāwūd b. Yazīd b. Hātim against the Khāridjite rebel in Sīstān al-Hudayn of Ūk (Gardīzī, 129-30; *Ta'rikh-i Sīstān*, 153-4, tr. M. Gold, Rome 1976, 121-2; Bosworth, *Sīstān under the Arabs*..., Rome 1968, 85). The sources are silent concerning al-Ghitrīf's career after his dismissal from Khurāsān, but a scion of his, one Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Ghitrīf, is mentioned in one later source on Transoxanian history, see R.N. Frye, *City chronicles of Central Asia and Khurasan: a history of Nasaf?*, in *Fuad Köprülü armağanı*, Istanbul 1953, 167 = *Islamic Iran and Central Asia (7th-12th centuries)*, London 1979, XXXII; presumably this last is the traditionist Abū Aḥmad Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. al-Husayn al-Ribātī al-Ghitrīf of Gurgān mentioned by al-Sam'ānī, *Ansāb*, f. 410a.

The most enduring legacy of al-Ghitrīf's governorship in the East was, however, his role in introducing a new coinage into Bukhārā. The story is given in detail by Narshakhī in his *Ta'rikh-i Bukhārā*, ed.

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Mudarris Ridawī, Tehran 1939, 42-5, tr. Frye, Cambridge, Mass. 1954, 35-7, and more briefly by al-Sam'ānī, *loc. cit.*, cf. also Barthold, *Turkestan*, 203-6. The old silver coinage of the pre-Islamic Iranian rulers of the city, the Bukhār-Khudās, had largely disappeared from circulation, and Kh'ārazmian silver coins had had to be imported. Hence at the request of the local people, al-Ġhītrīf coined *dirhams* from an alloy of six metals, henceforth known as "black" or Ġhītrīf/Ġhidrīf *dirhams*, and meant only for local circulation. Taxation requisitions were now fixed at the rate of six of these Ġhītrīf *dirhams* for one silver *dirham*, but the exchange subsequently fluctuated, causing hardship for those paying *khārāj* at the revised rate. The position was in the end stabilised, for alloy *dirhams*, Ġhītrīf, Muḥammadī (after a financial official, Muḥammad b. Ḍahda) and Musayyabī (after a preceding governor of Khurāsān, al-Musayyab b. Zuhayr al-Dabbī) ones, continued to be used sporadically in Transoxania for a long time to come. Ibn Hawqāl, ed. Kramers, 490, tr. 470, describes Ġhītrīf *dirhams* as circulating in the region of Haytal, i.e. Bactria and the eastern fringes of Khurāsān [see HAYĀṬĪLA]; al-Mukaddasī, 340, speaks of them as circulating in Bukhārā and certain other localities of Transoxania; and the translator into Persian of Narshakhī's history states that in his time (522/1128), 100 pure silver *dirhams* equalled 70 Ġhītrīf *dirhams*, and the gold *mithkāl* equalled 7½ Ġhītrīf *dirhams*. See further Frye, *Notes on the early coinage of Transoxania*, Amer. Numism. Soc. Notes and Monographs 113, New York 1949, 41-9.

Bibliography: Given in the article, but note that Zambaur, *Manuel*, 48, gives al-Ġhītrīf's name and the date of his governorship wrongly.

(C.E. BOSWORTH)

GHYĀṬH AL-DĪN BALBAN. [See BALBAN, in Suppl.]

GHUBAYRĀ, site of an early Islamic city in Kirmān Province in Iran. It is situated some 70 km. south of Kirmān, the provincial capital, in the Bard Sīr Valley, at the confluence of the Čārī and Ġhubayrā rivers. At the time of the Arab conquest the provincial capital was at Sīrdjān, some 200 km. to the south. The main caravan route from Sīrdjān to Bam runs considerably to the south of Kirmān city. Ibn Khurrādādhbih, 49, describes the stations on this route, and Ġhubayrā is mentioned as the fifth from Sīrdjān towards Bam. According to Iṣṭakhārī, the stations between Sīrdjān and Bam were as follows: Shāmāt, Ghār, or Bahār, Khannāb, Ġhubayrā, Kūghūn, Rāyīm, Sarvīstān and Dar'īm, modern Darzīn (ed. Irādj Afshār, Tehran 1961, 140 f. and map facing p. 139). A detailed account of the town is given by Mukaddasī, 462-3, who writes that "it is a small town surrounded by villages, with a fortress in its midst, while outside was the market recently built by Ibn Ilyās. Both this place and Kūghūn have fine mosques and the water comes from *kānāts*". During the 8th/14th century Ġhubayrā belonged to the Muzaffarid realm. The town was looted and destroyed by Tīmūr's army in 795/1393. It appears that Ġhubayrā as a town ceased to exist at that time, although archaeological evidence indicates that there was a small settlement on the site in Ṣafawid times.

The ruins of Ġhubayrā were first reported in modern times in J.R. Caldwell's excavation report of Tall-i Iblīs (Caldwell, Chase and Fehérvári, in *Investigations at Tal-i Iblīs*, ed. J.R. Caldwell, Springfield, Ill. 1967, chs. vi, viii). Subsequently,

four seasons of excavations were conducted on the site under the direction of A.D.H. Bivar and G. Fehérvári (brief excavation reports were published by A.D.H. Bivar and G. Fehérvári in *Iran*, under "Survey of excavations", x (1972), 168-9, pls. II-III; xi (1973), 194-5, pls. IV-VIb; xiii (1975), 180-1, pls. V-VI; and xv (1977), 173-4, pls. IIa-b; also in the *Proceedings of the 1st, 3rd and 4th Annual Symposia of Archaeological Research in Iran*, Tehran 1972, 1974, 1975. The first interim report was published in *JRAS* (1974), 107-41.

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(G. FEHÉRVÁRI)

GHULDJA [see KULĀJA].

GIĀFAR [see ĠĀ'FAR].

GIFT [see HIBA].

GILGIT, a town in the northwest of Pakistan, with a population of 4,671, situated on the right bank of the Gilgit river, a tributary of the Indus, 4,890 ft. above sea level. Owing to its geographical position, being near the borders of several countries and because roads radiate from it into the surrounding valley and beyond to Sinkiang and Transoxiana, it has always been an important trading centre and of considerable strategic significance.

Gilgit's ancient name was Sargin, which, owing to reasons unknown, was changed to Gilgit. But its people call their country *Shīnakos* and their language *Shīnā*. They are of Aryan origin, of fair complexion, well-built but unwarlike, cheery, honest, frugal and industrious, given to polo and dancing.

Gilgit was noticed by the Chinese travellers Fa-hien and Hsuen-Tsang as well as by the Muslim scholar al-Bīrūnī, who says that its ruler's name was Bhattā-Shāh. However, Gilgit's early history is legendary. In 751 A.D. the Chinese, who had occupied it, were defeated and driven out by the Arabs. Early in the twelfth century Shamsūr, the youngest son of Azar, a Yārkandī Turk belonging to the Trākāne (Tārā Khān) family, invaded Gilgit and, having overthrown its Buddhist ruler, Shīrī Budat, established his family's rule. It was during his reign that, according to tradition, six Šūfī saints, whose tombs still exist, converted the Buddhist inhabitants of Gilgit to Islam. Later, Tārā Khān (689-735/1290-1335) tried to introduce the Ismā'īlī creed, but Mīrzā Khān (972-1008/1565-1600) rejected it in favour of Imāmī Shī'ism, which is still the majority faith of Gilgit.

The Trākāne family's rule came to an end in 1822 with 'Abbās Khān, after which Gilgit was in turn ruled by the chiefs of Puniāl, Nagar and Yāsīn. In 1842 Karīm Khān of Nagar, having seized Gilgit from Gawhar Amān of Yāsīn with the help of the Sikhs, became their tributary. But when in 1846 Kashmīr was transferred to Mahārādjā Gulāb Singh of Djamū by the British, claims to Gilgit were also made over to him. In 1889, however, the British, in face of Russian aggression, took control of Gilgit and the surrounding area and placed it under a British Agent. But before the grant of independence to the subcontinent in August 1947, it was restored to Mahārādjā Harī Singh. In November 1947 the local people, with the support of the Gilgit Scouts, imprisoned his governor, Gansārā Singh, and proclaimed Gilgit's accession to Pakistan, which readily took control of the area. Recently, the Chinese have constructed a road which links it with Rāwalpindī and Sinkiang. This has enhanced Gilgit's both military and commercial importance.

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empires meet, London 1893; F. Drew, *The Djammu and Kashmir territories*, London 1875; G.J. Adler, *India's northern frontier*, London 1963; Mawlvī Ḥaṣḥmat Allāh Khān, *Ta'rikh-i Djamū va riyāsathā-i maftūḥa Mahārājā Gulāb Singh*, Lucknow 1939. (MOHIBBUL HASAN)

GIRL [see KĪZ].

GLOBE, TERRESTIAL [see KURRAT AL-ARP].

GLOSS [see ḤASHIYYA].

GOAT [see MA'Z].

GOD [see ALLĀH].

GORGAN [see GURGĀN].

GOURARA (Gurāra), oasis group of the central Sahara, in Algerian territory, contained within the southern fringe of the Great Western Erg to the north (the border on this side may be located at the furthest centres of permanent settlement), the north-west flank of the plateau of Tadmait to the south-east, and Oued Saoura to the west (the border on this side being the last centre of Berber-speakers, Bahammou, as opposed to the exclusively Arabic-speaking population of the Saoura). To the south, on the Touat side, the border was traditionally imprecise, the oases allying themselves to Timimoun (Gourara) or to Adrar (Touat) by means of *seff* agreements. The French administration created an artificial border here, definitively fixed in 1944.

Physical geography. Between the plateaux of the *reg* of Meguiden to the east (altitude 325 m.), a mound of clays and red sandstones of Continental Intercalary, and the Villefranchian *hamada* (silicified limestone) of Ouled Aissa to the west (350 m.), the heart of Gourara is constituted by a depression, the base of which is occupied by plains of salinated clay (*sebkha*), unsuitable for any crop other than palm-trees, of which the biggest is the *sebkha* of Timimoun, a huge channel 80 km. in length and varying in width between 2 and 15 km., lying on a north-north-east to south-south-west axis at the foot of the Meguiden, the base of which dips to an altitude of 192 m. At its extremities, the *sebkha* adjoins sectors of more abundant vegetation, bearing the name "oued", which seems to be synonymous with "pasturage". The *sebkha* corresponds to an ancient water-course flowing towards the south, founded on the hamadian surface along a pre-tertiary rib, but the erosions of the quaternary periods of humidity have eaten more deeply than pre-tertiary erosion. No importance need be attached to the remarks of Ibn Khaldūn (*Histoire des Berbères*, tr. de Slane, 2nd ed., Paris 1925, i, 196), who did not know the region personally, on a river "flowing from west to east". No doubt this arises from a confusion with the Saoura. Between the *sebkha* and the plateau of Ouled Aissa, there stretches a complex morphological zone, where the substratum of carboniferous sandstone and limestone, modified by interwoven pleats giving rise to appalachian reliefs (the mound of Timimoun, east-west), partially fossilised by deposits of Continental Intercalary and Tertiary formed into projecting hillocks, is invaded by various dunary formations, branches of erg and lesser forms.

Human geography. In severe climatic conditions (15 mm. annual rainfall), there has persisted a sedentary population, descendants of an ancient stock of judaised Zenatas, which remains for the most part Berber-speaking. In 1952, out of a total of 25,000 inhabitants, the Gourara consisted of 61% Berber-speakers and 39% Arabic-speakers. The Arab elements, of Hilalian origin (Meharza and Khenafsa) arrived in the 6th/12th century, and it is this period

which saw the first appearance of the Arabic-speaking *ksour*, present only in the north in the Tinerkouk and in the south in the Deldoul and the Aouguerout, although the recent settlement of Chaamba nomads has joined an important Arab nucleus to the old Berber centre of Timimoun. This settlement process is actively continuing at the present day, and the sedentary population, which has grown steadily over the past three decades in spite of a considerable level of emigration towards the Tell, must currently be approaching the figure of 40,000, with a proportion of Arabic-speakers certainly superior to that of 1952. In addition, the dark-skinned Harātīn (see HARTĀNĪ), either Berber-speaking or Arabic-speaking according to the language of their masters, in 1952 constituted nearly a half (46%) of the population (compared with estimates of 29% "Zenatas" and 25% "Arabs").

This population lives today in concentrated groups in villages (*ksour*), of which the largest is Timimoun (5,000 inhabitants), often dominated by a *kasba* containing the individual granaries where the people's crops are preserved (in other cases, granaries are attached to private houses). It seems that the habitat was formerly more dispersed, as is indicated by the existence of numerous small ruins, in a period of domination on the part of large semi-nomadic Zenata or Arab tribes on whom the sedentary population was strictly-speaking dependent. The progressive concentration of the habitat would testify simultaneously to a trend towards sedentary living and to a renewal of instability in the 19th century. The economic basis is provided by palm-trees (about 400,000), of which the surplus production (5 to 6,000 tonnes of dates) partially compensates for the inadequacy of cereal production (300 tonnes of wheat and barley), and permits the purchase of wool used in the weaving of *dokkali*, dyed materials manufactured by the women (350 looms) and partially marketed abroad. Small-holding is the rule, and indirect exploitation is common. Palms and gardens are irrigated largely by subterranean drainage channels (*foggara*) in the *sebkha* of the east, sometimes combined with hoisting machinery to raise the water of the channel when the level is too low for irrigation purposes, and with wells whose water is raised by balanced arms in the northern region at the fringe of the Erg.

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(XAVIER DE PLANHOL)

GÖVSA, İBRĀHİM 'ALĀ' AL-DĪN, modern Turkish İBRAHİM ALAETTİN GÖVSA, Turkish author, biographer and poet (1889-1949), was born in Istanbul, the son of Mustafa 'Āsim, a civil servant, from a Turkish family of Filibe (Plovdiv in present-day Bulgaria). Educated at the Wefā lycée, Istanbul, and in Trabzon, where his father was chief secretary (*mektûbdârı*) of the province, he studied in Istanbul University (1907-10), subsequently taught in Trabzon lycée and in 1913 went to Switzerland with a government scholarship, where he studied psychology and pedagogics at the University of Geneva and at the

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Jean-Jacques Rousseau Institute. On his return (1916), he taught at the Istanbul Teachers' Training College (*Dâr al-mu'allimîn*), where later he also became Director. Appointed in 1926 as a member of the Advisory Board (*Ta'lim ve terbiyye dâ'iresi*) of the Ministry of Education in Republican Turkey, he was later elected a member of Parliament (1927), where he served until 1946, with a brief interval in 1935 when he was an inspector for the Ministry of Education. He died in Ankara on 29 October 1949.

Gövsâ started his career as a poet, published his first poems in the traditional *'arûd* metre in the *Therwet-i fînün* [*q.v.*] (1908), but later switched to syllabic metre (*hedje weznî*) following the new literary trend in *Yeni medîmû'a* (1917 onwards). One of the pioneers of children's verse (*Çocuk şîirleri*, 1910), Gövsâ continued to write poetry until 1940 on lyric and epic (*Çanak kale izleri*, 1926) topics, using alternately both metres. Though not outstanding as a poet, he occasionally reaches a level above the average when he is inspired by an unusual event (e.g. his famous elegy for Atatürk, *Tavâf*, 1938). He also wrote humorous verse and prose and successful pastiches (e.g. *Nazîf'ten Hamîd'e ahiretten mektuplar*, 1932). But Gövsâ is particularly known as a biographer and encyclopaedist. A meticulous and responsible collector of materials from written and oral sources, he contributed greatly to contemporary biographical literature in Turkey. Apart from his great share in the planning and preparation of the Turkish Encyclopaedia (*İnönü Ansiklopedisi*, later *Türk Ansiklopedisi*) from 1941 onwards, of which he was also Secretary-General (1943-5), Gövsâ is the author of the following major works in this field: *Meşhur adamlar* ("Famous men"), 4 vols., 1933-8; *Kâşîfler ve mucitler* ("Explorers and inventors"), 1939; *Türk meşhurları ansiklopedisi* ("Encyclopaedia of famous Turks"), n.d. [1946]; and *Resimli yeni lûgat ve ansiklopedi* ("New illustrated encyclopaedic dictionary"), 1947-9 (up to the letter L).

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GUIDE [see ZÂ'İM].

GUILD [see ŞİNF].

GUITAR [see KİTÂRA].

GUJARAT, GUJERAT [see GUDJARÂT].

GUJARATI, GUZARATI [see GUDJARÂT].

GUL KHÂTÛN, the queen of Sultân Haydar Shâh of Kashmîr (874-6/1470-2). The chronicles do not say whether she belonged to a Muslim family of foreign origin or to a Kashmîrî family. It is more than likely that she was the daughter of a Bayhaqî Sayyid [*q.v.*], for the Kashmîr rulers were always very eager to marry in the family of these descendants of the Prophet, and regarded such an alliance with pride. However, strangely enough, unlike the royal ladies of foreign origin, Gul Khâtûn, according to Djonarâdjâ's *Râdjataranginî*, favoured Hindû customs and ceremonies. Gul Khâtûn was active in the politics of the kingdom and played an important role in securing the throne for her son, Hasan Shâh. She was also interested in girls' education and established *madrasas* at her own expense. She was much respected and loved by her son, who constructed a bridge of boats in her memory over the Djehlam in Srinagar.

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Sultāns, Srinagar 1974; G.M.D. Sufi, *Kashīr* Lahore 1948-9. (MOHIBBUL HASAN)

GÜMÂL, GOMAL, a river of the Indus valley system and the North-West Frontier region of the Indo-Pakistan subcontinent. It rises in eastern Afghānistān some 40 miles/62 km. east of the Āb-i Istāda lake. Flowing eastwards, it is joined from the south by the Kunder and Zhōb rivers, and forms the southern boundary of the South Waziristān tribal agency of the former North-West Frontier Province of British India (now Pakistan). Below the settlement of Murtaḍā, it leaves the mountains and enters the lower-lying lands of the Dera Ismā'īl Khān district [see DĒRĀDĀT], and is diverted into many irrigation channels; from this point also it is known as the Lūnī River. The bed of the river is often largely dry in rainless periods, and only in times of flooding do its waters actually reach the Indus itself.

Where the river emerges from the northern end of the Sulaymān Mountains into the lower terrain we have the Gomal Pass, a defile some four miles long and one of the routes from Afghānistān to the Indus valley; although much used by nomadic Ghazays [*q.v.*] and other Pathan tribes bringing merchandise down to the plains, its comparative isolation and wildness have not made it such a historic route for the passage of armies as the routes further north of the Kurram [*q.v.*] valley and the Khyber Pass [see KHAYBAR], although in the spring of 910/1505 Bābur used part of the track along the swollen Gomal River when travelling from Bannū to Ghazna (*Bāburnāma*, tr. Beveridge, 235-6).

During the 19th century, Sarwār Khān, chief of Tank in Bannū, dammed the Gomal River just below where it emerges to the plains (see H.B. Edwardes, *A year on the Punjab frontier in 1848-9*, London 1851, i, 414-15). Towards the end of the century, Sir Robert Sandeman, the pacifier of Balūchistān, planned to open up the Gomal Pass for general access and thus gain an alternative route to the one from Mūltān into the Zhōb valley of north-eastern Balūchistān, occupied in 1889. In that same year, as part of the "Forward Policy", the Viceroy of India Lord Lansdowne authorised subsidies for the Wazirīs and other tribesmen. Tribal *malīks* and *djīngas* were summoned to a durbār at Apozai in Zhōb, and military posts established in the Gomal valley in order to command the route and in the hope of exerting some influence in Waziristān. The system worked for some time, but in the long run hopes of making the Gomal Pass generally accessible have proved vain for both the Government of India and its successor Pakistan.

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(C.E. BOSWORTH)

GÜMÜLDJINE, the Ottoman Turkish form of the Greek Komotene, Komotini, a town of over 30,000 inhabitants in Western Thrace, the modern Greek province of Rhodope, which from the sixties of the 14th century until 1912 was without interruption a part of the Ottoman Empire.

The name Komotene is the academic version of

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Koumoutsinas, which was already used by Cantacuzinos in the mid-14th century. The *Destān* of Ümür Paşa (ed. Mëlikoff, 101, 124) appears to be the first Turkish source to use the form "Gümüldjine" when relating Ümür Aydinoghlu's actions in Thrace in and after 745/1344.

Komotene emerged as a small urban centre (*polis-ma*) after the Bulgarian invasion of Czar Kaloyan in 1207, during which the old city of Mosynopolis was thoroughly destroyed. The remaining inhabitants of Mosynopolis fled within the walls of an uninhabited but rather well-preserved stronghold, Komotene. This new town is mentioned in connection with the actions of the Emperor Andronicus III against the Turkish pirates and during the Byzantine civil war of the 14th century, which were catastrophic for the lowland population of Thrace.

The old Ottoman chroniclers ('Āshīkpaşazāde, Neshrī, Oruç, Anonymus Giese, Idrīs-Destān IV) unanimously place the conquest of Komotene by the Ottomans in or around 762/1361, after the capture of Zaghra (Stara Zagora) and Filibe (Plovdiv) and before the conquest of Biga. Ferīdūn Ahmed Beg, in his *Münsh'e'at al-selāfin*, has a letter from the ruler of Karamān to Murād I, congratulating him on the conquest of Filibe, Zaghra and Gümüldjine, and also the answer of Murād, dated 764/1362-3. Almost all the sources mention Ghāzī Ewrenos Beg as conqueror. Between 763/1361-2 and 785/1383 (capture of Serres or Siroz), Komotene was the seat of an *udj* confronting Serbian-controlled Macedonia, and stood under command of Ewrenos Beg. Somewhere in these two decades, Ewrenos Beg erected in his residence a large domed *mesdjid*, an 'imāret, a *hammām* and a large number of shops, and added the revenue of the villages of Anbarköy and Küçük Köy to this *wakf*. These buildings formed the nucleus of Islamic life in Western Thrace. The buildings were situated outside the old walled enclosure of Koumoutsinas, where the original Greek population continued to live. The colonisation of Muslim Turkish citizens in Komotene, and of large numbers of Turkish farmers in the deserted plains around the town, appears to be also connected with Ewrenos Beg. The toponymy of villages, hills, meadows and brooks is overwhelmingly Turkish, which may be an indication that the newcomers found little or no autochthonous inhabitants to transmit the existing toponyms. The fragmentarily-published registers of the 9th/15th and 10th/16th century Ottoman censuses point in the same direction, and show clearly the heavy preponderance of the Muslim Turkish population in these districts.

When in 785/1383 Ewrenos Beg moved the seat of his *udj* closer to the chief field of action (Western Macedonia), Komotene remained a relatively small town with a predominantly Muslim population. The Burgundian knight Bertrandon de la Broquière passed "Caumussin" in 1433 on his way to Serres. He called it a "fairly good little town", which was "well-enclosed by walls and situated on a little river in a lovely country and good plain near the mountains".

According to the census of 925/1519, Komotene numbered 393 Muslim households, 197 unmarried Muslims, 42 Christian households, six unmarried Christians and eight Christian widows, as well as 19 Jewish households and five unmarried Jews. This gives a total of 2,500 souls, which is roughly the average of a local Balkan town of that time. It was by then the second urban centre in size of Western Thrace (after Xanthi or Iskeçe). According to the census of 936/1530, Komotene had 17 *maħalles*

which all bore Turkish names. The same source mentions the names of all religious and educational institutions of the town: one mosque, 16 *mesdjids*, four *zawiyas*, four schools and one church. When in the middle of the 16th century the French traveller Pierre Belon du Mans (*Observations des plusieurs singularités*, etc., Paris 1588, ch. lx) passed the "petite bourgarde Commercine", he mentions the "ruines d'un petit chastelet, dedans lequel est l'Eglise Grecs Chrestiens". His remark that the town was "habité des Grecs, et peu de Turcs" is curious and certainly not in accordance with the real situation. The Ottoman geographer Mehmed-i 'Āshīk visited Komotene in ca. 998/1590 and noted that "There are there [in Komotene] Friday mosques, baths and markets. The *hāqīdji* and *ghāzī* Ewrenos Beg constructed in Gümüldjine a public kitchen and dining hall for the travellers (sc. an 'imāret)". Shortly afterwards, in the first decade of the 17th century, Komotene shared the attention of the *defterdar* of Ahmed I, Ekmekdjizāde Ahmed Paşa, who dotted most of Thrace with buildings for the promotion of Islamic culture. In Komotene he erected a small but exquisite mosque, a double *hammām*, a domed and lead-covered *mekteb*, a *medrese* and an 'imāret. The mosque is the only Ottoman structure on Greek territory which has a number of multi-coloured tile panels dating from the best period of the İznik kilns (988-98/1580-90).

Most of the information on Ottoman Komotene is contained in vol. viii of the *Seyāhat-nāme* of Ewliyā Celebi, who visited the town in 1078/1667-8. By then, the place had apparently enjoyed a great expansion. Ewliyā numbers "4,000 prosperous, stone-built houses", 16 *maħalles* and 5 Friday mosques, 11 *mesdjids*, two 'imārets, two *hammāms*, five *medreses*, seven *mektebs*, 17 *khāns* and 400 shops. A number of his figures can still be checked and are correct, others look suspiciously high (viz. the figure for the houses). This source especially sings the praises of the pious foundations of Ewrenos and Ahmed Paşa. His description of the latter's mosque is very accurate, and in no way exaggerated.

In the 18th century, epidemics of plague ravaged the Thracian lowlands and led to the disappearance of whole villages. (A lonely minaret in the fields 4 miles/7 km. of Komotene pathetically marks the site of the village of Eski Gümüldjine.) In the 19th century, the town witnessed again a considerable revival. Entire new quarters arose on its periphery, and especially on the eastern side. During that century, a number of Ottoman buildings were restored and new ones erected. The Eski Džami' (the old *mesdjid* of Ewrenos Beg) was greatly enlarged by enveloping it by a spacious prayer hall in the Ottoman "empire" style. The Yeñi Džami' (of Ekmekdjizāde Ahmed) was enlarged in the same manner. In the time of 'Abd al-Hamīd II the town was linked with Istanbul and Salonica by a railway. The same sultan erected a large clock tower in the town as well as a *medrese*. Ottoman inscriptions, still preserved, record these actions.

Since the reorganisation of the provincial administration of the empire in the sixties of the 19th century, Komotene was the chief-lieu of a *sandjak* in the *wilāyet* of Edirne. In the eighties of the last century, the town is reported to have contained 13,560 inhabitants, ten Friday mosques, 15 *mesdjids*, two Greek and one Armenian churches, one synagogue, four *medreses*, two schools for higher education, ten *mektebs* and various schools for the education of the non-Muslim part of the population. The



sālnāme of the *wilāyet* of Edirne of 1310/1892 has substantially the same numbers, but adds details on individual buildings.

During the First Balkan War (1912), Komotene suffered a Bulgarian occupation. In the few months between Balkan War II and World War I, Komotene was the capital of a short-lived Muslim "Republic of Gümüldjine", as no Balkan power was then master of the territory. It was again occupied by the Bulgarians in World War I. After the Treaty of Lausanne (1923), town and territory were ceded to Greece, which promised to respect the ethnic-religious composition of its population (around 1900, 149,230 Turks (including a group of 20,000 Bulgarian-speaking Muslims, the Pomaks); 58,357 Greeks; and 35,122 Bulgarians). Under Greek administration, the Muslim element dwindled down to 112,665 in 1961, but the Greek element had mounted to 243,889 for all of Western Thrace. The Bulgarians disappeared during and after the two world wars.

Today Komotene is a mixed Muslim Turkish-Greek Orthodox town, roughly fifty-fifty between both groups. In 1961 the total number of inhabitants was 28,355. The town is the largest urban centre of Western Thrace. It is the seat of the *mufī* of all Muslims in Greece and has a Turkish high school, twenty mosques and *mesjids*, and is the place where some Turkish and Islamic periodicals and newspapers are issued. Among the preserved monuments of Ottoman architecture are both mosques mentioned above, the Clock Tower, the *turba* of Fāṭima Khānīm, wife of the Grand Vizier Rusçuklu Sherif Hasan Paşa, dating from 1195/1781, and the *imāret* of Ghāzī Ewrenos. The latter was confiscated by the Greeks after 1923 and used as an electric power station till 1974, when some minor repairs were carried out, and a new purpose was sought for it (as a Museum of Turkish Folklore). In the time of the Colonels (1970), the *ḥammām* of Ghāzī Ewrenos was destroyed by dynamite; its 8th/14th-century Arabic inscription was already smashed in 1923. On the edge of the town is the *Poshposh* Tekke with a graveyard with a number of interesting steles belonging to local *ayān* and members of various dervish orders (Nakshbandī, Rīfāʿī etc.). Until the early seventies, the town faithfully preserved its Ottoman physiognomy from the Hamidian age.

Bibliography: For a survey of the early history, see G.I. Theodorides' summary of three lectures on *The history of the Thracians and the cities of Komotene and Xanthi as given by Stilpon Kyriakides*, in *Balkan Studies*, ii (Salonica 1961), 323-9.

For the material from Ottoman census materials concerning town and district, see Ö.L. Barkan, *Les déportations comme méthode de peuplement et de colonisation dans l'Empire Ottoman*, in *Revue de la Faculté des Sciences Economiques de l'Université d'Istanbul*, No. 11 (1956), with map, giving the ethno-religious composition of the area in detail; *Turski Izvori za Balgarskata Istorija*, ii, Sofia 1966, 468-80; *Turski Izvori*, iii, Sofia 1972, 38-42, 359-74, 412-26, 474-83; Muhiddin Kocabıyık, *Gümüldjine tarih hakkında bir araştırma*, in A. Dede, *Rumeli'nde bırakılanlar*, Istanbul 1975, 13-51, with numerous details on 10th/16th century Komotene; Mehmed-i 'Ashik, *Menāzīrū 'l-awālīm*, autograph ms., Halet Efendi no. 616, vol. ii f. 20 v.

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For the *Tanzīmāt* period, see H.H. Kornrumpf, *Die Territorialverwaltung im östlichen Teil der europäischen Türkei vom Erlass der Vilayetsordnung bis zum Berliner Kongress nach amtliche osmanischen Veröffentlichungen*, Freiburg 1976.

The numbers given for the inhabitants, and for the ethnic-religious composition of the town's population, vary in various publications. Compare Adil Özgüç, *Batu Trakya Türkleri*, Istanbul 1974, and K.G. Andreadis, *The Moslem minority in Western Thrace*, Salonica 1956, where the Turkish and the Greek views are set forth. For the minutes of the Lausanne Conference, see for example *Lozan Barış konferansı (tutanaklar, belgeler)*, in *Siyasal Bil. Fak. neşr.* Ankara 1969.

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For the Republic of Gümüldjine, with illustrations of its flag, stamps and coins, see Adil Özgüç, *op. cit.* (M. KIEL)

GÜRAN, SHAYKH ABU 'L-FATH B. SHAYKH MUHAMMAD, official and commander in 10th/16th century Muslim India. An Indian-born Muslim (*shaykh-zāda*), he took service under Ibrāhīm Lōdī (923-32/1517-26) and was posted at Koyl [*q.v.*] (modern 'Aligarh). After the battle of Pānīpāt [*q.v.*] (932/1526), Bābur sent Mullā Apāk to Koyl for enlisting troops. Shaykh Gūran came over with two to three thousand men. He subsequently occupied Sambhal on behalf of his new master, and shortly afterwards seized Gwālīor from Tatār Khān. In the Battle of Kānwa (933/1527) he was one of the commanders of the right wing, and after the battle, he was sent to Koyl to expel the rebel Ilyās Khān. In Muḥarram 934/October 1527, at the invitation of Shaykh Gūran, Bābur paid a visit to his house at Pīlakhna (12 miles south of Koyl) and was entertained there hospitably. He participated in the siege of Čandīrī (934/1528). In 936/1529-30 he was appointed *Kūfādār* or castellan of Gwālīor, a post which he held till Bābur's death (937/1530).

During the reign of Humāyūn, he was appointed governor of Mālwa, and held this post till his death in 943/1536-7. He died in Mandsore and his dead body was brought from Mandsore to Koyl, where he lies buried in an identified grave.

Shaykh Gūran is said to have been an accomplished musician. He was usually referred to as Hindustānī Beg.

Bibliography: *Bābur-nāma*, tr. A.S. Beveridge, London 1922, index; Rizk Allāh Muḥṣṭākī, *Wākīāt-i Muḥṣṭākī*, Br. Mus. MS. Add. 11633 and Or. 1929 (see on this, Storey, i, 512-13); Rādījī Muḥammad Kolvī, *Akhbār al-djāmāl*, MS. Habib Ganj Collection, No. 22/30, Aligarh Muslim University.

(M. ATHAR ALI)

GURĀRA [see GOURARA, in Suppl.].

GURČĀNĪ, a Balūč tribe of modern Pakistan, living partly in the Indus valley plains of the Dēra Ghāzī Khān District of the Pāndjāb [see DĒRADJĀT], and partly in the Mārī and Drāgal hills of the Sulaymān Mountains range and the upland plateaux of Sham and Paylāwagh, extending as far west as the modern Loralai District of northeastern Balūčistān.

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The tribe is of mixed origin, some sections being Dōdāīs of mingled Balūč-Sindh Rādjput extraction, whilst others are pure-blooded Balūč of the Rind and Lāshārī groups; the chief's family belongs to one of the Dōdāī sections.

In the early 19th century, the Gurčānīs had a reputation for turbulence and bellicosity, so that Edwardes could call them "troublesome" and "a vain and capacious race, ever ready to take offence and never to be relied on". After 1819 the Sikh ruler Randjit Singh extended Sikh power across the Indus and by 1827 had overrun all the Dēra Ghāzī Khān district, this last being from 1832 to 1844 under the governorship (*kārdārī*) of Diwān Sāwan Mal of Multān. He experienced much trouble from the Gurčānīs, and was compelled to build a fort in their country at Harand. This fort was in fact successfully defended for the Sikh cause by Muḥkam Čand against Lt. (afterwards Sir) H.B. Edwardes during the Second Sikh War of 1848-9, although the Gurčānīs, who controlled the surrounding countryside, joined the Balūč and Pathan levies of the British forces against their old opponents the Sikhs. Subsequently, in British India, the eastern part of the Gurčānī country came within the tribal area of Dēra Ghāzī Khān administered from the Panjāb, and the western part within the tribal agency areas of Balūčistān and the khanate of Kalāt [see KILĀT]; a complaint of the Gurčānīs in the later part of the 19th century was that these administrative divisions weakened the unity of the tribe and exposed them to depredations of their enemies in the adjacent territory of Kalāt, the Bugtīs and the Marrīs (see T.H. Thornton, *Colonel Sir Robert Sandeman, his life and work on our Indian frontier, a memoir*, London 1895, 337-8).

Bibliography: H.B. Edwardes, *A year on the Punjab frontier in 1848-9*, London 1851, ii, 6-7, 275 ff., 294-5, 305-6; M. Longworth Dames, *The Baloch race, a historical and ethnological sketch*, London 1904, 49, 58, 64-6, 84; *Imperial gazetteer of India*², xi, 251.

(C.E. BOSWORTH)

GWĀDAR, a town and district on the Makrān coast, formerly a dependency of the sultanate of 'Umān and since 1378/1958 a territorial possession of Pākistān. The district of Gwādar extends for 40 miles along the shoreline of Gwādar West Bay, from Cape Pishkān to Gwādar Head, and some 14 miles inland. The town stands on a sandy isthmus, about a mile wide, at the foot of a seaward, hammer-head promontory rising to 400 feet. Its inhabitants, numbering perhaps 5,000, are mostly Makrānī tribesmen of the Bulayday Maliki and Gički groups, along with small groups of Balūčīs, Arabs, Khōdjās and descendants of African slaves. They live mainly by fishing.

Until the mid-12th/18th century Gwādar, like the rest of Makrān, was in the hands of tribes who seldom recognised any paramount authority. Thereafter Makrān fell under the sway of Mīr Naṣīr Khān of Kalāt (regn. 1168-1209/1750 to 1794-5), the head of the Brahūī confederation of the Balūč, who in turn acknowledged the Durrānī Shāh of Afghānistān as his suzerain [see KILĀT]. Naṣīr Khān gave Gwādar to Sayyid Sulṭān b. Aḥmad of Maṣṣaṭ in 1198/1784 when the latter sought refuge at his court after being driven from 'Umān. Whether the grant was in perpetuity is unclear; for while the Āl Bū Sa'īd apparently continued to pay tribute for Gwādar to successive khāns of Kalāt, in the form of occasional gifts of slaves, until ca. 1274/1857-8, in 1277/1860-1 the ruling khān suggested that the government of India might purchase Gwādar from 'Umān and make it over to him.

The completion in 1279/1862-3 of the first section of the Indo-European telegraph from Karachi to Gwādar coincided with the assertion of Persian claims to Makrān, including Gwādar, and led the government of India to depute Colonel F.J. Goldsmid to investigate the nature of the 'Umānī title to Gwādar. He reported the right of possession to be prescriptive and indefeasible and the Persian claim to be groundless. The frontier of Persia with Kalāt was subsequently (1288/1871) fixed as starting at Gwāṭar Bay, some 50 miles west of Gwādar town.

The incorporation of Gwādar into Kalāt, which was under British protection, was suggested by the viceroy, Lord Curzon, in 1320/1902, both to prevent the smuggling of arms through the port to Persia and Afghanistan, and to preclude any possible French or Russian designs upon it. The suggestion was not acted upon lest it contravene the Anglo-French declaration of 1278-9/1862 on the integrity of the 'Umānī dominions. Gwādar remained an 'Umānī possession until it was ceded to Pākistan in 1378/1958, reputedly for the sum of 3 million sterling.

Bibliography: Capt. N.P. Grant, *Journal of a route through the western parts of Makran*, in *JRAS*, v (1839); Capt. E.C. Ross, *Memorandum on Mekran*, in *Selections from the Bombay Government Records*, cxi, Bombay 1868; Col. F.J. Goldsmid, *Notes on Eastern Persia and Western Baluchistan*, in *JRGS* (1867); J.A. Saldanha, *Précis of Mekran Affairs*, Calcutta 1905, 87-117; R. Hughes-Buller, *Baluchistan District Gazetteers, series vii, vii A, Makran and Khāran*, Bombay 1907, 25-6, 46, 51, 53-4; J.G. Lorimer, *Gazetteer of the Persian Gulf, Oman and Central Arabia*, Calcutta 1908-15, i, 601-22, 2150-2204, ii, 585-90.

(J.B. KELLY)

GYROMANCY [see RAML].

H

HABBA KHĀTŪN, Kashmīrī singer and poetess. Called Zūn ("moon") before her marriage, she is a semi-legendary figure in the Valley of Kashmīr. Daughter of a peasant of the village of Čandahār, near Pāmpūr, 8 miles to the south-east of Srīnagar, she was unhappy with her husband who ill-treated her, so she left him. Bīrbal Kāčrū in his *Wākīāt-i*

Kashmīr, which he wrote in the middle of the 19th century, says that, being a good singer and possessed of a melodious voice, she captivated the heart of Yūsuf Shāh Čāk (986-94/1578-86), who married her. But this account appears to be apocryphal, for it is not supported by any earlier authority. Neither the historian Ḥaydar Malik nor the author of the *Bahā-*

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ristān-i Shāhī, who were contemporaries of Yūsuf Shāh, refer to her, although they mention all the prominent queens of the mediaeval period. This, however, does not mean that she did not exist, as some writers have begun to say in recent years. In the first place, there is a strong tradition, which is impossible to ignore, in Kashmīr that Ḥabba Khātūn lived in the second half of the 10th/16th century; and in the second, there is a large body of her songs and poems in Kashmīrī which are attributed to her and to no one else. What seems more probable is that she was a mistress of Yūsuf Shāh (*Tārīkh-i Hasan*, ii, 296), and Bīrbal wove round her all kinds of romantic stories. After Yūsuf Shāh surrendered to Akbar's general, Rājā Mān Singh, at the end of Šafar 994/middle of February 1586, and he left Kashmīr with Rājā Mān Singh, never to return, Ḥabba Khātūn retired to the village of Pandačuk, about 5 miles to the south-east of Srinagar. She continued to live quietly in a cottage close to the mosque, both of which she had built, and died at the age of about 55 years.

Ḥabba Khātūn appears to have been a cultured woman interested in music and the education of girls, for whom she opened *madrasas*. She was a poetess and introduced *lols* or love lyrics in Kashmīrī poetry. The songs which she composed are even to this day sung by the common people of Kashmīr; and it was she who is said to have introduced the melody known as *rust Kashmīrī*.

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(MOHIBBUL HASAN)

ḤABSIYYA, a poem dealing with the theme of imprisonment. The term occurs in the Persian tradition for the first time about the middle of the 6th/12th century in Nizāmī 'Arūdī's *Čahār maḳāla* (ed. Kazwīnī-Mu'in, Tehrān 1955-7, *matn* 72). It is applied there to poems that were written by Mas'ūd-i Sa'd-i Salmān [*q.v.*] more than half-a-century earlier and which were still greatly admired as the sincere expression of the poet's sufferings. Although several Persian poets have composed poetry of this nature, the *ḥabsiyyāt* of Mas'ūd have remained both exceptional and exemplary. Not only was he the first to write them, but the theme itself was a characteristic of his work. It is developed by Mas'ūd to an extent that has not been equalled by any imitator of later times.

There is a very close link between the prison-poetry of Mas'ūd and the story of his life. Twice in the course of his career he became involved in the political downfall of his patrons at the provincial court of the Ghaznavids at Lahore. Consequently, he had to spend almost two decades, 480/1087-8 to 500/1106-7, banished to a number of remote fortresses (see C.E. Bosworth, *The later Ghaznavids, splendour and decay. The dynasty in Afghanistan and Northern India 1040-1186*, Edinburgh 1977, 16, 67-8, 72, 74, 88). The *ḥabsiyyāt* are, therefore, first of all topical poems, by means of which the poet tried to evoke the clemency of the Sultān of Ghazna, either directly or through the intermediary of influential friends.

Poems of various forms could serve this purpose. The structure of the panegyric *kašīda* offered the possibility to take the theme as the subject of the

prologue (cf. e.g. *Dīwān*, 19, 335 f., 356 f., 515). More often, however, a section especially devoted to an account of the poet's condition (*ḥasb-i ḥāl*) was added to the panegyric address of the patron (*Dīwān*, 58 f., 93 f., 107 f., 312 ff., 349 f., 489 f., 526 f.). In one instance, the two variants are combined (*Dīwān*, 427 ff.). There are also several non-panegyric *kašīdas* among the *ḥabsiyyāt* of Mas'ūd (e.g. *Dīwān*, 63 f., 67 ff., 106, 329 f., 331 f., 351 ff., 354 ff., 486 ff., 493, 503 f., 552 f.). Sometimes the characteristic *ḥabsiyya* motifs only occur incidentally in poems dealing mainly with other themes. Other forms besides the *kašīda* lent themselves for the use of a prison-poem.

The contents of the poems vary from complaints of the prisoner's misery in more or less general terms, hardly to be distinguished from the wider category of poetical complaints about any grievance whatsoever, to the specific portrayal of his life in the dungeon. In spite of the close relation between these latter poems and the reality to which they refer, there is a certain amount of conventionalisation to be noticed in the representation of the poet's condition. Recurrent motifs are the description of the physical and mental state of the prisoner, of the dungeon, the chains and the jailers, of the darkness and the long sleepless nights during which the poet contemplates the stars through the narrow window of his cell, and of the suffering on account of his long separation from relatives and friends. Mostly, the heavenly powers, instead of the Sultān, are blamed for the misfortune that has befallen the poet. But Mas'ūd sometimes admits that the real cause is to be sought in the fact that he, being only a poet, has aspired to political and military office (cf. especially *Dīwān*, 153 f., a *kašīda* addressed to a certain Muḥammad-i Khāṭibī who had met with a similar fate).

The *ḥabsiyya* elements are in these poems often connected with passages in which the poet speaks about his profession. These statements usually contain the conventional boast about the artistic abilities of the author, undoubtedly intended as an argument in favour of his release. But there are also utterances that are more specifically related to the *ḥabsiyya* theme: writing poetry is the sole comfort left to the prisoner; the poet resents the favours bestowed in his absence on worthless flatterers; and he becomes disgusted with the poetry of the court and pronounces his intention to abandon it altogether after he will be released (e.g. *Dīwān*, 109, 516, 526). Religious elements are only rarely mingled with these ruminations.

The models for prison-poetry set by Mas'ūd-i Salmān have continuously influenced other poets who for one reason or another have had to undergo a period of confinement. Two poets of Shirwān, Falakī and Khākānī [*q.v.*], who both flourished in the middle and later part of the 6th/12th century, are among the earliest imitators of Mas'ūd's *ḥabsiyyāt*. Khākānī's most celebrated prison-poems are the two odes in which he addressed Christian princes, although in these poems the display of the poet's exceptional knowledge of Christian terms and concepts overshadows the *ḥabsiyya*-elements (cf. V. Minorsky, in *BSOAS*, xi [1945], 550-78). With Khākānī, the motif of imprisonment is often only a metaphor. He likes to refer to Shirwān as his "place of imprisonment" (*ḥabsghāh*) where he has to stay against his will like a "captive" (*shahrband*). This is particularly evident in a *kašīda* written on the occasion of Sultān Sandjar's capture by the Ghuzz, which scattered the poet's hopes of a career in

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Khurāsān (cf. *Dīwān*, 155 ff.; see also 45, 282 and *Tuhfat al-'Irāqayn*, ed. by Yahyā Karīb, Tehrān 1333/1954, 29³, 30⁷, 108⁵⁻⁶ (*dāmgāh-i Shīrwān*), 212³).

The close connection with actual experiences of imprisonment has made the conventional pattern of the Persian *ḥabsiyyāt* adaptable for use in later centuries, in spite of changing circumstances. In the Indian tradition of Persian poetry, prison-poems have been written up to the present day. Among the poets who resorted to it was Mirzā Ghālib [*q.v.*], who composed a few poems at the occasion of an imprisonment in 1848. *Ḥabsiyyāt* have also been written in Urdu (cf. Annemarie Schimmel, *The Islamic literatures of India*, Wiesbaden 1973, 11).

As far as modern Persian poetry in Iran is concerned, the best examples of prison-poetry are to be found in the works of Muḥammad-Taḳī Bahār [*q.v.*], who was imprisoned for political reasons on three occasions. Most of his *ḥabsiyyāt* came into being during the last two periods, which occurred respectively in 1929 and 1933-4. It is evident that Bahār was inspired directly by the mediaeval *ḥabsiyyāt*, although he introduced many contemporary elements, such as a complaint about the traffic noise outside his Tehran prison. Like Mas'ūd-i Sa'd-i Salmān, he used various forms of poetry. His most interesting work of this kind is a *mathnawī* entitled *Kārnāma-i zindān* (*Dīwān-i ash'ār*, ii, 2-126) in which the theme of the *ḥabsiyyāt* is combined with a wide range of other subjects. The poem has been designed to the model of ancient Persian didactical poetry. Bahār has made this influence explicit by inserting the narration of a dream about a meeting with the poet Sanā'ī [*q.v.*].

Modern Persian prose has also become a vehicle for the expression of the experiences of political prisoners. Outstanding examples of this new branch of the *ḥabsiyyāt* are *Ayyām-i mahbas* by 'Alī Daštī and *Warākparahā-yi zindān* by Buzurg 'Alawī.

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(J.T.P. DE BRUIJN)

AL-ḤADDĀD, **AL-ṬĀHIR**, nationalist and reformist Tunisian writer, considered as the pioneer of the movement for feminine liberation in his country.

Born in Tunis ca. 1899 into a family of modest status originally from the Hāma of Gabès, he studied at the Zaytūna [*q.v.*] from 1911 to 1920 and gained the *taṭwī'* (corresponding to the diploma for completing secondary education). He then took part in the trade union movement and was put in charge of propaganda in an organisation founded in 1924, the *Djāmi'at 'umūm al-'amala al-tūnisiyya*,

whose chief promoters were hunted down and banished in 1925. His experiences and his reflections inspired him to write an important work, *al-'Ummāl al-tūnisiyyūn wa-zuhūr al-ḥaraka al-nikābiyya* (Tunis 1927; 2nd ed. Tunis 1966), in which he gave an historical characterisation of trade unionism in Tunisia and of the *Djāmi'a* mentioned above, studied at length the social situation in Tunisia (but without trying to apply Marxian analyses, since his own country was too different from Europe and moreover under foreign domination), and put forward certain reforms.

However, he very soon affirmed that the first reform which should be put into practice concerned woman and the family, and in 1930 published *Imra'atunā fi 'l-shar'i'a wa 'l-mudjama'* (2nd ed. Tunis 1972), in which he endeavoured to prove that his own liberal ideas were not in contradiction to the teachings of Islam, which had been the first to give dignity to the Arab woman, but should now develop progressively further. In this work, he inveighs against polygamy, the wearing of veils (assimilated to muzzles), the marriage of Tunisian males with foreigners, divorce, which is a calamity, and finally, the ignorance in which women are kept. The first remedy for the ills of society is thus the education of girls and consequently, the setting-up of schools in which they can receive an education complete in every sphere, so that once they reach adult years, they will be on the way to organising more rationally the life of their family and to sharing in national activities just like the menfolk. Inevitably, there were criticisms. The main one directed at him was that of Muḥammad al-Ṣāliḥ b. Murād, in his *al-Hidād 'ala mra'at al-Haddād aw radd al-khaṭa' wa 'l-kufi wa 'l-bida' allatī ḥawāḥā Kitāb 'Imra'atunā fi 'l-shar'i'a wa 'l-mudjama'* (Tunis 1931), see also 'Umar b. Ibrāhīm al-Barī al-Madanī, *Sayf al-ḥakk 'alā man lā yarā al-ḥakk*, Tunis 1931.

Al-Ṭāhir al-Haddād, who died at Tunis on 7 December 1935, left also behind a certain amount of poetry in which he expressed some of his social ideas. Finally, in 1975 a collection of his reflections was published in Tunis under the title of *al-Khawātir*.

Bibliography: The personality and work of al-Ṭāhir al-Haddād are beginning to be the subject of studies and monographs, since he is now considered to some extent a figure of national pride. See in particular al-Djilānī b. al-Hādīdī Yahyā and Muḥammad al-Marzūqī, *al-Ṭāhir al-Haddād, ḥayātuhu, turāthuhu*, Tunis 1963 (in which his poetry is to be found, already gathered together by Zayn al-'Abīdīn al-Sanūsī, *Ta'rīkh al-adab al-tūnīsī fi 'l-karn al-rābi' 'ashar*, Tunis 1928); Aḥmad Khālid, *al-Ṭāhir al-Haddād wa 'l-bī'a al-tūnisiyya fi 'l-thuluth al-awwal min al-karn al-'ishrīn*, Tunis 1967; Dja'far Mādjid, *al-Ṭāhir al-Haddād*, Tunis 1979 (study, followed by selected passages and verse and some of the *Khawātir*); Mutaḥarrij [= L. Bercher], in *REI* (1935), 201-30; J. Berque, in *Études d'orientalisme... Lévi-Provençal*, ii, Paris 1962, 487-8; C. Lamourette, *Polémique autour du statut de la femme musulmane en Tunisie en 1930*, in *BEO Damas*, xxx (1978), 12-31. (Ed.)

AL-ḤĀDĪ ILA 'L-ḤAKK, **ABU 'L-ḤUSAYN YAHYĀ B. AL-ḤUSAYN B. AL-KĀSĪM B. IBRĀHĪM AL-ḤASANĪ**, the founder of the Zaydī imāmate in Yaman, was born in al-Madīna in 245/859. His mother was Umm al-Ḥasan Fāṭima bint al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. Sulaymān b. Dāwūd b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan. He excelled early in religious learning and by the age of seventeen is said to have reached the level of rendering independent judgments in *fiqh* and composing treatises. Because of his erudition, physical strength, bravery, and asceticism he soon came to be considered



by his family, including his fathers and uncles, as the most suitable candidate for the Zaydī imāmate. Between 270/884 and 275/889 he visited with his family Āmul in Ṭabaristān, then under the rule of the Zaydī 'Alid Muḥammad b. Zayd, evidently in order to seek the support of the adherents of the doctrine of his grandfather al-Ḳāsim b. Ibrāhīm [q.v.] there. His activity soon aroused the suspicions of Muḥammad b. Zayd and he was forced to leave precipitately. He also seems to have visited Baghdād briefly. In 280/893-4 he came to northern Yaman for the first time, invited by tribes in the region of Ṣa'da who were hoping that he might put an end to their feuds. He led a campaign as far south as al-Sharafa near Ṣan'ā', but meeting much disobedience among his followers, decided to return to al-Fara', a day's trip southwest of al-Madīna. Three years later, he was again urgently invited and on 6 Ṣafar 284/15 March 897 entered Ṣa'da which became his capital and permanent base of operation. Shortly after his arrival, he issued his formal call (*da'wa*) for support as the *imām* and assumed the title *amir al-mu'minin* with the caliphal name al-Ḥādī ila 'l-Ḥakḡ.

After consolidating his control over the area of Ṣa'da, he extended his rule over Najrān in Djumādā II 284/July 897, where he concluded a special treaty with the large community of Dhimmīs. In the following year he conquered the towns of Khaywān and Athālit south of Ṣa'da. His efforts to gain possession of Ṣan'ā' were only temporarily successful. The town was voluntarily turned over to him by its ruler, Abu 'l-Atāhiya of the Āl Ṭarīf, who had already previously supported him, and he occupied it for the first time on 22 Muḥarram 288/19 January 901 and then pushed his conquests south as far as Dhamār and Dījayshān. The opposition of the Āl Yu'fir and the Āl Ṭarīf, who had been entrenched in these regions, was strong, and he quickly lost them again and definitely relinquished Ṣan'ā' in Djumādā II 289/May 902 in a state of severe illness. A year later, a new campaign to take the town ended in failure and the capture of his son Muḥammad by the enemy.

In Djumādā II 293/April 906 he again entered Ṣan'ā', invited by a coalition of Yamanī chiefs opposed to the Ḳarmaṭī leader 'Alī b. al-Faḡl. After a quarrel with As'ad b. Abī Yu'fir, he left voluntarily in Muḥarram 294/November 906, and the Ḳarmaṭīs took possession of the town. Only during a campaign of 'Alī b. al-Faḡl to Tihāma, an army of al-Ḥādī once more occupied Ṣan'ā' from 19 Rajab—12 Shawwāl 297/7 April—23 June 910. Also abortive was a campaign of al-Ḥādī to Tihāma, probably early in 293/autumn 905. Even his rule in northern Yaman was shaken by numerous tribal rebellions, especially in Najrān, where the Banu 'l-Hārith revolted on every occasion. In 296/908 they succeeded in killing his governor, and al-Ḥādī, already plagued by illness, was apparently unable to restore his rule over the province. His most loyal supporters were, besides members of his family and various other 'Alids, a small troop of "Ṭabarīs", i.e. Zaydī volunteers from Daylamān and Kalār who arrived in two groups in 285/898 and 289/902. He died on 19 Dhū 'l-Hijja 298/18 August 911. His tomb in the mosque of Ṣa'da became a place of pilgrimage for the Zaydīs.

Al-Ḥādī's doctrine in *fikh*, laid down chiefly in his unfinished *K. al-Ahkām* and the *K. al-Muntakhab* collected by his follower Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Kūfī, became authoritative among the Zaydīs in Yaman as well as part of the Caspian Zaydī community. It was based on the doctrine of his grandfather al-Ḳāsim b. Ibrāhīm, though in some points

al-Ḥādī adopted more strictly Shī'ī views, and was further elaborated, in Yaman, by al-Ḥādī's sons Muḥammad al-Murtaḡā (d. 310/922) and Aḡmad al-Nāṣir (d. 322/934), and, in the Caspian community, by the *imāms* al-Mu'ayyad bi'llāh (d. 411/1020) and Abū Ṭālib al-Nāṭīk (d. 424/1033). In his theological works, al-Ḥādī generally espoused the doctrine of the Mu'tazilī school of Baghdād rather than that of his grandfather. It is unlikely, however, that he ever was a student of Abū 'l-Ḳāsim al-Balkhī, the contemporary head of this school, as some late sources state. Concerning the imāmate, he took a radically Shī'ī position, sharply condemning Abū Bakr and 'Umar as usurpers.

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(W. MADELUNG)

HADJ [see ḤĀDJĪ].

ḤĀDJĪJĀM [see FAṢṢĀD, in Suppl.].

HĀDJĪ [see ḤĀDJĪJĀM].

ḤĀDJĪJĪ AL-DABĪR, sobriquet of 'ABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD B. SIRĀDJ AL-DĪN 'UMAR AL-NAHRWĀLĪ B. KAMĀL AL-DĪN MUḤAMMAD AL-MAKKĪ AL-'AṢAFĪ ULUGH KHĀNĪ, historian in Guḡjarāt under the Muzaḡfarid dynasty. He was born in Mecca in 946/1540, the son of a Guḡjarātī official who had been sent there in 941/1535 with the treasure of the Muzaḡfarid Bahādur Shāh Guḡjarātī [q.v.] and who returned to India in 962/1555, settling in Ahmadābād. In 965/1559 Ḥādjījī al-Dabīr entered the service of Muḥammad Ulugh Khān, a noble in the party of 'Imād al-Mulk, who opposed I'timād al-Mulk [see GUḡJARĀT]. After the invasion and conquest of Guḡjarāt by Akbar in 980/1572-3, his father was entrusted with the *wakḡfs* under the Mughal administration, and Ḥādjījī al-Dabīr himself with the duty of conveying the funds to Mecca and Medina. He lost this post, however, in 983/1576, the year of his father's death. Subsequently we find him in the employ of another Guḡjarātī noble, Sayf al-Mulūk, in Khāndesh, and finally in that of the Khāndesh noble Fūlād Khān, who died in 1014/1605.

This is the latest date mentioned in his Arabic chronicle, *Zaḡfar al-wāliḡ bi-muzaḡfar wa-āliḡ*, in two *daf-tars*: (1) an account of the Muzaḡfarids of Guḡjarāt and of the neighbouring rulers in Khāndesh and the Deccan, and (2) a general history of Muslim rule in northern India. Of the lost authorities he quotes, the most important is the *Ta'rikḡ* (or *Ṭabaḡāt*)-i Bahādurshāhī of Ḥusām Khān, which covered the period down to 940/1535. The date of composition of Ḥādjījī al-Dabīr's own work is problematical, since he mentions the *Mir'āt-i Sikandari*, which was presented to the world only in 1020/1611. Ross therefore hypothesised that he began to write in 1015/1606.

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(P. JACKSON)

HĀDJJĪ IBRĀHĪM KHĀN KALĀNTAR, Persian statesman, was the third son of Hādjijī Hāshim, the headman, or *kadkhudā-bāshī*, of the Haydarīkhāna quarters of Shīrāz in the reign of Nādir Shāh. His ancestors were said to have been converts to Islam from Judaism. One of them emigrated from Kāzwīn to Isfahān and is said to have married into the family of Hādjijī Qawām al-Dīn Shīrāzī. Hādjijī Maḥmūd 'Alī, Hādjijī Ibrāhīm's grandfather, was a wealthy merchant of Shīrāz. After the death of Mirzā Muḥammad, the *kalāntar* of Shīrāz in 1200/1786, Dja'far Khān Zand made Hādjijī Ibrāhīm *kalāntar* of Shīrāz, which office he continued to hold under Dja'far Khān's successor, Luṭf 'Alī Khān. He appears to have enjoyed a position of considerable influence in the city and among the tribal leaders and governors of the surrounding districts. Although his relations with Luṭf 'Alī Khān were disturbed by mutual suspicion already in 1204/1789-90, when Luṭf 'Alī set out to attack Isfahān in 1205/1790-1 he left Hādjijī Ibrāhīm in charge of affairs in Shīrāz. The latter seized the city during Luṭf 'Alī's absence. Disorders meanwhile broke out in Luṭf 'Alī's camp. He escaped and fled to Shīrāz, thinking that the city was still in his hands. After Hādjijī Ibrāhīm had refused him access, he retired to the south. Hādjijī Ibrāhīm sent an army after him, but this was defeated in Tangistān. Meanwhile, Hādjijī Ibrāhīm entered into negotiations with Ākā Muḥammad Khān Kādjar and was appointed *beglarbeg* or governor of Fārs. Zand resistance, however, continued and was not finally overcome until 1208/1794 [see KĀDJĀR].

In 1209/1794 Ākā Muḥammad Khān made Hādjijī Ibrāhīm *ṣadr-i a'zam*, in succession to Mirzā Shāfi' Māzandarāni, with the title I'timād al-Dawla, which office he held for seven years, first under Ākā Muḥammad Khān and then under Fath 'Alī Shāh. He appears to have been a competent administrator and virtually to have presided over every department of state. His brothers and sons also held governments. His power, however, aroused jealousy. His enemies persuaded Fath 'Alī Shāh that he was plotting to overthrow him, and on 1 Dhu 'l-Hijja 1215/15 April 1801 he was arrested in Tehran. Those of his relatives who held provincial governments were also seized. He was blinded and exiled to Kāzwīn, where he died, and his estates were confiscated. Only two of his sons, twins, 'Alī Ridā and 'Alī Akbar Kāwām al-Mulk (b. 1203/1788-9), survived.

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330 ff., 369-70; E. Scott Waring, *A tour to Sheeraz*, London 1807, 93-4. (A.K.S. LAMETON)

HĀDJIB.

i-v. — See Vol. iii.

vi. — IN MOROCCO.

This office, which existed already in the Almoḥad organisation, though with a very modest role, appears again under the Marīnids (J. Temporal, translator of Leo Africanus, calls the *ḥādjib* "chief of the menials", and A. Epaulard, another translator, makes him "a chamberlain", head of the "court attendants") and was still alive under the Sa'dids.

Under the 'Alawids, the *ḥādjib* was for long the most important official of the Sharifian palace. He was specifically designated as the intermediary between the sovereign and the high officials on the *Makhzan* [q.v.], and it was through him that they were given their orders and commissioned for missions. He kept the seal or stamp for fixing to all official documents emanating from the ruler, and he had under his command all the internal professional groups (*hinṭa*, pl. *hnāṭi*) of the palace servants, e.g. tapestry-weavers, cooks, etc. In the protocol list, the chief minister came after him, and he himself had the place immediately behind the ruler, whom he followed like a shadow. The office seemed so necessary that the pretender al-Hiba [q.v. in Suppl.], almost immediately when he was proclaimed sultan in the Sūs in 1912, nominated someone as his *ḥādjib*. The Hādjib Aḥmad b. Mūsā known as Bā Ḥmād [q.v. above] was remembered as a great man in Morocco at the end of the 19th century.

However, since the recovery of independence in 1956, the *ḥādjib* has lost his importance, and many of his responsibilities have passed into the hands of the Director of Protocol appointed by the Ministry of the Royal Palaces.

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HĀDRAMAWT

The opportunity is taken of prefixing to the main body of the article, on Ḥadramawt in the Islamic period, some important recent items of information on the region in the pre-Islamic time.

i. PRE-ISLAMIC PERIOD

In 1974 a French archaeological mission under the direction of J. Pirenne began work at Shabwa, which is still continuing. The most significant result has been the tracing of a very extensive town site to the north-east of the rectangular sacral enclosure which the earliest visitors had noted; included in this are some impressive ruins of what was probably the royal place, and there were large tracts of cultivated ground in the wadi.

In 1973 Muṭahhar al-Iryānī published a series of Sabaeen votive texts from Ma'rib which add much to



our knowledge of relations between Saba and Ḥaḍramawt. These were sometimes peaceful, as in the case when a Sabaeen mission was sent to Shabwa to take part in the festival of the Ḥaḍramite national deity (*Fī ta'rikh al-Yaman*, 184). At other times relations were hostile, and the most striking text of this kind (no. 13) shows that while the main Sabaeen and Ḥaḍramite armies were engaged in battle in the Wādī Bayhān, a small Sabaeen flying column, aimed at "rescuing" the queen of Ḥaḍramawt who was sister to the Sabaeen king, managed to capture the royal palace in Shabwa and hold out there for 15 days until relieved by the arrival of the main Sabaeen army after it had decisively defeated the Ḥaḍramite force; the king of Ḥaḍramawt was sent back as a prisoner to Ma'rib. Subsequently, the Sabaeen forces raided the port of Cane and destroyed a number of ships there—evidence that the later fame of the Ḥaḍramīs as seafarers goes back to early times.

In 1974-6 Garbini has plausibly argued that the view (up to then almost universally accepted) of the nature of the South Arabian pantheon is devoid of serious evidence in favour of it, and exposed to vital evidence contradicting it. Hence the reference in the earlier entry to "the astral triad of moon, sun and Venus-star", and the identification of the Ḥaḍramite national deity as a moon god, must be treated now as out-of-date. Garbini's re-evaluation of the Sabaeen national deity as essentially a Dionysiac vegetation deity, having also affinities with a Herakles figure and solar associations, must extend to the Ḥaḍramite deity as well.

Significant new facts are now available about the foundation of a Ḥaḍramite settlement on the coast east of Salāla; this Pirenne identifies as the classical Moscha.

This opportunity may also be taken of saying that the spelling of the name of the sand-desert between Ma'rib and Shabwa as Sab'atayn (a spelling deriving from Philby) seems to be mistaken; modern maps record it in the spelling Sab'atayn. It is what Yāqūt and other mediaeval Arab geographers call the Ṣayhad desert.

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ii. IN THE ISLAMIC PERIOD

In Islamic tradition, the name is derived either from the personal name Ḥaḍramawt b. Himyar, or from *hādīr mayyūt*, or some such expression.

The name is applied to the wādī, the area and the *ḥabīla* of South Arabia. The wādī runs roughly west-east along the 16° line about 48° 15' to 49° 15', at which point it becomes the Wādī al-Masīla, as it turns south-east and then due south to flow into the sea between Hayrīdī and Sayhūt on the Indian Ocean coast.

The area of Ḥaḍramawt begins in the west at a line drawn between Shabwa in the north to the sea at Mayfa' on the Wādī Ḥaḍjr and extends south of Wādī Ḥaḍramawt as far as Wādī al-Masīla in the east. The

main towns of the area, which covers the territories of the pre-independence Ku'ayfi and Kathīrī sultanates and now falls within the fourth and fifth governorates of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, are, in the north and along the Wādī, Shabwa, Hurayḍa, Shibām, Say'ūn, Tarīm, 'Ināt [*q.v.* below] and Kabr Hūd. The chief southern coastal towns are al-Mukallā, al-Shīhr (though see below, on history) and Ghayl Bā Wazīr. Ḥaḍramawt is thus bounded by the sea in the south, Mahra country, the sixth governorate, in the east, the desert, the Empty Quarter, in the north and the western half of the fourth governorate in the west.

The tribal group named Ḥaḍramawt is supposed to inhabit the east and central areas of the Wādī itself, Shibām being described as the beginning of its territory. Its members are descended through Saba' al-Aṣghar from Hīmyar.

1. History.

It is difficult to build up a comprehensive picture of the early and mediaeval history of Ḥaḍramawt. This is due to the relative inaccessibility and lack of exploitation of local Ḥaḍramī chronicles, still with few exceptions in manuscript, and to the extremely cursory treatment of the area in the Yemenī histories, in which Ḥaḍramawt appears only as a distant province of the Yemen.

First contacts with Islam were made directly with the Prophet, rather than through the Yemen, however, and there was correspondence between him and the local Kinda leaders of Ḥaḍramawt, resulting in the visit of al-Ash'ath b. Kaṣ (or perhaps Wā'il b. Ḥaḍjr) to Medina. There he was well received by the Prophet, who acceded to his request and appointed Ziyād b. Labīd al-Anṣārī as ruler of Ḥaḍramawt. The latter remained there until after the Prophet's death. There can be no doubt that the conversion of the Ḥaḍramīs to Islam was not carried out as simply and as speedily as the Muslim sources insist, and the role of Ziyād and his successors in the area must have been more one of religious propagandist than of political leader. Indeed, Ḥaḍramawt, like the Yemen with its appallingly difficult problems of communication, must have entered the Islamic fold very gradually over an extended period of time.

The Prophet, the Orthodox, Umayyad and 'Abbāsīd caliphs until the 3rd/9th century, all appointed governors to Ṣan'ā', al-Djanad and Ḥaḍramawt. It is clear that the governor of the first always reported directly to the seat of Islamic government and that occasionally the latter two did also. For the most part, however, the governor of Ḥaḍramawt was merely a junior assistant of the governor of Ṣan'ā', and thus Ḥaḍramawt became a province (*mikhlaḥ*) of the Yemen. It should be mentioned at this juncture that al-Shīhr, perhaps because of the independence of strong local rulers, during the early and mediaeval periods invariably figures as a separate political entity, not part of Ḥaḍramawt at all and always mentioned alongside it. Probably due to the steady exodus of many prominent Ḥaḍramīs from their native land to other parts of the empire during the Orthodox caliphate, the area sank into relative obscurity in the Umayyad and 'Abbāsīd eras.

The year 130/747 saw the introduction into Ḥaḍramawt of Ibādī doctrines by Abū Ḥamza al-Mukhtār b. 'Awf al-Azdī al-Ḥarūrī, a close follower of 'Abd Allāh b. Ibād, from whom the Ibādiyya derived its name, and a Ḥaḍramī, 'Abd Allāh b. Yahyā al-Kindī. Khāridjī ideas had in fact penetrated Ḥaḍramawt as early as 66/685, when a party of



Naḡdiyya, the followers of Naḡḡa b. 'Āmir al-Ḥanaṭī, arrived. It is possible therefore that the area was still receptive to Ibādī ideas in the 2nd/8th century. Al-Mukhtār b. 'Awf was a native of Baṣra and met 'Abd Allāh b. Yahyā during the pilgrimage of 128/745. He was persuaded to return to Ḥaḍramawt with 'Abd Allāh two years later. To what extent the Ibādīyya managed to control Ḥaḍramawt is not at all clear, though al-Mas'ūdī, writing of the position in 332/943, states that they were predominant in the area and that there was no difference between them and the Ibādīs of 'Umān. Certainly, the final blow to the movement in Ḥaḍramawt did not come until the intervention from the Yemen of the Ṣulayhids, staunchly Shī'ī and maintaining close ties with Fāṭimid Egypt, in the mid-5th/11th century.

It is evident that the Ibādīyya did not exercise political control over the entire area of Ḥaḍramawt, however. The Banū Ziyād, originally 'Abbāsīd representatives in the Yemen in the early 3rd/9th century, operating from their headquarters in Zabīd, conquered Tihāma and ruled independently. They then for some unknown reason became involved in Ḥaḍramawt also. The founder of the dynasty himself, Muḥammad b. Ziyād, had been appointed governor of the Yemen by the 'Abbāsīd caliph al-Ma'mūn. It was he who brought about Ziyādīd rule in Ḥaḍramawt, rule which was to continue after his death in 245/859 until after the fall of the Ziyādīds in 407/1016.

In fact, Ḥaḍramawt fell into Ṣulayhid hands after their capture of Aden in 454/1062. Aden, Laḥḍj, Abyan, al-Shīhr and Ḥaḍramawt were all at the time in the hands of the Banū Ma'n, the little-known descendants of Ma'n b. Zā'ida [q.v.], who were at first left to administer the territories on behalf of their conquerors. In 473/1080, however, after the Ma'nīds' refusal to pay the agreed *kharāj* to the Ṣulayhids, the latter installed their Shī'ī protégés, the Banū Zuray', to run the affairs of the area, including Ḥaḍramawt, on their behalf. Thus the situation remained until after the entry of the Ayyūbids into the Yemen in 569/1171.

It is difficult at this stage to work out the exact chronology of events in Ḥaḍramawt. Certainly, with Ṣulayhid control of Ḥaḍramawt through their clients, the Zuray'ids, lost, three powerful local dynasties appeared on the scene. Centred on Tarīm, the Banū Kaḥṭān took over much of the area, while the remainder fell to the Banu 'l-Da'ār in Shībām and the Āl Ikbāl on the coast in al-Shīhr. The greater part of Ḥaḍramawt was taken by 'Uṭmān al-Zandjīlī, the Ayyūbid *nā'ib*, in 576/1180 after the departure for the north of the first Ayyūbid ruler, Tūrān-Shāh b. Ayyūb, however, though pockets of local rule continued into the 10th/16th century, for the Ayyūbids were never in a position to pay much attention to Ḥaḍramawt; the demands of the troubled local situation on the Ayyūbid administration in the Yemen proper were too great to allow the luxury of firm control there. Other local dynasties followed: the Āl Yamānī, for example, from 621/1224 in Tarīm, surviving into the 10th/16th century.

The Ayyūbids' efforts in pacifying almost the whole of the Yemen proper and in putting an end to all local dynasties, with the exception of the Zaydīs north of Ṣan'ā', ensured for their successors, the Rasūlids, a peaceful and stable country. The brilliant Rasūlid administration, which had assumed power through bloodless change, was not only able to consolidate the efforts of their erstwhile masters, the Ayyūbids, but was also able to think of eastwards

expansion and the recapture of Ḥaḍramawt, in any case a province of the Yemen. There was, therefore, considerable Rasūlid activity along the south coast, even during the reign of the first sultan, al-Malik al-Manṣūr 'Umar who died in 647/1249. During that of his son and successor, al-Muẓaffar Yūsuf, who died in 694/1295, Rasūlid power was first implanted as far along the coast as the port of Ḍafār, which under the Rasūlids marked the eastern limit of their control.

Possibly the only, and certainly the greatest challenge to Rasūlid authority in Ḥaḍramawt was that of the Ḥabūḍīs. Though originally from Ḥabūḍa in Ḥaḍramawt, the dynasty was founded in Ḍafār by Muḥammad b. Aḥmad (d. 620/1223). The family continued on the coast through Aḥmad b. Muḥammad (d. 628/1230) and Idrīs b. Aḥmad (d. 670/1271). The latter's son, Sālim b. Idrīs, seized the opportunity to take Ḥaḍramawt in 673/1274. Despite the cries of help to the Rasūlids from the local population in Ḥaḍramawt, it took the plundering by the Ḥabūḍīs of a Rasūlid ship off Ḍafār and the Ḥabūḍīs' urging the Rasūlid vassals of al-Shīhr to cast off their allegiance to their masters to bring the latter with all speed eastwards from their Yemenī capital, Ta'izz. Ḍafār was recaptured and Ḥaḍramawt recovered. The Ḥabūḍī house was destroyed.

It was the Ṭāhirīds who succeeded in the mid-9th/15th century to most of the territories held by the Rasūlids, particularly those in the south and east, though they were never strong in the Yemen north of Ta'izz. Although much less is known of this dynasty than of the Rasūlids, their predecessors, it is possible to assert that Ḥaḍramawt for a time came under their control. By the latter half of the 9th/15th century, however, the Kaṭhīrīs, a tribal group originating from Ḍafār, had taken over some of the interior of the country. They also controlled al-Shīhr which they had at first held for the Ṭāhirīds. Possibly as early as the beginning of the 10th/16th century, a new political force was introduced into the area, for with the Kaṭhīrīs quarrelling among themselves, one faction brought into Ḥaḍramawt to assist it a group of Yāfi'īs, a large tribal unit inhabiting the area to the north-east of Aden. Yāfi'ī influence lingered on after this dispute, particularly in the seaports of al-Mukallā and al-Shīhr. From now on down to the 20th century, the political history of Ḥaḍramawt is nothing more than the chronicle of disputes between the Kaṭhīrīs and at least two Yāfi'ī tribal factions, though of course from the early 10th/16th century both the infidel Portuguese and the Turks had shown an interest in the seaports along the South Arabian coast and had at times attacked and even occupied them.

In the 20th century, under the British Protectorate Ḥaḍramawt was divided between the Kaṭhīrī sultanate with its capital in Say'ūn and the Ku'ayṭī sultanate, originally a Yāfi'ī tribal group, centered on al-Mukallā. Both sultanates were thus part of the Eastern Aden Protectorate until the independence of the whole of South Arabia in 1967.

2. Social organisation.

In general terms Ḥaḍramī society can be divided into four classes: the *sayyids*, the *mashāyikh*, the *ḡabā'il* (tribesmen) and the *masākin* or *du'afā'* ("poor").

It is interesting to note that the pre-Islamic South Arabian inscriptions refer to an aristocratic group of *musawwads*, a word used to this day in Ḥaḍramawt to denote the *sayyids*. The latter are the descendants of the Prophet, while the *mashāyikh* are



those noble families with the right to the hereditary title of *shaykh*, a word denoting class distinction, not a tribal chief. The *sayyids* reached Hadramawt in the early 6th/12th century, where they found many scholars, particularly in Tarīm and mainly of the *mashāyikh* class. Petty jealousies and quarrels between the *sayyids* and *mashāyikh* have continued from the time of the arrival of the former in Hadramawt, though these have never prevented the transmission of knowledge and learning between the two social strata. By the close of the 6th/12th century only the 'Alawī group of *sayyids* remained to give their name to them—the 'Alawī *sayyids*.

In an area of constant warfare and hostilities, the institution of the neutral territory was essential. Thus in Hadramawt the *hawta* [q.v.] came into being at an early date. A saint in his own life-time would demarcate the area of the *hawta* and arrange for the agreement of the tribes and, if necessary, the authorities in the area, that a particular *hawta* should remain inviolate and under the control of a *mansab*. Before the arrival of the *sayyids* in Hadramawt, the *hawtas* were in the hands of the *mashāyikh*. It was only then that the *sayyid hawtas* were gradually established, leading to the general decline of the *mashāyikh* ones.

3. Geography.

Hadramawt is a hot and, with the exclusion of the coastal strip, dry land. The coastal plain is naturally extremely humid, as well as hot. Again if one excludes the coastal areas, it is mountainous too, and this, together with the extremely low rainfall throughout the area, means that very little of the total can be made over to agriculture, the chief industry. Dates have traditionally formed the main crop, though in more recent times cotton has been an important commodity also. Local grain crops include maize and oats. Tobacco is also found in places. Agriculture is watered either by the perennial flow of water in the wādīs (*ghayl*) or by wells.

4. The people.

The inhabitants of Hadramawt are Shāfi'ī Sunnīs. As is not surprising in such a poor area, they have always been prepared to travel abroad in search of earning their livelihood. Many travelled to the East Indies, in particular to Java, and their financial gains remitted home have always been the mainstay of the local economy.

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(G.R. SMITH)

iii. LANGUAGE AND DIALECT

The chief language of Hadramawt is, of course, Arabic. Until the most recent times, however, the literary Arabic of most regions of Arabia would include some non-literary vocabulary. These items were for the most part technical words of various trades and professions and, indeed, even at the present day there are often no literary equivalents for such technical words and expressions, except in the domain of commerce. Landberg and Serjeant have well documented the technical vocabulary of such trades as fishing and building. Some dictionaries of Classical Arabic, such as the *Taḍj al-'arūs* and Nashwān's *Shams al-'ulūm* give southern Arabian terms not appearing in the earlier lexical sources.

The Hadramī dialect does, however, have a limited literary application in various genres of popular poetry. This dialect is in any case fairly close in phonology, morphology and syntax to literary (that is to say modern Classical) Arabic. This poetry has been difficult to record in the past, though Serjeant made a most useful collection, because it is often of such a satirical or personal nature that the poet would prefer its circulation to be circumscribed. It may be, nevertheless, that this kind of poetry will find its way increasingly into print, in much the same way as *nabaṭī* poetry is now widely printed and read in northern Arabia.

The Mahra [q.v.] make up a considerable linguistic minority in Hadramawt, in that part adjoining Dhofar (Zafār), and it is undoubtedly true that Mahrī [q.v.] or an earlier form of this Semitic language was the principal language of the whole or most of the South, though even in pre-Islamic times Arabic would seem to have been an important language for the composition of formal works such as poetry.

The Mahrī of Hadramawt is fairly well-documented in the publications of the Austrian South Arabian Expedition, which are, to all intents and purposes, confined to this dialect of Mahrī. The Hadramī dialect of Mahrī is less conservative than that of Dhofar and a good deal more penetrated by Arabic. Indeed, many Mahra in Hadramawt now speak only Arabic, and this is particularly true of the settled elements. In Dhofar, on the contrary, many Mahra have adopted Ḍjibbālī (or Ṣherī), the language of the mountain area.

Most of the dialects of Mahrī, or languages closely related to it, are spoken in Dhofar, but there is in Hadramawt, close to the border, a language spoken, namely Hōbyōt, whose existence has not previously been reported. On the basis of the little information available, Hōbyōt seems to be a Mahrī dialect with a considerable intermixture of Ḍjibbālī. Another hitherto unreported language or dialect spoken not far over the Dhofar border, called Whēbyōt, may in fact be the same as Hōbyōt, with perhaps a greater admixture of Ḍjibbālī.

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in *SBIAW* (1909-15); A. Jahn, *Grammatik der Mehri-Sprache in SüdArabien*, Vienna 1905; E. Wagner gives a useful bibliography for Southern Mahrī in his *Syntax der Mehri-Sprache*, Berlin 1953.

(T.M. JOHNSTONE)

HĀFİZ TANİSH B. MİR MUḤAMMAD AL-BUKHĀRĪ, with the poetical name Nakhli, historian of 'Abd Allāh Khān [q.v.], the Shaybānīd ruler of Bukhārā.

His father was close to 'Ubayd Allāh Khān (940-6/1533-40). Hāfiz Tanīsh mentions in his historical work that he began to write it, being 36 years old, when 'Abd Allāh Khān established his rule over Transoxania and made Bukhārā his capital. It was believed for a long time (including by the present author) that he means the official accession to the throne of 'Abd Allāh Khān, which took place in 991/1583, and therefore the date of his birth was supposed to be 956/1549 (36 years before the date of the beginning of his work, cf. below). However, Hāfiz Tanīsh mentions also that he wrote a *kaṣīda* on the accession to the throne of Iskandar Khān, the father of 'Abd Allāh Khān (968/1560), which must place the date of his birth much earlier—probably, in the 1530s or even 1520s. In that case, Hāfiz Tanīsh may have meant by the establishment of the rule of 'Abd Allāh Khān over Transoxania the capture of Bukhārā (964/1557), or the accession of Iskandar Khān (under whom 'Abd Allāh was the actual ruler), or the capture of Samarkand (986/1578). Hasan Nithārī in his anthology *Mudhakkir al-ahbāb*, written in 974/1566-7 (see Storey, 802, no. 1102), mentions a poet Nakhli among those poets who had not yet reached an advanced age and lived in Bukhārā (MS. of the Leningrad Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, B-4020, ff. 126-7); this person may very probably be Hāfiz Tanīsh.

He began to write probably his Persian history of 'Abd Allāh Khān in the 1570s or 1560s; it was known already in 993/1585, when his contemporary Mīr Sayyid Muḥammad praised it in his *Adhkār al-azkiyā* (see B. Ahmedov and K. Munirov, *Hāfiz Tanīsh Bukhārī* [in Uzbek], Tashkent 1963, 55). After 'Abd Allāh Khān had been proclaimed the supreme khān of all the Uzbeks (991/1583), Hāfiz Tanīsh was introduced to his court by the historian's patron, an influential *amīr* Kul-Bābā Kōkāltāsh, and became an official historiographer, usually also accompanying the khān in his numerous military campaigns. In 992/1584 he began to re-write his history according to a new plan, and gave it the title *Sharaf-nāma-yi Shāhī* (a chronogram = the date 992); both in Central Asian historiography and in modern scholarly literature it became known also as the *'Abd Allāh-nāma*. According to the initial plan of this second version, as laid down in author's preface, it was to be divided into a *muqaddima* (the genealogy of 'Abd Allāh Khān and a short history of the Djučids and the Shaybānīds, his predecessors); two *makālas* (1) from 'Abd Allāh Khān's birth in 940/1533 to his accession and (2) from his accession onwards; and a *khātima* (on the outstanding qualities of the khān, the famous people of his reign, his buildings, etc.). The first *makāla* was apparently finished not earlier than 995/1586-7 (mentioned as the current date in the text) and before 998/1589-90 (mentioned as the current date in the preface to the second *makāla*, found only in one of the existing manuscripts). He carried his work up to 997/1588-9 (the date of the last event which he mentioned, the conquest of Harāt by the Uzbeks), but then the plan of the work was changed, and Hāfiz Tanīsh included the whole material in the first *makāla*. The *khātima*,

absent in all existing manuscripts, was most probably not written at all. It is not known when the author finished the work in its existing form.

The *Sharaf-nāma-yi Shāhī* is based mainly on personal observations of the author, reports of other eye-witnesses and official documents. In his *muqaddima*, Hāfiz Tanīsh used various literary sources, which he partially named, as well as oral tradition. The work is written in ornate prose, with extensive use of *sadī* and numerous verses (their total number is 4,760), both by Tanīsh himself and other poets. The main deficiency of the work, besides its pompous style, is the frequent absence of precise dates. Nevertheless, it is one of the major works of Central Asian historiography and the most important historical source for the Shaybānī period.

The further career of Hāfiz Tanīsh is not clear. Nothing is known about his life in the last several years of the reign of 'Abd Allāh Khān, nor during the short reign of his son 'Abd al-Mu'min. Some sources mention a poet with the same poetical name of Nakhli at the court of the Ashtarkhānīd Imām-Kulī Khān (1020-51/1611-42) (see *Tadhkira-yi Tāhīr-i Naṣrābādī*, Tehran 1316-17/1937-8, 435; *Tadhkira-yi Mukīm-Khānī* by Muḥammad Yūsuf Munshī, Russian tr. by A.A. Semenov, 83, 90); according to Naṣrābādī, after the death of Imām-Kulī Khān (1054/1644-5) this Nakhli went to Balkh, where he died. Two manuscripts of the *diwān* of Nakhli are preserved in Tashkent and Dushanbe; one of the *kaṣīdas* in this *diwān* is dated 1045/1635-6. If this Nakhli is identical with Hāfiz Tanīsh, it must mean that the latter was still active at an age of about 100 or more. Even more doubts are thrown upon this identification by the fact that none of the poems belonging to Hāfiz Tanīsh and cited in *Sharaf-nāma-yi Shāhī* is included in the *diwān* of Nakhli. Some scholars, nevertheless, accept the identification without reservations.

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(YU. BREGEL)

HAGIOGRAPHY [see MANĀKIB].

HAIFA [see HAYFĀ].

ḤĀ'IK (A.), pl. *hāka*, also *hayyāk* (synonym, *nassāḍī*), weaver. Given the supreme importance of textiles in mediaeval Islamic life and economy [see e.g. HARIR and BISĀT in Suppl.], the class of weavers was probably the most numerous and certainly one of the most important groups of artisans. The weavers of Damascus, Baghdād, Egypt, the Yemen, and a host of other towns throughout the Islamic



world wove fabrics ranging from the coarse and workaday types to the finest and most delicate (cf. R.B. Serjeant, *Islamic textiles, material for a history up to the Mongol conquest*, Beirut 1972, *passim*). Especially highly-skilled workers were to be found in the *ṭirāz* [q.v.] factories producing for the court and for the state during the Umayyad, 'Abbāsid and Fātimid periods, and these were probably somewhat better-paid than the mass of textile workers. The overwhelming majority of these last worked in their own homes for dealers or middlemen or in small workshops situated in the markets of cloth merchants. On the whole, the weavers were, as in the ancient and classical societies of the Near East, an exploited and ill-paid class, working in vile conditions, and this fact no doubt contributed to their image in mediaeval Islamic times as a turbulent and socially-volatile group, easily swayed by heterodox religious and political doctrines; one recalls the similar image of weavers in mediaeval France, Flanders and England, when in the first two regions at least, *tisserand* was at times almost synonymous with "heretic". Certainly, at the beginning of the 3rd/9th century, the Coptic weavers of the Nile delta in Egypt earned only half-a-*dirham* per day, "insufficient for the bread of their mouths", as they complained to the Patriarch Dionysios of Tell-Mahrē (see Mez, *Renaissance*, 433-4, Eng. tr. 461).

The materials used included cotton, wool, linen and silk. Some jurists recommended that a weaver should not weave silken cloth, which is forbidden for men's wear. The legality of whether a cloth should be woven in silk mixed with other material forms the subject of juristic discussion. If the warp of the fabric (*sadā*) is *ibrisim* and its weft (*luḥma*) is *kuṭn* or *khazz* (floss silk), it was permissible (cf. Ibn Ṭulūn, *Nakd al-ṭālib*, Chester Beatty Ms. 3317, fol. 50). Weaving was carried on by men as well as women, but spinning was done by womenfolk only.

In mediaeval Islamic times, opinion was in general condemnatory of the manners and habits of the weavers. Typical anti-*hā'ik* opinions are as follows: "The most silly persons are the weavers"; "When a weaver is asleep, he is worthless and harmful; when he is awake, his companionship brings disgrace"; "The intelligence of a woman is equal to that of seventy weavers"; and the like. According to a legend, told by many Arab and Syriac writers, Jesus' mother Mary (*Maryam*) once lost her way in search of her son and she asked the weaver to guide her to the Sepulchre; but the *hā'ik* misguided her; she then asked a tailor (*khayyāl*), who showed her the right path. Thereupon Mary cursed the weaver but blessed the tailor. This is why the weaver is alleged to be damned for ever. This legend served as the basis for prejudice against weavers. Arab sentiment about the weavers is further epitomised in Ḍjāhiz's words, "The weavers in every age and in every country possess in equal measure foibles such as short temper, stupidity, ignorance and iniquity."

In Islamic tradition literature (*ḥadīth*), the trade of the *hā'ik* is often linked with other noisome and unpleasant callings, sc. those of the copper [see *Ḥaṣṣād* in Suppl.], the tanner [see *Ḥabbāḡ* in Suppl.] and the sweeper. This condemnation was noted by Goldziher, who pointed out that the *textor* in Roman times was despised, and that in the early Islamic period, many of the weavers, both male and female, were slaves (*Die Handwerke bei den Arabern*, in *Globus*, lxxvi [1894], 205 = *Gesammelte Schriften*, iii, Hildesheim 1969, 318). R. Brunschvig subjected the low status of the weaver to a detailed examination in

his *Métiers vils en Islam*, in *SI*, xvi (1962), 50 ff. He demonstrated that this could not be from the unpleasant and polluting nature of the trade, as with tanning and sweeping, but must rather have arisen on religious grounds, from the many traditions in circulation, attributed to 'Alī and to other prominent dignitaries of early Islam, condemning weavers as the offspring of Satan (cf. also the story of Mary and the *hā'ik*, above). However, the gradual spiritualisation of Islamic society by the 'Abbāsid period, the notion of the equality of all believers, and the evident high economic value of the textile trade, did eventually contribute to an amelioration of attitudes towards weavers.

Thus Islamic society adopted paradoxical attitudes towards the weaver and his craft. The weaver is despised, but weaving (*ḥiyāka*) as a handicraft is praised. Ibn Kutayba, Tha'ālibī, and Bayhaqī include *ḥiyāka* in a list of the crafts of the nobility (*sinā'āt al-aṣhrāf*), and Ibn Taymiyya, Ibn Ṭulūn and other scholars uphold the theory that weaving is one of the obligatory duties of the collective body of the Muslims (*farḍ kifāya* [see *FARḌ*]). Ghazālī and al-Lubūdī say that weaving is a highly beneficial and indispensable craft. "Weaving and tailoring are two essential crafts in civilisation, because humanity is in need of them for comfort", argued Ibn Khaldūn also. In spite of these pronouncements on the importance of weaving, public invectives against the weavers persisted in traditional Islamic societies.

The legal status of weavers and other despised professions was weak, and there was discussion over their *'adāla*, their probity and their admissibility as bearers of legal testimony (*shahāda*) in courts of law [see *'ADL*]. The attitudes of the law schools varied somewhat. The Hanafīs were inclined to admit the *'adāla* of the despised trades, if their practitioners displayed superior religious and moral qualities; the Mālikīs were the most rigorous, only admitting it where necessity had compelled adoption of the trade in question; the Shāfi'is and Hanbalīs took up intermediate positions. The Imāmī Shī'ī attitude was more liberal than the Sunnī one on matters like *'adāla* and on the doctrine of *kafā'a* [q.v.], comparability of status in marriage. Social restraints notwithstanding, early Islamic civilisation produced learned men among sons of weavers, e.g., Abū Hamza Maḍjma' b. Sam'an al-Hā'ik, an Islamic traditionist, and Ibn al-Hā'ik, the author of *Kitāb Ḍjāzirat al-'Arab*.

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(M.A.J. BEG)

ḤĀ'IRI, SHAYKH 'ABD AL-KARIM YAZDĪ (1859-1937), a Persian religious leader with whom the history of the Shī'ī clergy entered a new phase.

After preliminary education in Ardakān and Yazd, Ḥā'irī left for 'Irāk in 1877 and studied mainly under Sayyid Muḡammad Fiḡhārakī (d. 1898) in Samarrā' and Nadjaf. In 1900, upon the invitation of his colleague, Sayyid Muḡtaḡā and the latter's father Ḥāḡḡḡjī Ākā Muḡsin, Ḥā'irī moved to Arāk (Iran) and established the Arāk Circle for Religious Studies. Ḥā'irī argued that politics in the Muslim world were being controlled by Western powers and were consequently hostile to Islam. In order to prevent the extinction of Islam, therefore, a responsible religious leader must not interfere in politics. This type of approach by Ḥā'irī to politics, which was pursued throughout his life, began to be noticed in Arāk and resulted in his departure from that city, where his host, Ḥāḡḡḡjī Ākā Muḡsin, was fighting against the Persian Constitutional Revolution of 1906 (Ahmad Kasravī, *Tārīkh-i Maḡhrūta-yi Irān*, Tehran 1951, 281-5, 409) and naturally expected Ḥā'irī's cooperation. Ḥā'irī then went to Nadjaf, but he found it also seriously involved in the Persian Revolution; therefore he moved to Karbalā where he limited himself to religious activities, including teaching *fikh* and *uṡūl*. Ḥā'irī again moved to Arāk and lived there 1913-22, during which time he enjoyed a large body of disciples.

Meanwhile, in 1920, because of the death of two great *mudjtahids*, Mirzā Muḡammad Takī Shīrāzī and Shaykh al-Sharī'a Iṡfahānī, the office of *marḡā'a-i taklīd* was divided among Sayyid Abu 'l-Ḥasan Iṡfahānī and Mirzā Muḡammad Ḥusayn Nā'īnī in Nadjaf and Ḥā'irī in Iran. By then, Ḥā'irī's apolitical character was widely known, and turned out to play a role not only in his own life but also in the fate of the clerical world of the Shī'a. To see this role, one must keep in mind that the British, having a variety of interests in the Shī'ī world, had faced many difficulties caused by the Shī'ī 'ulamā' of 'Irāk, such as their involvement in the Persian Revolution, their declaration of *djihad* in World War I, and their struggle for the independence of 'Irāk in 1919-22. After the imposition of the British mandatory rule in 'Irāk in 1920, efforts were made to curtail the influence of the 'ulamā'. This policy resulted, among other things, in the banishment in 1923 of Nā'īnī, Iṡfahānī, Shaykh Mahdī Khālīshī and many other 'ulamā', which injured the prestige and centrality of the Shī'ī institution of 'Irāk.

In the meantime, we see Ḥā'irī receiving particular attention in Iran. Upon the invitation of the notables of Kum, Ḥā'irī, in March 1922, went to Kum to establish the Circle for Religious Studies of that city, where he received a warm reception; the then monarch, Ahmad Shāh, personally went to Kum to greet him. Through Ḥā'irī's efforts, the attention of the Shī'a was directed to the Kum Circle; solutions for religious problems were sought in Kum and the students of religion, whose number at a time exceeded 1,000, found Kum a convenient alternative to Nadjaf and Karbalā. The latter development bore fruits favourable to the British policy in the area; the clerical institution of 'Irāk was partially transferred

to Iran, whose then strongest man, the Sardār Sipah (later Ridā Shāh), was in fact to curtail it; there was created in Iran a strong religious base which would by its nature weaken the young Persian Communist movement; and finally (perhaps the most important of all), clerical leadership came in part to the hands of Ḥā'irī who, unlike his Nadjaf colleagues, would not intervene in politics. Ḥā'irī only once was drawn into these: in 1924 the Sardār Sipah attempted a republican form of government which gave rise to a popular uprising and involved the clergy, including the banished 'ulamā' then residing in Kum. On this subject, meetings were held by the 'ulamā' of the exodus and chaired by Ḥā'irī in Kum (F.O. 416/74, 26 March 1924, no. 126) and finally, to terminate the confusion, Ḥā'irī and other 'ulamā' were urged to declare that they requested the Sardār Sipah to dispense with republicanism. In other cases, however, Ḥā'irī rejected politics; he did not fully identify his position with that of the 'ulamā' of the exodus. Measures taken by Ridā Shāh aroused clerical opposition led by Ḥāḡḡḡjī Ākā Nūr Allāh Iṡfahānī in 1927 and Ḥāḡḡḡjī Ākā Ḥusayn Ḳummī in 1935, to neither of which Ḥā'irī gave a noticeable response. Even the Circle founded by Ḥā'irī became the target of governmental pressures, to the extent that his special assistant, Shaykh Muḡammad Takī Bāfḡī, was arrested in 1927 (Muḡammad Rāzī, *Risālat al-Takwā wa-mā adrāka mā al-takwā: Sharḡ-i ḡāl-i Shaykh Muḡammad Takī Bāfḡī*, Tehran 1948), but no reaction was elicited from Ḥā'irī.

Ḥā'irī's biographers give him credit for his type of approach to politics at that specific period: "he protected religion in the light of his patience, prudence, and wisdom" (Āḡhā Buzurg Tīhrānī, *Ṭabaḡāt al'lām al-Shī'a*, i/3 Tehran 1962, 1161-4). These pressures, however, did not preclude Ḥā'irī from undertaking with great interest cultural activities such as establishing a library, hospital, religious schools, public cemetery and mortuary, housing for the poor, and so on. It is interesting to note that he trained many disciples who later on became religious leaders, some of whom, unlike Ḥā'irī, undertook political activities; Āyat Allāh Sayyid Rūḡ Allāh Mūsawī Khumaynī, who was living in exile in Paris until his return to Iran in January 1979, may be mentioned as the best-known example.

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(ABDUL-HADI HAIRI)

HAKARĪ [see HAKKĀRĪ].

AL-HĀKIM AL-DJUSHAMĪ, ABŪ SA'D AL-MUḤSIN B. MUḤAMMAD B. KARĀMA AL-BAYHAKĪ AL-BARAWKANĪ, Mu'tazilī, later Zaydī, scholar, was born in Ramadān 413/December 1022 in Djusham (Persian: Dīshum), a village in the region of Bayhak. According to Ibn Funduk, he was a descendant of Muḥammad b. al-Hanafiyya, but the family was not known by the *nisba* of al-'Alawī. His first teacher was Abū Ḥamid Ahmad b. Muḥammad al-Nadjdār, a student of the Mu'tazilī *kādī* 'Abd al-Djabbār, who taught him Mu'tazilī theology, *uṣūl al-fikh*, and *hadīth*. After Abū Ḥamid's death in 433/1041-2, he continued his studies with Abū 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. 'Abd Allāh (d. 457/1067), a student of the Zaydī *imām* Abū Ṭālib al-Nāṣik, in Bayhak. He also studied and taught in Naysābūr, where he read Hanafī *fikh* works with the famous Hanafī scholar Abū Muḥammad al-Nāshihī, *kādī al-kudāt* of Bukhārā, in 434-6/1043-5. Other well-known scholars whom he heard in Naysābūr were the *amīr* Abū 'l-Faḍl al-Mikālī, Abū 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Sulamī, and 'Abd al-Ghāfir al-Fārisī. Later he taught in the mosque of his native village Djusham, where he read the sixty lectures contained in his *K. Djalā' al-absār*, in the years 478-81/1086-8. Among his students was Ahmad b. Muḥammad b. Ishāk al-Kh'ārazmī, the teacher of al-Zamakhsḥarī. He died in Mecca in Rajab 484/May 1101, allegedly killed by religious opponents because he had written a fictitious "Epistle of the devil to his fatalist brethren" (*Risālat Iblīs ilā ikhwānihi al-muḍḍibīra*) and because he publicly propagated Zaydī doctrine.

During most of his life, al-Hākim al-Djushamī actively supported the Mu'tazilī theology of the school of 'Abd al-Djabbār and adhered to the Hanafī school of *fikh*. Though expressing philo-'Alid sentiments and recognising the imamate of the Zaydī *imāms*, he did so on the basis of Mu'tazilī doctrine on the imamate, and equally espoused the legitimacy of the imamate of Abū Bakr, 'Umar and 'Uthmān. Only late in his life does he appear to have completely turned to Zaydism and to have written works on the Zaydī doctrine of the imamate and on Zaydī *fikh*.

He is said to have composed 42 books, several of them in Persian. Many of his writings were brought to the Yaman, where they gained high esteem among the Zaydī scholars, who frequently referred to the author merely as al-Hākim. His extant *Qur'ān* commentary *al-Tahdhīb*, in nine volumes, supports Mu'tazilī doctrine more consistently than al-Zamakhsḥarī's *al-Kashshāf* and contains numerous quotations from earlier, lost Mu'tazilī commentaries. It was later twice abridged. His continuation of 'Abd al-Djabbār's *Tabakāt al-Mu'tazila*, contained in his *Sharh al-'uyūn*, has been edited (by Fu'ād Sayyid, *Faḍl al-iṭizāl wa-ṭabakāt al-Mu'tazila*, Tunis 1393/1974, 365-93). His *K. Djalā' al-absār*, a collection of wide-ranging lectures and narrations, was quoted by Ibn Isfandiyyār for its reports on the Caspian 'Alids (see *Ta'rīkh-i Tabaristān*, ed. 'Abbās Iḳbāl, Tehran [1320/1942], i, 101).

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(W. MADELUNG)

HĀL (pl. *aḥwāl*; *hāl* is normally fem. but often in Ash'arī texts is taken as masc.; the form *hāla* is occasionally found in both Mu'tazilī and Ash'arī sources), a technical term of philosophy employed by some of the Baṣran *mutakallimūn* of the 4th/10th century and the 5th/11th one to signify certain "attributes" that are predicated of beings. The term was taken over from the grammarians first by Abū Ḥāshim al-Djubbā'ī [*q.v.*] and subsequently used in two basic ways, one by Abū Ḥāshim and his followers in the Baṣran Mu'tazila and the other by al-Bākillānī and al-Djuwaynī [*q.vv.*] in the Ash'arī school. The treatment of the *hāl* within the contexts of the two school traditions differs to such an extent that one must recognise two distinct concepts. The discussion of the *aḥwāl* by later Ash'arī writers (e.g. al-Shahrastānī and Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī), though they tend to focus primarily on the preoccupations of their own predecessors in the Ash'arī tradition, does not keep the two conceptions clearly distinct, and certain modern studies based chiefly on these sources have tended to misconstrue the problem, particularly in regard to the Mu'tazilī tradition.

A. *The Mu'tazila*. For Abū Ḥāshim and the Baṣran Mu'tazila following him, the expression *hāl* designates the "attribute" (*sifa*) as the latter is conceived to be an ontologically real and distinguishable perfection of a being or essential entity (*shay'*, *naḥs*, *dhāt*). In the works of the classical Mu'tazila, accordingly, the *hāl* is most commonly designated by the term *sifa* (*sifa*, as defined below). In order to understand the concept it is necessary to clarify the verbal and conceptual context of its formulation and of its occur-

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rence within the texts. Most importantly, there occurred in the development of the Baṣran *kalām* from the 3rd/9th century until the 5th/11th an accretion of new formal meanings for the terms *ṣifa*, *waṣf*, and *ḥukm* (some of them peculiar to the Mu'tazila or to the Aṣḥ'arīs, and others shared by the two schools) that must be distinguished if the ontology of the *ahwāl*, as treated in the texts, is to be understood.

So far as concerns the discussion of the nature of things, the teaching of the Baṣran *kalām* was from the outset explicitly cast in terms of an analysis of the predicates that are said of them: of the predicates (the Arabic nouns and adjectives: *al-asmā' wa 'l-awṣāf*) that are predicated of beings and those particularly that are said of God in the Kur'ān. The word *ṣifa*, in its first and probably original sense in the theology of the Baṣrans, is taken over and adapted from its use by the grammarians with the meaning "a descriptive term". In this sense, then (*ṣifa*₁), it refers to any general or descriptive predicate term and so combines the grammarians' categories of noun and adjective (verbs being paraphrased into adjectives) (see e.g. 'Abd al-Djabbār, *al-Mughnī*, v, 198). *Ṣifa* is thus virtually synonymous with *waṣf*₁: the expression (*kaḥw*) employed in describing (*waṣafa*) something, i.e. in formulating the sentence in which the particular word is predicated of a subject noun which is taken to denote some concrete entity (*ṣay*). In another sense (*ṣifa*₂), the predicate expression (*ṣifa*₂) may be considered from the standpoint of its meaning (*al-ma'nā*₁: what is meant as opposed to the word or material utterance: *al-'ibāra*, *al-lafẓ*) and so as signified by any of several expressions (*awṣāf*₁, *asmā'*) that are considered to be synonymous in their strict sense (*ḥakika*) as they are said of a particular entity (e.g. "*kādīr*" = "*kawī*" = "*azīz*", as said of God). A proposition affirming a particular *ṣifa*₂ as true of something may be thus formulated, employing any one of a number of *ṣifāt*₁ (= *awṣāf*₁, *asmā'*) (see e.g. 'Abd al-Djabbār, *al-Maḥmūd al-muḥīṭ bi 'l-taklīf*, 172). Within the Baṣran tradition of the *kalām*, then, the question, whether to affirm a given predicate as true of an entity (*waṣafahu bihā*), is or is not to assert (*athbata*) the reality of an "attribute" belonging to it and that of the ontological status of such an attribute, if any is held to be asserted by the *ṣifa*₂, are questions in terms of their various responses to which the major schools may be distinguished, and on the basis of which their conceptions of the *ahwāl* are divided.

For Abū 'Alī al-Djubbā'ī, an entity (*ṣay*) or essence (*nafs*, *dhāt*) is an object of knowing (*ma'lūm*) that strictly speaking exists (*uudjida*) or does not exist (*'udima*) and which, as an object of knowing, may be directly referred to (*dhakara*) and may be made the subject of a predication (*ukhbira 'anhū*) (see, e.g. al-Aṣḥ'arī, *Makalāt al-Islāmiyyīn*, ed. H. Ritter, Istanbul 1929-30, 519). It is not, however, said of something else. *Ṣifāt*₁ are employed in describe entities, i.e. to express what is known about them. According to the mature teaching of al-Djubbā'ī and of the Baṣran Mu'tazila after him, *ṣifāt*₁ are those expressions that name the "essence" or essential entity as such or that describe it as it is in some particular way distinguished from entities essentially similar to it. Generic terms, i.e. those which designate broader classes of beings, embracing several kinds of essential entities, they do not consider to be *ṣifāt*₁ in the strict sense but rather as quasi-*alkāb* (terms whose use to name or describe something is in part arbitrary). As predicate expressions or terms (thus excluding the use of an expression to name an

entity and to refer to it as the subject of the proposition), the *ṣifāt*₁ are not, as such, directly referential. They are, however, understood to have implicit reference when said of a particular being. That is to say, when predicated of a particular being, most *ṣifāt*₁ implicitly assert the entitative reality either of the being denoted by the subject term or of another being, and accordingly the various predicate expressions are systematically paraphrased in order to make explicit what ontological assertion (*iḥbāt*) is implicit in each particular affirmation. Thus for example, to say "Zayd strikes" is to assert that there exists an act of striking (*darb*) that has occurred on his part (*dārib* = *waḳa'a minhū darb^{mn}*) or to say "Zayd knows" is to assert that there exists an act of knowing that belongs to him (*'ālim* = *lahū 'ilm^{mn}*). In these instances, the entities whose reality is asserted in the affirmation of the propositions are termed the "cause" (*'illa*, pl., *'ilal* or *ma'nā*₂, pl. *ma'ānī*) of the proposition or judgement (*ḥukm*₁) that the thing is so, and the predicate term comes, therefore, to be called *ṣifat*, *ma'nān* (i.e. a term whose affirmation of the subject implies the reality of a *ma'nā*₂; *ma'nā* originally meant the "sense" of the predicate or judgement: *ḥukm* the "sense" or "meaning" being contextually understood by the Baṣran *mutakallimūn* as the reality of that entity the presence of which, in a given relationship to the subject, is asserted by the particular predicate. By the time of al-Djubbā'ī, the two words *'illa* and *ma'nā* are employed as synonyms, being used interchangeably in most contexts, and within a century the semantic origin of this sense of *ma'nā* seems to have been forgotten). As conceived by the Baṣran *mutakallimūn*, the *ma'ānī*₂ are not, however, attributes. They are, rather, entities in the strict sense: beings that are themselves distinct objects and that as such are not predicable of something else. In al-Djubbā'ī's analysis, then, since God is absolutely one and undivided, when one says "God knows" (*Allāh 'ālim*) there is no assertion of the reality of any entity other than God's self (*naf-suhū*) and accordingly the predicate term is, in this instance, called an "essential predicate" (*ṣifat*, *nafs²*: a predicate expression whose affirmation of the subject implicitly refers to and asserts the reality only of the self or essence of the entity denoted by the subject term). All terms that name or describe the self or essence of a thing as such are, when used predicatively, *ṣifāt*² *nafs*. Thus al-Djubbā'ī nowhere speaks of attributes, if we understand "attribute" in its usual sense (as, e.g. a property, characteristic, or quality of a thing, as when we speak of a figure's "being triangular" or "triangularity" as a property belonging to it); he has no term for such a concept and uses no formal expression that would imply the reality of such a thing.

The concept of the attribute as an ontologically real perfection, property, or state of the being of an entity was introduced into the Baṣran *kalām* by Abū Hāshim. Though most often referred to in the Mu'tazilī texts by the term *ṣifa*₂, the attribute, thus conceived, is also referred to by the word *ḥāl* (state). This latter term Abū Hāshim apparently took from the grammarians of the Baṣran school (the Kūfāns employ a different expression reflecting their own grammatical analysis), and it is likely that he formed the philosophical concept partially in terms of a reflection on the significance of *ḥāl* expressions as these are understood and analysed by them. When explicitly discussing Abū Hāshim's conception of the attribute (*ṣifa*₂, *ḥāl*) for the purpose of refuting it,



the Ash'arīs (e.g. al-Bakillānī and al-Shahrastānī) most often speak of it as *hāl*, probably to avoid the ambivalence of the word *sifa*, though in other contexts where the doctrine of Abū Hāshim and his followers is discussed, one often finds *sifa* in the Ash'arī texts and occasionally also *wasf*, the latter representing more peculiarly Ash'arī usage.

The attribute (*sifa*, *hāl*) is not an essential entity (*ḥaq*, *dhāt*) as this is strictly defined and understood. It is not therefore considered to be an object or entity that can be known in isolation (*bi-nfirādhā*, *bi-mudjarradihā*). Rather, the entity of which it is an attribute is known as qualified by it (*yu'lam 'alay-hā*) (cf. 'Abd al-Djabbār, *Sharḥ al-uṣūl al-khamsa*, 184, 9-14 and 366, 9-11). Thus though not a distinct object of knowing and so not "known" (*ma'lūma*) in the strict sense of this term, the attribute or state is nonetheless grasped and understood (*ma'kūla*) as one knows a thing is specifically qualified by it (*mukhtasṣ bihā*). Furthermore, since the attribute or state is not an entity, it cannot be said to be existent (*maḥḍūda*) or non-existent (*ma'dūma*) because these predicates are properly used only of entities. In that it is, however, an ontologically real perfection or state of the being of an entity, the attribute (*sifa*) does have actuality (*taḥṣul*) and so is said to be actual (*ḥāṣila*) as also one may properly speak of its non-presence (*ḥawāḍiruhā*) or non-actuality (*intifā'uhā*) in a thing. Likewise, one does not speak of its coming to be (*ḥudūḥuhā*) since "coming to be" (*al-ḥudūth*) refers properly to the initiation of existence (*tadjudud al-wudūd*); one speaks, rather, of the initiation of the attribute (*tadjududuhā*). In concrete instances, then, the attribute (*sifa*, *hāl*) is indicated by the expression "the thing's being thus and so", as one speaks, for example, of "its being existent" (*kaunuhū maḥḍūda*) or of "its being living" (*kaunuhū ḥayy*) or of a body's "being in motion" (*kaunuhū mutaharrik*). Propositions such as "he is alive" (*huwa ḥayy*) are thus considered by Abū Hāshim and his followers in the Mu'tazilī school to assert the actuality of the attribute (*ḥuṣūl al-sifa*, *ḥuṣūl al-hāl*), viz. in this instance of his being alive or being living or the body's being in motion, and it is to the attribute or state thus that such a predicate (*sifa*) implicitly refers.

Though they disagree in certain matters of detail (some of which are philosophically important) Abū Hāshim and his successors classify the attributes (*sifat*, *aḥwāl*) into five basic categories according to the grounds to which their actuality is, in each case, to be ascribed. (Note that we are not here concerned with the classification of predicates in general, but only those that assert the actuality of *sifat*, *aḥwāl*.) These are:

1. The Attribute of the Essence (most often termed *sifat al-dhāt*, though other expressions are frequently employed; cf. Frank, *Beings*, 80 n. 1); this is the thing's being itself what it is in itself. It is asserted, for example, in the statement "the atom is an atom" (*al-djauhar djawhar*). What is referred to here is "the way the thing is in itself" (*mā huwa 'alayhī fī dhātihi*). The attribute of the essence is, thus, irreducible (cf. e.g., 'Abd al-Djabbār, *al-Maḍimū' al-mukhṭ bi 'l-taklif*, 61, 9 ff. and Abu Rashīd, *Ṣyādāt al-sharḥ*, 192, 11 ff. and 278, 11 ff.), and is actual (*ḥāṣila*) even in the possible, for to posit the entity is to posit the actuality of the Attribute of the Essence. That is to say, God knows, out of an infinite number of beings of every class, each particular individual that He can create; thus although an individual entity whose existence is possible (*al-djā'iz wudūdihū*) is non-existent and as non-existent

(*bi-kaunuhī ma'dūm*) has no ontologically real state (*hāl*), it has nevertheless reality as a possible existent (it is *ḥābit al-djāwāz*) in that it is a particular and distinguishable object of God's power (i.e. insofar as it is *maḥḍūr 'alayhī*).

2. The essential attributes (commonly termed *sifat al-naḥs*, *al-sifat*, *al-dhātīyya*, or *al-muktaḍā 'ammā huwa 'alayhī fī dhātihi*, i.e. "the attribute that is entailed by the way the thing is in itself"); these attributes are those whose actuality is entailed by the Attribute of the Essence (by the way the thing is in itself) given the actuality of its existence. These are the manifest (*zāhira*) attributes that reveal the nature of the essential entity as it is in itself (*tunbī' 'ammā huwa 'alayhī fī dhātihi*), as for example, the atom's occupying space (*kaunuhū mutahayyiz*) or God's being existent, living, knowing, etc.

3. The attributes whose actuality flows immediately from (*ṣadara 'an*) an entitative, determinant cause (*'illa*, *ma'nā*) and which are, accordingly, termed simply *li-'illa* or *li-ma'nā*, and are said to be "caused" (*ma'lūla*). Included under this category is, for example, a human individual's being knowing (*kaunuhū 'ālim*), an attribute whose actuality is asserted in the sentence "Zayd knows" (*Ṣayd 'ālim*) and whose actuality arises immediately from the presence of the act of knowing (*al-'ilm*) that exists as a concrete entity in his heart. The attribute (*sifa*, *hāl*) in this instance is a perfection that specifically qualifies (*takhtasṣ*) not its immediate physical locus (*al-mahall*), but rather the living corporeal whole (*al-djumla al-ḥayya*) that is the individual, and it is for this reason that Abū Hāshim and his successors say that the predicate "knowing" is said of the whole and not of the organ or substrate. "Moving", on the other hand, is predicated only of the material substrate (*al-mahall*) since the attribute of "being in motion" (*kaunuhū mutaharrik*) belongs only to the locus of the entitative cause of its actuality.

4. Attributes whose actuality depends upon the agent that effects the existence of the thing and which, therefore, are said to be *bi 'l-fā'il*. Though many characteristics (*aḥkām*) of temporal entities are ascribed to an agent as their source, either immediately to his agency as such or mediately through the manner of the act's occurrence (*li-waḍiḥ wukū'ihī*), the only true attribute (*sifa*, *hāl*, in the strict sense) that is said to be "due to the agent" is that of a temporal entity in its being existent (*kaunuhū maḥḍūda*).

5. Attributes whose actuality in the thing is due "neither to its essence nor to an entitative cause" (*lā li 'l-naḥs wa-lā li-'illa/li-ma'nā*); the designation of a class of predicates (*sifat*, *awṣāf*, *asmā*) as *lā li 'l-naḥs wa-lā li-'illa* would seem to have originated with Abū 'Alī al-Djabbār. Because of the basic difference of his analysis and ontology from that of the later school, however, the predicates that he so classed are not the same as those so classed by Abū Hāshim and his successors. What predicates (*sifat*) and what attributes (*sifat*) Abū Hāshim may have classed under this heading, if any, indeed, is at present uncertain. His followers, however, assign the attribute (*sifa*, *hāl*) of "being perceiving" (*kaunuhū mudrik*) to this category, since perception, according to their view, arises directly from the perceiver's being living on the condition of the appropriate presence of the perceptible. (Perceiving is here distinguished from sensation—*al-hiss*—since the predicate "sensing"—*muhiss*—is taken to indicate not a true attribute but only the functioning of the sense organ.) It may be that "being perceiving" is the only true attribute which they class



thus; predicates (*ṣifāt*) which are implicitly negative are said to be *lā li 'l-naḥs wa-lā li-'illa*, but they do not indicate ontologically real attributes.

For us the essential reality of a thing (its *ḥaqīqa*) is its essential attributes, for what we understand and refer to when we speak of it is its being as it is known to us in these attributes. Predications, according to the classical Mu'tazila, are said of essential entities that are known (*ma'lūma*) and distinguished as such; the predicates that refer to a thing's essential attributes (*al-ṣifāt, al-dhātīyya*) are those which we employ to define it. According to Abū Hāshim and his followers in the Baṣran Mu'tazila, it is thus that through their essential attributes we know entities, i.e. in that they are so manifested to us as belonging to the same essential class (*ḍīns*) or to different classes, for beings that share (*ishtarakā*) in one essential attribute must be alike (*tamāthala*) in that which entails (*iktadā*) the actuality of the attribute, and so must share in all their essential attributes. (See, e.g., 'Abd al-Djabbār, *Sharḥ al-uṣūl al-khamsa*, 108, 9-12 and 199, 3-5; *al-Mughnī*, iv, 270 f. and 252, 8-10).

One speaks also of the "modality" of an attribute (*kayfiyyat al-ṣifa*). Existence (a thing's being existent: *wuḍūduhū* = *kaunuhū mauḍūduhū*), for example, is an attribute that is common to all existent entities. Some entities, however, (sc. God) are eternally existent (*lam yaḥal mauḍūduhū*) while others (sc. all beings other than God) are temporally existent (*muhdathū*). The terms "eternal" (*kadīm*) and "temporal" (*muhdathū*) refer to the modality of the attribute of being existent. Similarly the term "inherent" (*ḥāl*) used of the accident's inherence in its substrate (*kaunuhū ḥālū fī mahallihī*) refers to a modality of its existence. (See e.g., 'Abd al-Djabbār, *al-Maḍmū' al-muḥīṭ bi 'l-taklīf*, 163, 4-7 and Abū Rashīd, *Ṣiyādāt al-sharḥ*, 384, 14 f.).

Not all predicates that may be affirmed as true of an object imply the presence of an ontologically real attribute (*ṣifa*, *ḥāl*). Some terms, for example, refer to the "characteristics" (*aḥkām*) of attributes; others (e.g. ethical terms) refer to contingent characteristics (*aḥkām*) of acts which, determined by one or another of the states of the agent (*ahwāl al-fā'il*) (see, e.g., 'Abd al-Djabbār, *al-Mughnī*, viii, 159 and *al-Maḍmū' al-muḥīṭ bi 'l-taklīf*, 352), derive immediately from the manner of its coming to be (*wadḥ al-hudūth* = *wadḥ wukū'ihī*) and others to the modality (*kayfiyya*) of an attribute. Some, viz. those that describe a thing in its perceptible qualities, refer not to *ṣifāt* (*ahwāl*) but to dispositions (*ḥay'āt*) of the material substrate; some descriptive terms are implicitly negative (e.g. "inanimate", "other", "dissimilar" and the like) and so refer to no real attribute; some refer primarily to a being other than that denoted in the subject, viz. the "derived predicates" (*al-ṣifāt al-mushṭakka*) (see, e.g., 'Abd al-Djabbār, *al-Mughnī*, vii, 58, 3-7 and for the term of Ibn Fāris, *al-Sāhibī fī fikh al-luḡha*, ed. M. el-Chouēmi, Beirut 1383/1964, 86 ff.), i.e. those that assert the actuality of an action performed by the subject and those that assert the actuality of the state (*ḥāl*) or act of another (e.g. "known" or "commanded"). Generic terms, finally, are not considered to be truly descriptive terms (*ṣifāt*) by the Baṣran Mu'tazila, as was noted above. Accordingly, one must distinguish those instances where the expression *kaunuhū* . . . ("its being . . .") is employed to denote an ontologically real attribute (*ṣifa*, *ḥāl*) and those in which it is employed merely as a nominal periphrasis for a sentence (e.g. *kaunuhū aswad* as a periphrasis for *huwa*

aswad "it is black") that does not assert the actuality of an attribute (*ṣifa*, *ḥāl*) of the being that is denoted by the subject term. The differences in the understanding of these terms by the Mu'tazila and the Ash'arīs are characteristic of those in their conception of the *ahwāl*.

B. *The Ash'arīs*. Among the Ash'arīs, the concept of the "attribute" (*ḥāl*) as conceived by Abū Hāshim was borrowed, adapted, and employed by al-Bāḳillānī and al-Djuwaynī and, it would seem, by no others (see, e.g., al-Shahrastānī, *al-Nihāya*, 131). Al-Bāḳillānī's acceptance and use of the concept was, however, inconsistent; in some works (among them his two published compendia, *al-Inṣāf* and *al-Tamhīd*) he expressly denied the validity of the concept (though it implicitly underlies the discussion in a number of important passages in both *al-Inṣāf* and *al-Tamhīd*) while in others, including his last major *kalām* work, *al-Hidāya*, he is reported to have asserted its validity and to have integrated it into his treatment of the predicates of being and of the divine attributes (see, e.g., al-Djuwaynī, *al-Shāmil*, 294, 629). Al-Djuwaynī, on the other hand, seems to have expressly employed the concept in most if not all of his *kalām* works, though he is reported to have rejected it in his late juridical writing (see, e.g., Abū 'l-Kāsim Sulaymān b. Nāṣir al-Anṣārī, *Sharḥ al-Irshād*, Princeton University ms. ELS 634, fol. 356). In the present absence of any direct, adequate evidence concerning al-Bāḳillānī's treatment and use of the *ahwāl* concept, the present outline reflects strictly only the discussion and terminology of al-Djuwaynī. The sources, however, indicate no major difference between al-Djuwaynī's understanding and use of the concept and those of al-Bāḳillānī; one may therefore suppose that their teaching in this respect was substantially the same.

Like Abū Hāshim, the Ash'arīs who employed the concept of the "attribute" as *ḥāl* describe it as "the thing's being such and so" (*kaun al-shay*). The context to which the concept was adapted and into whose overall structure it had to be integrated differs, however, in several important respects from that of the Mu'tazilī tradition of Basra, even though the Ash'arī analysis of the predicates that are said of beings is in some ways analogous to that of al-Djubbā'ī. Omitting those predicates that refer to actions (*ṣifāt al-af'āl*) and so to an entity essentially extrinsic to that denoted by the subject term, al-Ash'arī and his followers, in contrast to the Mu'tazila, recognise only two categories of descriptive predicates (*asmā', awṣāf, ṣifāt*), since they divide the entities which constitute the ontological basis for the truth of the predication (*istihkāk al-waṣf*: the thing's "deserving to be so described") and whose reality, accordingly is asserted (*muthbat*) as that which requires its affirmation (*mā awḍjaba 'l-waṣf*) into (1) the "self" (*naḥs*) of the being denoted by the subject, as when one says of a being that it is "existent" (*mauḍūḍ*) or "temporal" (*muhdathū*) or is a "colour" (*lawn*) or of God that He is "eternal" (*kadīm*) or "majestic" (*azīm*); and (2) those that assert the reality of an entitative, determinant cause (*ma'nā*, *'illa*) subsistent in the subject, as when one says of a being that it is "living" ("living" = "life belongs to it": *ḥayy* = *lahū ḥayāt*) or "knowing" ("knowing" = "an act of knowing belongs to it": *ālim* = *lahū 'ilm*) and the like. In addition to the words *ma'nā*, and *'illa*, the Ash'arīs often (and in some contexts almost always) refer to these entities (*al-ma'ānī*) as *ṣifāt*. (This, in fact, is the only sense in which al-Ash'arī himself employs the word *ṣifa*.) Against al-Djubbā'ī and others, the



Ash'arīs insist that predicates such as “living”, “knowing” and the like always imply the presence of an entitative determinant (*ma'nā*, *'illa*, *ṣifa*) in the subject, whether they be said of a material being or of God, who is immaterial. Again, whereas the masters of the Baṣran Mu'tazila take descriptive predicates to be said of individual entities which, known and recognised as particular essences, are described by the predicate (*wasf*, *ṣifa*), the Ash'arīs understand the subject term to denote an individual entity simply as an object: as an existent (*mawḍūʿ*) whose existence is its “self” (*nafs*). (Thus *shay'* = *mawḍūʿ* = *wuḍūʿ* = *nafs*, *dhāt*, whilst the non-existent is simply the unreal subject spoken of in a negated proposition: “it is not true that there exists an object such that . . .”) Thus, where the Baṣran Mu'tazila after al-Djubbā'ī distinguished expressions that they consider to be descriptive (*ṣifāt*) strictly speaking, i.e. those which name the essence as such or describe it in some particular way, from those they consider to be quasi-*alkāb*, i.e. those which we employ to assign an essence to various broader, generic classes and which, therefore, are said univocally of beings that are essentially different, the Ash'arīs make no such distinction, but rather consider both kinds of terms to be truly descriptive, classing the second of the Mu'tazilī categories amongst the “essential predicates” (*al-ṣifāt al-naṣiyya*), viz. those that assert as the basis of the validity of their affirmation of the subject only the reality of the object (*nafs al-mawḍūʿ* = *wuḍūʿ*) of which they are said. No more than al-Djubbā'ī, however, does al-Ash'arī speak of “attributes” as this word is commonly understood, nor does his analysis, or that of most of his followers in the two centuries immediately succeeding, make place for such a concept. The *ṣifa* is simply a *ma'nā*, (*'illa*). They agree that the being of God's *ṣifāt*, differs from that of those belonging to creatures and there is some question as to the exact ontological status of the former, i.e. as to whether God's *ṣifāt*, are validly termed *ashyā'* or *mawḍūʿa* or if they are denumerable; but it is nevertheless clear that *ṣifāt* are entities of some kind (more precisely, of two kinds) though not of a sort that nowadays we should term attributes. (Al-Bākillānī, cited in al-Kiyā al-Harāsī, *Uṣūl al-dīn*, fols. 114a and 123a, says that, in contrast to the *ahwāl*, they are entitative objects or beings, *dhāt*, *shay'*, *ma'nā*.) One notes that with but two or three exceptions, common also to the Mu'tazila, abstract terms are not employed in the writings of al-Ash'arī and of the majority of his followers until the 5th/11th century and that the expression *kawnuhū* . . . is almost everywhere shunned, chiefly for accuracy of expression but also, no doubt, in order to avoid the semblance of accepting Abū Hāshim's ontology.

Al-Djuwaynī rejects the common Ash'arī thesis that all the “essential predicates” (*ṣifāt al-naṣiyya*) assert simply the being of the “self” of the subject and that what is asserted (*al-hukm*) in affirming one of the *ṣifāt al-ma'nā*, (*al-ṣifāt al-ma'naviyya*) is simply the reality of the being of the *ma'nā*, (*ṣifa*) as belonging to the subject. For every positive predicate (*wasf*, *ṣifa*) he recognises an “attribute” (*wasf*, *ṣifa*), which he designates by the expression *kawnuhū* . . ., e.g. the atom's “being an atom” (*kawnuhū ḍiḥwar*), “its being an entity” (*kawnuhū shay' wa-dhāt*), “its being existent” (*kawnuhū mawḍūʿ*), “its occupying space” (*kawnuhū mutahayyiz*), etc.; and so also with the *ṣifāt ma'naviyya*, the attributes (*ṣifāt*) signified by the latter being commonly termed *ahkām*, as well

as *ṣifāt*, *awṣāf*, (see e.g. *al-Irshād*, 30, *al-Shāmil*, 308, *et alibi*). He holds, moreover, in regard to those predicates which do not refer simply to the existent as such (to its existence as its “self”: *nafs*) that one must posit the reality (*ṭubūt*) of the attribute (*wasf*, *ṣifa*, *hukm*) as a state (*hāl*). This, he says, is necessary in order to have an ontological basis for the true sense of the common or universal predicate terms and their definitions (viz. *al-hakā'ik wa'l-hudūd*) (see e.g. *al-Shāmil*, 633, and the citation of al-Bākillānī in al-Kiyā al-Harāsī, *op. cit.*, fols. 115a and following), as also in order to explain what is known and asserted to be true in the case of the *ma'nā*, (*ahkām al-'ilal*), i.e. in order to explain what is known and asserted to be true (*al-hukm*) of the entity to which the *ma'nā*, (*'illa*) belongs as the effect (*ma'lūl*, *mudḡab*) of the latter (see e.g. *al-Shāmil*, 629 ff. and *al-Irshād*, 80 ff.) In these cases what is known (*'ulima*) of something is not the thing itself (*al-nafs* = *wuḍūʿ*) but an ontologically real attribute (*ṣifa*, *ṭhābita*) or state (*hāl*) of it, and it is this that the descriptive predicate strictly speaking refers to and asserts as real (*ṭhābit*). Regarding the “essential attributes”, al-Djuwaynī says “Every attribute (*wasf*) that is not understood negatively and the ignorance of which is not contradicted by the knowledge of the existence of the being that is denoted by the subject (*al-mawṣūf*), is a state (*hāl*)” (*al-Shāmil*, 630, 17 f.; cf. also *al-Irshād*, 80). Thus when one says of a being that it is a (unit or quantum of) black (*sawād*) or that it is a colour (*lawṇ*) or an accident (*'arad*) or that it is inherent in a substrate (*hāl fī mahāl*), the reference is to “its being black” (*kawnuhū sawād*), “its being a colour” (*kawnuhū lawṇ*), “its being an accident” (*kawnuhū 'arad*), and “its being inherent” (*kawnuhū hāl*): its “blackhood” (*as-sawādīyya*), “accidentality” (*al-'aradīyya*), etc. Each of these attributes (*ahwāl*, *ṣifāt*, *awṣāf*) is a distinct object of knowing (*ma'lūm*). Likewise the knowledge of an entity's being knowing (*kawnuhū 'ālim*) is distinct from the knowledge that the act of knowing (*al-'ilm*) by virtue of whose subsistence in it is knowing, exists (*kawnuhū mawḍūʿ* = *nafsuḥū*) and is an act of knowing (*kawnuhū 'ilm* = *al-'ilmiyya*); each of these attributes (*ṣifāt*), as an ontologically real state (*hāl*) or characteristic (*hukm*) of the subject, is a distinct object (*ma'lūm*), known in a distinct act of knowing (*ilm*). As the attribute (*hāl*, *ṣifa*) is other than the entity to which it belongs (the *ṣifa* is other than the *mawṣūf*), so al-Djuwaynī holds that existence (*al-wuḍūʿ* = *nafs al-mawḍūʿ*) is not a *hāl* (see e.g. *al-Irshād*, 31). Though it is an object insofar as it is known (*ma'lūm*), the *hāl* is not an entity (*shay'*) (*al-Shāmil*, 640, 679) and so is not described as existent (*mawḍūʿ*) or non-existent (*ma'dūm*, *muntafi*). (See also the citations of al-Bākillānī in al-Kiyā al-Harāsī, *op. cit.*, fols. 114a and 115a.)

The “self” as such is understood and conceived not as an essence but as an object, and the predicates which assert the entitative reality of the “self” as such (e.g. *shay'*, *dhāt*, *nafs*, *mawḍūʿ*) neither are synonymous with those which assert the actuality of its *ahwāl* (e.g. *ḍiḥwar*, *'arad*, *lawṇ*, *'ilm*, *ḥaraka*) nor do they imply the assertion of its *ahwāl*. Since, then, the *ahwāl* are neither identical with nor derived from the “self” as such of the being of which they are attributes and are known separately from the knowledge of its existence, that a being should have one essential attribute (*ṣifāt*, *nafs*) does not necessarily entail its having another. Beings that are essentially diverse (*mukhtalifa*) may share



(*iṣṭaraka*) in common essential attributes, as for example a human act of knowing (*ʿilm*) and a motion of an atom share in accidentality (*al-ʿaradiyya*, i.e. *kawnuhumā ʿaradayn*) and a human act of knowing (a *maʿnā*, which is an accident) and God's eternal act of knowing (a *maʿnā*, which is not an accident, i.e. is not a contingent entity inherent in a material substrate) have in common (*idjāmaʿā fī*) their being acts of knowing (*kawnuhumā ʿilmayn* = *al-ʿilmīyya*) and so are, both, correctly denoted and described by *ʿilm*. Like entities (*al-mithlān*, *al-mutamāthilān*) are alike in and by virtue of their selves (*li-anfusihimā*) (see e.g. *al-Shāmīl*, 312); they are therefore those beings that are analogous (*sadda aḥaduhumā masadda ʿl-ākhar*) or are equivalent (*mustawīyān*) in all their essential attributes (*ṣifāt*, *al-naḥs*, *al-ṣifāt*, *al-naḥsiyya*) (cf. e.g. *al-Shāmīl*, 292, 313 f.).

In no sense does al-Djuwaynī take up the ontology of Abū Hāshim and his Muʿtazilī followers. Nowhere does al-Djuwaynī treat the attribute (*ḥāl*, *ṣifa*) as an ontologically real perfection of a being in terms of which other perfections, properties, characteristics, qualities, or operations are to be understood and explained. He does not speak of an attribute's entailing (*ikṭaḍā*) the actuality of another attribute or of its effecting (*alṭḥara*) a characteristic or quality of a thing, nor does he regard any attribute as constituting the immediate ground of the possibility (*sahḥaha*) of some qualification of an entity or as the condition (*ṣart*) of its actuality. Similarly, he does not speak of attributes (*ṣifāt*, *aḥwāl*) as having modality (*kayfiyya*) nor of the characteristics (*aḥkām*) of attributes. Finally, where the Muʿtazilīs distinguish four categories of *maʿānī*, one as effecting no *ḥāl* whatsoever, either of its immediate substrate of inherence or of the whole of which the latter is a part, and others as producing one or another qualification (*ḥāl*) either of the immediate substrate or of the whole composite (*al-djumla*), al-Djuwaynī makes no distinction whatsoever, asserting simply that every *maʿnā* causes a *ḥāl* (those of material entities only in their immediate substrate of inherence) (see e.g. 'Abd al-Djabbār, *al-Mughnī*, vi/2, 162 and ix, 87, and al-Djuwaynī, *al-Shāmīl*, 629 ff.). Though there may be found sometimes a certain parallelism of argumentation (cf. e.g. *ibid.*, 637 f. and 'Abd al-Djabbār, *al-Madīmū ʿal-muḥīt bi ʿl-taklīf*, 188 f.) the conception of the *aḥwāl* and their role within the integrated contexts of the systems is significantly different in the teaching of the Ashʿarīs and in the thought of Abū Hāshim and his followers. Al-Djuwaynī employs Abū Hāshim's distinction between the Attribute of the Essence and the essential attribute (categories 1 and 2 in A above) together with the concept of the *ḥāl* in order to found a distinction in the Ashʿarī essential predicates in terms of their denotation. Thus although he speaks of "attributes" in both instances, he distinguishes those predicates (*awṣāf*, *ṣifāt*) that denote or assert simply the existence (i.e. the "self") of an entity as such from the rest, which assert distinct attributes that are states (*aḥwāl*). Similarly, he posits the reality (*thubūt*) of the "states" as real attributes (*ṣifāt*, *thābita*) or characteristics (*aḥkām*, *thābita*) as the effect (*maʿlūl*, *mudḥab*) of the *maʿānī*, in order to distinguish ontologically the assertion of the *ṣifāt*, *maʿnawīyya* from that of those expressions which refer to the *maʿānī* and describe them as such (e.g. to distinguish the reference of *ʿālim* from that of *ʿilm*), a distinction effectively denied by most of the earlier Ashʿarīs (see e.g. al-Bakillānī, *al-Tamhīd*, § 97, and al-Djuwaynī, *al-Shāmīl*, 631). Al-Djuwaynī,

in short, (and the same is clearly true of al-Bakillānī when he used the *aḥwāl*) posits the *aḥwāl* only in order to supply referents for certain predicates and concomitantly to resolve certain difficulties of logical reference and extension, particularly in predicates that are said both of God and creatures; the *aḥwāl* serve no other function within the system. Whereas the concept of the *ḥāl* constitutes the very foundation and core of the metaphysics of the Baṣran Muʿtazila from the time of Abū Hāshim, al-Bakillānī and al-Djuwaynī employ it without introducing any essential alteration into the tradition of Ashʿarī metaphysics. Finally, by the explicit introduction of purely intentional referents (viz. concepts thematically understood as *entia rationis*) into the Ashʿarī *kalām* along with the Aristotelian logic, al-Ghazālī [q.v.] was able to resolve in a much less awkward manner the problem that his master, al-Djuwaynī, had sought to deal with by means of the *aḥwāl*.

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(R.M. FRANK)

HALIKARNAS BALİKÇİSİ pseudonym of DJEWĀD ŞĦAKİR, modern Turkish form CEVAT ŞĦAKİR KABAAĞAÇLI, Turkish novelist and short story writer (1886-1973).

Born in Istanbul, the son of the general, diplomat and writer Mehmed ŞĦakir Paşa (1855-1914) (brother of the grand vizier Ahmed Paşa [q.v.]), he stemmed from a prominent family from Afyonkarahisar. He was educated at the American Robert College in Istanbul and at Oxford University, where he graduated in Modern History in 1908. He started his career as a short story writer, translator, graphic artist and a cartoonist contributing to various short-lived periodicals which mushroomed following the restoration of the Constitution. He spent several years in prison for killing his father in a *crime passionnel* in Afyonkarahisar (1914). During the turbulent early years of the Republic, a short story about the hanging of deserters without trial, based on his prison reminiscences, which he published, under the pen-name Hüseyin Ken'an, in the *Resimli hafta* ("The Weekly Illustrated", No. 35, 13 April 1925) got him into trouble. He was arrested and tried by the Tribunal of Independence (*İstiklâl mahkemesi*) of Ankara, which

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sentenced him to three years banishment in the fortress sea port of Bodrum (ancient Halicarnassus), for anti-military and defeatist propaganda (because at that juncture, troops were being sent to quell a large-scale revolt in the eastern provinces). When his term was over, Djewād Şakir decided to settle in this small town which had captured his heart, and he laboured incessantly to develop it. He assumed the pen-name of Halikarnas Balıkcı (‘The Fisherman of Halicarnassus’), living there until 1947 when he moved to İzmir to work as a journalist and expert tourist guide and for his children’s education. He died in İzmir on 13 October 1973 and is buried in Bodrum, honoured by its people for his opening-up of this isolated city to the world.

Halikarnas Balıkcı began to write regularly in Bodrum after the age of fifty, and devoted his entire art to the sea and to seamen. He spent his daily life among sea folk, fishermen, sponge fishers, divers and boatmen and shared their lives, struggles, worries and joys; most of the characters in his short stories and novels are real people whom he had met in the Aegean region. Exuberant and expansive by temperament, he writes with uncontrolled romantic impetus works which defy all sense of discipline in technique and style. But he captured his reader with his *joie de vivre*, warm sense of humanity and deep understanding of his fellow-men. Halikarnas Balıkcı is the author of the following major works. Short stories: *Merhaba Akdeniz* (1947), *Ege’nin dibi* (1952), *Yaşasın deniz* (1954). Novels: *Aganta, burina burinata* (1946), *Ötelerin, söcuğu* (1956), *Uluç Reis* (1962), *Turgut Reis* (1955), *Deniz gurbetçileri* (1969). Memoirs: *Mavi sürgün* (1961). He also wrote several popular books on Anatolian mythology and made many translations (For a bibliography of his publications, see *Yeni yayımlar* of October 1974).

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(FAHİR İZ)

HALİLADJ is myrobalanus, the plum-like fruit of the *Terminalia chebula*-tree, a Combrataceae of South-Asia and the Malayan archipelago. Being a useful and cheap substitute (*badal*) for gall or oak-apples (*‘aṣṣ*), they were used already in antiquity for extracting tannic acid and as a medicine. The term appears also as *ahliladji* or *ihliladji* and goes through Persian *halīla* back to Sanskrit *haritakī*. Synonyms are *harsar* (indicated as ‘Indian’ and probably to be derived from the Sanskrit term mentioned above), and *mufarrafah* (with variants). These fruits were allegedly unknown to the earlier Greeks: the βάλανος *μυροεικής* of Dioscorides (*De materia medica*, ed. M. Wellmann, ii, Berlin 1906, 301 f. = lib. iv, 157) is the fruit of a kind of Meringa, known to the Arabs as behen-nut (*bān*). The later Greeks called this *μυροάλανος* (‘salve-acorn’), and when the Arabs imported from India the real myrobalanus both were confounded, notwithstanding their completely different medical effect.

The Arabs knew five kinds of myrobalanus, all of which had reached Europe perhaps already at the time of the School of Salerno, but they were imported in great quantities and used in the Western pharmacies only through the trade of the Portuguese. The following kinds are under discussion: (1) the yellow

myrobalanus (*haliladji asfar*, *Terminalia citrina*). Its juice has an aperient effect and purges yellow gall. As an ointment, it dries up wound-boils, and pulverised and diluted with rose-water, it heals burns; (2) the myrobalanus of Kābul (*haliladji kābuli*), the ripe fruit of *Terminalia chebula*, is considered as the finest. Its effect is like that of the first one and, besides, it has the property of conferring a lucid intellect; (3) the black myrobalan (*haliladji aswad*), the unripe fruit of the *Terminalia chebula*, as large as a small olive; (4) *batiladji*, *Terminalia bellerica*; and (5) *amladji*, useful against haemorrhoids, in the Eastern and Western Middle Ages considered as a kind of myrobalanus, in fact, however, the fruit of a completely different family of plants, namely the *Phyllanthus emblica* (Euphorbiaceae). However, the nomenclature is not established with certainty.

The fruits were harvested at various stages of ripeness: small, unripe, dried, they served as medicine; the ripe fruits of the size of walnuts were used for the preparation of tannin, which was in high demand. In India, where the myrobalanus tree is indigenous, the fruits were widely used as medicine, especially as stomachics and purgatives; the Tirphala or Triphala (‘tri-juiced medicine’), consisting probably of three of the kind mentioned above, was in particular esteemed (cf. al-Kh. ‘arazmī, *Mafātih al-‘ulūm*, ed. van Vloten, Leiden 1895, 186: *tari abhal ay ihlālāth ahlālāt wa-hiya ahliladji asfar wa-batiladji wa-amladji*). The Arabs mixed the fruits with spices in order to increase their digestive effect. The myrobalanus has now disappeared from the pharmacopoeias in the West, but may still be used here and there in the East; only for the preparation of tannin is it still to be found on the market.

In mathematics the various forms of the term, especially *ihliladji*, were also used to designate an ellipse (M. Souissi, *La langue des mathématiques en arabe*, Tunis 1968, Nos. 35, 37).

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HALKEVI [see **KHALKEVĪ**].

HALLĀK (A.), lit. "barber", "hairstylist", synonymous with *muzayyin*; the *ḥaḍḍjām* ("cupper") [see **FAṢṢĀD**, in Suppl.] also used to be a part-time barber. The *hallāks* formed a group of skilled workers, of mixed social origins. The well-known barber in the Islamic society of Medina was *Khirāsh* b. Umayya, who shaved the Prophet Muḥammad's hair. The Prophet had his hair shaved at Minā at the time of the *ḥaḍḍj*, and Muslims have followed this practice during the Greater and Lesser Pilgrimages ever since.

Some barber's work at the time of the Pilgrimage received attention from the Arab writers, who recorded unusual events. For instance, a *hallāk* while shaving the hair of Abū Sufyān [q.v.], accidentally cut the wart (*ṭhulūl*) on his head, and this reportedly caused his sickness and death in 20/640, says al-Samhūdī. During the Umayyad period, another *hallāk* became widely known at the time of the *ḥaḍḍj* of Yazīd b. al-Muhallab [q.v.], who paid 5,000 *dirhams* to the *hallāk* after ritual shaving of his hair. The event illustrates that some barbers received charity from pilgrims in addition to their usual fee. Some Muslims used to have a yearly hair-cut on the Day of Sacrifice (*yawm al-nahr*), as was the practice of Ḥasan al-Baṣrī [q.v.], and Muslims even today observe this custom.

The *hallāk* worked at market places and also in public baths in Islamic cities on specific days of the week. During the 'Abbāsīd period, the hairstylist was one of the five regular attendants at every *ḥammām*. The *muḥtasib* demanded expertise from each *hallāk*, who could neither shave a child's hair without his guardian's permission nor cut a slave's hair without his master's approval. Usually a *hallāk* received a *dāniq* or a *dirham* for each hair-cut. It was also customary for the *hallāk* to give free hair-cuts to the poorer members of society during the Mamlūk period, writes al-Ibshīhī. In spite of their useful services, the barber was a person of very humble status, ridiculed by writers. A *hallāk* could marry only within his own social group, according to the customary law of *kafā'a*, which imposed similar restrictions on sweepers, weavers, cuppers and grocers. Seldom did a barber attain prominence in early Islamic society, either by acquiring knowledge of Islamic sciences or otherwise. The only known exception to this was Abū 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Ṣūfī al-Muzayyīn, the barber who distinguished himself as a practising mystic and a close friend of al-Djūnayd [q.v.].

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AL-ḤAMADHĀNĪ, 'AYN AL-ḲUDĀT [see 'AYN AL-ḲUDĀT, in Suppl.].

ḤAMĀDISHA, or **ḤMĀDSHA** as they are locally called, are the members of a loosely and diversely organised religious confraternity or "path" (*ṭarīqa*) which traces its spiritual heritage back to two Moroccan saints (*walīs* or *sayyids*) of the late 17th and early 18th centuries, Sīdī Abū 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Ḥamdush (d. 1131/1718-9 or 1135/1722-3), popularly called Sīdī 'Alī and Sīdī Aḥmad Dghughī (?).

Although little is known historically of the two saints, their lives, like the lives of other popular North African saints, are rich in legend. These legends stress the saints' acquisition, possession, and passing on of blessing or *baraka* [q.v.]. Sīdī 'Alī, who is generally recognised as the master of Sīdī Aḥmad, is thought to have derived his teachings from 'Abd al-Salām b. Mashīsh [q.v.] and his student Abū 'l-Ḥasan al-Shādhilī. (Members of the confraternity recite on occasion a *ḥizb* which they trace to al-Shādhilī.) Sīdī 'Alī spent years at the Karawiyyīn University in Fās, and, according to the *Salwat al-anfās* of Dja'far al-Kattānī, he is to be classed among the *shaykhs* of the mystical tradition in which the trance (*ḥāl*) is powerful. He would occasionally fall into lion-like rages. Both Sīdī 'Alī and Sīdī Aḥmad are buried on the south face of the Djebel Zarhūn some sixteen miles from the city of Mīknās; Sīdī 'Alī in the village of Banī Rashīd, Sīdī Aḥmad in Banī Warād. Their sanctuaries (*kubbas*), which are under the charge of their (putative) descendants (*awlād al-sayyid*), are the object of individual and collective pilgrimages. The latter, the *mūsem* (*mausim*), takes place each year on the sixth and seventh day after the *mūlūd* (*mawlid*), the Feast of the Prophet's Birthday, and is attended not only by the Ḥmādashā but by tens of thousands of devotees of the saints.

The Ḥmādashā are in fact members of one or the other of two distinct confraternities which are closely related and often confused. The 'Allaliyyīn are the followers of Sīdī 'Alī and the Dghughīyyīn of Sīdī Aḥmad. Both brotherhoods have a network of lodges (*zāwiyyas*) and teams (*tā'ifas*) that extend throughout the principal towns and cities or northern Morocco and through the Ḡharb and Zarhūn areas. The Ḥmādashā brotherhoods, which have neither the membership nor the fame of such popular orders as the 'Isāwā [q.v.], do not extend across the Moroccan frontier. In a figure that is undoubtedly too low, Draque estimated their membership in 1938 at 3,400. Today, despite a marked decrease in the popularity of the confraternities in Morocco, the Ḥmādashā's number is considerably greater than Draque's estimate.

The members themselves fall into three distinct classes: the *awlād al-sayyid*, who trace their descent back to their ancestral saint, live principally in the village in which he is buried, and do not usually participate in his ecstatic ceremonies; the *fukarā'* who are members of lodges (*zāwiyyas*) or teams (*tā'ifas*); and the devotees, or *muḥibbūn* who are simply attracted to the saint and his cult. Each of



the brotherhoods is in the charge of the head, the *mazwār*, of its respective *awlād al-sayyid*.

The Ḥmādsha are notorious for their practice during trance of slashing their heads with knives or halberds (*shakria*) or beating them with water jugs, iron balls, or clubs studded with nails. The principal ceremony (*ṣadaqa*, *layla*, or *ḥadra*) of the brotherhood is not dissimilar in form to the ceremonies of the 'Isāwā, the *Djilāla* [see *KĀDIRIYYA*], and other popular Maghribī brotherhoods. (It tends to be more simply organised, and more frenetic, in the shanty towns and countryside than in the urban *zāwiyas*.) The ceremony usually begins with at least a perfunctory chanting of popular litanies—there is no standard *dhikr* or *hizb* for the brotherhood—and continues with the *ḥadra* or trance-dance. Men and women dance first to the music of drums (*tabl* and *gwal*) and oboe (*ghayta*) and then to that of the drums and either a reed recorder (*nira*) or a guitar (*ganbrī*); they fall first into a light, somnambulist trance called *hāl* and then into a deeper, wilder trance called *djedhba*. It is during *djedhba* that acts of self-mutilation (by men, rarely by women) are performed and animals (pigs and camels) imitated (see 'ISĀWĀ).

The *ḥadra* is not understood in terms of a mystical union or communion with God. Rather, the *baraka* of the saint is held responsible for the *hāl*; *djedhba* is usually interpreted as possession by a *djinn* (*djinnī*) or more frequently by a *djinniyya*. The most common possessing spirit is the *djinniyya* or *ghūla* 'Ā'isha Kandīsha [q.v. above] who is said to manifest herself as either a beauty or a hag, always with the foot of a camel or some other hooved animal. The possessing spirit is thought to respond to a particular musical phrase (*nih*), often accompanied by words, which it finds pleasing. The Ḥmādsha themselves serve primarily as curers of the *djinn*-struck and the *djinn*-possessed. Their aim is less to exorcise permanently the possessing spirit than to establish a symbiotic relationship between the spirit and its victim. Often membership in the brotherhood occurs after a Ḥmādsha cure. Their ceremonies are thought also to bring *baraka* to their sponsor, to those in attendance, and to the ceremonial area itself.

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(V. CRAPANZANO)

AL-HAMAL [see *MINTAKAT AL-BURŪD*].

ḤAMĀSA, the epic genre in Islamic literature.

vi. IN SWAHILI LITERATURE.

In Swahili literature, the word *hamasa* occurs rarely and has the meaning of "virtue, courage, energy". The normal words for "courage, valour" in Swahili literature are *ushujaa*, *ujasiri*, *usabiti* and *uhodari*, all words of Arabic version, and so is the word for virtue, *fadhila*. There are only a few non-narrative heroic poems known in Swahili literature, most of them self-praises in true African fashion. The most famous of these is the Ukawafi of Lioṅgo, praising himself, and at the same time an Ode to Freedom: "I am a young eagle. When this iron is

broken, I will soar up into the skies, higher than all". [see *MADĪḤ*. 5. In Swahili].

The vast majority of heroic poetry in Swahili is narrative and composed in the *utenzi* metre of lines of eight syllables; every four lines form a stanza *ubeti* (the word is formed on the basis of *bayt*). The rhyme scheme is *a a a b*, in which *b* represents the rhyme of the last line of every stanza throughout the whole poem; there are in Swahili more than a thousand words ending in *ya*, *ri*, etc. Rhyme in Swahili means the identity of the last syllable, so that *amba*, *imba*, *omba*, *umba* are rhyme-words.

About the life of the semi-mythical poet-hero Lioṅgo we possess a few epic fragments which however, are certainly not contemporary (he lived presumably ca. 1010/1600). The oldest datable Swahili epic in Swahili is also the finest ever written in it; the ms. in Hamburg is dated 1141/1728. Its theme is the myth of the Prophet Muhammad's expedition to Tabūk where according to this legend, he encountered and defeated the Emperor of Constantinople, Heraclius I, hence the epic's title, *Utendi wa Herekali*, or *Chuo cha Tambuka*. The published text (1958) has 1,145 stanzas. The sophisticated structure, the compact language, the intense style and the rich imagery show that it stands at the end of a long evolution of epic poetry of which we have no documentation. All we know is that the *Herekali* had many imitators, none of whom ever reached the powerful diction and the visionary heights of this first epic. The author, Bwana Mwengo b. Athumani, worked for a time at the court of the sultan of Pate, who requested him to versify the Arabic legend (*hadithi*), in "Swahili." Mwengo's son Abu Bakari composed at least one epic on the theme of an other *maghāzī* [q.v.] tradition, the *Katirifu*, i.e. the expedition of Muhammad against king Ghitrif (ms. in SOAS, undated, but probably ca. 1750-60). Here follows a list of the major heroic-narrative poems in Swahili. *Abdu-Rahmani*. This adventurous son of Abū Bakr, whose bride is a daughter of the infamous Abū Sufyān, fights numerous battles which made him so popular that there are two epic poems about him in Swahili.

Ali. 'Alī is by far the most popular hero in Swahili epics literature, but so far no complete epic about his life has come to light. His exploits are celebrated in the *Utenzi wa Anzaruni* in which he defeats the *shaytān* Anzarūnī (cf. *Qur'ān*, VII, 14); in the *Utenzi wa Herekali*; in the *Katirifu*; in the *Rasi'l-Ghuli* (ca. 1870), a Swahili versification of the *Futūh al-Yaman*, one of the longest Swahili epics (4,300 stanzas) and of course in the epic of Haibara, on the battle of *Khaybar* [q.v.], of which only an incomplete ms. survives. The *Utenzi wa Muhamadi* contains among others the episode of the Battle of the Trench (*Handaki* [see *KHANDAKI*]); this epic of the life of Muhammad is the longest in Swahili literature, and with that, the longest epic ever composed in an African language. The *Utenzi wa Badiri*, the Epic of the Battle of Badr [q.v.] is the next in length, with 4,500 stanzas; yet it is not length that makes an epic great literature.

Hajji Chum of Zanzibar (*fl.* ca. 1920) wrote an epic on the Battle of Uḥud which contains some beautifully dramatic scenes; it was edited by H.E. Lambert (East African Literature Bureau in Nairobi; 739 stanzas). Hemedi b. Abdallah al-Buhriy (d. 1922) wrote, apart from the long version of the *Abdu-Rahmani* mentioned above, an equally long epic about the German conquest of the Swahili Coast in 1884. For the pious Swahili, this was a Holy War

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against “Christian” invaders who bombed women and children from their safe warships. It is by far the best modern epic, i.e. one that deals with recent historical events instead of the mainly mythical events set during the life of the Prophet. The only epic set after his life are the three known versions of the life and death of Huseni (i.e. al-Husayn [q.v.]), which shows (as do the Swahili traditions about ‘Alī) that there must have been considerable *Shīʿī* influence on the East African Coast. The epics that deal with the lives of the prophets before Muhammad (Ādam, Ayyūb, Mūsā, Yūnus, Yūsuf), and those on the lives of the first Muslim women (Khadija, Fāṭima, ‘A’isha) are not heroic in the true sense of chivalresque and are left outside the scope of this article.

Bibliography: A complete list of titles, mss. and editions can be found in Knappert, *The canon of Swahili literature*, in B.R. Bloomfield, ed., *Middle East Studies and Libraries... for Prof. J.D. Pearson*, London 1980, 85-102. Epic poetry is discussed in Knappert, *Four centuries of Swahili verse*, London 1979, chs. 3, 5, 8; idem, *Traditional Swahili poetry*, Leiden 1967, ch. 3; text editions: idem, *Swahili Islamic poetry*, Leiden 1971, iii; *Utenzi wa Mūrajī*, see *Afrika und Uebersee*, xlviii (1964), 241-74; *Katirifu*, in *ibid.*, liii, 81-104, 264-313. The two great works on the Swahili epic are: E. Dammann, *Dichtungen in der Lamu Mundart des Suaheli*, Hamburg 1940, and: J.W.T. Allen, *Tendi*, London 1971.

(J. KNAPPERT)

AL-ḤAMDĀWĪ, ABŪ ‘ALĪ ISMĀ‘ĪL b. IBRĀHĪM b. ḤAMDĀWAYHĪ, better known as AL-ḤAMDŪN (his *nisba* being due to a defective reading, cf. al-Sam‘ānī, *Ansāb*, ed. Hyderabad, iv, 241), minor poet of Baṣra in the 3rd/9th century. From his profession (that of *kātib*, Ibn Kutayba, *Uyūn*, iv, 89) and his origin, he belonged to the class of high officials of Persian origin in the ‘Abbāsid administration; his grandfather had been ‘arīf al-zanādika under al-Mahdī from 168/784-5 (Goldziher, *Sāliḥ b. ‘Abd al-Kuddūs und das Zindikthum während der Regierung des Chalifen al-Mahdī*, in *Trans. Congress of Orientalists*, London, ii, 1892, 108).

Nothing is known of his youth; the *Aghānī*¹, xii, 61-2, mentions his relations with the libertine poets of Baṣra ‘Abd al-Ṣamad b. al-Mu‘aḍḍhal and Maḍraṭān. Like them, he does not seem ever to have left Baṣra to seek his fortune in Baghdād. Amongst his patrons, especially notable was Muḥammad b. al-Mughīra b. Ḥarb (genealogy in Ibn Ḥazm, *Djāmhara*², 369), known as Ibn Ḥarb. This scion of the Muḥallabids, governor of Nahr Tīrā and a lover of bacchic sessions, offered a slightly worn *ṭaylasān* to the poet, who was angered and launched a series of ten epigrams at Ibn Ḥarb. Their success—al-Mubarrad’s circle seems to have appreciated them, according to al-Huṣrī, *Ẓahr al-ādāb*, 550—led al-Ḥamdawī to make the *ṭaylasān* the central motif of his poetry. Other fragments of his attack a descendant of Sulaymān b. ‘Alī, the governor of Baṣra and outstanding patron, al-Husayn b. Dja‘far (*Aghānī*¹, xx, 37) and al-Ḥasan b. Rabāḥ, an aristocratic Baṣran of whom al-Djāhīz thought highly.

Towards the end of al-Ḥamdawī’s life there took place the episode of Sa‘īd b. Sabandād; a skinny and bony ewe triggered off an incident similar to that of the *ṭaylasān*. The only biographical detail attested is provided by a particularly rancorous distich directed against Sa‘īd b. Ḥumayd after his appointment in 248/862 as head of the Correspondence Department (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 1515). But after this date, al-Ḥamdawī is no more mentioned.

Al-Ḥamdawī was essentially a satirist. One epigram of his was so boldly drawn that it was attributed, from its high quality, to Abū Nuwās (Ibn al-Hidjda, *Ta’ḥil al-gharīb*, ii, 249; Abū Nuwās, *Dīwān*, ed. Wagner, ii, 152). The interest of his poetry lies in its treatment of themes: here we have a *ṭaylasān* and an ewe raised to the level of literary types (al-Tha‘ālībī, *Thimār al-kulūb*, Cairo 1965, 376, 601, 673) and providing points of reference for scholars. Ibn al-Rūmī, Ibn Sukkara and Ibn Ṣarah evoke this famous *ṭaylasān*, and in the 9th/15th century, al-Suyūṭī, follows the same path in his *al-Aḥādīth al-ḥisān fī fadl al-ṭaylasān* (ms. Escorial 1972, fols. 27b, 29b-30a-b). This *ḥidjā* of insinuation is thrown into relief by an effort of poetic style which is extremely bravura: *tadmīn* and metaphors (Ibn Abī ‘Awn, *Tashbīḥāt*, cites him twelve times) brought great delight to the scholars (al-Djurdjānī, *Kināyāt*, 123).

Bibliography: As well as references given above, see Ibn al-Mu‘tazz, *Ṭabaqāt*, index; Ibn ‘Abd Rabbihi, *ʿIkḍ*, index; Mas‘ūdī, *Murūj*, viii, 89 = § 3213 and index s.v. Ḥamdūn; Huṣrī, *Djām’ al-djāwāhir*, index; Ibn al-Djarrāḥ, *Waraka*, 62; Bayhaqī, *al-Mahāsīn wa ‘l-masāwī*, 304, 463; ‘Askarī, *Ma‘ānī*, index; al-Khālidiyyān, *al-Tuḥaf wa ‘l-hadāyā*, index; ‘Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-‘Abdalkānī, *Ḥamāsāt al-zurafā*, ms. Istanbul University 1455, fol. 111a; Ibn Ḥamdūn, *Tadhkira*, ms. Ra’īs al-kuttāb 769, v. 154a, 159 b, 161 a; Aydamir, *al-Durr al-farīd wa-bayt al-kaṣīd*, ms. Fāṭih 3761, 26 b, 193 a, 354 a; Husayn Ṣabīḥ al-‘Allāk, *al-Shu‘arā’ al-kuttāb fī ‘l-ʿIrāk fī ‘l-kam al-thāliṭh al-ḥidjī*, Beirut 1975, index; Ibn Khallikān, *Bulāk*, ii, 472-3, ed. Iḥsān ‘Abbās, vii, 95, 98; Ṣafadī, no. 3994. The poet’s *dīwān* has been brought together and published in the Iraqi journal *al-Mawrid*, iii/1 (1974) (additions in iv/1, 1975) by A. Dj. al-Nadjdī; it has been studied by A. Arazī, *Thèmes et style d’al-Ḥamdawī*, in *JA*, cclxvii (1979), 261-307. (A. ARAZĪ)

ḤAMDŪN IBN AL-ḤĀDĪDĪ [see IBN AL-ḤĀDĪDĪ]. **HAMĪD ʔALANDAR**, Ṣufī mystic and poet of Muslim India.

He was born in Kilōgharī (Dihli) some time towards the close of Khaldjī period. His father, Mawlānā Tādī al-Dīn, was a devout disciple of Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā, and Ḥamīd ʔalandar visited the Shaykh along with his father when he was a mere child. His father made proper arrangements for Ḥamīd’s education, and he completed his studies according to the traditions of his age. When Muslim families were forcibly transplanted by the order of Sultan Muḥammad b. Tughlūk from Dihli to Deogīrī, Ḥamīd also had to move to the Deccan. In Dawlatābād (Deogīrī) he benefited from the company of Mawlānā Burhān al-Dīn ʔharīb, the *khaliṭfa* of Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā, and then in 753/1352-3 returned to Dihli. In 754/1353 he paid a visit to Shaykh Naṣīr al-Dīn, the successor of Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā. Being informed about his father’s association with his master, Shaykh Naṣīr showed him much regard, asking “Mawlānā, how can I address you as ʔalandar?” (sc. because he was a scholarly man). He told him that once Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā had told his father that the child would live in the fashion of a ʔalandar [q.v.]; he accordingly shaved his head, eye-brows, moustaches, beard, and wore saffron clothes like the ʔalandars.

Ḥamīd ʔalandar compiled the *Malfūzāt* or sayings of Shaykh Naṣīr al-Dīn of Dihli in Persian, depicting the great Shaykh, *inter alia*, as talking to different people who belonged to the various strata of society and came to the Shaykh’s *khānqāh* with their manifold



problems. The work is characterised by clarity of thought and is free from miracles and other mystical lucubrations. He also left a *Dīwān* of poetry which is not extant, although *Shaykh* ‘Abd al-Hakk Muḥaddith says that his verses were of poor quality and unimportant. The *Maḥmūdīya-yi latā’if wa-safina*, an early 9th/15th century anthology (B.M. Or. 4110), contains a number of *qasidas* composed by *Hamīd Kalandar* in praise of Sultan *Frūz Shāh* of *Dihlī*, showing that he was a courtier also. The statement of Sayyid Muḥammad *Gisū Darāz* [q.v.] contains some truth that *Mawlānā Hamīd* and his companions, *Mawlānā Ādam*, *Mawlānā Ladhū Shāh* and *Mawlānā Sharaf al-Dīn* had no genuine aptitude for *Sūfism*, but it is nevertheless correct that *Hamīd* possessed neither a house, nor a wife or a child, and always lived as a *Kalandar*.

Bibliography: ‘Abd al-Hakk, *Akhbār al-akhḡār*, *Dihlī* 1914; *Hamīd Kalandar*, *Khayr al-maḡjālīs*, ed. K.A. Nizami, *Aligarh* 1960; Sayyid Muḥammad *Husaynī*, *Ḍawāmi’ al-kalim* (sayings of *Shaykh* Muḥammad *Gisū Darāz*) ed. Muḥammad *Hamīd Siddiqi*, *Kānpur* 1356/1937-8; *Mīr Khurd*, *Siyar al-awliyā’*, *Dihlī* 1302/1885. (I.H. SIDDIQI)

HAMĪD AL-DĪN KĀDĪ NĀGAWRĪ, MUHAMMAD B. ‘Aṭā’, *Ṣūfī* saint and scholar of Muslim India. On becoming a *Ṣūfī* he came to be known as *Shaykh* *Hamīd al-Dīn*. Having travelled to different Muslim countries, he came to *Dihlī* during the reign of *Ilutunish* (607-33/1211-36 [q.v.]) and soon developed an intimacy with *Shaykh* *Kuṭb al-Dīn Bakḡuiyār Kākī*, the leading *Čishtī* saint of *Dihlī*. He himself belonged to the *Suhrawardī* order and was the *khaliḡa* or chief disciple of *Shaykh* *Shihāb al-Dīn Suhrawardī* (539-632/1145-1234). Being fond of *samā’* (songs sung for the spiritual entertainment of the *Ṣūfīs*), he made it popular in *Dihlī*. He is reported to have served in *Nāgawr* as *kādī*, thereby acquiring the *nisba* of *Nāgawrī*. Towards the end of his life he came to *Dihlī* and died there in 641/1244, being buried near the grave of his friend, *Shaykh* *Kuṭb al-Dīn Kākī*.

Hamīd al-Dīn Nāgawrī was learned in both Arabic and Persian and wrote a number of popular books on religion and *Sūfism*, as well as composing verses. Once *Shaykh* *Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā’* quoted to his disciples the opinion of a certain leading scholar of the 7th/13th century who used to tell his pupils “Whatever you study is available in these pages [sc. in the works of the *kādī*], and whatever you do not know is also contained herein. Whatever (knowledge) I have acquired is based on (his works) and what I do not know is also in his (works).” Amongst his numerous works, only the *Tawālī’ al-shumūs* and *Sharḡ-i Arba’īn* (mss. of both in the *Habīb Gandj Collection*, *Mawlānā Āzād Library*, *Aligarh*) are extant. The former explains the meanings of the names of God, while the latter is a commentary on the selected forty traditions of the Prophet relating to gnosis and the love of God. There are extracts from his famous works, the *Lawā’ih* and the *Lawāmi’*, contained in the *Akhbār al-akhḡār*, and there is a quatrain composed by *Shaykh* *Hamīd al-Dīn* in praise of *Shaykh* *Farīd al-Dīn Gandj-i Shakar* of *Adjōdhān* quoted in the *Ta’rīkh-i Muḥammadi* of *Biḡamad Khānī*.

Bibliography: ‘Abd al-Hakk Muḥaddith *Dihlawī*, *Akhbār al-akhḡār*, *Dihlī* 1309/1891-2; *Ghawṭhī Shaḡfārī*, *Gulzār-i abrār* (a 17th century work), ms. *Habīb Gandj Collection*, *Mawlānā Āzād Library*, *Aligarh*; Muḥammad *Mubārak Kirmānī*, known as *Mīr Khurd*, *Siyar al-awliyā’*, *Dihlī* 1302/1885; Muḥammad *Biḡamad-Khānī*, *Ta’rīkh-*

i Muḥammadi, ms. *British Museum Or.* 137; *Mīr Hasan Sidjī*, *Fawā’id al-fu’ād* (collection of the table talk of *Shaykh* *Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā’*), *Newal Kishore* 1302/1885; *Storey*, i, 5.

(I.H. SIDDIQI)

HAMĪD AL-DĪN ṢŪFĪ NĀGAWRĪ SIWĀLĪ, *Ṣūfī* saint of Muslim India. He was the post-humous son of *Shaykh* Muḥammad al-*Ṣūfī*, and allegedly the first child to be born in a Muslim family associated with the ruling class in *Dihlī* after its conquest by the Turks. When he was a grown-up young man, he became fond of a voluptuous life, but soon became disgusted with it and then decided to devote himself to religion and piety. He entered the circle of the disciples of *Shaykh* Mu’in al-Dīn *Čishtī* in *Adjmer* and soon became a devoted *Ṣūfī*, repenting of his past sins and adopting a life of poverty. Being impressed by his sincerity and devotion, his *pir* gave him the title of *Sultān al-tārikīn* “monarch of recluses”, and he was also given a *khilāfat-nāma*, i.e. permission to enrol disciples.

Shaykh *Hamīd al-Dīn* finally settled down in *Siwāl*, a small village adjacent to *Nāgawr*, where he lived in a thatched house and dressed himself like a peasant, using two sheets of cloth to cover the upper and the lower parts of the body; he lived frugally and earned his livelihood by ploughing the land, never establishing any contact with the members of the ruling class nor accepting any aid from the state. He owned a cow that he milked himself, and was a strict vegetarian. His death took place in 674/1276 at an advanced age.

He was of the early *Čishtī* saints who made the order popular and widely-known in India. It is interesting to note that he lived and worked as a *Ṣūfī* in rural surroundings, while all the leading *Ṣūfīs* tended to live in the urban centres. He composed verses and wrote on religious problems, and his letters, addressed to *Shaykh* *Bahā’ al-Dīn Zakariyyā’ Suhrawardī* of *Multān* and other persons were very famous during mediaeval times. He wrote treatises also on *Sūfism*, the extracts from which are to be found in *Shaykh* ‘Abd al-Hakk *Dihlawī’s* *Akhbār al-akhḡār*.

Bibliography: ‘Abd al-Hakk Muḥaddith *Dihlawī*, *Akhbār al-akhḡār*, *Dihlī* 1309/1891-2; Sayyid Muḥammad *Mubārak Kirmānī*, known as *Mīr Khurd*, *Siyar al-awliyā’*, *Dihlī* 1302/1885; *Surūr al-budūr*, an anonymous work, but certainly written by one of the grandsons of *Hamīd al-Dīn Ṣūfī Nāgawrī*, as the contents reveal, ms. *Habīb Gandj Collection*, *Mawlānā Āzād Library*, *Aligarh*; *Storey*, i, 6, 1192. (I.H. SIDDIQI)

HAMZA MAKHDŪM, *Ṣūfī* saint of the *Kubrawiyya*. He was the son of *Bābā ‘Uṭmān*, of *Rādjipūt* descent, and was born in about 900/1494-5. He studied in the famous *madrasa* in *Srinagar* known as *Dār al-Shifā’*, which was founded by *Sultān Hasan Shāh* (876-89/1472-84). He studied the *Kur’ān*, *ḥadīth*, *fikh* and *Sūfism* under able teachers like *Bābā Ismā’īl Kubrawī*, the principal of the *madrasa* and a great scholar of his time, his son *Mullā Fath Allāh Shīrāzī* and *Mullā Luṭf Allāh*. After completing his education, *Hamza Makhdūm* became a follower of the *Kubrawī* order. He exhorted the Muslims to adhere to the *Sharī’a* and to give up all un-Islamic beliefs and practices which they had borrowed from the non-Muslims. He was also one of the leaders of the movement against *Shī’ism*, which had begun to spread in the Valley in the first half of the 10th/16th century due to the efforts of *Mīr Shams al-Dīn ‘Irākī* and his followers. *Hamza Makhdūm*, therefore, undertook tours in the Valley to prevent the spread of *Shī’ism* and also to propagate Islamic fundamentalism. *Ghāzī Shāh Čak* (968-70/1561-3), the first



ruler of the Ćak dynasty, being a staunch *Shrī*, banished him from *Srīnagar* to *Bīrū*, a village 20 miles away. He was allowed to return to *Srīnagar* by *Sultān Husayn Shāh* (970-8/1563-70), who was a liberal ruler. But *Hamza Makhdūm* did not give up his anti-*Shrī* activities and was a party to inviting the Emperor *Akbar* to conquer *Kashmīr* and save Sunnism. He died at the age of 84 and was buried on the slope of the *Harīparbat* hillock in *Srīnagar*, below *Akbar's* fort. He is greatly revered by the *Kashmīrīs*, who hold his anniversary every year and visit his tomb in large numbers.

Bibliography: G.D.H. Šūfī, *Kashīr*, Lahore 1948-9; Mohibbul Hasan, *Kashmīr under the Sultāns*, Calcutta 1959; *Kh*ādja *Ishāk Kārī*, *Hilyat al-ʿarīfīn*, ms. B.M. Or. 1868, a life of *Shaykh Hamza Makhdūm*; *Ḥādjdī Muʿīn al-Dīn*, *Tārīkh-i kabīr*, Amritsar 1322/1904. (MOHIBBUL HASAN)

HANAFITES [see *HANAFIYYA*].

HANDASA [see *ʿILM AL-HANDASA*].

HANDŽIĆ (AL-*KHANDJĪ*), MUHAMMAD B. MUHAMMAD B. ŠĀLIH B. MUHAMMAD, a leading Bosnian Muslim and Arabic author who was born in *Saray Bosna* about 1909. He received his early education in *Bosnia*, and his higher education at *al-Azhar* in *Cairo*, where he was admitted to the degree of *al-ʿalimīyya*. After this he performed the *ḥādjdī* with his father, and returned to his native country to teach. He belonged to the *Hanafī madhhab*, and followed the teachings of *Ibn Taymiyya* in *fiqh*. He died at *Saray Bosna* on 29 July, 1944.

During his short literary career he contributed both to the international literature of Islam, with his various works on theology, and to the Arabic literature of *Yugoslavia* with his poetry, his works dealing with various aspects of the local history of the Muslims in *Bosnia*, and his literary study *al-Djauhar al-asnā fī tarāḍīm ʿulamāʾ wa-shuʿarāʾ Bāsna*. In addition to the latter work his published writings include a commentary on *Risālat Ḥayāt al-anbiyāʾ* by *Aḥmad al-Bayhaqī*, a commentary on *al-Kalīm al-ṭayyib* of *Aḥmad b. Taymiyya* and *Risālat al-Ḥaḥḥ al-sāḥih fī iḥbāt nuzūl Sayyidīn al-Masīh*. A number of his works remain unpublished, including some Arabic poems and a supplement to *Ḥādjdī Khalīfa's Kashf al-ḡunūn*.

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(R.Y. EBIED and M.J.L. YOUNG)

AL-ĤĀRITH B. KALADA B. ʿAMR B. ʿILĀD AL-ṬĤAKAFĪ (d. 13/634-5), traditionally considered as the oldest known Arab physician.

It is nevertheless difficult to pin down his personality. He came originally from *al-Tāʾif*, where he was probably born a few years after the middle of the 6th century A.D., and is said to have been a lute-player (trained in *Persia*?) before studying medicine at *Gondeshāpūr* [q.v.] and, adds *Šāʿid al-Andalusī* (*Tabakāt al-umam*, ed. Cheikh, *Beirut* 1912, 47, tr. Blachère, *Paris* 1935, 99) with small probability, in the *Yemen*. He became the "physician of the Arabs", acquiring great fame, and according to some late sources had relations with the *Persians*, even to the

point that he is supposed to have had with one of the *Kisrās*—unhesitatingly identified with *Khusrāw Anushīrwān*, who however died in 579 A.D.—a long conversation in the course of which he was led into revealing to the monarch the principles behind his medical treatments (see especially, *Ibn Khallikān*, *Wafayāt*, ed. I. ʿAbbās, *Beirut* 1965, vi, 373-6; *Ibn Abī Uṣaybiʿ*, *Aṭibbāʾ*, ed. Müller, i, 110-11). A document of this kind, which leads one to believe that *Ibn Kalada* was the author of a treatise on hygiene (see also *al-Ghuzūlī*, *Maṭālīʾ al-budūr*, ii, 101-3), is clearly apocryphal, but it undoubtedly contains some of the aphorisms current among the Arabs of the time, remembrance of which has not entirely disappeared. It is mainly a question of pieces of advice on food and sexual hygiene which investigators of the 2nd-3rd/8th-9th centuries were able to gather together.

Since *al-Ĥārith* also practised at *Mecca*, on various occasions he tended *Muḥammad*, it is related, before his mission, and there are naturally attributed to him some spectacular cures of a patently folkloric nature. Among these figures his treatment of a youth whose illness, difficult to diagnose, was simply an impossible love which he felt for his sister-in-law (*Ibn Kayyim al-Djāwziyya*, *Akhbār al-nisāʾ*, *Cairo* 1319, 21-2, citing *al-Aṣmaʿī*; cf. R. Basset, *Mille et un contes*, etc., *Paris* 1926, ii, 74-5, who brings forward several variants of this tale and points out its resemblance to the intervention of the physician *Erasistratos* (see *Antiochus*). According to a legend of anti-Umayyad origin, when the wife of *Yūsuf al-Ṭḥakafī*, who had had *al-Ĥārith* as her first husband, brought *al-Ḥādjdjādī* [q.v.] into the world, Satan appeared amidst the family in the form of *Ibn Kalada* and made the baby drink some blood because he was refusing his mother's breast; this was the origin of the bloodthirsty nature of the great governor (*al-Masʿūdī*, *Murūdj*, v, 288-9 = §§ 2052-3).

The biographers also lay emphasis on one of his cures which had far-reaching consequences, that performed at *al-Tāʾif* on a person described as a king of *Yemen* called *Abū ʿl-Khayr* (*Ibn Kutayba*, *Maʿārif*, 288) or else *al-Nūshadjan* [b. *Wahrīz*] (*Yāqūt*, s.v. *Zandaward*), or even simply a *Yashkurī* of *Kaskar* (*al-Balādhurī*, *Ansāb*, iv/a, 163); the sick man, now cured of leprosy, showed his gratitude by presenting to *al-Ĥārith* the famous *Sumayya*, who came originally from *Zandaward* and had belonged to the *Persian* emperor. This explicatory story is already fairly suspect, but may contain a basis of truth; it is difficult to make out subsequent events because of the anti-Umayyad traditions which have obscured things. This *Sumayya*, who is moreover sometimes mixed up with the mother of *ʿAmmār b. Yāsir* [q.v.], *Summayya bint Khubāt* (*Ibn Kutayba*, *Maʿārif*, 256), had several children: the third one, *Ziyād* [q.v.], gave rise to the well-known controversies; the second, *Nufayʿ*, known historically by his *kunya* of *Abū Bakra* [q.v.], was not recognised by *al-Ĥārith*, who gave out that his father was one of his slaves called *Masrūh*; as for the first child, *Nāfiʿ*, several sources (in particular, *al-Balādhurī*, *loc. cit.*) make him the son of *al-Ĥārith*, but *Ibn al-Kalbī* (*-Caskel*, *Tab.* 118) only mentions a *Nāfiʿ* b. *Kalada*, who would accordingly be the brother of the physician. Without becoming aware of a contradiction, since he affirms that *al-Ĥārith* was childless, *Ibn Kutayba* (*loc. cit.*) attributes to him a daughter *Azda* who was the wife of *ʿUṭba b. Ghazwān* [q.v.]; the latter brought his three brothers-in-law to *Baṣra* and employed *Ziyād* as a secretary (see also *al-Balādhurī*, *Ansāb*, iv/a, 164). Complicating the situation even further, *Ibn*



Habīb (*Muḥabbar*, 460) further cites another daughter of al-Ĥārith, Kīlāba, who married a distant cousin, 'Amr b. 'Umayr b. 'Awf (Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, Tab. 118).

It can be seen that this family history is very difficult to disentangle, and it offers a characteristic example of the confusions brought about by the efforts of many *mawālī* to provide themselves with an Arab genealogy and, in this particular case, by the fierce political propaganda aimed at blackening the Umayyad's names. According to the information mentioned above, Sumayya was apparently married at least once, since it was her husband 'Ubayd who was the alleged father of Ziyād. Now the historical sources reflect, in regard to Mu'āwiya's recognition of Ziyād's position as collateral relative (*istilhāk*), an anti-Umayyad tradition according to which Sumayya was a prostitute, which makes this "physician of the Arabs" a procurer, since she had been installed at his instigation in the *ḥārat al-baghāyā* in al-Ṭā'if in return for paying him a share of her earnings (al-Mas'ūdī *Murūdj*, v, 22, 24 = § 1778, 1781). Logically, the physiognomists ought to have intervened and pronounced upon the father of each of her children [see *Biḡā'*, above], but the sources say nothing about this.

Al-Ĥārith b. Kalada probably gave up this latter activity—if indeed the information about it is authentic—after he was converted to Islam and had acquired the status of one of the Prophet's Companions. According to a tradition which has clearly been reshaped (see al-Ṭabarī, i, 2127-8; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, iv, 184 = § 1518; cf. *al-Fakhri*, ed. Derenbourg, 133), Abū Bakr was poisoned by the Jews, and al-Ĥārith, who had shared his meal, lost his sight and died soon afterwards.

One discerns that, if the historical existence of the "physician of the Arabs" cannot be put in doubt, his personality is surrounded by a host of legends which have secured a foothold in the historical and biographical literature and which make very difficult all attempts to disentangle the true from the false.

As well as the treatise on hygiene attributed to him, there are some verses given under his name, notably the following (al-'Askarī, *Sinā'atayn*, 123): "There are some people who shower strangers with their beneficence, whilst they afflict their relatives with unhappiness right till death".

Bibliography (in addition to references given in the article): Djāhiz, *Bukhālā'*, ed. Hādjiiri, 98, tr. Pellat, 159; Ibn Kutayba, *Uyūn*, index; Balādhuri, *Futūḥ*, 343; Ibn Dījldjul, *Tabakāt al-aṭibbā'*, Cairo 1955, 54; Kiftī, *Hukamā'*, ed. Lippert, Leipzig 1903, 161-2; Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a, *Aṭibbā'*, i, 109-13; Ibn al-Aṭhīr, ii, 231, iii, 370; Ibn 'Abd Rabbih, *Ikā*, index; Marzubānī, *Mu'djam*, 172; Ibn Hadjar, *Isāba*, no. 1475; Tabrīzī, *Sharḥ al-Ḥamāsa*, 252; Leclerc, *Médecine arabe*, i, 26-8; Hamidullah, *Le Prophète de l'Islam*, 41, 317, 505; L. Massignon and R. Arnaldez, *La science arabe*, Paris 1957, i, 444; D.M. Dunlop, *Arabic science in the West*, Karachi n.d., 2; M.S. Belguedj, *La médecine traditionnelle dans le Constantinois*, Strasbourg 1966, 9. (CH. PELLAT)

AL-ĤĀRITHĪ, ŠĀLIḤ B. 'ALĪ (1250-1314/1834-96), prominent Ibādī leader of the second half of the 13th century and paramount *shaykh* (*lamīma*) of the confederation of tribes of Eastern 'Umān known as the Šarkīyya Hināwīs.

This regional grouping began to crystallise under Hīrth leadership during the civil war that marked the collapse of the Ya'ariba Imāmate in the first half

of the 18th century and continued to develop as one of the major political groupings around which the loyalties of the tribal moiety divisions within 'Umān tended to polarise in times of crisis, the so-called Hināwī and Ghāfirī *shaffs* (alliances). Within the Hīrth clan itself, leadership was shared by three family groupings, the senior to which Šāliḥ belonged, with its "capital" (*āṣima*) at al-Kābil; a cadet branch (the Āl Humayd) at nearby al-Muḍayrib; and the third controlling the original clan settlement of Lower Ibrā (whence the *nisba* Barwānī, var. Barvānī, in East African sources). These divisions were particularly important in the politics of Zanzibar where members of the Hīrth tended to dispute the leadership of the old-established 'Umānī settlers (most of whom originated in the Šarkīyya); but at home, the paramount leadership of the Kābil branch seems to have been firmly established by at least the beginning of the 19th century, for 'Isā b. Šāliḥ, Šāliḥ's great-grandfather, is mentioned in the sources as being leader of the Šarkīyya Hināwīs from the beginning until the middle of the century.

In the latter part of his life, 'Isā joined the opposition to Sayyid Sa'īd b. Sultān (sultan ca. 1804-56) in 'Umān. His grandson, 'Alī b. Nāṣir (Šāliḥ's father), on the other hand, was a strong supporter of Sayyid Sa'īd in his East African domain; at one time he was Sa'īd's governor in Mombasa, later his envoy to England. He was killed in Sa'īd's service at the battle of Siu during the campaign against the Mazārī of Pate (winter 1844-5).

Šāliḥ himself seems to have come strongly under the influence of his great-grandfather and was brought up in the tribal environment at al-Kābil. It was 'Isā who was also presumably responsible for sending him to study with Sa'īd b. Khalfān al-Khalīlī (1820?-71), one of the Ibādī 'ulamā' with whom he had been involved in the abortive attempts to promote Humūd b. 'Azzān as Imām during the mid-1840s. Following the death of Sayyid Sa'īd, the Ibādī movement profited from the succession disputes and tended to cultivate the aspirations of members of the Kays b. al-Imām Aḥmad branch of the Āl Bū Sa'īd from Rustāk in 'Umān and of Sayyid Barghash b. Sa'īd in Zanzibar. Šāliḥ's first appearance in this political scene was during his sole recorded visit to Zanzibar in Sayyid Mādjīd b. Sa'īd's time (sultan 1856-70); there he became involved in Sayyid Barghash's attempt to depose his brother with the help of the Hīrth and other Ibādī leaders. After the failure of this coup in 1859, Šāliḥ took refuge in Somalia for a couple of years, during which time he completed his formal studies.

Upon his return to 'Umān, he immediately became involved in the increasingly complex political situation which revolved around the Āl Bū Sa'īd dynastic struggle, by now exacerbated by the Canning award of 1861 which divided Zanzibar from 'Umān, the Ibādī movement which tended to look for tribal support from the Hināwī faction in central 'Umān, Wahhābī expansionism and increasing British intervention in 'Umānī affairs. Eventually, in September 1868, the parricide sultan, Sālim b. Thuwaynī (sultan 1866-8), was evicted from Muscat by a tribal force drawn from the Rustāk and Bāṭina Hināwīs under 'Azzān b. Qays and the Šarkīyya Hināwīs led by Šāliḥ b. 'Alī; thereupon 'Azzān was elected an Imām with limited power (a *da'if Imām*) under the sponsorship of the then leading 'ulamā', Sa'īd b. Khalfān al-Khalīlī (who was also paramount leader of the Hināwī Banī Ruwāḥa), Muḥammad b. Sulayyim al-Ghāribī (from the Bāṭina Yāl Sa'd) and Šāliḥ.



In 1871 Turkī b. Saʿīd re-established the sultanate with a Ḡhāfirī tribal army, encouraged by the British and financially aided by his brother Mādjid from Zanzibar. ʿAzzān was killed in the siege of the capital and Saʿīd b. Ḳhalīfān al-Ḳhalīlī murdered after he had eventually been persuaded to surrender by the British Agent in Muscat. From then onwards, Ṣāliḥ directed the Ibādī movement until his death in 1896.

In the Ibādī literature Ṣāliḥ is described as *al-Imām al-muhtasib*, that is, an *ʿālim* with the dependability and integrity to lead and advise the Muslim community until such time as an *Imām* can be properly elected. It was in this guise that he continued his attacks, with the support of the Ṣharkīyya Hināwīs and their *badw* Wahība allies, on the sultans in Muscat (1874, 1877, 1895), and against dissident tribesmen, notably the campaign in 1894 against the Banī Shuhaym of the Wādī Damā, who were the shakhlī clan of the Masākira, the Hīrth's great rivals in Ibrā, and in 1896 against the Banū Djabīr, leaders of the Ḡhāfirī confederation of central ʿUmān who were harrying the Raḥbiyyān allies of the Ṣharkīyya Hināwīs. It was during the latter attack that he met his death, struck by a bullet in the thigh at al-Djāyā.

During the first part of this period, Ṣāliḥ's main aim seems to have been that of undermining the position of Turkī b. Saʿīd (Sultan 1871-88), but after the failure of the 1877 attack he largely confined his activities to intriguing against the régime at Muscat and in maintaining his political authority in the interior. In Fayṣal b. Turkī's time, on the other hand, he does seem to have had ideas of sponsoring Saʿūd, a son of ʿAzzān b. Kays, as a candidate for the Imāmate. Ṣāliḥ was succeeded by his eldest son ʿIsā (d. 1946) who, with another of his former pupils, ʿAbd Allāh b. Ḥumayd al-Sālimī (d. 1914), were to play a major part in restoring the Imāmate in central ʿUmān in 1913.

Ṣāliḥ's surviving literary work is a collection of *djāwābāt*, arranged in 1916-17 by A. Walīd Saʿīd b. Ḥumayd b. Ḳhalīfayn al-Ḥārithī, later *kādī* of the Imām Muḥammad b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Ḳhalīlī (Imām 1920-54), under the title *ʿAyn al-maṣāliḥ* (see Bibliography).

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(J.C. WILKINSON)

HARNESS, TRAPPINGS [see KHAYL].

HARPOON [see ṢAYD].

AL-ḤASAN B. AL-KĀSIM B. AL-ḤASAN B. ʿALĪ

B. ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN B. AL-KĀSIM B. AL-ḤASAN B. ZAYD B. AL-ḤASAN B. ʿALĪ B. ABĪ ṬĀLIB, AL-DĀʾĪ ILA ʿL-ḤAKK ABŪ MUḤAMMAD, Zaydī ruler of Tabaristān, was born in 263 or 264/876-8, probably in north-western Iran.

Nothing is known about his life before he joined the Zaydī *imām* al-Ḥasan al-Uṭrūsh [q.v.] al-Nāṣir li ʿl-Ḥakḳ while the latter was active in converting the Daylamīs and Gīlīs east of the Safīd-rūd to Islam. He was commander of the vanguard of al-Nāṣir's army in the great victory over the Sāmānid army under Abu ʿl-Abbās Ṣuʿlūk on the river Būrrūdḥ, west of Ṣhālūs in Djumādā II 301/January 914 which led to the conquest of Tabaristān by al-Nāṣir. Al-Ḥasan b. al-Kāsim pursued the fleeing enemy and on his return ordered the massacre of some 5,000 Ḳhurasānian soldiers descending from the fortress of Ṣhālūs, denying knowledge of a promise of safety which al-Nāṣir had given them. During the reign of al-Nāṣir in Tabaristān, he remained in control of the army, though a rivalry and enmity developed between him and al-Nāṣir's son Abu ʿl-Kāsim Djaʿfar, especially after the latter was appointed governor of Sāriya in 302/914-15. Al-Ḥasan conspired to depose al-Nāṣir with some Gīlī and Daylamī chiefs, whom he had been sent to recruit with their tribes. When they arrived in Āmul, he arrested al-Nāṣir and imprisoned him in a castle in Lāridjān. Shortly afterwards, however, the Gīlī chief Līlī b. al-Nuʿmān arrived from Sāriya calling for support of al-Nāṣir, and al-Ḥasan was deserted by most of his supporters. As al-Nāṣir was restored to the rule, he tried to flee but was apprehended and brought before the *imām*, who pardoned him and permitted him to leave for Gīlān. Some time later al-Nāṣir, upon the intercession of his son Abu ʿl-Ḥusayn Aḥmad, recalled him, granted him the title *al-Dāʾī ila ʿl-Ḥakḳ* and married a daughter of Aḥmad to him. Earlier he had apparently been married to a daughter of al-Nāṣir. Then al-Nāṣir appointed him governor of Gurgān and ordered his son Djaʿfar to assist him. The latter, however, worked against him and deserted him when he was attacked by a (Sāmānid?) army of Turks. Al-Dāʾī was forced to retreat and then besieged in a fortress near Astarābād, probably in winter 304/916-17. Eventually he escaped with a handful of men and went to Āmul and from there to Gīlān.

After the death of al-Nāṣir in Shaʿbān 304/February 917, Aḥmad, in accordance with the wishes of his father, recalled him from Gīlān and surrendered the rule to him. Djaʿfar, however, reproached his brother for this and defected, first joining the Sāmānid governor of Rayy and then going to Gīlān to gather supporters. Aḥmad remained loyal and subdued the Bawandīd Ispahbad Sharwīn b. Rustam and the Kārinīd Ṣhahriyār, rulers of the highlands of Tabaristān, forcing them to pay a higher tribute to al-Dāʾī, but he prevented him from putting them to death. Then he was sent against the Sāmānid general Ilyās b. Ilyasāʾ, who had seized Gurgān, and defeated him. Al-Dāʾī and Aḥmad occupied Gurgān but were forced to withdraw to Tamīsha before another Sāmānid army under Qarā-takīn. Aḥmad now deserted al-Dāʾī and joined Djaʿfar in Gīlān. On 5 Dhu ʿl-Kaʿda 306/12 April 919 Djaʿfar defeated al-Dāʾī and took possession of Tabaristān, whilst al-Dāʾī sought refuge with the Ispahbad Muḥammad b. Ṣhahriyār in the mountains. The latter seized him and sent him to the Djustānid ʿAlī b. Wahsūdān, ʿAbbāsīd governor of Rayy, who imprisoned him in the fortress of Alamūt. He was released after the murder of ʿAlī b. Wahsūdān by the latter's brother



Khusrāw Firūz and went to Gilān to seek support. In Djumādā II 307/November 919 he retook Āmul while the two sons of al-Nāṣir were absent in Gurgān. He defeated Ahmad near Astarābād and then won him over by offering to share the rule with him. Dja'far, who had remained in Gurgān and was deserted by his army, fled to Gilān. In 308/921 Līlī b. al-Nu'mān, al-Dā'ī's governor of Gurgān, conquered Dāmghān, Nishāpūr and eventually Marw, introducing the *khutba* for the 'Alid. He was defeated by a large Sāmānid army and killed near Tūs in Rabī' I 309/July-August. When the defeated army returned to Gurgān, a group of Daylamī and Gilī leaders conspired to depose al-Dā'ī and to put Ahmad on the throne. Informed about the plot, al-Dā'ī hastened to Gurgān and during a reception killed seven of them, among them Harūsindān b. Tirdādīh, the king of the Gil. This ruthless punishment of the plotters led to a defection of many Daylamīs and Gilīs to the Sāmānids and eventually caused his downfall.

In 310/922-3 al-Dā'ī and Ahmad were defeated by the Sāmānid general Sīmdjūr al-Dawāfī at Djalāyīn in the region of Gurgān and were forced to retreat to Tamīsha. Ahmad recovered Gurgān on 1 Dhu 'l-Hijja 310/22 March 923 and was entrusted with the government of the town while al-Dā'ī ruled in Āmul. Shortly afterwards, however, Ahmad made again common cause with his brother Dja'far who had revolted in Gilān against al-Dā'ī. Ahmad attacked al-Dā'ī in Āmul but was defeated and joined Dja'far in Gilān. The two brothers then invaded Tabaristān, supported by several Daylamī and Gilī leaders, among them Mākān b. Kākī [q.v.] and Asfār b. Shīrūya [see ASFĀR B. SHIRAWAYHĪ]. Al-Dā'ī fled, first to Sāriya and then into the highlands while Ahmad took over the rule in Āmul on 28 Djumādā I 311/11 September 923. After Ahmad's death two months later and the succession of Dja'far, al-Dā'ī attacked Āmul but was deserted by his supporters and sought again refuge in the mountains and later in Gilān. Only after Mākān, having been involved in a conspiracy, was expelled from Tabaristān, did al-Dā'ī gain again a powerful supporter. Early in 314/spring 926 Mākān seized Āmul, expelling the ruling 'Alid, Ahmad's son Abū Dja'far Muḥammad, and brought al-Dā'ī from Gilān to restore him to power. At this time the Sāmānid Ahmad b. Naṣr tried to invade Tabaristān, but was encircled in the mountains and forced to pay a ransom of 20,000 *dīnārs* to al-Dā'ī for his release. Disapproving of the conduct of Mākān, al-Dā'ī once more left for Gilān. Mākān kept urging him to return and, on his protest, immediately released Abū Dja'far Muḥammad, al-Dā'ī's brother-in-law, whom he had seized and imprisoned. Eventually al-Dā'ī rejoined Mākān in Āmul, and in 316/926 they set out on an ambitious campaign of conquest and took Rayy from its Sāmānid governor early in Sha'bān/latter half of September. Their absence from Tabaristān was used by Asfār, who was ruling Gurgān under Sāmānid overlordship, to invade that country. Al-Dā'ī quickly returned to Āmul with 500 men, but failed to get the support of the people there on which he had counted. He was defeated outside Āmul and on his flight was killed by Mardāwīdj b. Ziyār, who thus avenged the death of his uncle Harūsindān, on 24 Ramaḍān 316/11 November 928.

Al-Dā'ī was popular as a ruler in Tabaristān and was clearly preferred to his rivals of the descendants of al-Nāṣir. He is highly praised in the account of Ibn Isfandiyyār and in other sources for his justice for restraining the Daylamī and Gilī army from

transgressions, for patronising scholars and poets and for building *madrasas* and *khānākhāhs*. The Kūfan Zaydī supporters of al-Nāṣir also preferred him to the sons of the *imām*, and pressed the latter to appoint him as his successor. He never gained, however, recognition as a Zaydī *imām*, evidently because he lacked the necessary qualifications of religious scholarship. The renunciation of any claim to the Zaydī *imāmate* may have been expressed in the title *al-Dā'ī ila 'l-Haqq* which was chosen for him by al-Nāṣir (see W. Madelung, *Der Imam al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm*, Berlin 1965, 154 f.).

Bibliography: Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, ix, 5-8; Abū Ishāq al-Ṣābi, *K. al-Tāǧī*, ms. Ṣan'a', fols. 9a-11b; Abū Ṭalīb al-Nāṭiq, *al-Ifāda*, mss., in the biography of al-Uṭrūsh al-Nāṣir; Ibn Isfandiyyār, *Ta'rikh-i Tabaristān*, ed. 'Abbās Ikbāl, Tehran 1941, i, 269, 272-92; Ibn al-Aṭhīr, viii, 62, 74, 90 f., 121 f., 138 f.; Ibn 'Inaba, *Umdat al-ṭalīb*, ed. Muḥammad Ḥasan Al al-Ṭalīkānī, Najaf 1380/1961, 83 f., 91, 309; R. Strothmann, *Das Staatsrecht der Zaiditen*, Strassburg 1912, 55 f.; W. Madelung, *Abū Ishāq al-Ṣābi on the Alids of Tabaristān and Gilān*, in *JNES*, xxvi (1967), 31-41; S. M. Stern, *The coins of Āmul*, in *JC*, 7th ser., vii (1967), 216-20.

(W. MADELUNG)

AL-ḤASAN B. MUḤAMMAD B. AL-ḤANAFIYYA, grandson of 'Alī and half-brother of Abū Ḥāshim [q.v.], important member of the Ḥāshimī clan in Medina, author of the two earliest texts so far known of Islamic theology.

During the final crisis of Mukhtār's revolt in Kūfa (67/687) he decided to join the movement; he arrived, however, too late and went on to Nisibis where a certain Abū Kārib Budayr b. Abī Ṣakhr directed the last pocket of "Khāshabī" resistance against the troops of al-Muḥallab b. Abī Ṣufra, who supported Muṣ'ab b. al-Zubayr (cf. for this episode, *Aghānī*², vi, 50, ll. 9 ff. where the name of Budayr is misread as Yazīd, and the Syriac author John of Phenek, in A. Mingana, *Sources syriaques*, Leipzig 1907, i², 183* ff.; also the sources given by W. al-Qādī, in *Akten des VII. Kongresses für Arabistik und Islam-wissenschaft Göttingen 1974*, 297, n. 9). He was captured and imprisoned by 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, but managed to escape to his father Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya in Minā. When, after the collapse of Ibn al-Zubayr's anti-caliphate, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya decided to pay allegiance to 'Abd al-Malik in 73/693, al-Ḥasan, amongst all members of the clan, drew the most spectacular consequences from this step: he wrote an open letter, later on known as his *K. al-Ifḍā'*, in which he implicitly declared Mukhtār's allegiance to his father to have been nothing more than intrusion and imposition and where he pleaded for postponing (*irḍā'*) any judgment upon "those who first participated in the schism of the community" (*ahl al-furka al-uwal*), i.e. upon 'Uthmān and his own grandfather 'Alī. This astonishing attitude against the claims of his family seems to have been born out of the insight that 'Abd al-Malik's reconciliatory policy towards dissident political groups deserved some recognition and that the daemonising view of history proffered by the few remaining followers of Mukhtār at Kūfa, who were known as Saba'iyya at this time (and not yet as Kaysāniyya), was too sectarian in order to have any future. Whether the caliph exerted any pressure, especially with respect to the weak financial situation of the 'Alids, is difficult to substantiate. Al-Ḥasan had his letter recited in different places by 'Abd al-Wahīd b. Ayman, a Meccan *mawla* with whom he was on



friendly terms, but he also personally made propaganda for his ideas in Kūfa. In spite of a certain success, he could not avoid criticism, and only a few years later those who were considered to be "Murdjītes" in Kūfa gave up the political passivity intended by al-Ḥasan's notion of *irḡā'* and joined the uprising of Ibn al-Ash'ath, especially in its final phase (82/701). Al-Ḥasan seems, however, to have been responsible for the invention of this term, which was to have a rather multifaceted history in early Islam.

In addition to the *K. al-irḡā'*, he appears as the author of an extensive refutation of the Ḳadariyya which may have been composed only shortly afterwards, perhaps during the religious discussions preceding and accompanying the revolt of Ibn al-Ash'ath. The treatise does not yet refer to the *Risāla* written by al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī to 'Abd al-Malik, and it is ignorant of certain Ḳadarī doctrines developed there, but it presupposes the existence of a rather elaborate Ḳadarī theology, which it attacks on rational as well as on exegetical grounds. Against his opponents, al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya stresses the omnipotence of God also with respect to human actions, but he does not say that God forces man to act against his will (only this would be *ḡabr* in his view). With al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī and other Ḳadarīs, he shares a synergistic concept, but whereas the Ḳadariyya interpreted God's "leading astray" as a mere secondary reaction which is justified by man's sin, al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya sees sin as the result of the withdrawal of God's "support" (*tauḥīq*). In his discussion of omnipotence he does not yet differentiate between divine predestination and divine foreknowledge. The treatise is structured in the form of hypothetical questions and answers (*in kāla . . . kulnā*) and as such represents the earliest example of *kalām* literature in Islam. It is not preserved in its entirety, but in extensive fragments embedded in a later refutation written by the Zaydī imām al-Ḥādī ila 'l-Ḥakk (245-98/859-911; cf. the edition in Muḥammad 'Imāra, *Rasā'il al-'adl wa 'l-tauḥīd*, Cairo 1971, ii, 118 ff.).

Al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya also enjoyed a high reputation as a jurist. A few *fatāwā*s of his are mentioned in later sources: on the appropriate distribution of the *khums* (which was a political problem because of the definition of the *dhū 'l-kurbā*), on *mut'a* marriage (which he prohibited, in contrast to later Imāmī opinion), on the unlawfulness of having more than four wives at the same time (cf. Makhūl al-Nasafi, *al-Radd 'alā ahl al-bida'*, Ms. Oxford, Pococke 271, fol. 45a, ll. 4 ff.), and on the unlawfulness of eating the meat of the domesticated donkey (against 'Abd Allāh b. 'Abbās). Ibn Ishāq [q.v.] took over from him some traditions about the life of the Prophet; al-Zuhri seems to have been closely associated with him. He died at an uncertain date; but this must have been either during the caliphate of 'Abd al-Malik (i.e. before 86/705), in 95/714 or during the caliphate of 'Umar II (99-101/717-20) at the latest.

Bibliography: W. Madelung, *Der Imam al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm*, Berlin 1965, 228 ff.; Wadād al-Ḳaḍī, *al-Kaysāniyya fi 'l-ta'rīkh wa 'l-adab*, Beirut 1974, index s.v.; J. van Ess, *Das Kitāb al-irḡā' des Hasan b. Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafiyya*, in *Arabica*, xxi (1974), 20 ff. (cf. the additions in *Arabica*, xxii [1975], 48 ff.); idem, *The beginnings of Islamic theology*, in J.E. Murdoch and E.D. Sylla (eds.), *The cultural context of medieval learning*, Dordrecht 1975, 87 ff.; idem, *Anfänge muslimischer Theologie*, Beirut 1977: edition, translation, and

commentary of the fragments of al-Ḥasan's refutation of the Ḳadariyya, and collection of the biographical material (with further references).

(J. VAN ESS)

HASAN B. NŪḤ B. YŪSUF B. MUḤAMMAD B. ĀDAM AL-BHARŪCĪ AL-HINDĪ, Mustā'li-Ṭayyibī Ismā'īlī savant.

According to his own statement he was born and brought up in *Khambhāt* (Cambay) in India, and received his early education there. It is not known when and by whom the surname "Bharūcī", sc. from Bharūc or Broach, [see BHARŪC], was given to him. Urged on by a thirst for knowledge, he states, he renounced family, left his country, travelled to Yaman, and became a student of Ḥasan b. Idrīs, the twentieth *dā'ī mutlak*. The books read by him with his teacher in various branches of the *'ulūm al-dā'wa* are fully described in the introduction to his *Kitāb al-Azhār*. He was also closely associated with 'Alī b. Ḥusayn b. Idrīs and Muḥammad b. Ḥasan b. Idrīs, who later became the twenty-second and twenty-third *dā'ī mutlaks*. He was the mentor of Yūsuf b. Sulaymān, the twenty-fourth *dā'ī mutlak*, and died on 11 *Dhu 'l-Ḳa'da* 939/4 June 1533.

His claim to fame is rightly based on his voluminous work *Kitāb al-Azhār wa-maḡīma' al-anwār al-malkūla min basāṭin al-asrār*. It is a chrestomathy of Ismā'īlī literature in seven volumes wherein many earlier works, otherwise lost, are preserved either in full or in part. It also contains extensive excerpts from Sunnī and Zaydī works, especially on the life and character of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib [q.v.]. Volume one was edited by 'Ādil al-'Awwā in *Muntakhabāt Ismā'īliyya*, Damascus 1958, 181-250, whereas the remaining volumes are in manuscript. Major subjects of each volume are described in I. Poonawala, *Bibliography of Ismā'īlī literature*, Malibu, Calif. 1977, 178-83.

Bibliography: The main biographical source is the author's own work *Kitāb al-Azhār*, i, 186 ff.; Ismā'īl b. 'Abd al-Rasūl al-Maḡīdū, *Fihrist*, ed. 'Alī Nakī Munzawī, Tehran 1966, 77-88.

(I. POONAWALA)

HASAN, MĪR GHULĀM (1140-1201/1727-86), Urdu poet noted for his *mathnawīs*, was born in Dihlī, the son of Mīr Ḍāḥik, a poet of modest attainments who was satirised by Sawdā. Mīr Ḥasan had a liberal education, which included the Persian language, but apparently not Arabic. He learned the poetic art from his father and from Mīr Dard. After the sack of Dihlī in 1739 by Nādir Shāh, he emigrated with his father to Faizabad (or Fayḍābād [q.v.]), the capital of Oudh or Awadh [q.v.]. En route, they stayed at Dig, near Bharatpur, and joined the pilgrimage procession to the festival of the saint Shāh Madār at Makanpur. The poet was to describe this journey and festival in a colourful *mathnawī*, *Gulzār-i Iram*, composed about nine years before his death. In Faizabad, Mīr Ḥasan joined the service of the Nawwāb. In 1189/1775 the new Nawwāb, Āṣaf al-Dawla, transferred the capital to Lucknow, so the poet moved there also. Here he composed his longest and best-known *mathnawī*, *Shīr al-bayān* ("The enchantment of eloquence"), which won immediate acclaim, and is frequently known merely as "Mīr Ḥasan's *Mathnawī*". This was finished in 1199/1785, less than two years before the poet's death.

Mīr Ḥasan's complete poetical works do not seem to have been published. He is known to have written both *ghazals* and *marthiyas*, and he was the grandfather of Anīs [q.v.], the famous Urdu elegist. But it is for his *mathnawīs* that he is chiefly remembered. Yet of the eleven with which he is credited, only

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Sīhr al-bayān is widely known, and it may justly be described as the original model of the Urdu narrative *mathnawī*, and one of the two or three greatest examples of the form. It runs to about 2,000 couplets in *mutakārib* metre, and tells, in some detail, a story of royalty, love and magic of the kind current in India. The central plot concerns the love between Prince Bīnāzīr and Princess Badr-i Munīr. There is a subsidiary love plot involving Nāḍīm al-Nisā', the *Wazīr*'s daughter, and Fīrōz Shāh, son of the King of the Jinn. A magic flying horse plays an important part in the events of the story. But the supernatural elements in the story are no more important than in—say—Central European *Zauberoper* or *Zauberposse* in the 18th and 19th centuries. The elements which raise an incredible story to the level of great literature are many and varied, but they include the characterisation, which relates the characters to ordinary human beings; the vivid and colourful description of people and places; the effective use of rhetorical devices such as word-play; the timeless language, which seems remarkably up-to-date two centuries later; and the numerous examples of "gnomic" verse which embody simple philosophising and lend themselves to quotation in everyday life. In fact, few Urdu poets since have had his facility for saying things so simply yet effectively, often with internal rhyme. *Sīhr al-bayān* has been adversely criticised chiefly for its unnecessary length. But apart from the series of introductions devoted to God, the Prophet, the *Imām* 'Alī and others, ending with one to the Nawwāb Āṣaf al-Dawla, the length is duly chiefly to the detailed description, without which it would lose most of its charm.

From what the poet says about his poem in the last few couplets, he clearly regarded it as a new type of *mathnawī*, and as his chief claim to fame. He says:

It is a new type, and the language is new.
It is not a [normal kind of] *mathnawī*, it is the
enchantment of eloquence.
From it my fame will endure throughout the world,
For wherever these words are is a memorial.

Evidence of the immense popularity of the work can be seen in the various verse translation into other Indian vernaculars, and also in the dramatic versions. Thus in Bengali there is a verse translation of 1863, and a play entitled simply *Mathnawī* of 1876. Mīr Bahādur 'Alī's Urdu prose version, completed under the auspices of Fort William College, Calcutta, was printed there in 1803, and has since been frequently reprinted. It contains many poetical quotations from Mīr Hasan's original. The story provided a favourite plot for early Urdu drama in the late 19th century.

The qualities found in *Sīhr al-bayān*—apart from the involved story—are present in his other *mathnawīs*. Thus *Gulzār-i Iram* includes a vivid description of a crowded market; another, *Rumūz al-'arīfīn*, has a Šūfī background.

Mīr Hasan's other claim to fame is his account, in Persian, of Urdu poets, including his contemporaries, the *Tadhkira-yi-shu'arā'-yi-Urdū*, which has become a standard reference work.

Bibliography: There are numerous editions, as well as manuscripts of *Sīhr al-bayān*. That edited by 'Abd al-Bārī Āsī (*Mathnawīyāt-i-Mīr Hasan*, Lucknow 1945, is recommended because it also includes *Gulzār-i Iram* and *Rumūz al-'arīfīn*, and has a useful introduction, with numerous footnotes explaining difficult vocabulary.

Mathnawī-yi-Mīr Hasan, ed. Hāmid Allāh Afsar, Allahabad 1925, has a short introduction which discusses the poem's good and bad qualities (11-14), and a glossary. Mīr Hasan's *Tadhkira-yi-shu'arā'-yi-Urdū* was published at 'Alīgarh in 1922.

For accounts of Mīr Hasan, particularly *Sīhr al-bayān*, mention must first be made of R. Russell and Khurshidul Islam, *Three Mughal poets: Mir, Sauda, Mir Hasan*, London 1969, 69-94. This account is devoted chiefly to re-telling the story, but also includes a useful critical assessment. Saksena gives a general account of the poet in his *History of Urdu literature*, Allahabad 1927, 67-70; See also Muhammad Sadiq, *History of Urdu literature*, London 1964, 108-11; Urdu accounts of the poet include the following: Muhammad Husayn Āzād, *Āb-i-hayāt*, Lahore ed. 1950, 249-51; Maḥmūd Farūkī, *Mīr Hasan aur khāndān kē dusrē shu'arā*, Lahore 1952; Wahīd Kurayshī, *Mīr Hasan aur un kā zamāna*, Lahore 1959; For Mīr Bahādur 'Alī's prose version, see Major Henry Court's English tr., *The nasr-i Benāzīr*, Calcutta 1871, 2nd ed. 1889.

(J.A. HAYWOOD)

HASAN BEDR AL-DĪN, later **PASHA** (1851-1912), Ottoman Turkish soldier and playwright, chiefly famed as the collaborator during the years 1875-9 of his fellow-officer and friend, the author and dramatist Manāstīrlī Mehmed Rif'at [q.v.], in the writing of some 16 plays, some translations from the French and some original, which were produced at the Gedik Pasha Theatre in Istanbul (see MANĀSTĪRLĪ MEHMED RIF'AT for full details).

He was born at Sīmāw near Kütahya, the son of an army officer, was educated at the military school (*İdādi*) in Damascus and then at the Istanbul War College (*Harbiyye*), where he graduated the first of his class and was the contemporary and classmate of his future collaborator Manāstīrlī Mehmed. He served briefly in the Imperial Guards, but in the increasingly repressive atmosphere of Sultan 'Abd al-Hamīd II's reign he was soon banished from Istanbul to the eastern provinces, and served in Syria and Palestine with the rank of colonel. However, he was soon stripped of this rank, presumably as the result of a *zhurnal* or delatory report, and taught in Damascus schools for a living. After the restoration of the Constitution in 1908, he returned to Istanbul, was rehabilitated under the Young Turk régime, promoted to brigadier-general and then general of a division, and was finally appointed commander and governor of Ishkodra [q.v. in Suppl.] or Scutari (modern Shkodër in northern Albania). After a brief spell of service, he resigned on the grounds of ill-health, returned to Istanbul and died there in 1912.

Bibliography: See that for MANĀSTĪRLĪ MEHMED RIF'AT.

(FAHİR İZ)

HASAN NIZĀMĪ, historian of the Dillī sultanate in Muslim India.

He was the son of Nizāmī 'Arūḍī Samarkandī, the famous Persian littérateur [q.v.], but left his hometown, Nishāpūr, sometime towards the close of the 6th/12th century because of political instability there. In Dillī he made friends with high officers of Sultan Kutb al-Dīn Aybak (602-7/1206-10 [q.v.]), including the Šadr Šaraf al-Mulk. Impressed by his learning, his friends advised him to produce a literary work so that he might get royal patronage; hence Hasan Nizāmī decided to compile the history of Aybak's achievements in Arabic. But his friends persuaded him to write it in Persian, since there were in India few people literate in Arabic. In the meantime, the royal *farman* was proclaimed that Aybak's conquests in India should be recorded by scholars,



along with those of his master, Sultan Mu'izz al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Sām [see *GHURIDS*]. Hence the compilation of the *Tādj al-ma'āthir*.

The first part contains a description of Sultans Mu'izz al-Dīn Muḥammad and Kuṭb al-Dīn Aybak. On Sultan Aybak's death Ḥasan Nizāmī continued his work under Ilutmish, and according to Sir Henry Elliot, brought it up to the year 626/1229; but the extant copies of the work end with the description of the occupation of Lahore by Ilutmish in 614/1217. Since Ilutmish was his last patron, the author is not impartial in his criticism of his master's rivals, such as Tādj al-Dīn Yildiz and Sultan Nāsir al-Dīn Kubācha. He omits mention of Arām Shāh, the son of Kuṭb al-Dīn Aybak, because Ilutmish has usurped the throne and killed him. Moreover, there is no space devoted to the description of the nobles of the early sultans of Dihlī, who had helped the sultans in stabilising Muslim rule in northern India at its very beginning. In fact, Ḥasan Nizāmī fails to produce a history in the real sense of the word; his work reads like a mere *Fath-nāma*.

It was, moreover, written in an ornate and florid style, full of verbosity and rhetorics. The historical details are interspersed with the Qur'anic verses and Arabic and Persian poems; more than half of the work comprises only verses. Despite these defects, the *Tādj al-ma'āthir* enjoyed fame because of its bravura style, much to contemporary literary taste, and much imitated subsequently.

Bibliography: Storey, i, 493-5, 1310; H.M. Elliot and J. Dowson, *The history of India, as told by its own historians*, ii, 204-43; Ḥasan 'Askarī, *Tāj al-Ma'āthir of Ḥasan Nizāmī*, in *Patna University Journal*, xviii/3 (1963).

(I.H. SIDDIQUI)

ḤASRAT MOHĀNĪ, SAYYID FAḌL AL-ḤASAN, prominent Indian journalist, poet and politician, was born most probably in 1297/1880 in the small town of Mohān in Uttar Pradesh. His family, which numbered many scholars, physicians and mystics, claimed descent from Sayyid Maḥmūd who migrated from Nishāpūr in Iran and founded Mohān in 615/1218. One recent ancestor had been royal physician to the Kings of Awadh, another had been minister of religious affairs in the Hyderabad state. Ḥasrat was educated at government schools and privately in Arabic and Persian. In 1316/1899 he headed the provincial list in the matriculation examination and won a government scholarship to the Muḥammadan Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh.

From his student days Ḥasrat was a prominent figure in the political and cultural activities of North Indian Muslims. He fought for Islamic causes in India and abroad. In 1903 he started an Urdu weekly, *Urdū-i mu'allā*, which appeared intermittently until 1938: its pan-Islamist and virulently anti-British views strongly influenced young educated Muslims. In 1909 he was jailed for a year for publishing an article critical of British educational policy in Egypt, and he was prominent in the explosion of pan-Islamic protest which preceded World War One. In 1916 he was interned for the duration of the War after he was found to be connected with 'Ubayd Allāh Sindhī's [q.v.] plan, the "Silk Letters Conspiracy", to raise the Frontier tribes against the British. During the *Khilāfat* movement he associated increasingly with the 'ulamā', coming to be called our "mad mullā" by Muḥammad and Shawkat 'Alī [q.v.], and tried continually to drive the agitation more extreme: striving to make non-co-operation with government the policy of the *Khilāfat* movement

at its conference of November 1919, declaring his support for an Afghan invasion of India at the Congress-*Khilāfat* meetings of June 1920, and attempting to make complete independence for India the aim of the Congress and the Muslim League at their sessions in 1921. He was imprisoned from 1922 to 1924. On his release he startled many by declaring himself a Communist as well as a Muslim, and he chaired the reception committee of the first Indian Communist Conference at Kānpur in 1925. From this point Ḥasrat's influence in Indian politics declined. He remained notable but could no longer find support amongst many. From 1937 he was active in the Muslim League, of which he had been a member from its foundation and President in 1921, but he was out of harmony with the direction it was taking. He opposed the League's demand for Pakistan and devoted much of his time from 1942 to 1947 to promoting his own plan for a three-tiered Indian confederation to solve the communal problem. In 1946 he was elected as a Muslim League candidate to the UP Legislative Council and to the Indian Constituent Assembly. He died in Lucknow in 1951.

Although vigorously engaged in politics, Ḥasrat maintained a considerable literary output. His most important prose works are his commentary on the 13th/19th century poet Ghālib, *Sharh-i Ghālib*, and his discussion of the conventions of Urdu poetry, *Nikāt-i sukhān*. Primarily, however, he was a poet. He contributed much to the refinement of the Urdu *ghazal* and was the only *ghazal* writer of modern times to become a "classic" while still alive. Djamāl Miḥyān Farangī Maḥallī has edited the most complete edition of his works, *Kulliyāt*, 2nd. ed., Lahore 1959.

Evidently, several somewhat contradictory themes mingle in Ḥasrat's life. There is his faith, as evident in his private life as in his public actions. A punctilious observer of prayer and fasting, he also performed the *Ḥajj* at least eleven times between 1932 and his death. He was, moreover, in the tradition of his ancestors, a mystic and a follower of the Farangī Maḥall family [q.v. above] of Lucknow, becoming a *murīd* of Mawlānā 'Abd al-Wahhāb (d. 1321/1903-4) in 1894 and being made a *khālifa* in both Kādirī-Razzākī and Čishtī-Nizāmī *silsilas* by Mawlānā 'Abd al-Bārī [q.v. above] in 1917. There is his imperviousness to the communal attitudes which influenced so many of his contemporaries; hence he opposed Pakistan, admired Hindus of a revolutionary caste of mind like Tilak, Aurobindo Ghose and Subhas Bose, and wrote poems in Hindi praising Krishna and expressing his longing for Hindu holy places. Then there is his Communism, though it is unlikely that his understanding of Communist theory and practice would have withstood rigorous examination. Its attractions, it seems, stemmed in part from a very Muslim love of egalitarianism, in part from a hatred of British imperialism and in part from the fact that it took no account of communalism. Invariably, Ḥasrat propounded his position with sincerity and without fear. Such independence of mind invited conflict with others. He was expelled two times from Aligarh College, imprisoned at least three times by the British, had memorable confrontations with both Gandhi and Jinnah, led the party which stormed the Congress session at Kānpur in 1925, and refused to sign the Indian constitution because he did not think it brought the freedom for which Indians had fought. Above all things a rugged individualist, he was received with great respect throughout his life though heard increasingly by few.

Bibliography: Khālid Ḥasan Qādirī, *Ḥasrat*

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Mohānī: a study of his life and poetry, London University Ph. D. thesis, 1971 (unpublished); Francis Robinson, *Separatism among Indian Muslims: the politics of the United Provinces' Muslims 1860-1923*, Cambridge 1974. (F.C.R. ROBINSON)

HASSANI [see ḤASANĪ]

HASSŪ TAYLĪ "the oilman", a religious devotee of Muslim India, was born at an unknown date, some time in the 10th/16th century, at Makhiwal, on the bank of the Chenab, in the Pandjāb.

A critical change in Hassū's life came when he was twelve. He met one of the living "nine naths of Gorakhnath". The latter recognised in him his sixty-first and premier disciple, who had spent 82 years in severe austerities before his birth. Hassū now embarked on his career as a saint. He went to Lahore where he worked as a porter, but subsequently became a grain merchant and opened a grain store at Lahori Mandi. A devout admirer of his, Sūrāt Singh, paints him as a merchant of a curious type—knowing everything about the future prices, he bought dear and sold cheap! He died at Lahore in 1104/1603. His tomb still survives, an object of some veneration; the spot is also remembered where he used to sell grain.

To his death, Hassū Taylī appears to have remained formally a Muslim, though he did not follow the five basic observances of Islam. For this latter, his disciple Sūrāt Singh has ready explanations: he prayed all the time, so why should he have prayed in public? Why should he have paid *zakāt*, or kept daily fasts when he never had anything stored up, and never broke his fast? Why should he have gone on Pilgrimage, to circumambulate the Ka'ba, when he went round the Ka'ba of his heart a hundred times in one breath? His chief disciple, Shaykh Kamāl, used the term *Malāmāṭiyya* [q.v.] to designate his master's school, with considerable aptness.

The significance of this religious sect lies in the fact that it openly drew its disciples from amongst both Hindus and Muslims, and declared its connections with ascetic and mystic predecessors in both religions. Nor did the followers of this sect make any attempt to hide the rather modest origins of their teacher.

Bibliography: Sūrāt Singh, *Tadhkira-yi Pir Hassū Taylī*, unique Ms. in Department of History, Aligarh Muslim University; M. Athar Ali, *Sidelights into ideological and religious attitudes in the Punjab during the 17th century*, in *Medieval India—a miscellany*, ii, Bombay 1972. (M. ATHAR ALI)

AL-ḤĀTIMĪ, ABŪ 'ALĪ MUḤMMAD B. AL-ḤASAN B. AL-MUẒAFFAR, literary critic and philologist of the 4th/10th century, who died in Baghdād on 27 Rabī' II 388/26 April 998.

Though the name of his father is sometimes given as al-Ḥusayn, the testimony of Abū 'Alī al-Muḥassin al-Tanūkhī (*Nishwār al-muḥādara*, ed. 'A. al-Shāhidjī, Beirut 1391-3/1971-3, iii, 14) and of al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, who received traditions from al-Ḥātimī through Abū 'Alī's son, Abū 'l-Kāsim al-Tanūkhī (see *Ta'rikh Baghdād*, ii, 214, 356, xi, 231) can probably be trusted. All biographers agree that he was a pupil of Ghulām Tha'lab [q.v.], but fail to mention other teachers, except Yāqūt (*Udabā'*, vi, 501), who states that al-Ḥātimī was born early enough to have been a pupil of Ibn Durayd [q.v.]. Since Ibn Durayd died in 321/933, this information, if correct, would indicate that al-Ḥātimī was born around 310/922 or even earlier. Yāqūt however also quotes an autobiographical note from al-Ḥātimī's [*Takrīf*] *al-hilbādja*, a book

which al-Ḥātimī wrote for the vizier, Abū 'Abd Allāh [al-Ḥusayn b. Ahmad] b. Sa'dān [see IBN SA'DĀN below], who held office from 373/983 till 374/985 (see Ibn Miskawayh, *Tadhārīb al-umam*, iii, 85, 102, 107). In this note, al-Ḥātimī claims that he served Sayf al-Dawla at the age of nineteen. If we assume that al-Ḥātimī did not join the circle of Sayf al-Dawla before the latter had established himself firmly in Aleppo in 336/947, he could not have been born before 317. The question is whether al-Ḥātimī's autobiographical report can be trusted, since both the description of his character by contemporary authors (see Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī, *al-Imtā' wa 'l-mu'ānasa*, i, 135, iii, 126-7) and the tone of many of his own remarks in the *Mūdiha* (see below) suggest that he was given to unbridled self-glorification. A further reason for questioning the report in the *Hilbādja* is that he quotes in the *Hilya* (see below) 'Alī b. Sulaymān al-Akhfash who died as early as 315/927 (cf. Bonebakker, *Materials for the history of Arabic rhetoric*, in *AIUON*, Suppl. no. 4, xxxv [1975], fasc. 3, p. 88). The autobiographical report quoted by Yāqūt goes on to say that at the court of Sayf al-Dawla, al-Ḥātimī was treated as the equal of the grammarians Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī, Ibn Khālawayh [q.v.] and Abū 'l-Tayyib al-Lughawī [q.v. above]. Since Abū 'Alī al-Fārisī joined Sayf al-Dawla in 341, al-Ḥātimī cannot have given up his career with Sayf al-Dawla before that date, again assuming that his report can be trusted. It is also likely that al-Ḥātimī left Aleppo not later than Dhu 'l-Ka'da 351/December 962, the date of the attack on Aleppo by Nicephorus Phocas (Abū 'l-Tayyib al-Lughawī died in the massacre that followed, according to the editor of Abū 'l-Tayyib's *Marātib*, Cairo 1375/1955, 5-6). In any case, we find him in Baghdād in the summer of 352/963 (or possibly 351/962, cf. M.S. Kiktev in *Literatura Vostoka* [1969], 81 note) involved in a discussion with the poet al-Mutanabbī, whom he may well have known already at the court of Sayf al-Dawla. The *Yatīmat al-dahr* of Tha'ālībī (ed. M.M. 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, Cairo 1375-7/1956-8, iii, 108-11, 131-3) quotes verses by al-Ḥātimī on the Ziyārīd ruler Shams al-Ma'ālī [Kābūs b. Wushmagīr] [q.v.], on the Buwayhid vizier Sābūr b. Ardāshīr and on the caliph al-Kādir bi 'llāh, but these do not throw any light on al-Ḥātimī's career during the second half of his life (the *Yatīma* text suggests that these poems were composed by a son of al-Ḥātimī; unless one follows the text in Yāqūt vi, 501-2, assuming at the same time, that this text contains, in a brief parenthesis, two lines by al-Ḥātimī's father and that Yāqūt should have read *li'bnihī* as in the *Yatīma* ed.).

From the introduction of a story in al-Tanūkhī's *al-Faraj ba'd al-shidda* (Cairo 1903, ii, 85 = Cairo 1375/1955, 305), it appears that al-Ḥātimī visited Egypt, but unfortunately there is no indication at which period of his life this visit took place. Nor do we know any details about his career as a *kātib*, though he is qualified as such by several biographers.

Al-Ḥātimī chiefly owes his fame to two *risālas* on the poet al-Mutanabbī which go under various names. The first of the two is known as *al-Risāla al-mūdiha* [*fi dhikr sarikāt Abi 'l-Tayyib al-Mutanabbī wa-sākit shirih*], *Djabhat al-adab*, *Munāzarat Abi 'Alī al-Ḥātimī li-Abi 'l-Tayyib*, or simply *al-Risāla al-Ḥātimīyya*. The correct title, at least of the longer version of this *risāla* which is preserved in the ms. Escorial 772 (and quoted in part by Ibn Khallikān and, following him, al-Yāfi'i, *Mir'at*, Hyderabad 1337-9, repr. Beirut 1390/1970, ii, 437-41), is undoubtedly *al-Mūdiha*. This title is explained by the author



as referring to a type of wound inflicted on the head (Lane, s.v. *shadīdā*), and may be a *double entendre*, since *mūdiha* means also “making apparent”, “disclosing”, i.e. the defects of al-Mutanabbī’s poetry. The title *Ḍabhat al-adab* must be the result of a wrong interpretation of a sentence in the preface, though it appears in several mediaeval biographies (see the ed. of the *Mūdiha* by M.Y. Naḍīm, Beirut 1385/1965, 3, 11, 12-3, 4, 1, 18, and 6, note 1 of the introduction). The *risāla* is a caricature of al-Mutanabbī and a condemnation of his poetry, in the framework of a discussion between the poet and al-Ḥātimī. The attack was instigated by the Buwayhid vizier al-Muhallabī and reflected the rivalry between the Buwayhid Mu’izz al-Dawla and the Hamdānid Sayf al-Dawla (see R. Blachère, *Un poète arabe du IV^{ème} siècle de l’Hégire*, Paris 1935, 223-5, 228). It ended, according to al-Ḥātimī, in al-Mutanabbī’s flight to Kūfa. A shorter version of the same *risāla* exists in Yāqūt’s *Uḍabā’* (vi, 504-18), in Yūsuf al-Badī’ī’s *al-Ṣubḥ al-munabbī* (ed. M. al-Sakḥā et alī, Cairo 1963, 128-42), in the MS Cairo, Dār al-Kutub 2039 (ed. I. al-Dasūkī al-Bisāṭī, Cairo 1961, as an appendix to the *Ibāna ‘an sarikāt al-Mutanabbī* of Abū Sa’d Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-‘Amīdī) and in at least two other manuscripts. There is a Russian translation in the above mentioned article by Kiktev. An even shorter version is preserved in Shihāb al-Dīn al-Khatādjī (ed. ‘A.M. al-Ḥulw, Cairo 1386/1967, ii, 421-7), which does not make any mention of Muhallabī and Mu’izz al-Dawla. These shorter versions end in a reconciliation, after which al-Mutanabbī and al-Ḥātimī part as good friends. Al-Badī’ī’s text, Khatādjī and the text published by al-Bisāṭī (but not the text in Yāqūt) even add a last sentence to the effect that al-Ḥātimī became so much convinced of al-Mutanabbī’s merits as a poet that he decided to write another *Risāla Ḥātimīyya*. This second *Risāla Ḥātimīyya* to which the shorter versions of the first allude may be the list of parallels between verses by al-Mutanabbī and pseudo-Aristotelian sententiae which is preserved not only in a considerable number of manuscripts, but also in the *Kitāb al-Badī’ fī naḥḍ al-shi’r* by Usāma b. Muḥiddīh (ed. A.A. Badawī et alī, Cairo 1380/1960, 264-83) and in quotations in the Mutanabbī commentary by al-‘Ukbarī (see Blachère, *op. cit.*, 268-9, and the examples translated by F. Rosenthal in *Das Fortleben der Antike im Islam*, Zürich 1965, 352-4, and cf. 118). Yet there may be some doubt about the authenticity of this second *risāla*, since biographies such as those by Yāqūt and al-Suyūṭī, which offer a detailed list of al-Ḥātimī’s oeuvre, do not mention it. An accurate description of the *risāla* appears in *al-Muḥammadūn min al-shu‘arā’* by Ibn al-Kifī (ed. H. Ma’marī, Cairo 1390/1970, 231), though Ibn al-Kifī fails to mention it in his Ḥātimī biography in the *Inbāh al-ruwāt*. A second description occurs in al-Safadī’s *Wafī bi ‘l-wafayāt*, ii, 343; but several unpublished manuscripts of the *risāla* have only a descriptive title with no indication of the origin of the work. Nor does al-Ḥātimī’s name (as far as the author of the article knows) appear in the above-mentioned Mutanabbī commentary and in Usāma’s *Badī’*. Mention should be made of a curious manuscript in the Ambrosiana (F 300) which brings together a somewhat more elaborate rendering of the short version of the first *Risāla* and the second *Risāla* claiming (not very convincingly) that both were based on a verbal account given by al-Ḥātimī in 369/979-80. The best edition of the second *Risāla Ḥātimīyya* is that by F.A. al-Bustānī in *Machriq*, xxix (1931), 132-9,

196-204, 273-80, 348-55, 461-4, 623-32, 759-67, 854-9, 925-34, and in a separate ed. published in the same year. A facsimile edition with translation was published by O. Rescher in *Islamica*, ii (1926), 439-73; other editions can be disregarded.

As a document of mediaeval Arabic literary criticism, the longer version of the *Mūdiha* is by far the most interesting of the three texts, not only because of its penetrating and often rightful criticism of al-Mutanabbī’s poetry, but also because of its lucid analysis of the distinction between slavish imitation of themes from ancient poetry and the subtle metamorphosis of such themes as he finds it in the work of truly gifted poets. This analysis goes beyond the original aim of the *risāla*, which sets out to be a satire against al-Mutanabbī and a grotesque picture of his character and habits. The first encounter between al-Ḥātimī and al-Mutanabbī is followed, in the *Mūdiha* but not in its shorter version, by a description of three further encounters at the house of al-Muhallabī in the presence of scholars of note, such as Abū Sa’d al-Strāfi, ‘Alī b. ‘Isā al-Rummānī and ‘Alī b. Hārūn al-Munadjdjim. In the preface to his edition (11-12), Naḍīm raises the question whether the meetings at the home of al-Muhallabī actually took place and were not invented in order to find a suitable form for an elaboration of the theme of discussion of the first meeting. It is indeed unlikely that al-Mutanabbī would have allowed himself to be publicly humiliated on four different occasions.

Al-Ḥātimī is frequently quoted in mediaeval handbooks on literary theory as an authority on definitions of figures of speech by early critics. Many of these quotations can be traced in al-Ḥātimī’s *Ḥiyat al-muḥādara*. The *Ḥiya* is not, however, a work on literary theory, but rather an anthology on poetry with short sections on literary theory. A work specifically dealing with this subject is quoted by al-Ḥātimī himself in the *Ḥiya* and was known to Usāma (see *Badī’*, 8) and perhaps to others (see *Materials*, 14-6, 20, 27). The survival of the *Ḥiya* in two Maghribī manuscripts (one of which has a marginal note indicating that a small portion of the book had already circulated in Spain before the rest arrived) and Ibn Hazm’s [q.v.] recommendation of “the books of al-Ḥātimī” as manuals on poetry (*al-Takrīb liḥadd al-mantik*, ed. I. ‘Abbās, Beirut 1959, 207), as well as other evidence (see *Materials*, 18) indicate that al-Ḥātimī enjoyed a considerable reputation in Spain.

Other writings by al-Ḥātimī have not apparently survived. As far as one can judge from the lists given by Yāqūt and by others, al-Ḥātimī’s main interest was literary criticism, though he wrote also books on lexicography and grammar.

Bibliography: in addition to the texts and studies mentioned in the article, see *Ta’rīkh Baghdad*, ii, 214; Ibn al-Kifī, *Inbāh al-ruwāt*, Cairo 1369-93/1950-73, iii, 103-4; Ibn Khallikān, ed. M.M. ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd, Cairo 1367/1948, iii, 482-6 (no. 621); al-Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, Cairo 1326, 35-6; Ḥādjdjī Khalifa, ed. Flügel, iii, 112, 312, 596, v, 79, vi, 166 (there are numerous other biographies, but they do not add anything of substance to the above); Brockelmann, G I, 88, S I, 141, 193; M.‘A. Shu‘ayb, *al-Mutanabbī bayn nākidīhi*, Cairo 1964, index; I. ‘Abbās, *Ta’rīkh al-naḥḍ al-adabī ‘ind al-‘Arab*, Beirut 1391/1971, 243-70 et passim; A. Maḥlūb, *Ittiḥāt al-naḥḍ al-adabī fī ‘l-kam al-rābī li ‘l-ḥiqā’a*, Beirut 1393/1973, 258-65; Sezgin, *GAS*, ii, 488; S. A. Bonebakker, *A biographical sketch of Abū ‘Alī Muḥ. b. al-Hasan al-Ḥātimī*, in *AUON*, forthcoming.

(S.A. BONEBAKKER)

**HAWKING** [see BAYZARA].

HAWSAM, the earlier Arabic name of the modern town of Rūdisar in eastern Gilān on the coast of the Caspian Sea. It is an Arabisation of the local name, which appears to have been *Khoshām* or *Khōshām*. Thus the name is given by al-Mukaddasī (51, 355, 360) and probably by Abū Dulaf b. Muḥalhil (ed. Minorsky, *Abū-Dulaf Miṣ'ar b. Muḥalhil's Travels in Iran*, Cairo 1955, 23) as *Kh-sh-m*; by al-Bīrūnī (*al-Kānūn al-Maṣ'ūdī*, Hyderabad 1954-6, 569) as *Khawsam*; and by Aṣīl al-Dīn Zawzanī (ed. H.L. Rabino, in *Jā* (1950), 327, 330) as *Hawshām*. The rendering of the initial *kh* as *h* in Arabic corresponded to the pronunciation of Arabic *hā'* by the Gil as *khā'* and the shift of Persian *shin* to Arabic *sīn* occurred frequently. The identity of al-Mukaddasī's *Kh-sh-m* with *Hawsam*, rejected by Muḥammad Kaẓwīnī and Minorsky, is ascertained by his reference to it (360) as "the town of the *dā'ī*." The itinerary given by him elsewhere (372), which places a *Kh-sh-m* at a two days' trip west of the Saḥīd-rūd, appears to refer to a different town also mentioned by Aṣīl al-Dīn Zawzanī (332).

Hawsam is generally described as the eastern-most town of Gilān, located at the border between the Gil and the Daylam, whose territories extended west of it to the coast. It is first mentioned as a residence of the Zaydī *imām* al-Ḥasan al-Uṭrūsh [q.v.] al-Nāṣir li'l-Ḥakḥ, who was active in the region during the last decade of the 3rd century/903-13 converting the Gil and Daylam to Islam. After the collapse of the Zaydī 'Alid reign in Ṭabaristān in 316/928, it became the chief seat of 'Alid rule in the Caspian region and the centre of scholarship of the Nāṣiriyya, the school of al-Nāṣir in *fiqh* and theology. It was ruled from ca. 319/931 to 350/961 by Abū 'l-Faḍl Dja'far al-Thā'ir fi 'llāh [see AL-THĀ'IR FI 'LLĀH], grandson of a brother of al-Nāṣir and, through his mother, of al-Nāṣir himself. His descendants remained in control of the town during much of the time until and beyond the end of the century, though often in contention with descendants of al-Nāṣir and other 'Alids, which also involved efforts by the Ziyārīds and Buwayhīds to secure their suzerainty over the region. The Thā'irīds, though Zaydīs of the Nāṣiriyya school, ruled as *amīrs* without claiming the Zaydī imāmate. In 353 or 354/964-5, the Zaydī *imām* Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Mahdī li-Dīn Allāh took the town from al-Ḥasan Amīrkā, son of Abū 'l-Faḍl al-Thā'ir, and ruled there, with a short interruption, until his death in 359/970. Ca. 380/990 the *imām* Aḥmad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Mu'ayyad bi'l-lāh stayed in *Hawsam* for a year, and some time later for another period of over two years. He eventually took his residence in Langā, west of *Hawsam*, leaving that town to the Thā'irīd Kiyā Abū 'l-Faḍl who nominally recognised his imāmate. In the early 5th/11th century, Abū Dja'far al-Hawsamī, the most famous collector and commentator of the works of al-Nāṣir, was active there. Ca. 432/1041-2 the Nāṣirī '*ulamā'*' of *Hawsam* set up al-Ḥusayn al-Nāṣir, a descendant of al-Uṭrūsh al-Nāṣir, as *imām*, and he reigned in the town until his death in 472/1079-80. He was buried next to Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Mahdī, and their tombs became a place of pilgrimage for the Caspian Zaydīs. Thereafter, *Hawsam* came under the rule of the *imāms* Abū Riḍā al-Kīsumī (d. after 493/1100) and Abū Ṭālib al-Akhīr (502-20/1108-28), though they did not take their permanent residence there. The town evidently declined in the latter part of the 5th/11th century and lost its rank as the chief town of eastern Gilān to Lāhījān [q.v.]. Around the turn of the century, the Bāwandid Ispahbad Ḥusām

al-Dawla Shahrīyār, after surrendering control of Ṭabaristān to his son Naḍīm al-Dīn Kārīn, retired to *Hawsam*, where he built a *khānakāh* for himself. He bought much land in the region and ordered the construction of a market and shops. After he fell ill and was brought back to Ṭabaristān by his son, he put a former servant in charge of his property in *Hawsam* (Ibn Isfandiyār, *Ta'rikh-i Ṭabaristān*, ed. 'Abbās Ikbāl, Tehran 1941, ii, 37 f.). The report reflects both the decline of the town and its continued attraction as a religious centre. The general decline continued during the following century. In a letter sent to the Yaman in 607/1210-11, a Zaydī scholar of Lāhījān mentioned the deplorable condition of the two shrines of Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Mahdī and al-Ḥusayn al-Nāṣir in *Hawsam*, expressing his hope that the Yamanī *imām* al-Manṣūr 'Abd Allāh b. Ḥamza would restore them. In the early 8th/14th century, *Hawsam* seems to have regained some importance as an administrative centre, for a coin was minted there for the Ilkhān Abū Sa'īd between 733/1332 and 736/1335 if the restoration of the name of the mint proposed by Fraehn, *De Ilchanorum seu Chulaguidarum numis*, in *Mém. Acad. Imp. Sciences St. Pétersbourg*, 6th ser., ii [1834], 530, 548, is correct. Zahr al-Dīn Mar'ashī (*Ta'rikh-i Gilān*, ed. M. Sūtūda, Tehran 1347, 143 f.), however, describes the town as having long fallen into ruin when Sayyid Raḍī Kiyā (789-829/1387-1426) of the Amīr Kiyā'ī dynasty of Lāhījān ordered its rebuilding and gave it the name Rūdisar. Raḍī Kiyā granted tax exemptions in order to attract people to the town, brought shipbuilders to the harbour, built a congregational mosque in a large square, a market with shops, a bath, palace, stable and hotel. The shrine and cemetery of al-Ḥusayn al-Nāṣir were preserved from the former town, and several royal personages were buried there in the 10th/15th and 10th/16th centuries.

Bibliography: In addition to the references given in the article, see *Hudūd al-'ālam*, 136, 388; Yāqūt, iv, 996; H.L. Rabino, *Le Guilan*, in *RMM*, xxxii (1916-17), 336-9; Muḥammad Kaẓwīnī, notes to edition of Djuwaynī, iii, 422-4; S.M. Stern, *The coins of Amul*, in *NC*, 7th ser., vii (1967), 269-78; W. Madelung, *Abū Ishāq al-Ṣābi on the Alids of Ṭabaristān and Gilān*, in *JNES*, xxvi (1967), 20f., 45-51; idem, *The Alid rulers of Ṭabaristān, Daylamān and Gilān*, in *Atti del III Congresso di Studi Arabi e Islamici*, Naples 1967, 488-90; idem, *The minor dynasties of Northern Iran*, in *Cambridge History of Iran*, iv, Cambridge 1975, 219-22; Manuḥīr Sūtūda, *Az Āstārā tā Astarābād*, ii, Tehran 1351, 216-9, 304-8. (W. MADELUNG)

ḤAYDAR-I ĀMULĪ, BAHĀ' AL-DĪN ḤAYDAR B. 'ALĪ B. ḤAYDAR AL-'UBAYDĪ (719/1319 or 720/1320—after 787/1385), early representative of Persian theosophy and commentator on Ibn 'Arabī.

Our knowledge about his life is based on two autobiographical passages written in 777/1375-6 and 782/1380 respectively. He originated from a family of Ḥusaynī *sayyids* in Āmul, Māzandarān, whose population had been known for its Shī'ī leanings for a long time. During his studies he left his hometown for Astarābād and Iṣfahān. But in his late twenties he returned and became a confidant, and afterwards a minister of Fakhr al-Dawla Ḥasan b. Shāh Kaykhusraw b. Yazdagird, the last ruler of Ṭabaristān belonging to the Kīnakh'āriyya branch of the Bāwandid dynasty [q.v.]. This period seems to have been rather short, because in 748/1347 he was still in Khurāsān, as is attested by a vision which he had



there and which he reports in his works, whereas two years later, in 750/1349, shortly before Fakhr al-Dawla's assassination by members of his own family, he experienced a religious crisis which made him give up his courtly life, in spite of his reverence for his master, and perform the *ḥaǧǧ*. For the rest of his life, at least during the documented part of it, he stayed in 'Irāk. In Baghdad he studied with Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Kāshānī al-Hillī (d. 755/1354) and Fakhr al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Hasan, the son of the famous 'Allāma al-Hillī, two Shī'ī scholars who enjoyed the patronage of the Djalā'irids [q.v.]. With the latter one he exchanged a theological and juridical correspondence which is preserved in an autograph (*al-Masā'il al-Āmulīyya*, dated 762/1361; ms. Tehran University no. 1022, fols. 71b-76b). He also wrote for him his *Risālat Rāfi'at al-khilāf 'an waǧḥ sukūt Amīr al-Mu'minīn*, an apology for 'Alī's passive attitude towards the first caliphs.

The number of Ḥaydar-i Āmulī's works which are known to us, by title at least, amounts to 34. The earliest book preserved is his

(1) *Ḍiāmī' al-asrār wa-manba' al-anwār*, an exposition of the deeper meaning of the *ṣarī'a* by means of *ta'wīl* (ed. Osman Yahya and Henri Corbin, in Sayyid Ḥaydar Amoli, *La philosophie shī'ite*, Bibl. Iran. 16, Tehran-Paris 1969, 2 ff.; for an analysis of its contents, cf. Corbin in *Eranos-Jahrbuch*, xxx, (1961), 90 ff. and xxxi (1963), 80 ff., also in *En Islam iranien*, Paris 1972, iii, 149 ff.; P. Antes, *Zur Theologie der Schī'a. Eine Untersuchung des Ḍāmī' al-asrār...*, Freiburg 1971). It was finished about 752/1351; in the introduction, eight other works, obviously of smaller size, are mentioned, some of which may date back to the time before Āmulī settled in Irak. In one of them, his *Risālat al-arkān*, he had treated the same subject as in his *Ḍāmī'*, restricted only to the five "pillars" of Islam.—After 760/1359 he wrote his

(2) *Risālat al-Wuǧūd fī ma'rīfat al-ma'būd* which in itself has not been rediscovered yet, but a summary of which, finished at Nadjaf in 768/1367 under the title *Risālat Nakd al-nuǧūd fī ma'rīfat al-wuǧūd*, has been edited by Yahya and Corbin (*ibid.*, 620 ff.). The problem of being is treated under the aspects of its unity and multiplicity (i.e. its epiphany, *ẓuhūr*), more in correspondence with the ideas of Ibn 'Arabī than with the tradition of Ibn Sīnā.—In 777/1375-6 he finished his

(3) *al-Muḥīṭ al-a'ẓam*, a huge commentary on the Qur'ān in seven volumes written after the model of the *Baḥr al-ḥakā'ik wa 'l-daḳā'ik*, the *tafsīr* by Naǧm al-Dīn-i Dāya (d. 654/1256). For its structure, cf. H. Corbin, in *La philosophie shī'ite*, French introd., 46 ff.—Between 781/1379 and 782/1380 he wrote

(4) *Naṣṣ al-nuṣṣ*, a commentary on Ibn 'Arabī's *Fuṣṣ al-ḥikam* to which he added, after the model set by earlier commentators like Dāwūd b. Maḥmūd al-Kaysarī (d. 751/1350), voluminous prolegomena (ed. Yahya and Corbin, in *Bibl. Iran.* 22, Tehran-Paris 1975). In them, he proved the insuperability of Muḥammad among the prophets and of Ibn 'Arabī among the mystics. Muḥammad and Ibn 'Arabī are connected historically by the *revelatio continuata* through the Shī'ī *imāms* and phenomenologically by the *mundo imaginis* (*'ālam al-mithāl*), the world of spiritual being from which emanated the vision in which Ibn 'Arabī claimed to have received the *Fuṣṣ* from the Prophet himself during his stay in Damascus in 627/1230. In spite of all reverence, however, Āmulī deviates from Ibn 'Arabī in the question of the *khātam al-wilāya*, the "seal of sainthood". Whereas Ibn 'Arabī saw this ideal realised

in an absolute sense in Jesus (= *wilāya muṭlaqa*), and whereas many of his adherents believed that, in momentaneous limitation, it had been represented by Ibn 'Arabī himself (= *wilāya muḳayyada*), Ḥaydar-i Āmulī puts 'Alī and the twelfth *imām* in their place, his originality thus merging with his Shī'ī conviction. He criticises Dāwūd al-Kaysarī, who had been of Anatolian descent and had lived in Sunnī Egypt, for his unclear, i.e. non-Shī'ī, attitude in this problem (which came closer to Ibn 'Arabī's intention). Two other commentators, both of them of Iranian origin, Mu'ayyad al-Dīn al-Khudjandī (d. 690/1291) and Kamāl al-Dīn 'Abd al-Razzāk al-Kāshānī (d. 730/1330) are mentioned with respect. Complicated numerical speculations concerning the *imāms* and the prophets are clarified through diagrams (treated by Corbin in *Eranos-Jb.*, xlii [1973], 79 ff.).—Āmulī's latest attested work is his (5) *Risālat al-'Ulūm al-ilāhiyya* which he composed in 787/1385 at the age of 65. The autograph is preserved in Nadjaf.—A full list of Āmulī's works is found in *La philosophie shī'ite*, French introd. 37 ff. (H. Corbin), Arabic introd. 19 ff. (O. Yahya).

Ḥaydar-i Āmulī combined Shī'ī convictions hereditary in his family with an 'Irākī and Persian Šūfī tradition strongly imbued with the ideas of Ibn 'Arabī [q.v.]. In this high esteem for the *ṣaykh al-akbar* he follows earlier mystics of Persian descent like Sa'd al-Dīn-i Ḥammūya (587-650/1191-1252) and Naǧm al-Dīn-i Dāya (d. 654/1256), both of whom he quotes quite frequently. Like them, he was a speculative type; in contrast to two other famous Iranian Šūfis who were his exact contemporaries, 'Alī al-Hamadḥānī (714-86/1314-85), equally originating from a family of *sayyids*, and the Sunnī Bahā' al-Dīn al-Nakshbandī (717-91/1318-89), he did not found a separate *ṭarīqa* nor did he adhere to any of them. More strongly than anybody else before him, he insisted on the common origin of Shī'ism and Šūfism, thus laying the ground for a dogma held by Iranian mystical orders until today. This is why he pleaded for a transcending of the normal juridical approach to Islam by a union of *ṣarī'a*, *ṭarīqa*, and *ḥaqīqa*; the Muslim who combines these three aspects is not only a believer (*mu'min*), but a believer put to test (*mu'min muntaḥan*), equally remote from literalist Shī'ism as from antinomian Šūfism. Shī'ism is thus understood as the esoteric side of Islam, but not in an extremist sense. It may be noted, in this connection, that the term *mu'min muntaḥan* was also used by extremists like the Nuṣayrīs; Ḥaydar Āmulī may have reinterpreted it in opposition to radical tendencies in popular Islam.

All knowledge (*ma'rifa*) is derived from the *imāms*; they represent the Shī'ī *nūr Muḥammadi* as well as Ibn 'Arabī's *ḥaqīqa Muḥammadiyya*, this latter entity being understood by Āmulī as consisting of 14 light aeons which correspond to the metaphysical persons of the 14 "sinless ones" (*ma'ṣūm*): Muḥammad, Fāṭima, and the 12 *Imāms*. The 12 *Imāms* and the 7 Prophets are summed up in the mystical number 19 which pervades revelation and universe (the *Basmala* has 19 letters; the universe consists of the Universal Intellect + the Universal Soul + 9 spheres + 4 elements + 3 realms of nature + man; more about numerical speculations of this kind in the article by Corbin in *Eranos-Jb.*, xlii [1973], 79 ff.). God as the *mubdī'* of the universe is *ὑπερουσιος*; He can only be recognised in His epiphanies. This leads to a metaphysics of the divine names and attributes; the normal monotheism propagated by Muḥammad is differentiated, as *tawḥīd ulūhī*, from the *tawḥīd*



wuḍūdī administered by the *imāms*, i.e. the insight that God alone is in the real sense of the word. In combining these elements, Haydar-i Āmulī's thinking represents an "open" system which is based on meditation and pneumatic exegesis more than an discursive reasoning.

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(J. VAN ESS)

HAYDAR KHĀN 'AMŪ UGHLĪ, originally known as Tariverdiov (1880-1921), Persian revolutionary and activist. He was born into a Persian family living in Armenia and brought up there. He began his education in Alexandropol (Leninakan), Armenia, and studied at a higher level in Erivan and Tiflis, receiving a degree in electrical engineering in 1899 from the latter place. He then began to work for a company in Baku. In 1900 Haydar joined the Caucasian Social Democratic Party led by Nariman Narimanov, and soon afterwards he helped to establish the Committee for the Persian Social Democrats in Caucasia.

In 1902, at the invitation of the Persian government, Haydar went to Mashhad to supervise the Power Station installed for the Shrine of Imām Ridā, where he however stayed for only eleven months, seeing it as unfertile ground for political activism and finding both the governor of Khurāsān and the custodian of the Shrine oppressive. During his short stay, nevertheless, Haydar played a part in an uprising against the Shrine custodian, Siḥām al-Mulk, who was believed to have been a grain hoarder. He then left Mashhad for Tehran in 1903.

While working for the railway and later on for the Amin al-Darb Power Station in Tehran, Haydar propagated constitutionalism, and when there was widespread opposition to the Belgian financial adviser, M. Naus, Haydar encouraged the clerical students of the Sipahsālār Mosque to take refuge in the British Legation at Tehran by giving each of them a certain amount of money.

After the first parliamentary election in Tehran, Haydar established the first branch there of the Social Democratic Party, the aim of which was declared to be "uprooting the existing despotism". Since the Party believed in armed struggle, Haydar planned a number of bomb explosions. In June 1907 he himself exploded a bomb at the house of Mīrzā Aḥmad Khān 'Alā' al-Dawla, a prominent member of the *anḍuman-i khidmat*, and the party also threatened 'Alī Aṣghar Khān Atābak, the Grand Vizier. Thus in September 1907 Atābak was killed by 'Abbās Akā Šarrāf, a party comrade of Haydar. Towards the end of 1907 Haydar planned the

assassination of Muḥammad 'Alī Shāh, who was then attempting to extinguish the Persian constitutional system established in 1906. This plan, however, misfired; the Shāh himself remained safe, and Haydar was arrested, though released subsequently.

Upon Muḥammad 'Alī Shāh's bombardment of the Persian Parliament in 1908 and his repression of the constitutionalists, Haydar fled to Baku. While in Russia, he continued his campaign by publishing articles in the Georgian press against the Shāh's régime. He also recruited some 700 Georgian volunteers for the constitutionalists' camp in Tabriz, and later he himself joined the Tabriz movement led by Sattār Khān. Haydar took an active part in the constitutionalists' victorious actions in Marand and Khuy, and he also helped to establish a school and a newspaper in Khuy, where he appeared as a hero in the poetry produced at that time.

When he heard about the rise of the constitutionalists in Gilān and Iṣfahān he went to the latter city and closely co-operated with the anti-Shāh forces. In 1909, together with Shaykh Muḥammad Khīyābānī and others, he established the Democrat Party in Tehran. He also founded a branch of the same Party in Mashhad in 1910. In the meantime, Haydar was accused of the assassination on 15 July 1910 of Sayyid 'Abd Allāh Bihbahānī, a clerical leader of the Persian Constitutional Revolution, who was believed to have turned against the revolutionary factions; Haydar was interrogated but released later. In retaliation for Bihbahānī's murder, some members of the *Tudāliyyūn* Party made an attempt on Haydar's life (Mahdī Malik-zāda, *Ta'rikh-i Inkilāb-i mashrūṭiyyat*, vi, Tehran 1953, 219).

In 1910 Sattār Khān and his fellow *muḍjāhidīn* moved to Tehran. The various revolutionary factions now fell into confused, internecine struggles; there ensued several assassinations among the *muḍjāhidīn* and other revolutionary groups, and finally the government forces defeated Sattār Khān. In this bloody warfare, Haydar, at one time a good friend of Sattār Khān, is said to have fought against him.

Meanwhile, Haydar undertook a secret mission among the Bakhtiārīs, but no longer feeling safe in Iran, fled the country and joined Lenin, the Russian Bolshevik leader, in Europe in 1911. On his way to Europe, Haydar, through his friend, Sadekov, received a sizable amount of money from Muḥammad 'Alī, the ex-Shāh of Iran, having falsely promised him help to regain his throne. Later, Haydar excused himself by saying that he took the money in order to reduce the source of the ex-Shāh's power and corruption ('Abd al-Husayn Nawā'ī, *Haydar 'Amū Ughlī va Muḥammad Amin Rasūl-zāda*, in *Yādgar*, v/1-2 (1948), 43-67).

While in Europe with Lenin, Haydar was also in touch with the Iranian exiles in Paris and Berlin. In 1915, he joined the anti-Allied Committee organised by Sayyid Ḥasan Taqī-zāda and others, and was commissioned by the committee to go to 'Irāq and organise an armed force against the British; this mission was not however successful. He then returned to Berlin, and shortly afterwards went to Moscow where he took part in the 1917 Soviet Revolution. In September 1920, Haydar participated in the Congress of the People of the East held in Baku and, together with Avetis Sultān-zāda, represented Iran in the Publicity Council of the Congress.

Aiming at profound structural changes in Iran, Haydar wrote an essay analysing the political and social situation of Iran and proposing certain revolutionary measures to be carried out by the newly-



born Communist Party of Iran; this essay, which was written in January-March 1921, is known as "Haydar Khān 'Amū Ughlī's theses" (Mazdak, *Asnād-i ta'riḫī-yi djunbish-i kārgarī, sūsiyāl dimukrāsī va kumūnistī-yi Irān*, iii, Florence 1972, 45-53.).

He now made an unsuccessful attempt to unite all the anti-British revolutionary forces organised by Muḥammad Taqī Pisyān in Khurāsān, by Khiyābānī in Ādharbāydzān, and by Kūčāk Khān in Gilān, and also made a strenuous effort to create peace between the rival factions within the Djangalī movement in the north of Persia [see KŪČĀK KHĀN DJANGALĪ]. He then was invited by Kūčāk Khān and other Djangalīs to Gilān, and joined the revolutionary Republic of Gilān as Foreign Commissioner. However, factional hostilities and ideological conflicts within the Djangalī forces finally resulted in the murder of Haydar and in the extinction of the Djangalī movement in 1921.

Bibliography: For Haydar Khān's own writings and political speeches, consult Mazdak, *Asnād*, i, iii, vi, 1970-6, and Nasrollah Saifpour Fatemi, *Diplomatic history of Persia 1917-1923*, New York 1952; Haydar's autobiography was dictated to Ibrāhīm Munshī-zāda, a Russian dissident in Iran, and appeared in 'Abbās Ikbāl, *Haydar Khān 'Amū Ughlī*, in *Yādgār*, iii, no. 5 (1947), 61-80; an English translation of the autobiography is given in A. Reza Sheikholeslami and Dunning Wilson, *The memoirs of Haydar Khān 'Amū Ughlī*, in *Iranian Studies*, vi (1973), 21-51; Because of Haydar's involvement in the Persian Constitutional Revolution of 1906-11 and subsequent political developments in Iran, all the works concerned with the period provide extensive information and ample references about Haydar; See especially the articles: DJAM'ITYYA; DUSTŪR; HUKŪMA; KHIYĀBĀNĪ, Shaykh Muḥammad; KHURĀSĀNĪ, Mullā Muḥammad Kāzīm; KŪČĀK KHĀN DJANGALĪ, Mirzā; (in Suppl.) ĀKĀ NADJAFĪ, Hādjdjī Shaykh Muḥammad Taqī Iṣfahānī; ĀZĀDĪ; HĀ'IRĪ, Shaykh 'Abd al-Karīm Yazdī; See also 'Abd al-Ḥusayn Nawā'ī, *Inkilāb-i Gilān ʿigūna āghāz shud?*, in *Yadgar*, iv, no. 3 (1947), 41-55; idem, *Sattār Khān Sardār-i millī Kahramān-i Ādharbāydzān*, in *Iṭilā'āt-i Māhāna*, no. 9 (1948); 'Abbās Ikbāl, *Kātil-i haḳīqī-yi Mirzā 'Alī Asghar Khān Atābak*, in *Yadgar*, iii, no. 4 (1946), 47-51; Rahim Riḍāzādā Malik, *Cakāda-yi inkilāb Haydar Khān 'Amū Ughlī*, Tehran 1973; Hasan Malik-zāda Hīrbud, *Sarguzasht-i hīratangīz*, Tehran 1949; Hafez Farman Farmayan, *Kitābshināsī-yi Mashrūṭa*, Tehran 1966; Ismā'īl Rā'in, *Haydar Khān 'Amū Ughlī*, Tehran; *Bisūyi āyanda*, April-May 1951; Muḥammad Kazwīnī, *Wafayāt-i mu'āsirin*, in *Yādgār*, iii (1947), 38-49; Ahmad Hīsābī, *Mudjahid-i buzurg Haydar 'Amū Ughlī*, Tehran 1949; Mahdī Bāmdād, *Sharḥ-i ḥāl-i ridjāl-i Irān*, i, Tehran 1968 (under *Haydar*).

(ABDUL-HADĪ HĀIRĪ)

HAYDAR MALIK, Kashmīrī soldier, scholar and engineer. He was the son of Hasan Malik of Čādura, a village about 10 miles south of Srīnagar, and descended from Rāmčandra, the commander-in-chief of Radja Suhādeva (1301-20). His family seemed to have gone into eclipse during the early period of the Sultanate, but with its conversion to Shī'ism early in the 10th/16th century, it became active in the social and political life of Kashmīr. Haydar Malik's grandfather, Malik Muḥammad Nādjī, played an important role in bringing about the overthrow of Mirzā Haydar Dughlāt in 958/1551; and his father, Hasan Malik fought against the Mughal

army sent by Emperor Akbar to conquer Kashmīr. Haydar Malik also took up arms against the Mughals. He served Yūsuf Khān Čāk, son of Sultān Husayn Shāh (970-8/1563-70), for 24 years, and accompanied him in exile to Hindustan. He fought side-by-side with Yūsuf Khān, who was sent by Akbar to suppress the refractory *zamīndārs*; and when Djahāngīr sent Yūsuf Khān with Kuṭb al-Dīn, governor of Bengal, to suppress Shīr Afkan, who held a *djāgīr* in Burdwan, for being in league with the Afghān rebels, and Shīr Afkan was killed, Haydar Malik gave protection to his widow, Mihr al-Nisā', the future Nūrdjahān, and sent her safely to Āgra. On Yūsuf Khān's death, Haydar Malik entered the service of Djahāngīr, who conferred upon him the titles of *Qaḡhatay* and *Rā'is al-Mulk*.

Haydar Malik was versatile, being not only a soldier but also a historian, an architect and an engineer. His *Ta'riḫ-i Kashmīr*, written in simple, lucid Persian in 1031/1620-1, describes the history of Kashmīr from the earliest times to 1027/1617, the twelfth year of Djahāngīr's reign. Although a Shī'ī, he wrote objectively, and his work is an important source for the history of the Sultanate in Kashmīr.

When the Djāmi' Masjid of Srīnagar was destroyed by fire, Haydar Malik's father was accused of having set fire to it. Djahāngīr sent Haydar Malik to rebuild it, which he did at his own expense. He also rebuilt the tomb of Shams al-Dīn 'Irākī, the Nūrbakhshīyya saint, which had been destroyed by the Sunnīs as a reprisal for the destruction of the Djāmi' Masjid. Later, Haydar Malik constructed by order of Djahāngīr a canal from the river Sind to irrigate the Nūr Afzā garden. He was also entrusted with the supervision of the construction of the water-fall at Vernāg. He died in Kashmīr at a ripe old age in the reign of Shāhjahān, who had in 1036/1627 appointed him as superintendent of buildings to be built around Vernāg.

Bibliography: Mohibbul Hasan, *Kashmīr under the Sultāns*, Calcutta 1959; idem, *A note on the assassination of Shīr Afkan*, in *Ghulam Yazdani commemoration volume*, ed. H.K. Sherwani, Hyderabad 1966; R.K. Parmu, *History of Muslim rule in Kashmīr*, Delhi 1969; Haydar Malik, *Ta'riḫ-i Kashmīr*, ms. India Office 510, so far unpublished. (MOHIBBUL HASAN)

HAYS (A.; noun of unity, *haysa*), an Arab dish made from dates (of the variety called *barānī*) crushed and then kneaded with some preserved butter; to this is added skimmed, dried and crumbly camels' milk cheese, or some flour, or even some crumbled bread. The invention of this mixture of ingredients is attributed traditionally (see al-Djāhiz, *Bukhālā'*, ed. Hādjdjīrī, 211; tr. in *Arabica*, ii/3 [1955], 336) to a prominent member of Makhzūm called Suwayd al-Haramī (Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, *Djamhara*, Tab. 22), who is also said to have been the first to serve milk as a drink in Mecca (Muṣ'ab al-Zubayrī, *Nasab Quraysh*, 342).

Judging by some anecdotes (e.g. in *Bukhālā'*, 65, 112, 163, tr. 106, 180, 259) and by a frequently-cited verse (metre *kāmil*, rhyme *-bū*; *Bukhālā'*, 211; Ibn Kutayba, *Uyūn*, iii, 19; al-Marzubānī, *Mudjam*, 215; al-Kālī, *Amālī*, iii, 86; al-Baghdādī, *Khizāna*, ed. Būlak, i, 242 = ed. Cairo, ii, 32; *LA* and *TA*, root *h - y - s*), it was a much-appreciated foodstuff, especially suitable for travellers (al-Baghdādī, *Kitāb al-Tabikh*, Mawṣil 1353/1934, 82), but equally favoured by sedentary peoples. However, this dish was not considered worthy of "being included in the haute cuisine" (M. Rodinson, *Recherches sur les documents arabes relatifs à la cuisine*, in *REI* [1949], 148).



Furthermore, the idea of a mixture or mélange contained in the root led to the word *hays* being used in a pejorative sense. Indeed, there was a saying *hādḥā 'l-amr hays* "this is a wretched affair", and a proverb, *'āda 'l-hays yuḥās* "the *hays* has been remixed", that is to say, "it was already bad, but has now become worse", uttered when someone criticises a second person who has performed his task badly, but himself fails to do it any better (al-Maydānī, *Maḍma' al-amṡāl*, i, 484).

Bibliography: In addition to references given in the article, see De Goeje, *BGA*, iv, 222.

(Ed.)

HAZĀRADJĀT, a region of central Afghanistan spanning the modern (post-1964 reorganisation) provinces of Bāmiyān, Wardak, Ghaznī, Ghōr and Uruzgān. The region is almost wholly mountainous, its northern backbone being formed by the Kūh-i Bābā range [*q.v.*] and its outliers. There are consequently very few towns and these tend to lie in the river valleys, e.g. Dawlatyār on the upper Herī Rūd and Pandjāb or Pandjāō on the Pandjāb tributary of the upper Helmand. The sedentary agriculturist Hazāras [*q.v.* below] are the main ethnic element of the region, but there are also Pashṭūn or Afghān nomads, e.g. Ghazays [*q.v.*], who have moved in from the east and who have clearly-defined grazing grounds.

Bibliography: J. Humlum, *La géographie de l'Afghanistan, étude d'un pays aride*, Copenhagen 1959, 86-8, 114-16, 156-7. (C.E. BOSWORTH)

HAZĀRAS, the name of a group of peoples inhabiting the central mountains of Afghanistan; they form one of the principal population elements of the country, amounting perhaps to 900,000.

The Hazāras are almost certainly an ethnically mixed group, whose components may or may not be related to each other. In appearance, Hazāras are predominantly brachycephalous, with Mongoloid facial features, though this is by no means universal. There is therefore much in favour of Schurmann's hypothesis that the Hazāras of the core region, the Hazāradjāt [*q.v.* above], at least, are a mixed population formed from a fusion of an aboriginal Iranian mountain people with incoming Mongol-Turkish elements. The Hazāras early attracted the attention of 19th century western travellers and scholars because of persistent legends that the Hazāras are descendants of Mongol soldiers, the human debris of Čingiz Khān's campaigns in the early 13th century — these traditions were retailed, for instance, by Mountstuart Elphinstone at the beginning of the 19th century — and because it was believed, on the basis of linguistic material collected in the 1830s amongst the Aymāks by E. Leech, that the Hazāras still substantially spoke Mongol at that time. It now seems more probable that Mongol-Turkish elements infiltrated into central Afghanistan, via the more low-lying and open river valleys of the south and west rather than across the mountain barriers to the north, in the Čaghatayid and Tīmūrid periods, mingling with the indigenous Iranian population there; whilst the vestigial communities of ethnic and linguistic Mongols have now been shown to be centred on the Ghōrāt region to the west of the Hazāra ones, cf. Schurmann, *The Mongols of Afghanistan*. The name Hazāra "group of 1,000 men" (P. *hazār* "1,000") is certainly reminiscent of the military-tribal system of the Mongols, with its contingents of 1,000 cavalry-men (Mgl. *mingan* "1,000", Tk. *būn/mīn*), but the Hazāras themselves must have become essentially Iranian speakers by ca. 1500; their language

does, it is true, include a considerable admixture of Turkish and Mongol words [see IRAN. iii. Languages, in Suppl.].

Various sub-groups can conveniently be distinguished amongst those peoples included under the blanket designation of Hazāras. The main body is that of the Hazāradjāt or Dāy Kundī Hazāras, who are sedentary agriculturists with only small herds, living in fortified stone villages (*ka'ās*). Their agriculture is necessarily a limited, irrigation one, restricted by the altitude and the climate, with short summers and snow for 4-6 months of the year. Until the later 19th century and the extension to the Hazāradjāt of the central power in Kābul (see below), the power of the Dawlat-Begs, an upper class of landowners, was dominant, and still remained strong after that time. The Kūh-i Bābā Hazāras live to the north of that range, and stock rearing, with transhumance to summer pastures of *yaylaks*, plays a great part in their economy. The Shaykh 'Alī Hazāras occupy the region around Bāmiyān and the Ghōrband valley northwards to the foothills of Afghān Turkistān, and are unusual among the Hazāras for their use of summer *yurt*-type tents, whereas the tents used by the more southerly Hazāra groups are of the "black tent" variety [see KHAYMA. iv. In Central Asia]. There is a little-known group of Hazāras in Badakhshān; amongst the Taymannīs of the Ghōrāt is a small group of Hazāras; and there are the Berberī Hazāras in northeastern Persia, in the Turbat-i Djam district south of Mashhad, apparently immigrants from Afghanistan during the disturbances of the 19th century. Finally, there are the so-called Hazāra Aymāks of northwestern Afghanistan, in the western section of the Paropamisus Mountains, including the mediaeval Islamic regions of Bādghīs and Gūzgān. These are mainly semi-nomads, with *yurt*-type tents, but with some non-irrigation agriculture; they are Persian-speaking, but their Persian has affinities with Khurāsānī Persian, whereas that of the Hazāradjāt and the more easterly Hazāras is close to the Darī of Kabul and other Tādjīk groups of the north and east of Afghanistan. Also, they and the Taymannī Hazāras are distinguished from other Hazāra groups by their adherence to the Sunnī *madhhab*. Perhaps one should note, too, the place-name Hazāra [*q.v.*] for a district in the North-West Frontier Province of Pakistan.

The Shī'ism of the majority of the Hazāras distinguishes them from the predominant, strongly Sunnī milieu of the rest of Afghanistan. The Hazāradjāt Hazāras are Imāmī or Twelver Shī'īs, and it has been suggested that this intrusive Shī'ism came during the Safawid period of Persian history, when the expanding Safawid state intermittently controlled Kandahār and southern Afghanistan; the remnants of the Mongols in the Ghōrāt are Sunnīs. Today, these Hazāras have no mosques in their villages, but *takiya-khānas* instead. Amongst the northeastern Hazāras, the Shaykh 'Alīs and Badakhshān ones, Ismā'īlī Shī'ism is widespread; there were doubtless connections between these groups and the Ismā'īlism of the upper Oxus districts and the Hunza-Gilgit region.

Within Afghanistan, the Hazāras have tended to suffer discrimination on account of their Shī'ism and supposedly Čingizid origins, and they still suffer today from imputations of stupidity and simple-mindedness. As an isolated and independent-minded mountain people under their own *khāns* and *mīrs*, they resented the centralising policies of the Afghān rulers of Kabul. Dūst Muḥammad [*q.v.*] whipped up Sunnī sentiment against the Hazāras; in 1888

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the Hazāras rebelled against the authority of 'Abd al-Rahmān Khān [q.v.], and in 1891 the Khān organised the suppression of Hazāra unrest as a *q̣ihād* by Sunnī fighters for the faith or *ghāzīs* against Shī'ī political enemies. It was after this fierce fighting that many Hazāras emigrated to Persian Khurāsān and the Quetta region of British Balūčistān, and many Hazāras were also resettled in Afghān Turkistān. Already Elphinstone noted that there were many Hazāras in Kābul, including 500 in the royal guard, and in the early 20th century, Ḥabīb Allāh Khān recruited a labour force of several thousand Hazāras for his road-building and public works policies. Today, there are Hazāra immigrant colonies in all the main towns of Afghānistān, sending remittances back to their families; in Kābul, they are, in particular, building and general labourers and wood sellers.

Bibliography: Mountstuart Elphinstone, *An account of the Kingdom of Caubul and its dependencies*², London 1842, ii, 203-14, and see also the other 19th century writers and travellers in Afghānistān, such as Ferrier and Bellew; Elizabeth E. Bacon, *An inquiry into the history of the Hazara Mongols of Afghanistan*, in *Southwestern Jnal. of Anthropology*, vii (1951), 230-54; H.F. Schurmann, *The Mongols of Afghanistan, an ethnography of the Moghols and related peoples of Afghanistan*, The Hague 1962; K. Ferdinand, *Ethnographical notes on the Chahar Aimaq, Hazara and Moghuls*, in *AO*, xxviii (1964-5), 175-203; M. Klimburg, *Afghanistan, das Land im historischen Spannungsfeld Mittelasiens*, Vienna 1966, 130-1; W.K. Fraser-Tyler, *Afghanistan*³, London 1967, 56-7; V. Gregorian, *The emergence of modern Afghanistan, politics of reform and modernization, 1880-1946*, Stanford 1969, 77, 79-80; L. Dupree, *Afghanistan*, Princeton 1973, 56, 58, 161; On language, see now G. K. Dullung, *The Hazaragi dialect of Afghan Persian*, Central Asian Monographs No. 1, London 1973.

(C.E. BOSWORTH)

HEART [see KALB].

HEDJAZ [see AL-HIDJĀZ].

HELM [see SAFĪNA].

HELMEND [see HILMAND].

HEMP (Indian) [see HASHĪSH].

HERCULES, PILLARS OF [see KĀDIS].

AL-HĪBA [see AHMAD AL-HĪBA, above].

HIDJRA in *fikh*. For Muslims residing in the *Dār al-Harb*, emigration to the *Dār al-Islām* (*hidjra*) is a recommendable act. If they cannot perform their religious duties in freedom, emigration becomes obligatory. These prescriptions are founded on Kur'ān, IV, 97-100 and some traditions, like Muḥammad's saying: "I have nothing to do with Muslims residing amongst the polytheists" (Abū Dāwūd, *q̣ihād*, 95; Nasā'ī, *kasāma*, 27). The Mālikīs hold that emigration is always obligatory and that the tradition: "No emigration after the Conquest [of Mecca]" (Bukhārī, *q̣ihād*, 1, 27, *imān*, 41, *ṣayd*, 10, *maghāzī*, 35; Muslim, *imāra*, 85-6; Abū Dāwūd, *q̣ihād*, 2; Tirmidhī, *ṣiyar*, 32; Nasā'ī, *bay'a*, 15**), which other *madhhab*s consider as an abrogation of the general command to emigrate, only applied to the Muslims abiding in or around Mecca, who were no longer obliged to emigrate, as their territory had become *Dār al-Islām*. During the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, as a reaction against colonial expansion, some Islamic politico-religious movements gave this doctrine a new lease of life, inducing their followers to leave Islamic territory which had fallen under foreign domination; see e.g. KHILĀFA, KHILĀFAT MOVEMENT.

Bibliography: Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Sarakhsī, *Sharḥ Kitāb al-siyar al-kabīr*, ed. Salāḥ al-Dīn al-Munadīdjīd, Cairo 1971, i, 94-5; Abū Bakr b. 'Alī al-Rāzī al-Djassās, *Ahkām al-Kur'ān*, ed. Muḥammad al-Ṣadiq Kamhāwī, Cairo n.d., iv, 262; Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-'Arabī, *Ahkām al-Kur'ān*, ed. 'Alī Muḥammad al-Badījāwī, Cairo 1387/1967, ii, 876; Abū 'l-Walīd Muḥammad b. Ruṣḥd, *Kitāb al-Muḥaddamāt*, Cairo 1325/1907, ii, 285; 'Abd al-Ḥamīd al-Shīrwānī, *Hāshiya 'alā tuḥfat al-muḥtādī*, Mecca 1304-5/1886-8, viii, 62; Abū Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad b. Kudāma, *al-Mughnī*, ed. Tāhā Muḥammad al-Zaynī, Cairo 1388-9/1968-9, ix, 293-5; Muḥammad Rashīd Ridā, *al-Hidjra wa-hukm muslimī 'l-Būsna fihā*, in *al-Manār*, xii (1909), 410-15; Rudolph Peters, *Dār al-Harb, Dār al-Islām und der Kolonialismus*, in *XIX. Deutscher Orientalistentag. Vorträge*, Wiesbaden 1977, 579-89; 'Umar al-Naqar, *The pilgrimage tradition in West Africa*, Khartoum 1972, 82-92.

(R. PETERS)

HIERARCHY OF SAINTS [see ABDĀL, IKHWĀN AL-ṢAFĀ'].]

HIEROGLYPHS [see BARBĀ].

HĪKR, one of the various forms of long-term lease of *wakf* property. Originally, the aim of these contracts was to give tenants an incentive to maintain and ameliorate dilapidated *wakf* properties, which are inalienable. In exchange, the tenant is granted—according to different schools of law or interpretations—priority of lease, the right of permanent lease, the usufruct of the property or even co-proprietorship with the *wakf*. *Hikr* contracts, which were common in Egypt and Syria, are perpetual or made for a long duration. The tenant may erect buildings or plant trees, which become his full private property. He is entitled to transfer and sell the property and the right of perpetual lease to any other person and they are inherited according to the *Shari'a*. The tenant pays a yearly rent which varies according to the current value of the land (*adīr al-mithl*). According to the prevalent view, *hikr* of a *wakf* property has to be authorised by a *kādī*, and he is supposed to do so only if there is no other way in accordance with *wakf* law to secure income for the *wakf*.

Theoretically, *hikr* rights may be acquired on *mulk* property as well, and indeed there seem to have been such cases (cf. Mubārak, *Khitat*, iii, 11), but in general, *hikr* was confined to *wakf*—probably because the interest shown by private owners in their property generally was greater than the administrators' interest in their *wakfs*.

A similar system, *idjāratayn*, was common in Anatolia and in all countries formerly part of the Ottoman Empire, apparently since the 16th or 17th century (for Ottoman Egypt see, e.g. 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Djabartī, *'Adjā'ib al-āthār*, Bulāk, 1297/1880, iv, 94; M.-A. Lancet, *Mémoire sur le système d'imposition territoriale, Description de l'Égypte, État moderne*, i, Paris 1809, 239). *Idjāratayn* contracts involve immediate payment of a lump sum, *mu'adīdīal*, as well as yearly, variable, rather low rents, *mu'adīdīal*. For repairs and setting up of installations in Egypt and Palestine, a system called *khuluww al-intifā'* was used, whose main features were a loan made to the *wakf* (*mursad*) and the right of the *wakf* at any time to repurchase the property and repay the tenant the added value. *Khuluww*, according to Mālikī law, in Algeria and Tunis, was rather like *hikr* and involved perpetual usufruct or even "co-proprietorship" with the *wakf*. The same is true for the Tunisian *enzel* (in-

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zal), which was found not only on *hubūs* but also on *mulk* properties. In Morocco, the prevalent system of perpetual lease by the *hubūs* of dilapidated shops and workshops was the *djalsa* (*guelsa*), also called '*anā*' or *zīna* (cf. Dozy, *Suppl.*, i, 207). The tenant makes the necessary repairs, pays an annual rent and thus acquires the perpetual usufruct of the property. *Nasba* in Tunis and *gedik* in Egypt were similar arrangements involving, in addition to perpetual lease, the ownership and use of tools and installations of shops and workshops. However, there was a major difference between all the Mālikī—North African systems and those which were prevalent in Egypt, Syria, and Turkey, according to Ḥanafī law: in the Maghrib the lessee paid a fixed annual rent, while the yearly rents paid in the East were supposed to vary according to market fluctuations (*adḡr al-mithl*). (For these and various other systems, see Pröbster, 153 ff.; Milliot, 55 ff., 126-6; Abū Zahra, 107 ff.)

In Egypt, *hikr* has existed at least since the 12th century (cf. S.D. Goitein, *Cairo: an Islamic city in the light of the Geniza documents*, in I.M. Lapidus, *Middle Eastern cities*, Berkeley and Los Angeles 1969, 92; Hassanein Rabie, *Some financial aspects of the waqf system in medieval Egypt*, in *al-Maḡalla al-Ta'rikhiyya al-Miṣriyya*, xviii [1971], 1-24). *Hikr* and similar practices of perpetual lease flourished after periods of decline in the power of the central government which involved deterioration of *waqfs*. This is what happened in various parts of Cairo after the decline of the Fāṭimids (Mubārak, *Khiṭat*, iii, 2, 102), and in the Maghrib with the decline of the Marīnid dynasty and the disorders under the Sharīfians which brought about the dilapidation of the *waqfs* (Milliot, 43). The recurring fires in Istanbul and other Anatolian towns have been considered as a primary reason for the spreading of *idjāratayn* contracts in Ottoman Turkey. The *hikr* served as a useful expedient to develop deteriorated *waqf* estates in periods of economic prosperity. In the second half of the 19th century in Egypt, 'Alī Pasha Mubārak, the Minister of Awkāf, granted a large amount of *hikrs* to private persons to develop Cairo, Tanṭā and others towns (Mubārak, *Khiṭat*, ii, 119; ix, 53).

Another reason for the increase in *hikr* was the attempt by debtors to save their estates from the encroachment of their creditors. This they achieved by selling the *raḡaba* of the estate to a mosque at a nominal price while keeping the usufruct and paying an annual *hikr*, equivalent to the interest on the price originally paid by the mosque. Thus they retained the right to transfer their property, but it could not be touched by their creditors (J.H. Scott, *The Law affecting foreigners in Egypt*, Edinburgh 1907, 120-1). *Hikr* has often been used as a way to encroach upon *waqf* property. Frequently administrators neglected to collect the rent, and after some time the estate became known as the lessee's property. Usurpers even claimed to be entitled to become proprietors by prescription (cf. 'Azīz Khānkī, *al-Waqf wa 'l-hikr wa 'l-takāḍum*, in *Maḡallat al-Kānūn wa 'l-Iktisād*, vi [1936], 779-829).

Moreover, in all periods *hikr* and similar practices have been used by dishonest *nāzīs* as a convenient means of fraud. In Palestine, "the conversion of *Wakfs* held as *ijare wahide* into *ijaretein* proceeded at a rapid rate in the nineteenth century, mainly through the dishonesty of the local Kadis and Mudirs of Awkāf, who were often interested parties in such transactions. It was an easy matter for a Mudir to advance the plea that a property had been

incorrectly registered... vast tracts of land were converted about this period into *ijaretein*, the *Wakf* being the sole loser, whilst the *mutawali* received a considerable accession to his income. The Law of 19 Jemazul-Akhir, 1280, categorically forbade conversion unless there is the sanction of the Sher', and an Imperial Irade had been obtained" (J.B. Barron, *Mohammedan Wakfs in Palestine*, Jerusalem 1922, 32).

As a result, the number of perpetual leases of *waqf* property in Islamic countries grew tremendously. At the end of the 19th century, the number of persons who had made *hikr* contracts in Egypt was estimated at 20-25,000 (*Maḡmū'at al-karārāt wa 'l-manshūrāt*, Bulāk 1899, 236 f.), and in the 1930s, the Ministry of Awkāf alone administered more than 11,000 *hikrs* (Abū Zahra, 135). *Hikr* contracts were made predominantly on *khayrī* (public) *waqfs*, i.e. those whose income was dedicated to hospitals, mosques, the poor, etc. (Pröbster, 141-2; Milliot, 36). Many of Cairo's public baths (*hammām*) had to pay yearly *hikr* rents to various *waqfs* (to whom, apparently, the property had originally belonged) (Mubārak, *Khiṭat*, ii, 28, 38, 113, 116; iv, 45; vi, 66-71). Recently-discovered documents have shown that very large parts of Cairo were *hikr* which for years had been considered private property. However, income from *hikr* was extremely small. According to Mubārak's data on some Cairo mosques, their income from *hikr* in the third quarter of the 19th century was between 0.4 % and 1.31 % of their total income (Mubārak, *Khiṭat*, iv, 45, 59, 60; v, 99). In the course of the first half of the 20th century, the percentage of income from *hikr* in the total income of the Ministry of Awkāf from *awkāf* declined from 2.59 % in 1899 and 1.88 % in 1904 to about 1 % from 1908 onwards (with few exceptions of lower or higher percentages). The highest percentage was obtained in the *Wakf al-Haramayn* category and a somewhat lower one in *khayrī waqfs*, while *ahli waqfs* had the lowest percentage (1.91, 1.30, and 0.07 respectively in the 1928-9 budget). Percentages of *hikr* income in the total *waqf* revenue in Palestine were similar: in 1927 the Supreme Moslem Council estimated *hikr* income at 1.95 % of its budget, and in fact received a sum which constituted only 1.10 % of the total *waqf* revenue (Israel State Archives, K/102/34, 24). Though legally there should be no difference between *hikr* rates and the rent of the same land prior to the improvements made by the lessee, the report of an official committee appointed in Egypt in the 1930s put average rents on *hikr* lands at one-third of usual rents. Sharī'a Courts calculated the value of *waqf* lands encumbered with *hikr* as one-third of the value of similar lands free of *hikr* (Abū Zahra, 129-51).

Since the beginning of the 20th century, attempts have been made to abolish *hikr*. The Egyptian Awkāf Administration had declared as early as 1898 that its aim was to sell the *hikrs*, since their revenue was too small compared with the cost of collecting it. The problem was that theoretically it is forbidden to sell *waqf* property and that it was too complicated to exchange the great number of *hikrs*. Attempts made to do this during the first years of the century had failed. *Hikr* on *waqf ahli* was abolished together with such *waqfs* in Egypt in 1952 by art. 7 of Law no. 180 of that year, and Law no. 649 of 1953 and no. 295 of 1954 provided for the voluntary sale and termination of *hikrs* on *waqf khayrī*. The owner of the *raḡaba* (the *waqf*) was to receive three-fifths of the price paid and the holder of the *hikr* the rest. Apparently these laws were not effective, and in 1960 a new law



(no. 92) was enacted, according to which all *ḥikr* were to be liquidated: the holder was given the option to buy the property from the *wakf* for three-fifths of its value, otherwise it would be put for auction and the proceeds divided between the *wakf* and the holder in a ratio of 3 to 2. In Turkey, *ıd̡āratayn* and *mukāta'a* (= *ḥikr*) were liquidated by the Vakıflar Kanunu of 5 June 1935. According to this law, the establishment of such arrangements in future was prohibited and existing ones were dissolved. Lessees were made owners of properties they held and required to pay compensation amounting to twenty times the yearly rent, according to a scheme of easy terms (Köprülü, 246 ff.). In 'Irāk, the 1929 Law of Waqf Administration had already abolished *ḥikr* and *ıd̡āratayn*, but apparently not effectively. In 1960 and 1962 new laws called *İtfā' ḥakk al-ḥikr* were enacted, according to which administrators and other people concerned were entitled to apply to a law court for the dissolution of *ḥikr*, *ıd̡āratayn*, *mukāta'a*, and similar systems of perpetual lease. The law court would fix the value of the property and the share of the *wakf* and the lessee (Muḥammad Shafīḥ al-'Ānī, *Ahkām al-wakf*, Baghdād 1965, 60, 244-6).

Bibliography: In addition to the literature on *wakf* in general, see in particular Eug. Clavel, *Le wakf ou habous*, Cairo 1896, ii, ch. 12; U. Pace and V. Sisto, *Code annoté du Wakf*, Alexandria 1946, 138-59; J. Aribat, *Essai sur les contrats de quasi-alienation et de location perpétuelle auxquels l'institution du habous a donné naissance*, in *Revue Algérienne et Tunisienne de Législation et de Jurisprudence*, xvii (1901), 121-51; L. Milliot, *Dénembrements du habous*, Paris 1918; E. Pröbster, *Privateigentum und Kollektivismus im mohammedanischen Liegenschaftsrecht, insbesondere des Maghrib*, Leipzig 1931; 'Alī Pasha Mubārak, *al-Khiṭaṭ al-tawfīkiyya al-djādīda*, Būlāk, 1304-5, *passim*; Muḥammad Abū Zahra, *al-Ḥikr*, in *Madjallat al-Kānūn wa 'l-Iktisād*, x (1940), 93-151; B. Köprülü, *Ewvelki hukukumuzda vakıf nev'iyetleri*, Fasil IV: *İcraeteynli vakıflar*, in *İstanbul Üniversitesi, Hukuk Fakültesi Mecmuası*, xviii (1952), 215-57; *al-Ahrām*, 3 August 1954; 6 May 1962.

(G. BAER)

AL-HILĀLĪ, ABU 'L-'ABBĀS AḤMAD B. 'ABD AL-'AZİZ B. RAṢĪD AL-SİDĪLMĀSSĪ, Moroccan scholar who owned his *nisba* to Ibrāhīm b. Hilāl (d. 903/1497; see Brockelmann, S II, 348), the ancestor of a family of intellectuals in Sijilmāssa. He was born in that town in 1113/1701, and began his studies there, going on to Fās for them, and then returning to the Tāfilālt, where he gathered round himself numerous pupils. He also obtained *ıd̡āzas* from various eastern scholars on the occasions of two pilgrimages. He died at Madagħra (Tāfilālt) on 21 Rabī' I 1175/20 October 1761.

Al-Hilālī owed his fame to the quality of his teaching and to a fairly abundant output of works which entitle him to be considered as one of the greatest Moroccan scholars of the 12th/18th century. His work is partially preserved (see the list of mss. in Lakhdar), and includes some *fahrasas*; a *riḥla*, which appears to be lost; some commentaries on works of *fikh*, on the subject of the Qur'ānic *kirā'āt*, on lexicography and on logic; and finally, some poetry. His piety is displayed in a *qaṣīda* on the *asmā' ḥusnā* [q.v.] and above all in a poem of 129 verses in which he sums up the rule of life for the true believer, and recommends this latter to prepare for the next life in this present one, to fight against evil

tendencies and desires and to conform to the obligations of Islam. This poem enjoyed a very great vogue in Morocco.

Bibliography: Kādirī, *Nashr al-mathānī*, Fās 1310/1892, ii, 273-5; Kattānī, *Fihris al-fahāris*, Fās 1346-7/1927-8, ii, 421-3; Mukhtār Sūṣī, *al-Ma'sūl*, Casablanca 1370/1950, iv, 32-52; Makhlūf, *Shadjarat al-nūr al-zakiyya*, Cairo 1349/1930-1, i, 355; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Chorfa*, 316-17; Brockelmann, II, 456, S. II, 390; M. Lakhdar, *Vie littéraire*, 221-4 and bibl. given. (Ed.)

HINDIBĀ', endive, *Cichorium endivia*, the cultivated form of a species of the ligulate chicory family. Through Syriac *antūbiyā*, both terms *hindibā'* and "endive" go back to Greek ἔντυβος, which is recorded only sporadically; normally the plant is called σέρις, in the Arabic translations *sāris* or *saris*. The nomenclature, rich and confused, can be summarised as follows: the wild endive (*hindibā' barrī*) was already known to the earlier Arab botanists under various names: *'alath* or *ghalath* (Abū Hanīfa al-Dīnawarī, *Le dictionnaire botanique*, ed. M. Hamidullah, Cairo 1973, nos. 735, 804), further *ya'dīd*, *baḡla murra*, *tarkhashkūk* and variants (*op. cit.*, no. 1115). As indicated by the last but one name, it is a "bitter vegetable" and is therefore also called *amarūn* (and variants). The latter term is not of Greek origin, as the books on medicine have it, but is to be derived from Latin *amarum*. The cultivated endive, usually called *hindibā'* (also by al-Dīnawarī, *op. cit.*, nos. 1103, 1104), is the popular, tasty salad-plant, particularly widespread in the Arab West and known there under the Mozarabic name *sharrāliya* or its arabicised form *sarrākh* (Castilian *sar-rāja*, cf. F.J. Simonet, *Glosario de voces ibéricas y latinas*, etc., Madrid 1888, 584), while in Morocco the Berber term *tjāf* is mainly used.

The medicinal effect of endive was exceptionally extensive, as can be seen in Ibn al-Bayṭār's long article, where numerous older sources are indicated. It is above all effective against eye-diseases and poisoning, in minced form also against boils when in their initial stage, and it strengthens the liver and stomach. The root helps against scorpion-stings, and the juice against jaundice, constipation, persistent fever and suppurations. The *tarkhashkūk* mentioned above is *taraxacum*, the dandelion used in popular medicine because of its bitter substance. On the cultivation of endive in Spanish agriculture, in particular on sowing, planting out and irrigation, ample information based on several sources is given by Ibn al-'Awwām, *K. al-Filāḥa*, tr. J.-J. Clément-Mullet, ii, Paris 1866, 146-9.

Bibliography: Dioscurides, *De materia medica*, ed. M. Wellmann, i, Berlin 1907, 203 f. (= lib. ii, 132); *La "Materia medica" de Dioscorides*, ii, Arabic tr. Iṣṭafan b. Basīl, ed. C.E. Dubler and E. Terés, Tetuán 1952, 200 f.; 'Alī b. Rabban al-Tabarī, *Firdaws al-ḥikma*, ed. Şiddīkī, Berlin 1928, 377; Rāzī, *Hāwī*, xxi, Haydarābād 1388/1968, 632-5 (no. 896); *Die pharmakolog. Grundsätze des Abu Mansur ... Harawī*, tr. A. Ch. Achundow, Halle 1893, 282, 408; Ibn al-Djazzār, *ʿIṭmād*, Ms. Ayasofya 3564, fol. 19a-b; Zahrāwī, *Tasrif*, Ms. Beşir Ağa 502, fol. 512a, 4-6; Ibn Sīnā, *Kānūn*, Būlāk, i, 298; Bīrūnī, *Ṣaydala*, ed. H.M. Sa'īd, Karachi 1973, Arab. 378, Engl. 330; Ibn 'Abdūn, *ʿUmdat al-tabīb*, Ms. Rabat, Bibl. Gén. 3505 D, fols. 167b, 14-168a, 22; Ibn Bīklārīsh, *Mustaʿīnī*, Ms. Naples, Bibl. Naz. iii, F. 65, fol. 36b; Ḡhāfīkī, *al-Adwiyā al-mufrada*, Ms. Rabat, Bibl. Gén. k 155 i, fols. 151a-152b; P. Guigues, *Les noms arabes dans Séra-*



piḥ, in *JA*, 10ème série (1905), v., s.v. *Dundebe* (no. 165); Maimonides, *Sharḥ asmā' al-ṣukkar*, ed. Meyerhof, Cairo 1940, no. 114; Ibn al-Bayṭār, *Djāmī*, Būlak 1291, iv, 198-200, tr. Leclerc, no. 2263; Yūsuf b. 'Umar, *Muṭamad*, ed. M. al-Sakka', Beirut 1395/1975, 539-41; Ibn al-Kuṭī, *'Umda*, Haydarābād 1356, i, 264; Suwaydī, *Simāt*, Ms. Paris ar. 3004, fol. 81a-b; Nuwayrī, *Nihāya*, xi, Cairo 1935, 67-9; Ḡhassānī, *Hadīkat al-azhār*, Ms. Hasan H. 'Abd al-Wahhāb, fols. 122b-123a; Dāwūd al-Anṭākī, *Tadhkira*, Cairo 1371/1952, i, 335 f.; *Tuḥfat al-ahbāb*, ed. Renaud and Colin, Paris 1934, no. 124; I. Löw, *Die Flora der Juden*, i, 1928, 433-9; M. Asin Palacios, *Glosario de voces romances...* (siglos xi-xii), Madrid-Granada 1943, no. 523; *El Libro Agregado de Serapiom*, ed. G. Ineichen, ii, Venice 1966, 121; *The medical formulary or Aqrābādih of al-Kindī*, tr. M. Levey, Madison etc. 1966, 244 (no. 40), 301 (no. 188).

HINN, an inferior species of *djinn* [q.v.]. Mas'ūdī (*Murūdj*, iv, 11 = § 1340) states that many people believe that the *Hinn* are a sub-species of the *djinn* who are of a weaker and lowlier kind, but condemns the belief in them as a delusion. Belief in the *Hinn*, is, however, accepted by the Druzes (see H. Guys, *Théogonie des Druzes*, Paris 1863, n. 78, p. 106; *Takṣīm Djabal Lubnān* (Leeds Arab. MS 178, fol. 14b); C.F. Seybold, *Die Drusenschrift: Kūṭab Alhoqāq Waladawār. Das Buch der Punkte und Kreise*, Kirchhain 1902, 71), and they are occasionally mentioned elsewhere in Arabic literature, e.g. al-Djāhīz, *Bukḥalā'*, Beirut 1960, 58.

Bibliography: in addition to the works mentioned in the article, see D.R.W. Bryer, *The origins of the Druze religion*, in *Der Islam*, liii (1976), 8, and the literature there cited.

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HIPPOCRATES [see BUKRĀT, above]

HIPPOTAMUS [see FARAS AL-MĀ, above]

AL-HIṢĀFĪ, HASANAYN, founder of the al-Hiṣāfiyya al-Shādhiliyya *ṭarīka*. He was born in 1265/1848-9 in the village of Kafr al-Hiṣāfa, Qalyūbiyya province, Egypt.

Originally he was a *khaliṣa* [q.v.] of an offshoot of the Madaniyya branch of the Darḳāwa [q.v.], known as al-Makkiyya al-Fāsiyya. He had been initiated into this *ṭarīka* by its founder, Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Fāṣī (d. 1288/1872), when in Mecca for the pilgrimage in the year of the latter's death. He defied as unlawful certain forms of *dhikr* [q.v.] characteristic of the *ṭarīka* and introduced into it certain elements of teaching and ritual peculiar to al-Tidjāniyya [q.v.]. This brought about a conflict within al-Makkiyya al-Fāsiyya which resulted in the formation of an independent and distinct *ṭarīka* which became known as al-Hiṣāfiyya al-Shādhiliyya.

After Hasanayn's death in 1910, when the *ṭarīka*'s position of supreme leadership had passed to his son Muḥammad 'Abd al-Wahhāb (d. 1949), various factions emerged under local leaders who paid only nominal allegiance to the successors of the *ṭarīka*'s founder. One of these factions in Banī Suwayf, led by Muḥammad Aḥmad al-Tukḥāwī (d. 1361/1942), developed into an independent and distinct *ṭarīka* known as al-Tukḥāwiyya. Another faction in al-Mahmūdiyya (Buhayra province) led by Aḥmad al-Sukkarī was virtually severed from the main body of the *ṭarīka* when it was organised into the *Djam'iyya* al-Hiṣāfiyya al-Khayriyya, an organisation which was the root and forerunner of the *Ikhwān al-Muslimūn* [q.v.].

Hasanayn al-Hiṣāfī was buried in Damanhūr, where his shrine is venerated; a *mawlid* [q.v.] is celebrated there yearly.

Bibliography: 'Alī al-Djā'farāwī, *al-Manḥal al-sāfi fī manāḳib al-sayyid Hasanayn al-Hiṣāfī*, Cairo 1330/1911-12, contains the principal biography in addition to a number of his sermons (71-87) and a short treatise in which he gives instruction in the fundamentals of *ṭasawwuf* and elaborates his position with respect to *dhikr* (61-109). This section may be found also in a much more expanded form in the principal manual of the order, which is Hasanayn al-Hiṣāfī's *al-Sabīl al-wādih*, Cairo 1951. Other writings of al-Hiṣāfī are mentioned in a biography by Muḥammad Zakī Muḍjahid, *al-A'lām al-sharīfiyya*, 4 vols., Cairo 1949-63, iii, 101 f., which is largely based upon the biography by al-Djā'farāwī. A discussion of the early history of the order and of its exceptional position among the *ṭarīkas* in the 19th century Egypt may be found in F. de Jong, *Turuq and turuq-linked institutions in 19th century Egypt*, Leiden 1978, 101-3.

(F. DE JONG)

HIYAL (A.), with the basic meaning of "devices, subterfuges", has had its sense considerably extended, and in particular, denotes in Classical Arabic ingenious contrivances, automata, various pieces of machinery, and finally, the science of mechanics. Since the article **HIYAL** in Vol. III deals mainly with legal fictions and ruses and with caustic processes, the present article is especially concerned with automata, with the Arabic works describing them and with the tradition of which they are the most remarkable expression.

The mediaeval Arabic books on machines are often called "automata treatises" by modern writers, but the designation is somewhat misleading. The books deal with *hiyal* [q.v.], which in one of its senses denotes mechanical contrivances and covers a much wider field than that of automata. The descriptions in the treatises, supplemented by references in histories and by archaeological evidence, enables us to list the following constructions: water-clocks and candle-clocks; trick vessels and liquid dispensers, measuring devices; fountains, lamps; water-raising machines; musical automata; locks. According to Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Kh'arazmī [q.v.], who compiled his scientific encyclopaedia *Mafāṭih al-ʿulūm* towards the end of the 4th/10th century, trebuchets (*mandjānik*) are also *hiyal* (ed. van Vloten, Leiden 1895, 247). The word therefore means virtually any mechanical contrivance from small toys to large machines. *Hiyal* may indeed be automata, as in the case of trick vessels; they may display a variety of automata, for instance on the monumental water-clocks; or the automatic element may be completely lacking. The closest Arabic word for automaton is in fact simply "movement" (*ḥaraka*), which is used frequently by the writers, e.g. al-Djazarī [q.v. above] and Ibn al-Nadīm (*Fihrist*, 397). Often a variety of *ḥarakāt* is described for the more complex devices, and the craftsman is instructed to select those that suit his tastes and purposes. The concern of this article is mainly with the contrivances that incorporated automatic effect.

Several treatises composed in Arabic are known to us, including: *Kūṭab al-Hiyal* by the Banū Mūsā, written in Baghdād ca. 236/850 (Hauser; Wiedemann and Hauser - W.H. 1); *Kūṭab 'Amal al-sā'it wa 'l-'amal bihā* by Ridwān, written in 600/1203, describing the repairs of a monumental water-clock built by his father Muḥammad al-Sā'ātī in Damascus ca.

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545/1150 (W.H. 2); *Kitāb fī maʿrifat al-hiyāl al-handasiyya* by al-Djazarī, written in 602/1206 (Hill 1); and a treatise on clocks written by Takī al-Dīn b. Maʿrūf (932-72/1526-65), namely *al-Kawākib al-dawriyya* (ed. and tr. with commentary by S. Tekeli, *The clocks in [the] Ottoman Empire in [the] sixteenth century*, Ankara 1966). A second work by Takī al-Dīn, dealing with various types of machines, entitled *al-Ṭuruk al-saniyya fī ʿālāt al-ruḥāniyya* has recently been edited in Arabic (Aḥmad Y. al-Ḥasan, Aleppo University 1976).

Almost certainly there are manuscripts yet to be discovered, and there are known manuscripts that await close study. Perhaps the most important of these is a manuscript in the Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana in Florence. Numbered 152 (formerly 282) it is catalogued as *anonymi tractatus de mechanicis*. The section of the work that concerns us here is entitled *Kitāb al-Asrār fī natāʾidj al-aḥkār* and occurs amid a number of mathematical treatises attributed to Abū ʿAbd Allāh, known as Ibn Muʿādh, who worked in Cordoba in the 5th/11th century. (For Ibn Muʿādh, see the article *al-Jayyānī* in the *Dictionary of Scientific Biography*.) It has not yet been possible to make a close study of this treatise, which is dated 664/1266. It is unfortunately in poor condition, with several of its pages torn, but it is written in a clear Maghribī script and it may be possible to decipher large parts of it. An examination of photographs of some of the leaves indicates that it describes water-clocks, and other machines. The drawings are well-executed and suggest considerable sophistication—for instance, they incorporate geartrains in the main parts of the machinery. This work, even if its authorship cannot be established with certainty, may prove to be of considerable importance for the study of mediaeval Islamic mechanical technology.

Apart from the treatises themselves, there are other attestations to support the existence of a thriving tradition of machine technology in mediaeval Islam. Al-Djazarī mentions a candle-clock built by a certain Yūnus al-Aṣṭurlābī (Hill 1, 87) and a musical automaton constructed by Hibat Allāh b. al-Ḥusayn (Hill 1, 170), otherwise known to us as an astrolabist (Suter, 117). There are also references to be found in the works of geographers and historians concerning mechanical devices which they had seen: for instance, the striking water-clock with automata presented to Charlemagne by vassals of Hārūn al-Raṣhīd (Eginhard, *Annales Francorum* in *Monumenta German. Script.* i, 194), and the silver tree with whistling birds in the garden of the Caliph al-Muktadir [see BACHMÄD, History]. Remains of two water-clocks built in the 8th/14th century are still to be seen in Fās (D. de Solla Price, *Mechanical water clocks of the 14th century in Fez, Morocco*, in *Ithaca*, 26 VIII-2 XI [1962], 599-602). It cannot be doubted, therefore, that there was a tradition of mechanical engineering in Islam that probably originated in the 2nd/8th century and continued until it merged with the developing European engineering in the 10th/16th century. It was a tradition that was concerned mainly with devices to provide amusement and aesthetic pleasure, with some utilitarian elements, and almost certainly reached the peak of its achievements in the work of al-Djazarī.

One impetus for the establishment of this tradition was undoubtedly the availability in Baghdād in the 3rd/9th century of Arabic translations of Greek treatises, especially those of Philo (ca. 230 B.C.) and Hero (fl. ca. 60 A.D.). The works of Hero, in particular, were highly regarded in mediaeval Islam—several,

including one on automata, are mentioned by Ibn al-Nadīm (*Fihrist*, 397). A number of the Banū Mūsā's devices closely resemble devices described by Philo and Hero, and there seems little doubt that the brothers had access to the Greek treatises. It would be incorrect, however, to assume that Philo and Hero were the sole inspiration for the Banū Mūsā and their successors, or even the most important one.

From the time of Archimedes onwards, it now seems certain that a tradition of mechanical engineering, more practical than that represented by the known works of Philo and Hero, had spread throughout the eastern Mediterranean and western Asia. Monumental water-clocks, for instance, had been built in Syria in Byzantine times (H. Diels, *Über die von Prokop beschriebene Uhr von Gaza*, in *Abh. Preuss. Akad. Wiss. Berlin, Phil.-Hist. Klasse* [1917], No. 7). According to Riḍwān (W.H. 2, 179-80), this tradition was continued in Damascus in the Umayyad period and remained unbroken up to the time of his father. Riḍwān, in the same passage, also mentions a two-way transmission of ideas between Byzantium and Sāsānid Iran. It is indeed highly probable that mechanised technology developed in Iran in the Sāsānid period and continued into Islamic times: from the Banū Mūsā onwards many of the technical expressions used are of Persian origin. Nor can a similar interchange between Iran and India be left out of account.

Activity also continued in Byzantium. A treatise on a complicated musical automaton, probably written in Byzantium in the 1st/7th or 2nd/8th century, was described by al-Djazarī (Hill 1-170), see E. Wiedemann, *Aufsätze zur arabischen Wissenschaftsgeschichte*, Hildesheim 1970, ii, 50). Three Arabic versions of this treatise, ascribed to a certain Apollonius, are extant. A most important work, attributed to Archimedes, and describing the construction of a water-clock, exists in several Arabic mss. Both Riḍwān and al-Djazarī acknowledge that the basic water-machinery of their monumental clocks was derived from the "Archimedes" treatise (Hill 2, W.H. 3). The origins of this work are still somewhat obscure. It may have contained basic ideas from Archimedes, developed by Philo, with later accretions from Byzantine and Islamic writers. Indeed, this treatise exemplifies the problems that arise when we try to identify the various cultural elements in the Arabic "translations". The "Philonic" corpus, to cite another example, has been transmitted in Latin versions, a Greek fragment, and a late Arabic version. The last-named certainly includes later Hellenistic and Islamic additions, and it is difficult to isolate Philo's own contributions.

For the present, we can make the following hypotheses for the origins and development of Islamic mechanical technology: (1) At the time of the Islamic conquests, there was an established tradition for the manufacture of water-clocks and other mechanical devices in an area that stretched from the eastern Mediterranean to India. Chinese influence cannot be excluded. This tradition was recorded not only in documentary form, but in the experience of craftsmen, and in the existence of earlier constructions. (2) This tradition was continued in Islam, but no results were committed to writing before the Banū Mūsā in the 3rd/9th century. The Banū Mūsā drew upon translations from Greek treatises, and from the experience of craftsmen, adding many refinements of their own. (3) Later writers, such as al-Djazarī, were able to exercise an eclectic judgement, using elements from Greek works and from the established Islamic corpus as they saw fit. Because al-Djazarī in



particular was a fine engineer, he made significant improvements on the work of his predecessors. (4) It was essentially practical engineering, and the Islamic writers derived much of their knowledge from the works of other craftsmen—astro-labists, millwrights, irrigation specialists, metalworkers, jewelers, and the makers of articles for domestic use and ornament.

Islamic mechanical engineering was based upon a sophisticated, if empirical, use of the principles of aerostatics, hydrostatics and mechanics. Their materials included timber, sheet brass and copper, cast bronze, iron (for small components, nails and axles), iron and copper wire, rope and string. From these they fashioned the devices and mechanisms to produce the desired effects: vessels of various shapes, figures of men and animals, tanks, air-vessels, bent-tube and concentric siphons, pulleys, tipping-buckets, axles and bearings, pipes, conical valves, taps with multiple borings, gears, and special mechanisms designed for individual machines. Orifices, graduated for a given flow, were made from pieces of onyx.

Eighty-five of the Banū Mūsā's one hundred devices, and about twenty of al-Djazarī's fifty, are trick vessels of various kinds. They demonstrate a bewildering variety of effects. For example, wine and water were poured into a jar and issued in succession from the same tap; a pitcher would not accept any more liquid once impouring was interrupted; several liquids could be withdrawn separately from the same tap; when tilted, a pitcher could be allowed to discharge or not, according to the wish of the pourer (to prevent discharge he covered a concealed air-hole with his finger). These effects were obtained by using a repertoire of about ten basic motifs, together with components designed for individual machines. These components were assembled inside the main container, often with great ingenuity. In all the cases, the vessel itself was the automaton, and the visible effect was the discharge of liquid. The fountains described by the Banū Mūsā and al-Djazarī, in which the discharge changes shape at regular intervals, are essentially large versions of the trick vessels, but with a much greater aesthetic content.

Undoubtedly, the large water-clocks are the most important constructions of the Islamic engineers, for the engineering skills that went into their manufacture, for their beauty, and for their relevance to the history of mechanical engineering. Two of al-Djazarī's clocks (category I, 3, 4) are operated by a submersible float, the *tardījahār*, a bowl with a graduated orifice in its underside that submerges in a given period. The *tardījahār* is an ancient device for measuring time, but these clocks are the only instance we know of in which the *tardījahār* is incorporated in working machinery. They have the additional feature in that some of the automata are not simply for display, but also form an essential part of the operational cycle. The standard type of monumental clock, however, is exemplified by the first two described by al-Djazarī, and by the clock constructed by Muḥammad al-Sā'atī. Apart from its use of masonry for its casing, al-Sā'atī's clock is very similar to al-Djazarī's monumental clock (category I, ch. 1), which may be taken to exemplify this type of timepiece. This clock was reconstructed in the Science Museum, London, for the 1976 World of Islam Festival; it is quite beautiful, and works perfectly. The display screen is about 3.50 metres by 1.60 metres in width. At the bottom of the machine are the figures of five musicians—two trumpeters, two drummers and a cym-

balist—who perform at the sixth, ninth and twelfth hours. Above these figures is a semicircle of glass roundels, at the side of which are the figures of brass falcons. Above the apex of the semicircle are two rows of twelve doors each, in front of which a small representation of the moon moves at a steady speed. The clock operates on "solar" or "temporal" hours, obtained by dividing the hours of daylight by twelve. Every hour one upper door opens to reveal a standing figure, one lower door revolves to show a different colour, each of the falcons drops a bronze ball from its beak on to a cymbal, and one of the glass roundels becomes fully illuminated. The clock is crowned with a Zodiac circle, painted with the appropriate signs, and having glass discs representing the sun and moon set to their correct positions in the Zodiac. The circle rotates at a constant speed throughout the day. All the automata, except the musicians, are operated by the steady sinking of a heavy float in a cylindrical reservoir—a string from the top of the float passes through a pulley system to the actuating mechanisms. The outflow from the reservoir is kept constant by a sophisticated system of feed-back control and flow-regulation. The musicians are made to perform by the sudden release of the outlet water, which is collected in a special tank.

Taken as a whole, one may distinguish the work of the Islamic engineers from that of their predecessors by their greater pre-occupation with automatic control. For example, their confident use of conical valves in flow systems, the use of a crank in a machine, segmental gears, etc. They also used manufacturing techniques that were unknown in earlier times, notably the use of closed mould-boxes with green sand for casting metals. Many of the components and techniques of this identifiably Islamic engineering were later incorporated into European machine technology, but we have as yet little certain knowledge of how and when the transmission took place. As far as we know, none of the Arabic machine treatises was translated into a European language before modern times, but the dissemination of engineering ideas and practices has always been fairly rapid and, until recently, without documentary assistance. Traveller's reports, contacts between craftsmen, and inspection by craftsmen of machines built by their predecessors, were the usual means for the transmission of mechanical knowledge. Al-Djazarī, for instance, mentions several times that he had inspected machines made by earlier craftsmen, or that their constructions had been described to him (Hill 1-83, 170, 199). It seems likely that the passage of information occurred at different times and places, although the designs may not have been put to immediate use, but have lain dormant until their usefulness became apparent to later generations of engineers. It seems probable, however, that the most important transmission took place in the Iberian peninsula towards the close of the 6th/12th century, with the adoption by Christian Spain of Islamic ideas, particularly the monumental water-clock, which itself incorporated most of the techniques and components used by Islamic engineers. The large clocks of al-Sā'atī and al-Djazarī do not incorporate gears in their main operating mechanisms, but the "Archimedes" clock and the clocks in the "Ibn Mu'adh" treatise do so. These clocks are the direct ancestors of the mechanical clock; if one replaces the steadily descending float with an escapement-controlled weight; then the mechanical clock, with its driving mechanisms, and automata, does not differ essentially from its predecessor. The mechanical clock exercised a potent influence upon the development of machine



technology, and the waterclock is therefore directly relevant to this development. Islamic components and techniques were also incorporated into European engineering from the 7th/13th century onwards and were an important element in the establishment of modern machine design, particularly in the fields of delicate mechanisms and control systems.

There were less tangible influences of the Islamic automata tradition. Culturally, they are related to the "live" puppets of western literature and folklore, such as Pinocchio and the doll Olympia in one of the *Tales of Hoffman*. The cultivation of aesthetic delight, exemplified by the fountains of the Banū Mūsā and al-Djazarī, was continued in Europe by men such as Tomaso da Siena, who created the water gardens at the Villa d'Este and Bagnaia. More importantly, the representation of cosmological and biological phenomena was one of the factors that led men to adopt a rationalistic, mechanistic view of the universe, an attitude that has been immensely fruitful in the development of modern science.

Bibliography: (in addition to works mentioned in the text): There are as yet no Arabic editions of any of the *hiyal* treatises and one must therefore have recourse to translations. (An edition of al-Djazarī's work is however being prepared by A.Y. Hasan and will be published by Aleppo University.) (In the works cited the location of the Arabic ms. is given.) Descriptions of thirteen of the Banū Mūsā devices, with illustrations and notes are given by E. Wiedemann and F. Hauser in *Über Trinkgefäße und Tafelaufsätze*, in *Isl.*, viii (1918), 268-91 (W.H. 1); the remainder are dealt with by Hauser in *Über das Kitāb al-Hiyāl—das Werk über die sinnreichen Anordnungen der Benū Mūsā*, in *Abhandl. zur Gesch. der Naturwissenschaften und der Medizin*, Erlangen 1922; (A fully annotated English translation of the entire work is currently being prepared by the writer.) For al-Djazarī, see D.R. Hill, *The Book of knowledge of ingenious devices*, Dordrecht 1975, a fully annotated English version (Hill 1). Ridwān's treatise is available in an abbreviated translation with notes and illustrations, by Wiedemann and Hauser, *Über die Uhren in Bereich der Islamischen Kultur*, in *Nova Acta der Kaiserl. Leop.-Carol Deutschen Akad. der Naturforscher*, c (Halle 1915), 169-272 (W.H. 2). Two translations of the pseudo-Archimedes are available, both with notes and illustrations: Wiedemann and Hauser, *Uhr des Archimedes und zwei andere Vorrichtungen*, in *Nova Acta*, ciii (1918), No. 2, 164-202 (W.H. 3); D.R. Hill, *On the construction of water-clocks*, London 1976 (Hill 2). For the Arabic version of Hero's *Mechanics* and Philo's *Pneumatics*, there are edited Arabic texts with French translations, both by Carra de Vaux: *Les mécaniques ou l'éleveur de Héron d'Alexandrie sur la version arabe de Qostā ibn Lūqā*, in *JA*, 9^e Série (1893), i, 386-472; ii, 152-92, 193-269, 420-514; and *Le livre des appareils pneumatiques et des machines hydrauliques par Philon de Byzance*, in *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*, xxxviii (1903), Pt. 1. A recent work on Philo is F.D. Prager, *Philo of Byzantium*, in *Pneumatica*, Wiesbaden 1974; there is useful discussion of the Latin and Greek versions, but the Arabic section is inadequate, and inferior in every way to Carra de Vaux's edition. For Hero's pneumatics, there is an English translation, B. Woodcroft, *The Pneumatics of Hero of Alexandria*, London 1851, re-issued with an introduction by M.B. Hall, London 1971. The studies of A.G.

Drachmann are of the greatest value for the classical tradition, notably *The mechanical technology of Greek and Roman antiquity*, Copenhagen-Madison-London 1936; and *Ktesibios, Philon and Heron; a study in ancient pneumatics*, in *Acta Historica Scientiarum Naturalium et Medicinalium*, Bibliotheca Universitatis Hauniensis, Copenhagen, iv (1946), 1-197. For automata in general, see A. Chapuis and E. Droz, *Automata*, tr. A. Reid, Neuchatel-London 1958; D. de Solla Price, *Automata and the origins of mechanism and mechanistic philosophy*, in *Technology and Culture*, v/1 (1964), 9-23. On the influence of the Greek tradition, there is a valuable survey by Price in *Gears from the Greeks*, Science History Publications, New York 1975, 51-62. The Indian tradition of mechanical devices and its connections with Greek and Islamic ideas is described by V. Raghaven in *Yantras or mechanical contrivances in Ancient India*, in *The Indian Institute of Culture*, Basavangudi, Bangalore, Transaction No. 10 (1952) 1-31. The index to J. Needham's *Science and civilisation in China*, iv/1, Cambridge 1965, should be consulted for transmission from and into China, particularly the entries under "Automata", "Clocks", "Clock-work" and "Water-power". (D.R. HILL)

HOESEIN DJAJADININGRAT, PANGERAN ARIA, Muslim scholar and Indonesian statesman, historian and linguist (1886-1960).

Born at Kramat Watu, the chief town of a sub-district in the residence Bantam (Bantén) in West Java, where his father was a government official, he sprang from an old prominent family which was related to the former Sultans of Bantam [see *INDONESIA*, iv]. In his early youth, Hoesein's historical interest must have been evoked by reminiscences of the period of the Bantam Sultans, kept alive through stories and legends and through old buildings such as the monumental mosque in the former town of Bantam, the remains of the Sultan's residence (Kraton) and pleasure gardens. More than any other region of Java, Bantam is also the area of centuries-old Muslim piety; there are many *pésantrén* (religious schools), where the Muslim sciences are studied industriously from Arabic text-books, and in every village there are people who have performed the pilgrimage to Mecca at least once. At an early stage Hoesein was destined for a European education and academic career by his progressive father, who had been promoted to be Regent of Serang. After previous training in Batavia and at the gymnasium in Leiden, Hoesein was matriculated into Leiden University in 1905 as the first Indonesian student of the section "Languages and Literatures of the East-Indian Archipelago". He read Sanskrit with J.S. Speyer, and Arabic, first with M.J. de Goeje and, from 1906 onwards, with the latter's successor C. Snouck Hurgronje. When a prize was offered for the best essay on data preserved in Malay works concerning the history of the sultanate of Atjeh, he was distinguished with a golden medal of honour. In 1913 he received his Ph.D. degree for the thesis *Critische beschrijving van de Sadjarah Bantén* ("Critical examination of the *Sajarah Bantén*"), a Javanese chronicle dealing with the history of Bantén, but containing also traditions concerning the earlier history of Java and the period of its conversion to Islam. Back in Indonesia, Hoesein was appointed to the academic function of "official for the study of Indian (i.e. Indonesian) languages" and commissioned to devote himself to the Achinese language. At the beginning of 1914 he went to Atjeh and, after his return to



Batavia by mid-1915, continued his studies with the aid of the material collected, the extensive Achinese literature preserved in manuscript, and with the assistance of Achinese informants. His *Atjehsch-Nederlandsch Woordenboek* ("Achinese-Dutch Dictionary") was published in two volumes in 1934.

Being the only Indonesian Ph.D., he several times had to sit on various official committees, and in 1916 he was appointed as assistant to the then governmental commissioner for Native Affairs, G.A.J. Hazen, and as such he was mainly in charge of Islamic affairs. From 1920 till 1924 he was Assistant-Adviser for Native Affairs to the Government, and then received an appointment as a professor at the University of Law, newly-erected in Batavia, where he taught Muslim Law and Indonesian languages. From this period date a number of articles on Indonesian languages and literature, Islamic and Indonesian history; as monographs were published: *De Mohammediansche wet en het geestesleven der Indonesische Mohammedanen* ("Muslim law and spiritual life of the Indonesian Muslims") (1925), and: *De magische achtergrond van de Maleische pantoon* ("The magical background of the Malay pantoon") (1933).

Hoessein turned his attention to statesmanship, when, in 1935, he became a member of the Council of Dutch East India, the highest government committee. As such, he had a great part in the reform of religious Muslim judicial administration in Java, which led to such institutions as the panghulu-courts (religious courts) and in 1938, to the Court of Islamic Affairs (the higher religious court) at Batavia. While Hoessein was holding for one year the office of Director of the Department of Education and Worship, the first Indonesian Faculty of Letters was opened (4 December 1940). During the war (1942-5) and the first disturbed years afterwards, he mostly remained inactive, reading and studying (his membership of the Council of Dutch East India ended in 1946). When in 1948 the provisional Federal Government was formed, he became Secretary of State for Education, Arts and Sciences. As such, he was present at the Round Table-Conference at the Hague in 1949. When the Republic of Indonesia became independent on 27 December 1949, Hoessein lost his office, but his scholarly qualities were recognised in 1951, when he was invited to take the Chair of Arabic and Islamology at the University of Indonesia in Jakarta (formerly Batavia). Now over seventy, he was free to teach the subject of his preference; he chose the history of Indonesia's conversion to Islam. He published some more articles and wrote the chapter on "Islam in Indonesia" in Kenneth W. Morgan, *Islam—the Straight Path: Islam interpreted by Muslims* (New York 1958), in which are treated the origin of Islam in Indonesia, religious education, the actual situation of Islam in Indonesia, arranged according to the concepts *shari'at*, dogma, Sufism and reform, and finally a characterisation of Indonesian Islam. He died in 1960.

A Javanese aristocrat by origin and through his marriage to a daughter of the Javanese royal house of Mangkunagara, and the first Indonesian to devote himself to the study of Islam after a Western academic education, Hoessein Djajadiningrat remained a devout Muslim throughout his life and as such enjoyed the confidence of his co-religionists. Through his uprightness and justice he was held in reverence by Indonesians, Arabs and Dutch alike.

Bibliography: given in the article. A list of

Hoessein's writings, compiled by Atja, has been published in *Bahasa dan Budaya*, viii/5-6 (1960).

(G.F. PIJPER)

HOGGAR [see AHAGGAR].

HOMONYM [see APDĀD].

HOMS [see HIMS].

HOOPOE [see HUDHUD].

HORN [see BŪK].

HORSEMAN [see FĀRIS].

HORTICULTURE [see BŪSTĀN].

HOSPITALERS, KNIGHTS [see DĀWIYA, above].

HOURI [see HŪR].

HUBAYSH B. AL-ḤASAN AL-DIMASHKĪ, surnamed al-A'sam "the one with the withered limbs", translator of Greek medicinal writings into Arabic. He was a Christian and a nephew of the master-translator Hunayn b. Ishāq [q.v.], who esteemed him highly as a collaborator and considered him very talented but not particularly assiduous. The quality of his translations was so high that later they were held often for Hunayn's work; because of the similarity of the consonant ductus, uncritical users are even said to have been of the opinion that the name Hubaysh—the real translator—should be changed into Hunayn. His dates are not known; he may have lived at the 'Abbāsid court towards the end of the 3rd/9th century. He belonged to those prominent translators who had been awarded by the Banu 'l-Munajjim a fixed monthly salary of ca. 500 *dīnārs* (*Fihrist*, ed. Flügel, 243, 18-20).

Hubaysh had only a very scant knowledge of Greek, or none at all; with the exception of the Hippocratic oath and the herb-book of Dioscurides, he translated Galen's works exclusively, 35 of them from Arabic into Syriac, and three from Syriac into Arabic (cf. *Hunayn ibn Ishāq über die syrischen und arabischen Galen-Übersetzungen*, ed. and tr. G. Bergsträsser, *AKM*, xvii/2, Leipzig 1925, index, 45). His language is that "of a scholar who aims only at clearness, who is little trained linguistically and does not care much for linguistic beauty, but on the other hand sets himself to some kind of correctness" (G. Bergsträsser, *Hunayn ibn Ishāq und seine Schule*, Leiden 1913, 41). On the basis of the then known translations, Bergsträsser (*ibid.*, 28-46) classified the linguistic peculiarities of Hubaysh; additions are given by M. Meyerhof and J. Schacht, *Galen über die medizinischen Nomen*, in *Abh. Preuss. Akad. Wiss., Phil.-hist. Kl.*, Berlin 1931, 4-7. In view of the tight relation between teacher and pupil, the many similarities in language of Hunayn and Hubaysh are not surprising.

Besides the translated works, Hubaysh is also the author of original writings. They are completely based on his knowledge of Greek medicine, but, as far as pharmacology is concerned, they often reach further back and prove that already in those days other sources were used or that personal observations were introduced. Mention should be made firstly of his additions (*ziyādāt*) to Hunayn's *Kitāb al-Mas'āl al-tibbiyya*, which became extraordinarily widely diffused, cf. A. Dietrich, *Medicinalia arabica*, Göttingen 1966, 39-44; this enlarged edition became a standard work which was to occupy quite a number of commentators and epitomists. Other works of Hubaysh preserved in manuscript are: (1) *Kitāb Islāh al-adwiya al-mushila*; (2) *K. al-Aghdhhiya*; (3) *K. fi 'l-Istiskā'* and (4) *Makāla fi 'l-nabd*. Only from quotations are known: (5) *K. al-Adwiya al-mufrada* (often cited by Ibn al-Bayṭār); (6) *Ta'rif amrād al-'ayn*, quoted in *Khalifa's al-kāfi fi 'l-kuhl* (see J. Hirschberg, etc. in *Anhang der Abh. Preuss. Akad.*



Wiss., Berlin 1905, 13, 20 f., and idem, *Die arabischen Augenärzte*, ii, Leipzig 1905, 158; and (7) a dispensatorium (*akrābādīn*), possibly composed not by Ḥubaysh but by Hunayn.

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(A. DIETRICH)

HUDHAYFA B. 'ABD B. FUKAYM B. 'ADĪ [see AL-KALAMMAS]

HUDŪD AL-ĀLAM, "The limits of the world", the title of a concise but very important anonymous Persian geography of the world, Islamic and non-Islamic, composed towards the end of the 4th/10th century in Gūzgān [q.v.] in what is now northern Afghānistān. The work exists in a unique manuscript of the 7th/13th century (the "Toumansky manuscript") which came to light in Bukhārā in 1892. The Persian text was first edited and published by W. Barthold at Leningrad in 1930 as *Hudūd al-ālam, rukopisī Tumanskago*, with an important preface (this last reprinted in his *Sočineniya*, viii, 504-46; an English tr. of this was included by Minorsky in his translation of the whole work, see below), and subsequently by Djalāl al-Dīn Tīhrānī, Tehran 1314/1935, and Manūčīhr Sūtūda, Tehran 1340/1962. Soon after Barthold's edition appeared, V. Minorsky produced an English translation, together with a lengthy commentary of immense erudition, *Hudūd al-Ālam, "The regions of the world", a Persian geography 372 A.H.—982 A.D.*, GMS, N.S. xi, London 1937. A second edition (London 1970) includes Minorsky's own "Addenda to the *Hudūd al-Ālam*", originally published in *BSOAS*, xvii (1955), 250-76, and also a second series of addenda.

The authorship of the work still remains a puzzle, though it was dedicated to the *amīr* of Gūzgān, of the Farīghūnīd line, Abu 'l-Ḥārith Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Farīghūn [see FARĪGHUNĪD]. Minorsky suggested the possibility, though the evidence is indirect and requires further investigation, that the author might have been the *Shā'yā* b. Farīghūn [see IBN FARĪGHŪN below] who wrote an early encyclopaedia of the sciences, the *Ḍawāmi' al-ʿulūm*, for an *amīr* of Čaghāniyān [q.v.] on the upper Oxus in the middle years of the 4th/10th century; cf. his *Ibn Farīghūn and the Hudūd al-Ālam*, in *A locust's leg, studies in honour of S.H. Taqizadeh*, London 1962, 189-96, reprinted in his *Iranica, twenty articles*, Tehran 327-32.

The form of the *Hudūd al-ālam* is concise and pithy. Unlike such contemporary geographers as Ibn Ḥawkal and Muḥaddasī, the author does not personally seem to have been a traveller, but he relied instead on earlier sources and reports, such as those

of Ibn Khurradādhbih [q.v.] and, apparently, 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad al-Dījayhānī [see AL-DĪJAYHĀNĪ, above], except for the immediate region of his home in northern Afghānistān. Its archaic language and style are interesting pieces of evidence for early Persian prose, cf. G. Lazard, *La langue des plus anciens monuments de la prose persane*, Paris 1963, 53-4. Original features of the author's approach are his concern for exact enumeration of physical features (the seven seas, rivers, lakes, islands, etc.) of the inhabited world; his division of this last into three main parts, Asia, Europe and "Libya" (= Africa); his enumeration of 45 distinct countries (*nāḥiyat*) lying to the north of the equator; and the unusually large proportion of space allotted to the non-Islamic lands, even though the Muslim ones, surveyed roughly from east to west, naturally occupy the greater part of the work. The information on the local topography of Afghānistān is probably first-hand, with special emphasis on Gūzgān, Gharcīstan, Ghūr, etc.; the material on the Eurasian and Turkish steppes and their peoples is likewise very significant. Finally, the author furnishes useful details about local products and trade movements.

Bibliography: In addition to references given in the article, see I. Yu. Kračkovskij, *Arabskaya geograficheskaya literatura*, in *Sočineniya*, iv, Moscow-Leningrad 1957, 224-6, partial Arabic tr. Cairo 1963, 223-4; A. Miquel, *La géographie humaine du monde musulman jusqu'au milieu du XI^e siècle*, Paris 1967, xxxiii, 398-9; see also DĪGHARĪFIYĀ, iv, c, i.

(C.E. BOSWORTH)

HUNAYN, site of a mediaeval seaport in western Algeria, not far west of Beni-Saf (B. Šāf) and, as the crow flies, about 45 km. N. W. of Tlemcen. Within a walled area (41,000 sq. m.) are ruins of a *kašba* and traces of a mosque's, and possibly also a *ḥammām*'s, foundations. On dry land below the *kašba* lie the remains of a rectangular interior dock (4,250 sq. m.), once protected by rampart and towers and entered, seemingly via a channel, by a large arch of carved stone of the kind characteristic of certain parts of Muslim Spain. Most of what remains is in the Marinid architectural tradition and thought attributable to the sultan Abu 'l-Ḥasan.

Words in Ibn Abī Zar's *Rawḍ al-ḳiṭās* must not be taken as implying the existence of Hunayn as the port of Tlemcen in 237/851-2. Hunayn finds no place in Ibn Ḥawkal's 4th/10th century description of the Oran-Melilla coast, but it was known to al-Bakrī in the 5th/11th century as a fortress (*ḥiṣn*) with a good and busy anchorage. Inhabited by Kūmiyya Berbers, it had more orchards and varieties of fruit than any neighbouring coastal *ḥiṣn*. A century later al-Idrīsī's description is "a charming and prosperous small town with solid wall, market and trace." *Extra muros*, large tracts of land were farmed. Under the Almohads its importance grew, for not only was 'Abd al-Mu'min [q.v.] from the Kūmiyya, but he also championed the *ḡihād* in Spain. And so he made Hunayn—only two days' sailing away from Alberia—a naval shipyard. Thereafter it gradually emerged as the new port of Tlemcen, wholly ousting Arṣhūl, the old. In the 7th/13th century Tlemcen became the capital of the 'Abd al-Wādid [q.v.] and a great commercial metropolis. As the northern terminal of the major trans-Saharan trade axis running from sub-Saharan Africa, it was ideally placed for exchanges with Mediterranean Europe. In its brisk trade with Christian and Muslim Spain and elsewhere, Hunayn played a major role and prospered, even during the long 'Abd al-Wādid-



Marīnid struggle. In 698/1298 it wisely submitted to the Marīnid Abū Ya'kūb and emerged unscathed when his eight-year siege of Tlemcen ended with his death in 1307. In 736/1335-6 it again fell into Marīnid hands, this time for ten years under Abū 'l-Ḥasan, and then to a Kūmiyya rebel from whom the 'Abd al-Wādid Abū Thābit recovered it in 1348. It was at Hunayn that Ibn Khaldūn was arrested by Marīnids in 1370 and to Hunayn that he was deported from Spain in 1374.

After the Spanish seizure of Oran in 1509, Venetian trade was diverted thence to Hunayn. Around the same time the port became a haven for corsairs, a fact which eventually led to its seizure in 1531 by the Spaniards, who chose, however, to abandon it in 1534, presumably after rendering the port unserviceable. Hunayn never regained its old prosperity.

Bibliography: G. Marçais, *Honain*, in *Rāfi*, lxix (1928), 333-50 (contains most of the references to Arabic sources; illustrated); R. Basset, *Nedromah et les Traras*, Paris 1901, 95-105 (useful for post-mediaeval history); R. von Thoden, *Abū 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī: Merinidenpolitik zwischen Nord-afrika und Spanien ... 1310-1351*, Freiburg-im-Breisgau 1973, index (for mediaeval European spellings of Hunayn, see 185, n. 3); Ch.-E. Dufourcq, *L'Espagne catalane et le Maghrib au xiii^e et xiv^e siècles*, Paris 1966, index; R. Arié, *L'Espagne musulmane au temps des Nasrides*, Paris 1973, index.

(J.D. LATHAM)

AL-ḤUSAYMA is the name which, since the independence of Morocco in 1956, has been given to a bay and small archipelago on the coast of the Rif between the Cape of Quilates on the East and the More headland to the West. It is known also by the name of Alhucemas as well as by that of San Jurjo, the town founded by the Spaniards in 1926; today, it is the capital of the province.

The origin of the old place name as well as the new one poses unsolved problems. In classical antiquity the bay seems to have had no particular name, for the *Itinerary* of Antonius merely indicates the two groups of three islets: *ad sex insulas*. The Marquis de Segonzac in 1901 passed through the territory of the Banī Waryāghal (Uryaghāl) and speaks of the bay of Nukūr [see NAKŪR, NĀKŪR], a town and famous principality which have been destroyed several times in the past but of which traces seem to have been found on the banks of the *wādī* of the same name five miles from the sea. This seems acceptable, because the Arab geographers and the Moroccan government have always given the name Hadjrat al-Nukūr to the small archipelago, and another French traveller in 1904, Ch. René Leclerc, confirms the existence of the name then. Although in Spanish the word *alhuema* "lavender", is derived from Arabic *al-khuzāmā*, with the same meaning, the place name is not derived from the plant name. *Al-khuzāmā* is never encountered in ancient geographical or historical texts in the Western Arabic sources, nor in old maps of the strait of Gibraltar. However, recently al-Bū'ayyāshī, with some other scholars supporting him, admits that the name Alhucemas has an unquestionably Arabic origin and that the new name al-Ḥusayma which has been adopted by the Moroccans is no more than an arabised form of the Hispano-Arabic word. Others, like the author of the voluminous encyclopaedia *Espasa-Calpe*, say that the name Alhucema is a corruption of al-Mazimma, but this suggestion needs further discussion, see below.

The largest islet of the archipelago, which is

170 m. long and 75 m. broad, is about 1300 m. from the coast; it was ceded with the others to Spain in about 1554 by the Sa'did Mawlāy 'Abd Allāh [q.v.]. This was to prevent the Turks, who had temporarily taken the Peñon de Velez from Spain, from seizing them in a similar manner. But Spain did not consider it necessary to follow up this action by even a symbolic occupation of these strategic islands. The affair was conducted so well that France was not aware of the cession, and in 1665, a French commercial company, which was intent on exploiting the possibilities of the coast of the Rif, decided to set up an establishment in the bay of Nukūr under the name of the Compagnie d'Albouzème. In contemporary sources sometimes the term "Albouzème" is used, but otherwise it is "Les Albouzèms", or variants. The first term denotes the earlier town (called in Arabic al-Mazimma) which the 'Alawī sultan Mawlāy Rashīd [q.v.] was to destroy. The second term denotes the town together with its port and its islands, but the words are often interchanged. There are frequent references to the name al-Mazimma in ancient and modern texts, especially in the *Description of Africa* of Leo Africanus, who devotes an interesting chapter to it.

But where is al-Mazimma? Al-Bādisī, writing at the end of the 19th century in his *Maḥṣad*, speaks of ramparts with gates overshadowed by a rock. At the beginning of the 20th century, René Leclerc noted the existence of a village on the side of a hill amongst several ruins; this was probably Nukūr, and al-Mazimma seems to have been the port associated with it. Wherever the town and the port may have been exactly, it was Cardinal Mazarin who first planned to set up a commercial establishment "on the islands of Albouzème". He went as far as appointing a consul for it, but when the cardinal died, the project was abandoned. However, the plan was not forgotten and on 4 November 1664 a decree from the French Conseil d'État authorised the creation of a company to be conducted by two brothers from Marseilles, Michel and Roland Fréjus. Roland did not reach Morocco until 1666 and, although his journey across the Rif delighted him, one made in order to see Mawlāy Rashīd at Tāzā, it did not produce the expected results and he returned to France. The company was declared bankrupt, and was replaced by the Compagnie du Levant (on all this episode, see J. Caillé, *Representative diplomatique*, 31).

It was not until 1673 that Spain occupied these islands (*peñons*); on one of them, the largest, she set up a *presidio* (penitentiary) and a cemetery on another one nearby. Concerning life on this waterless archipelago, see J. Cazenave, *Présides espagnols*, 457-507. The Peñon d'Alhucemas, like Melilla and the Peñon de Velez, was besieged by the troops of Muḥammad the Great in December 1774. The Spanish resisted the bombardments bravely, and on 19 March 1775, the siege was lifted. It was also in the bay of Alhucemas that Spanish troops disembarked on 8 September 1925 to end the violent revolt of 'Abd al-Karīm [q.v.] whose headquarters were at Adjdir, 8 kms. away.

The archipelago, like the rest of the Spanish zone of the protectorate, was returned to the Moroccan authorities after Morocco regained her independence. The new provincial capital, al-Ḥusayma (pop. 5,000) is a young modern city, aiming at becoming a prosperous tourist centre and seaside resort.

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(G. DEVERDUN)

ḤUSAYN B. 'ALĪ B. ḤANZALA [see 'ALĪ B. ḤANZALA, above].

ḤUSAYN DJAJADININGRAD [see HOSEIN DJAJADININGRAD, above].

AL-ḤUSAYNĪ, ṢADR AL-DĪN ABU 'L-ḤASAN 'ALĪ B. NAṢĪR B. 'ALĪ, author of the late Saldjūk period and early decades of the 7th/13th century, whose work is known to us through its incorporation within an anonymous history of the Saldjūks and succeeding Atabegs of Ādharbāyḍjān, the *Akhbār al-Dawla al-saldjūkiyya* (ed. Muhammad Iqbal, Lahore

1933; Tkish. tr. Necati Lugal, Ankara 1943; cf. Brockelmann, I, 392, Suppl. I, 554-5). Al-Ḥusaynī apparently composed the *Ḥubdat al-tawārīkh, akhbār al-umarā' wa 'l-mulūk al-saldjūkiyya*, which forms the first part of the longer, anonymous work. The *Ḥubda* was in turn based on the history of the Saldjūks by 'Imād al-Dīn al-Kātib al-Iṣfahānī [q.v.], continued up to 590/1193-4, the date of the death of the last Great Saldjūk sultan, Toghrīl III. The author of the *Akhbār al-dawla al-saldjūkiyya* then continued his own work with the history of the Atabegs of Ādharbāyḍjān, either up to 620/1223-4 or 622/1225-6, the latter being the date of the deaths of the caliph al-Nāṣir [q.v.] and of Özbeg b. Pahlawān [see ILDEŪZIDS].

There are considerable problems regarding both al-Ḥusaynī and the anonymous author and their respective works, which have been discussed by K. Süss-heim, *Prolegomena zu einer Ausgabe der im Britischen Museum zu London verwahrten Chronik des Seldschukischen Reiches*, Leipzig 1911, by M.T. Houtsma, *Some remarks on the history of the Saljuks*, in *AO*, iii (1925), 145 ff., by Lugal in the Introd. to his translation of the *Akhbār*, by Cl. Cahen, *Le Malik-nāmeḥ et l'histoire des origines seljukides*, in *Oriens*, ii (1949), 32-7, and by Angelika Hartmann, *an-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh (1180-1225), Politik, Religion, Kultur in der späten 'Abbāsidenzeit*, Berlin 1975, 17-18.

It seems that al-Ḥusaynī's name became attached to the *Akhbār* through a copyist's mistake, the real author being, in Hartmann's view, an official in the administration at Baghdād. As for al-Ḥusaynī, he remains an enigmatic figure; he was apparently an 'Alid, and may conceivably be identical with the "al-Ṣadr al-Aḍjall, Ṣadr al-Milla wa 'l-Dīn" of Nīshāpūr, historian and poet, whom 'Awfī [q.v.] mentions and knew personally in the early 7th/13th century, see his *Lubāb al-albāb*, ed. Sa'īd Nafīsī, Tehran 1335/1956, 125-7.

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(C.E. BOSWORTH)

HUT [see SUKNA].**HYDROMANCY** [see ISTINZĀL].

I

IATROMANCY [see FIRĀSA, ISTIKHĀRA]

'IBĀDAT KHĀNA, literally "House of Worship", the name of the chamber or building where religious discussions among theologians were held under the patronage of the Mughal Emperor Akbar. It was constructed by Akbar at Fathpūr Sikrī [q.v.] the seat of his court, in 983/1575. He was then interested in finding a common interpretation of Muslim law, and invited Muslim jurists and theologians to hold discussions with a view to resolving their disputes; he was himself present at many of these. It was discovered, during the course of discussions, that Muslim orthodoxy was divided not only on the fine points of law but also on basic principles. Akbar's subsequent disenchantment with Muslim orthodoxy were ascribed by Badā'ūnī to the effects of the open and bitter theological disputes of the 'Ibādat Khāna. Akbar then enlarged the scope of the debate by inviting non-Muslim divines to discussions in the 'Ibādat Khāna, and Hindus,

Christians and Parsees could now explain articles of their faith and engage in controversy with Muslim divines. The *Dabistān-i madhāhib* contains an interesting record of these discussions among representatives of various religions.

With the *maḥḍar* of 987/1579, when Muslim theologians set forth high claims for Akbar as an interpreter and enforcer of Muslim law, the 'Ibādat Khāna sessions seem to have ended. The *maḥḍar* did not win much support among Muslims; and Akbar himself began to hold larger religious views. Moreover, he left Fathpūr Sikrī soon afterwards, and his sessions with such religious divines as appeared at his court were held elsewhere.

The actual building of the 'Ibādat Khāna at Fathpūr Sikrī has not been properly identified.

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(M. ATHAR ALI)

IB‘ĀDIYYA or **AB‘ĀDIYYA** (pl. *abā‘id*) was the term used in 19th century Egypt for land surveyed in 1813 under Muḥammad ‘Alī, but not included in the cadaster and not taxed because it was uncultivated. These lands extended over an area of 0.75 to 1.0 million *faddāns* (a *faddān* amounted, at the end of Muḥammad ‘Alī's rule, to 4,416.5 square metres). To increase the country's wealth he made free grants of *ib‘ādiyya* to high officials and notables, exempting them from taxes on condition that they improved the land and prepared it for cultivation. The first relevant decree was issued on 1 December 1829, after which grants rapidly increased. At first recipients only enjoyed usufructuary rights, but in order to encourage investment, Muḥammad ‘Alī was compelled in 1836 to decree these lands as being inheritable by eldest sons and, on 16 February 1842, to grant almost complete rights of ownership, including the right of sale and transfer. Sa‘īd, who needed money to implement the modernisation policy begun by Muḥammad ‘Alī, imposed on 30 September 1854 a tithe (*‘ushr*) on *ib‘ādiyya* and similar categories of land granted as private property, all of which were classified from then onwards as *‘ushūriyya* lands. He reinforced, however, property rights to these lands. Clause 25 of his 1858 Land Law explicitly stated that they were “the full property of whomsoever received them . . . and that he might deal with them in every respect as a property owner”. *ib‘ādiyya* owners were even entitled, from then onwards, to endow these lands as *wakf* or to bequeath them in their wills. A major expansion in grants of *ib‘ādiyya* land after Muḥammad ‘Alī's rule occurred under Ismā‘īl, from 1863 to 1876, mainly in the northern part of the Delta. After that grants of *ib‘ādiyya* discontinued.

Cultivators residing on *ib‘ādiyya* lands were exempted from the *corvée*, i.e. forced labour for public works, such as strengthening dikes and for fighting locusts. This attracted the fellahs of neighbouring lands, thus enriching even more the notables owning *ib‘ādiyyas* and encouraging differentiation in landownership.

In Fayyūm, *ib‘ādiyya* lands were granted to Western Desert Bedouin tribes in order to encourage their settlement. In contrast to other *abā‘id*, the tribes did not receive legal title to their land, but gained exemption from taxes, forced labour, and conscription, by cultivating it. The experiment did not always meet with success, and many Bedouins farmed the land out to fellahs for half the yield. Decrees issued in 1837, 1846, and 1851 outlawing this practice, and many threats issued to the tribes that they would lose their *ib‘ādiyya*, were not implemented. Sa‘īd turned Bedouin *abā‘id* into *kharādīyya* (not *‘ushūriyya*) land and thus refrained from granting the Bedouin full private ownership. Full ownership was achieved by Bedouin owners of *abā‘id*, together with other owners of *kharādīyya* land, at the end of the century.

ib‘ādiyyas were also freely granted by Muḥammad ‘Alī to foreign subjects, although Muslim law did not allow strangers (*musta‘man*) to settle

permanently in a Muslim country and thus debarred them from acquiring landed property without becoming *dhimmis*. Problems arising from foreigners owning land under the Capitulations [see *IMTIYĀZĀT*] were solved by *Tanzīmāt* legislation and the establishment of the Mixed Courts in Egypt in 1876.

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IBEX [see *AYYIL*].

IBN ABI ‘L-ASH‘ATH, **ABŪ DJA‘FAR AHMAD B. MUḤAMMAD B. MUḤAMMAD**, Arab physician. According to a statement of the Syro-Arab physician ‘Ubayd Allāh b. Djabrīl b. Bakhtishū‘, given by Ibn Abī Uṣaybi‘a, Ibn Abī ‘L-Ash‘ath originated from Fars. Having been originally an administrative official, he hurriedly left the country after his income had incurred *muṣāḍara*, and reached Mosul in a wretched condition. There he treated with success a son of the Ḥamdānid Nāṣir al-Dawla, who had been taken ill. Having thus risen to distinction, he stayed in Mosul where he had many pupils and where he died at a very advanced age, shortly after 360/970. He was considered to be an excellent specialist on Galen [see *ḤĀLĪNŪS*]; like him he had presented his knowledge in a logical and systematic way, rather than on the basis of personal observations; the statement, e.g., according to which he tested repeatedly the results of medicines, is a rather informal topos which is often found in the introductions to pharmacopoeias.

Apart from a theological work, finished in 355/966 and only known by its title (*Kutāb fi ‘l-ilm al-ilāhī*), and apart from the explanation of unnamed Aristotelian works, Ibn Abī ‘L-Ash‘ath wrote books on medicine, zoology and veterinary science, some of which have been preserved in manuscript but none of which has been published so far. There are in the first place revisions of some of Galen's works: (1) *Περὶ τῶν καθ’ Ἱπποκράτην στοιχείων* *K. al-Ustūḥṣāt ‘alā ra‘y Abukāfī*; (2) *Περὶ κρᾶσεων* *K. al-Mizāj*; (3) *Περὶ ἀνωμάλου δυσκρασίας* *Makāla fi Sū‘ al-mizāj al-mukhtalif*; (4) *Περὶ ἀρίστης κατασκευῆς τοῦ σώματος ἡνῶν* *Makāla fi Afḍal hay‘at al-badan*; (5) *Περὶ εὐεξίας* *Makāla fi Khayṣ al-badan*. Among his own works, there should be mentioned above all: (6) *K. Kuwā al-adwiyā al-mufrada*, a book on the powers of simple medicaments, written in 353/964 at the request of some pupils and preserved in several good manuscripts. It is mainly based on Galen's *Θεραπευτικὴ μέθοδος* (*Hilāt al-bur‘*), has an instructive arrangement and would deserve an edition. Further have been preserved: (7) “On food and those who feed themselves” (*K. al-Ḥādī wa ‘l-muḥtadhī*), a dietary work written in Armenia in 348/960; (8) “On sleeping and being awake” (*Makāla fi ‘l-Nawm wa ‘l-yakẓa*); and (9) a *K. al-Hayawān*, evidently remarkable because of its precise zoological observations. A dozen other writings are only known by title or from isolated quotations; mention should be made of a book on dementia and pleurisy (*K. fi ‘l-Sirām wa ‘l-birsām*) in three chapters, written in 355/966, and further of commentaries on Galen's *Περὶ αἰρέσεων* *K. al-Firaḥ* and *Περὶ διαφορᾶς πυρετῶν* *K. al-Hummayāt*, and also of an explanation of the famous synopsis of sixteen works of Galen (*al-kutub al-sitta ‘ashar*, alias *al-Djawāmi‘*).

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M. Ullmann, *Die Medizin im Islam*, Leiden 1970, 138 f.; idem, *Die Natur- und Geheimpwissenschaften im Islam*, Leiden 1972, 25. (A. DIETRICH)

IBN ABĪ DJUM'Ā [see KUTHAYYIR].

IBN ABĪ DJUMHÜR AL-AHSĀ'Ī, MUHAMMAD B. 'ALĪ B. IBRĀHĪM B. ḤASAN B. IBRĀHĪM B. ḤASAN AL-HADJĀRĪ, Imāmī scholar, was born in al-Ahsā' ca. 837/1433-4 into a family with a scholarly tradition. He studied first in al-Ahsā' with his father and later in al-Nadja'f with various scholars, among them al-Ḥasan b. 'Abd al-Karīm al-Fattāl. In 877/1472-3 he visited Karak Nūh in Syria in order to hear traditions from 'Alī b. Hilāl al-Djazzārī. After a pilgrimage to Mecca, a visit to his home country and to the shrines of the Imāms in Baghdād, he travelled to Mashhad in 878/1473-4 where he stayed in the house of the Sayyid Muḥsin b. Muḥammad al-Riḍawī al-Kummī and engaged in debates with a Sunnī scholar from Harāt described in an extant *Risāla*. During the next two decades, he seems to have mostly been teaching in Mashhad, al-Nadja'f and al-Ahsā'. He is known to have been in Mashhad in 888/1483 and, for a third visit, in 896-7/1490-2. In 893/1488 he was in al-Ahsā' and, after a visit to Mecca, he taught in al-Nadja'f in 894-5/1493-4 where he completed his *K. al-Mudjli*. In 898-9/1493-4 he stayed in the region of Astarābād and dedicated one of his works to the Amīr 'Imād al-Dīn. A commentary on al-'Allāma al-Hillī's creed *al-Bāb al-ḥādī 'aṣḥar* was completed by him on 25 Dhu 'l-Ka'da 904/4 July 1499 in Medina. The date and place of his death are unknown.

Ibn Abī Djumhūr's numerous extant writings, mostly still unpublished, include treatises and books on ritual, law, legal methodology, tradition, theology, and controversy about the imamate. His fame rests, however, on his *K. al-Mudjli* or *Mudjli mir'at al-nūr al-mundjī* (lith. eds. Tehran 1324 and 1329). Formally a supercommentary on his own *kalām* work *K. Maslak (masālik) al-afḥām fī 'ilm al-kalām*, it offers a theosophic synthesis of Imāmī scholastic theology, philosophy of the school of Ibn Sīnā, illuminationist thought of al-Suhrawardī and Šūfism, chiefly of Ibn al-'Arabī and his school. His work anticipated the endeavours of the philosophical school of Iṣfahān of the Šafawīd age to synthesise the thought of the same school traditions, though it seems to have had little direct influence on them. Later Imāmī opinion about Ibn Abī Djumhūr was generally favourable, though some criticised his *K. al-Mudjli* as excessively Šūfī in tone.

Bibliography: Nūr Allāh Shushṭarī, *Madjālis al-mu'minin*, Tehran 1299/1882, 250-4; al-Hurr al-'Āmilī, *Amal al-āmil*, ed. Aḥmad al-Ḥusaynī, Baghdad 1385/1965, ii, 253, 280 f.; al-Bahrānī, *Lu'lu'at al-Bahrāyn*, ed. Muḥammad Šādiq Baḥr al-'Ulūm, Nadja'f 1386/1966, 166-8; al-Kh'ānsārī, *Rawḍat al-djannāt*, ed. Asad Allāh Ismā'īliyyān, Qumm 1390-2/1970-2, vii, 126-34; al-Nūrī al-Tabarsī, *Mustadrak al-wasā'il*, Tehran 1318/1900, iii, 361-5, 405; H. Corbin, *L'idée du Paraclet en philosophie iranienne*, in *La Persia nel Medioevo*, Rome 1971, 53-56; W. Madelung, *Ibn Abī Jumhūr al-Ahsā'ī's synthesis of kalām, philosophy, and Šūfism* (forthcoming).

(W. MADELUNG)

IBN ABĪ 'L-ZINĀD, ABŪ MUHAMMAD 'ABD AL-RAḤMĀN B. 'ABD ALLĀH B. DHAKWĀN, Medinan traditionist and jurist of the 2nd/8th century, who came from a *mawālī* family. His father Abu 'l-Zinād (d. 130/747-8) had been made head of the *kharaḍj* of 'Irāq, and he himself was appointed to a similar office at Medina. He then went to Baghdād, where he died in 174/790-1 at the age of 74. His

brother Abu 'l-Kāsim and his son Muḥammad also transmitted *ḥadīths*. Goldziher (*Muh. Studien*, i, 24² 32-3, Eng. tr. i, 31, 38) noted that 'Abd al-Rahman was one of those who, if they did not invent it, at least spread, in order to buttress the prohibition of wine, a tradition which said that 'Abd Allāh b. Djud'ān [q.v.] abstained from wine. He was the contemporary and also opponent of Mālik (d. 179/795-6 [q.v.]), and seems to have tried to found a personal legal rite. The *Fihrist*, ed. Cairo 315, attributed to him two works of *fikh*, one on successions (*K. al-Farā'id*) and the other on the divergencies of the *fuḳahā'* of Medina [q.v. above], the *Ra'y al-fuḳahā' al-sab'a min ahl al-Madīna wa-mā khtalafū fihi*; this last would doubtless have been of first-rate importance for the study of the origins of Islamic law.

Bibliography: Ibn Kutayba, *Ma'ārif*, 220, 464-6; idem, *Uyūn al-akhbār*, i, 44; Djahshiyārī, *Wuzarā'*, 20, 54-5; Khaṭīb Baghdādī, *Ta'rīkh*, x, 228; Nawawī, 718-19; Ibn Hadjar, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, vi, 170-2; Bustānī, *DM*, ii, Zirīklī, *A'lām*, iv, 85.

(Ed.)

IBN AL-ADJDĀBĪ, ABŪ IŠHĀK IBRĀHĪM B. ISMĀ'ĪL AL-TARĀBULUSĪ, Arab philologist from a family originally stemming from Adjḍābiya (Libya); he himself lived at Tripoli, where he died at an uncertain date, probably in the first half of the 7th/13th century. Hardly anything further is known about his life, and the biographers limit themselves to emphasising the breadth of his knowledge and his contribution to the technical literature of scholars of his time. They attribute to him some eight works, whose titles show that he was interested in lexicography, metrics, the *anwā'* [q.v.] and genealogies (he is, in particular, the author of an abridgement of the *Nasab Kuraysh* of Muṣ'ab al-Zubayrī [q.v.]). From amongst his writings, Yākūt (*Udabā'*, i, 130, and *Buldān*, s.v. Adjḍābiya) and al-Suyūṭī (*Bughya*, 178) preserve the titles of only two, the *Kifāyat al-mutahaffiz wa-nihāyat al-mutalaffiz fī 'l-lughā al-'arabiyya* and the *Kitāb al-Anwā'*, and it may be that these are the only ones to have survived. The first one, a lexicographical compendium, seems to have enjoyed wide success, to judge by the number of surviving manuscripts (cf. Brockelmann, I, 308, S I, 541); it was even put into verse and several editions of it have appeared (in particular, Cairo 1285/1868 and Beirut 1305/1887).

The second work was apparently lost until 'Izzat Ḥasan discovered, in Ankara University Library, a manuscript which he published in 1964 at Damascus (in the collection *Ihyā' al-turāth al-ḥadīm*, ix). This work, which has the title *K. al-Azmina wa 'l-anwā'*, is often mentioned in the list of *kutub al-anwā'* compiled by the Arab philologists (cf. Ch. Pellat, *Dictionnaire rimés* . . ., in *Arabica*, ii/1 [1955], 37). It is slenderer in size than Ibn Kutayba's book (ed. Hamidullah-Pellat, Haydarābād 1956), but is more systematic and less involved. It deals with the various calendars (Arabic, Roman, Syriac), describes the main stars or asterisms as well as the planets, defines the seasons, the zodiac signs and the lunar mansions, explains how to calculate the hours for prayer and to determine the direction of Mecca, and lists the various winds. It then goes on to define the *naw'* and follows the order of the months of the Julian calendar, giving the Syro-Arabic and Latin names, in order to point out the varying astronomical phenomena which show the way to them [see *ANWĀ'*], without forgetting too to note the beginning of the corresponding Coptic month. Its details on the agricultural round are



traditional in nature, as are its maxims and sayings, though these are sometimes different, it is true, from those which the present author of this article has gathered together. One peculiarity worth mentioning is the indicating of the star or asterism which passes to the meridian at sunset, midnight and the time of the morning prayer. Altogether, this little treatise on popular astronomy and meteorology, although chronologically quite late and marred by numerous errors, has a very honourable place in the series of *kutub al-awwā'*.

Bibliography: In addition to the sources mentioned in the article, see 'Izzat Hasan's introd. to his edition; Hādjī Khalīfā, v, 54; Ziriklī, *A'lām*, i, 25; Bustānī, *DM*, ii, 328.

(CH. PELLAT)

IBN AL-AKFĀNĪ (a *nisba* referring to the seller of shrouds, *akfān*), cf. al-Sam'ānī, *K. al-Ansāb*, f. 47b). Several persons were known by this name, amongst which three deserve some mention.

1. AL-KĀDĪ ABŪ MUHAMMAD 'ABD ALLĀH B. MUHAMMAD B. 'ABD ALLĀH B. IBRĀHĪM B. 'ABD ALLĀH B. al-Husayn B. 'Alī B. Dja'far B. 'Āmir B. AL-AKFĀNĪ AL-ASADĪ, jurist. Born in 316/928, and dying in 405/1014 in Baghdād, he was *kādī* in al-Madīna, then in Bāb al-Tāk, then in Sūk al-Thulāthā' (both in Baghdād), and from 396/1005-6 *kādī* for the whole of Baghdād. He was weak in relating traditions, but a liberal patron to traditionists (cf. al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Ta'rīkh Baghdād*, x, 141-2, no. 5284).

2. HIBAT ALLĀH B. AHMAD B. Muḥammad al-Anṣārī al-Dimashqī, ABŪ MUHAMMAD AL-AKFĀNĪ, historian, who died in 524/1129 as an octogenarian in Damascus and was the author of biographical works: *Djāmī' al-wafayāt* (now lost), and *Tatimmat Ta'rīkh Dāwāyā wa-tasmiyat man haddatha min ahlihā* (cf. Š al-Munadǧǧid, *Mu'djam al-mu'arrikhīn al-Dimashkiyyīn* . . ., Beirut 1978, 31-2, and the sources quoted there, especially Ibn al-'Imād, *Shadhārāt*, iv, 73, and also Maḥḥarī, *Nafḥ al-līb*, ed. Dozy et alii, i, 562).

3. MUHAMMAD B. IBRĀHĪM B. Sā'id, Shams al-Dīn Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Anṣārī, known as IBN AL-AKFĀNĪ, physician and encyclopaedist. Born in Sindjār, he died in 749/1348 in Cairo of the plague. A scholar of many talents, he was employed in al-Bimāristān al-Manṣūrī (see BĪMĀRISTĀN) in Cairo in an influential position, and wrote many books and treatises. A contemporary account on him is given by al-Safādī in *al-Wafī bi'l-wafayāt*, ii, 25-7, and in his *ʿĀyan al-ʿaṣr* (ms. Aṭīf Efendi 1809, s.v., a very exaggerated biography full of laudatory remarks); and letters by Ibn al-Akfānī are quoted in al-Safādī's *Alḥān al-sawādī* (ms. Berlin, cat. Ahlwardt, 8631, iii, 33a ff.). Other biographical accounts (Ibn Ḥaǧǧar, *Durar*, iii, 279-80; al-Maḥrīzī, *al-Muḥaffā*, ms. Leiden Or. 1366a, ff. 38b-40a; al-Shawkānī, *al-Badr al-tālī*, ii, 79-80; al-Ziriklī, *al-A'lām*, vi, 189) are all, directly or indirectly, derived from al-Safādī's account.

Some 22 books or treatises by Ibn al-Akfānī are known to have existed, more than half of these being concerned with medicine and related sciences. Others treat of logic, *tafsīr*, *firāsa* [see AFLĪMŪN], astronomy, the *arbaʿīn*, mathematics and gemmology. None of these is remarkable for great originality. Ibn al-Akfānī's fame rests mainly on his encyclopaedia *Irshād al-kāṣid ilā asnā al-makāṣid*. In this he deals with 60 sciences, along the lines of al-Fārābī's *Iḥṣā' al-ʿulūm*. After two introductory chapters on education in general and the division of the

sciences, Ibn al-Akfānī treats of *al-adab* (10 subdivisions), *al-mantiq* (9 subdivisions), *al-ilāhī* (9 subdivisions, with heresiology), *al-taḥṣīṣ* (10 subdivisions), *al-handasa* (10 subdivisions), *al-hay'a* (5 subdivisions), *al-adad* (7 subdivisions, the last of which is *al-musīkā*). Added to these are *al-siyāsa*, *al-aḥlāk*, and *tadbīr al-manzil*, comprising the practical sciences (*al-ʿulūm al-ʿamaliyya*). All sections have a bibliography. The book concludes with a short list of philosophical terms and their definitions. The *Irshād al-kāṣid* stood as a model for the *Miftāḥ al-saʿāda* by Ṭāsh-köprüzāda [q.v.], as can be seen easily from the table of contents of both works and from the arrangement of the material in the sections.

Bibliography: in addition to references given in the article, note that there are some 40 mss. of the *Irshād al-kāṣid*, dispersed in libraries from Rabat to Rampur. Editions: A. Sprenger, Calcutta 1849, and Maḥmūd Abu 'l-Naṣr, Cairo 1900 (both unsatisfactory). For a survey of the life, works and influence of Ibn al-Akfānī, see the introduction of the forthcoming edition of *Irshād al-kāṣid* by J.J. Witkam; the work was an important source for E. Wiedemann, the historian of Arabic science, cf. his *Aufsätze zur arabischen Wissenschaftsgeschichte*, ed. W. Fischer, Hildesheim 1970, index s.v. Afkānī. The chapter on music was published and translated by A. Shiloah, in *Tuwal*, i (1968), 221-48. See also Brockelmann, II², 171, S II, 169-70.

(J.J. WITKAM)

IBN 'AMR AL-RIBĀṬĪ, ABŪ 'ABD ALLĀH MUHAMMAD B. MUHAMMAD B. 'AMR AL-ANṢĀRĪ, MOROCCAN poet and *fakīh*, of Andalusian origin, who was born at Rabat, fulfilled the office of *kādī* for some time, and from 1224/1809 taught at Marrākush. Whilst making the Pilgrimage, he stopped at Tunis, and received there some *uḍʿās*; he died in the Ḥiǧāz on 10 Rabī' I 1243/1 October 1827.

Ibn 'Amr was neither a great *fakīh* nor a great poet. His works, which include in particular a *diwān*, a *fahrasa* and a *riḥla*, have not been preserved *in toto*, and his fame rests essentially on an imitation of the *Shamakhīyya* of Ibn al-Wannān [q.v.], a *kāfiyya* known by the name of *al-'Amriyya* which enjoyed a celebrity mainly because of the religious sentiments expressed in the last verses. In this *kaṣīda*, of classical mould, the author piles up rare words of the type that one can often describe as *hūshī* [see HŪSH] and resorts to rhetorical devices in order to arrive at a eulogy of the Prophet who, according to tradition, had supposedly cured him of gout.

Bibliography: Marrākushī, *al-Flām bi-man halla Marrākush*, no. 509; Kattānī, *Fihris al-fahāris*, Fās 1346/1927, i, 202-5; Sā'ih, *al-Muntakhabāt al-'abkarīyya*, Rabat 1920, 95-100; M. Lakhdar, *Vie littéraire*, 306-9, and bibliography cited. (ED.)

IBN 'ASKAR, MUHAMMAD B. 'ALĪ B. KHADIR B. HĀRŪN AL-ḠHASSĀNĪ, an Andalusian *fakīh*, philologist, poet and man of letters, who wrote a history of Málaga. Born in a village near this important sea-port ca. 584/1188-9, he was later to hold high judicial office there. Between 626/1229 and 631/1234 he served as deputy of Ibn Hūd's [see HŪDIDS] *kādī*, Abū 'Abd Allāh B. al-Ḥasan al-Judhamī. In 635/1238 he was appointed *kādī* of Naṣrīd Málaga by Muḥammad I, and he continued in that office until his death on 4 Djumādā II 636/12 January 1239. As a young man Ibn 'Askar was a pupil of Abū 'l-Ḥaǧǧǧādī B. al-Shaykh (d. 604/1207), author of the *K. alif bā'*, to which M. Asín Palacios



devoted the well-known study *El "Abecedario" de Yusuf Benaxeij* (Madrid 1932). His own pupils included his nephew, biographer and continuator, Abū Bakr b. al-Khamīs, and the celebrated Ibn al-Abbār [q.v.].

Ibn 'Askar's history of Málaga is frequently mentioned and quoted by Andalusian authors of the 7th/13th and 8th/14th centuries. Its title is *al-Ikmāl wa 'l-'ilām fī silat al-Flām bi-mahāsīn al-a'lām min ahl Mālaḳa al-kirām*, suggesting that it is a continuation of the *Flām* of the Málaga scholar Asbagh b. al-'Abbās (d. 592/1196). By Ibn al-Khaṭīb [q.v.], however, for whom the work was a main source of the *Ihāṭa*, it is called *Matla' al-anwār wa-nuḡḡat al-absār*, etc. There are other variants, including the simple and commonly used title *Ta'rīkh Mālaḳa*. At the time of the author's death the work was unfinished, and the task of completing it fell to Ibn Khamīs (see above), who seems to have flourished somewhere around the middle of the first half of the 7th/13th century. The one extant manuscript which we have of the *Ikmāl* (in private hands) is incomplete, but a large part has fortunately survived, and from this an assessment can be made of its literary and historical value. The biographies of Málaga notables included in it have a distinct literary value in that they offer, in addition to biographical data, worthwhile specimens of biographers' poetry (unfortunately, no account is taken of *muwaṣṣḥat* and the *zadīal*). On the historical side it contains material that can be utilised to supplement, complement and control our existing accounts from the 8th to the 13th centuries A.D.

Ibn 'Askar was the author of a number of other works, namely (i) *al-Maṣḥra' al-rawī*, a supplement to al-Harawī's works on unusual terms in the Qur'an and *ḥadīth*; (ii) *Nuḡḡat al-nāḡir fī manāḳib 'Ammār b. Yāsir*, a work dedicated to the Banū Sa'īd of Alcalá la Real and devoted to the life of the first member of the family to come to Spain (Ibn 'Askar was a close friend of the family); (iii) *al-Djuz' al-mukhtaṣar*... 'an *dihāb al-baṣar*, a work on blindness written to console a blind friend; (iv) *Idhḡḡikḡar al-ṣabr*, an ascetic work; (v) *al-Arbā'in al-ḥadīth*; and (vi) *al-Takmil wa 'l-ilmām li-Kīṭāb al-Ta'rīf wa 'l-'ilām*, a commentary on and supplement to a work by al-Suhaylī of Fuengirola (507-81/1113-85) on proper names not occurring in the Qur'an.

Bibliography: All important references are given in J. Vallvé Bermejo, *Una fuente importante de la historia de al-Andalus: la "Historia" de Ibn 'Askar*, in *Al-Andalus*, xxxi (1966), 237-80 (includes translations of some of the most notable historical passages).

(J.D. LATHAM)

IBN 'AZZŪZ, called **SĪDĪ BALLĀ**, ABŪ MUHAMMAD 'ABD ALLĀH AL-KURASHĪ AL-ṢĪDĪHĪ AL-MARRĀKUSHĪ, a cobbler of Marrakesh to whom thaumaturgic gifts were attributed and who died in an odour of sanctity in 1204/1789. His tomb, situated in his own residence at Bāb Aylān, has been continuously visited because of its reputation of curing the sick. Although he had not received a very advanced education, Ibn 'Azzūz nevertheless succeeded in leaving behind an abundant body of works, dealing mainly with mysticism and the occult sciences, but also with medicine. However, his works display hardly any originality, and none of them has interested a publisher, despite the success in Morocco of his *Dihāb al-kusuf wa-nafy al-zulumāt fī 'ilm al-ṭibb wa 'l-ṭabā'it' wa 'l-hikma*, a popular collection of therapeutic formulae (see L. Leclerc, *La chirurgie d'Abulcasis*, Paris 1861, ii, 307-8;

H.P.J. Renaud, in *Initiation au Maroc*, Paris 1945, 183-4); his *Kashf al-rumūz* concerning medicinal plants is equally well-known. Out of his three works on mysticism, the *Tanbīh al-tilmīdh al-muḥtādī* is perhaps the most original, since it endeavours to reconcile the *sharī'a* with the *ḥakīka* [q.v.]. Finally, in the field of the occult sciences, his *Lubāb al-hikma fī 'ilm al-ḡurūf wa-'ilm al-asmā' al-ilāhiyya*, of which at least one manuscript survives, is a treatise on practical magic and divinatory magic.

Bibliography: On the manuscripts of Sīdī Ballā's works, see Brockelmann, S II, 704, 713; M. Lakhdar, *Vie littéraire*, 253-6; see also Ibn Sūda, *Dalīl mu'arrikh al-Maghrib al-Akṣā*, Casablanca, 1960, ii, 446, 449; 'A. Gannūn, *al-Nubūgh al-Maghribī*², Beirut 1961, i, 304-5, 310. (Ed.)

IBN BĀBĀ AL-KĀSHĀNĪ [see AL-KĀSHĀNĪ]. **IBN AL-BALKHĪ**, Persian author of the Saldjūk period who wrote a local history and topographical account of his native province Fārs, the *Fārs-nāma*. Nothing is known of him save what can be gleaned from his book, nor is the exact form of his name known, but his ancestors came from Balkh. His grandfather was *mustawfī* or accountant for Fārs under Berk-yaruk b. Malik Shāh's governor there, the Atabeg Rukn al-Dawla or Nadjm al-Dawla Khumār-tigin, and Ibn al-Balkhī acquired his extensive local knowledge of Fārs through accompanying his grandfather in his work. He was accordingly asked by sultan Muḥammad b. Malik Shāh to compose a historical and geographical account of the province; since he mentions the Atabeg of Fārs Fakhr al-Dīn Āwālī as being still alive, the composition of the *Fārs-nāma* must be placed between Muḥammad's accession in 498/1105 and Āwālī's death in 510/1116.

The first two-thirds of the *Fārs-nāma* on the pre-Islamic history of Persia and the Arab conquest of Fārs are entirely derivative, being based on Hamza Isfahānī, but the remainder is a very important account of the province's topography and notabilia, concluding with a section on the Shābānkāra Kurds and containing details of contemporary happenings. This last third of the book was much used in the 8th/14th century by Hamd Allāh Mustawfī [q.v.] for the geographical part of his *Nuḡḡat al-kulūb*.

Bibliography: G. Le Strange and R.A. Nicholson edited the last third of the Persian text, *The Fārsnāma of Ibnu'l-Balkhī*, GMS, N.S. i, London 1921; Le Strange had previously translated this in *JRAS* (1912), also as a separate monograph, *Description of the province of Fars in Persia*, London 1912. See also Storey, i, 350-1, and Storey-Bregel, ii, 1027-8.

(C.E. BOSWORTH)

IBN AL-BAZZĀZ AL-ARDABĪLĪ, TAWAKKULĪ (TÜKLİ) B. ISMĀ'ĪL, *murīd* of Shāykh Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Ardabīlī (d. 794/1391-2), son and first successor of Shāykh Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Ardabīlī (d. 735/1334), the founder of the Ṣūfī order of the Ṣafawīyya and, as ancestor of Shāh Ismā'īl I (d. 930/1524 [q.v.]), the eponym of the Ṣafawids [q.v.; see also ARDABĪL]. The exact dates of Ibn al-Bazzāz are unknown. At the stimulus of Shāykh Ṣadr al-Dīn he composed a biography of Shāykh Ṣafī al-Dīn, with the title *Safwat al-safā' or Mawāhib al-saniyya fī manāḳib al-ṣafawīyya*. Written in a simple style without rhetorical ballast, this voluminous work gives first of all information on the miracles (*karāmāt*) and Ṣūfī doctrine of the Shāykh, but describes also in a vivid way daily life in the sanctuary of the order

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and gives an account of the relations of the *Shaykh* with the secular rulers in the period of the Ilkhāns [q.v.].

From the colophon of the manuscript India Office no. 1842 (Ethé, *Cat. of Pers. mss.*, i, col. 1008), probably erroneously described as an autograph, it follows that Ibn al-Bazzāz finished his work in Sha'bān 759/July-August 1358. The numerous manuscripts of the *Safwat al-safā'*, among which there exist also Turkish translations, prove the popularity of this important hagiographic work. A critical edition is not yet available; a lithograph was published by Ahmad b. Karīm Tabrizī in Bombay in 1329/1911.

In the 10th/16th century, the chroniclers of the Safawid dynasty used the *Safwat al-safā'* as their main source for the early period of the Safawiyya order and for the genealogy of the Safawids, who claimed descent from the seventh Imām Mūsā al-Kāzīm. This genealogy is, however, very much disputed, because the pedigree of the Safawids, at least in its complete form, was apparently inserted into the work only by Abu 'l-Fath al-Husaynī, who revised the *Safwat al-safā'* (Storey, i/1, 13 ff. and i/2, 1196 ff.) at the order of the Safawid Shāh Tahmāsp I (d. 984/1576).

Bibliography: Storey, i/2, 939 ff.; Browne, *LHP*, ii, iv, 34-40; Nikitine, *Essai d'analyse du Safwat-us-safā'*, in *Jd* (1957), 385-94; Z.V. Togan, *Sur l'origine des Safawides*, in *Mélanges Massignon*, iii, Damascus 1957, 345-57; Hanna Sohrweide, *Der Sieg der Safawiden in Persien und seine Rückwirkungen auf die Shi'iten Anatoliens im 16. Jahrhundert*, in *Isl.*, xli (1965), 97 ff.; Mahmud Bina-Motlagh, *Scheich Safi von Ardabil*, diss. Göttingen 1969, 19-22 and *passim*; Erika Glassen, *Die frühen Safawiden nach Qāzī Ahmad Qumī*, *Islamkundliche Untersuchungen*, 5, Freiburg i. Br. 1970, 18 f., 21-52; M.M. Mazzaoui, *The origins of the Safawids, Shi'ism, Sufism and Gulāt*, *Freiburger Islamstudien* 3, Wiesbaden 1972, 47 ff. A critical edition of the *Safwat al-safā'* is being prepared by a joint team working at the Universities of Utah and Freiburg-im-Breisgau under the direction of Mazzaoui.

(E. GLASSEN)

IBN BIKLĀRISH, YŪSUF (YŪNUS?) B. IŠHĀK AL-ISRĀ'ĪLĪ, Judaeo-Arab physician and pharmacist who lived in Almería ca. 1100 A.D. There he wrote the *K. al-Musta'in* for al-Musta'in billāh Abū Dja'far Ahmad b. Yūsuf al-Mu'tamin billāh (reigned 478-503/1085-1109), the Hūdīd ruler of Saragossa [see HŪDĪDS], after whom the work was named.

The book must have attracted attention immediately, for it is often quoted by al-Ghāfiqī [q.v. above], a younger contemporary of Ibn Bīklārish, in his *K. al-Adwiya al-mufrada*; in the Latin version of the latter under the name Buclaris or Boclaris (i.e. from Biclario?). It is also remarkable that both authors quote almost the same sources. After a theoretical explanation of pharmacology which is essentially based on Galen, the *Musta'in* contains a special table-like section, arranged in five unequal columns. The first two small columns give the names (*asmā'*), and characteristics (*ṭibā'*) of the simple medicines, the third (*tafsīrūhā bi-ḥikāṭ al-lughāt*) contains their explanation together with their Greek, Syriac, Persian, Latin and Mozarabic synonyms, the fourth the Succedanea (*abdāl*) and the fifth their utility, specific effect and region of application (*manāfi'uhā wa-ḥawāṣṣuhā wa-wuḍū'ihā isti'mālīhā*). The covering text on the upper and lower margin

contains further details, and above all the sources. The order of the total of 704 drugs follows the *abjad* alphabet in its Maghribī form. In Europe, attention has been given so far almost exclusively to the third column (synonyma): it contains important vocabulary material, especially of the Romance languages, and was used abundantly by Simonet for his *Glosario* and in particular by Dozy for his *Supplément*. H.P.J. Renaud made several investigations into the *Musta'in*, the last in *Hespéris*, x (1930-1), 135-50; he planned an edition with translation and commentary, but this did not come to fruition; such a work is, however, long overdue.

Of other writings of Ibn Bīklārish, only one work on dietetics is known by its title; in the introduction to the *Musta'in* it is quoted twice as *Risālat al-Tabyīn wa 'l-tarṭīb*.

Bibliography: Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a, *Uyūn*, ii, 52; M. Steinschneider, *Die arabische Literatur der Juden*, 147 f.; M. Meyerhof, *Un glossaire de matière médicale composé par Maimonide*, Cairo 1940, xxviii; Brockelmann, I², 640, S I, 889; M. Ullmann, *Die Medizin im Islam*, Leiden 1970, 201, 275.

(A. DIETRICH)

IBN DAQĪK AL-ĪD, TAQĪ AL-DĪN ABŪ 'L-FATH MUHAMMAD B. 'ALĪ B. WAḤB B. MUṬĪ' B. ABĪ 'L-TĀ'A, jurist and traditionist who was born in Sha'bān 625/July 1228 in Yanbu' in the Hidjāz (not in Lower Egypt as stated by Brockelmann), although his parents came from Manfalūt in Upper Egypt. He was brought up in Kūṣ in Upper Egypt, and travelled to Cairo and Damascus to hear *ḥadīths*. He later taught jurisprudence according to the Mālikī and Shāfi'ī schools. He became a judge in 675/1295, and died in Cairo on 11 Sa'far 702/6 October 1302.

He wrote a number of books on *fikh* and *ḥadīth*, including a work in twenty volumes entitled *al-Ilmām fī aḥādīth al-aḥkām*, and he also left some poetry and a collection of sermons. He was deeply interested in alchemy, a fact mentioned by Taṣḥkōprī-zāde in his *Miftāḥ al-sa'āda wa-miṣbāḥ al-siyāda*, i, Hyderabad 1911, 281, although he appears to have left no writings on this subject. However, an anonymous writer (in the short treatise *Fī bayān 'amal al-fidda wa 'l-dhahab*) has preserved a record of the methods used by Ibn Daqīk al-Īd in attempting to transmute quicksilver and sulphur into gold, and quicksilver and arsenic into silver.

Bibliography: Dhahabī, *Huffūz*, iv, 262 ff.; Kutubī, *Fawā'id*, Bulāḥ 1283, 305 f.; Ziriklī, *al-A'lām*, iii, 949; Brockelmann II, 75, S II, 66; Kaḥḥāla, *Mu'djam al-mu'allifīn*, xi, 70 f.; R.Y. Ebied and M.J.L. Young, *An anonymous Arabic treatise on alchemy*, in *Isl.*, liii (1976), 100-9.

(R.Y. EBIED and M.J.L. YOUNG)

IBN DĀRUST, TĀDĪ AL-MULK ABŪ 'L-GHANĀ'IM MARZUBĀN B. KHUSRAW-FĪRŪZ SĪTIRĀZĪ (438-86/1046-93), high official in the Great Saldjūq administration under Sultan Malik Shāh [q.v.], and last ruler's vizier.

Born of a secretarial family in Fārs, he began his official career in the service of the slave commander Sāwtigin, who eventually recommended him to the sultan as a person of promise. Malik Shāh made him superintendent of the education and possessions of various of his sons, then overseer of the royal palace and its ancillaries, and finally head of the Saldjūq chancery, the *Diwān al-Inshā' wa 'l-Tughrā* [see DIWĀN, iv. Irān].

Much of the internal history of Malik Shāh's reign reflects a struggle for authority in the administration (the *diwāns*) and at court (the *dargāh*), in which

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various officials were ranged against the great vizier Nizām al-Mulk [q.v.], his sons and his partisans, the so-called Nizāmiyya; in this Ibn Dārūst placed himself on the side of the vizier's enemies. Hence when Nizām al-Mulk was assassinated in Ramaḍān 485/October 1092, many contemporaries assumed that the real instigators of the murder, in which the Ismā'īlī *fiḍā'i* was a mere tool, were Ibn Dārūst and even the sultan himself, suspicious of the vizier's commanding power and presence in the state.

Malik Shāh now appointed Ibn Dārūst as his vizier, but the latter's triumph was short-lived, for the sultan himself died next month (mid-Shawwāl 485/mid-November 1092). Ibn Dārūst now allied with Malik Shāh's wife, the Karakhānid princess Terken Khātūn, to place the latter's son Maḥmūd on the throne in Baghdād, even though Maḥmūd was only a small child, and on grounds of experience and potential, was obviously inferior to Berk-yaruk, Malik Shāh's son by another wife and, at twelve or thirteen years old, on the threshold of adulthood. Although Ibn Dārūst and Terken Khātūn managed to seize Isfahān, their forces were defeated by those of Berk-yaruk's partisans, with the Nizāmiyya as their driving-force, at the battle of Burudjird at the end of Dhu 'l-Hijja 485/end of January 1093. Ibn Dārūst was captured, and although Berk-yaruk, mindful of Ibn Dārūst's administrative expertise, was inclined to take him as his own vizier, the Nizāmiyya insisted on exacting vengeance for their dead leader, and secured his execution in Muḥarram 486/February 1093.

Ibn Dārūst was the *mamdūh* of various Saldjūk poets like Mu'izzī, and he was also one of several great men in the Saldjūk state, both civilian and military, who were active in founding colleges and other charitable and educational works; his Tadjīyya madrasa was begun in 480/1089 in Baghdād at the Bāb Abraz as a Shāfi'i college, rivalling Nizām al-Mulk's own more famous foundation; the celebrated scholars Abū Bakr al-Shāshī and Abū Ḥamid al-Ghazālī's brother Abū 'l-Futūh taught there.

Bibliography: There are very brief biographies in Ibn al-Djawzī's *Muntazam*, ix, 74, and Sayf al-Dīn Fadlī 'Ukaylī's *Āthār al-wuzarā'*, ed. Urmawī, Tehran 1337/1959, but for the rest, see scattered references in the historical sources for the Saldjūk period (Sadr al-Dīn Husaynī, Rāwandī, Bundārī, Ibn al-Djawzī, Sibṭ Ibn al-Djawzī, Ibn al-Athīr), utilised in Bosworth, *Cambridge history of Iran*, v, 74 ff., 82, 93, 102-5, 216; M.F. Sanaullah, *The decline of the Saljuqid empire*, Calcutta 1938, 9, 40-1, 83; I. Kafesoglu, *Sultan Melikşah devrinde Büyük Selçuklu imparatorluğu*, Istanbul 1953, 169, 200 ff.; Abbas Eghbal, *Wizārat dar 'ahd-i salāfin-i buzurg-i Saldjūki*, Tehran 1338/1959, 93-100; C.L. Klausner, *The Seljuk vizirate: a study of civil administration 1055-1194*, Cambridge, Mass. 1973, 28-9, 52. For Ibn Dārūst's educational foundations, see G. Makdisi, *Muslim institutions of learning in eleventh-century Baghdad*, in *BSOAS*, xxiv (1961), 25-6, and idem, *Ibn 'Aqil et la resurgence de l'Islam traditionaliste au XI^e siècle*, Damascus 1963, 137-41, 209-10, 225-6.

(C.E. BOSWORTH)

IBN DIRHAM, seldom-used patronym of an eminent family of Mālikī jurists and *kādīs*, originally of Baṣra, who bear the ethnic name AL-AZDĪ in some sources; but since the members of this family are most often cited under their personal name or simply by their *kunya*, and since the line of parentage which connects them is consequently

difficult to determine, it has been judged expedient to assemble them here under this somewhat artificial appellation, following the example of F. al-Bustānī who, in the *Dā'irat al-ma'ārif* (iii, 61), adopted it for one of them, the tenth of those listed below. These *kādīs*, who for the most part held office in Baghdād in the 3rd and 4th/9th and 10th centuries, are cited by L. Massignon (*Cadīs et naqibs baghdadiens*, in *WZKM*, li/1-2 [1948], 108, where Ismā'il b. Ishāk should be read in place of b. Ḥammād), following the articles devoted to them by al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī (*Ta'rikh Baghdād*), after Waki' (*Akhbār al-kudāt*) and especially al-Tanūkhī, who gives them considerable space in *al-Faraj ba'd al-shidda* and particularly in the *Nishwār al-muḥādara*.

The following table, which cannot be regarded as exhaustive, contains the names mentioned in the principal sources for the period until the mid-4th/10th century; it is unlikely that the family ceased to exist at this time, but it does not seem to have given any more eminent practitioners to the legal profession.

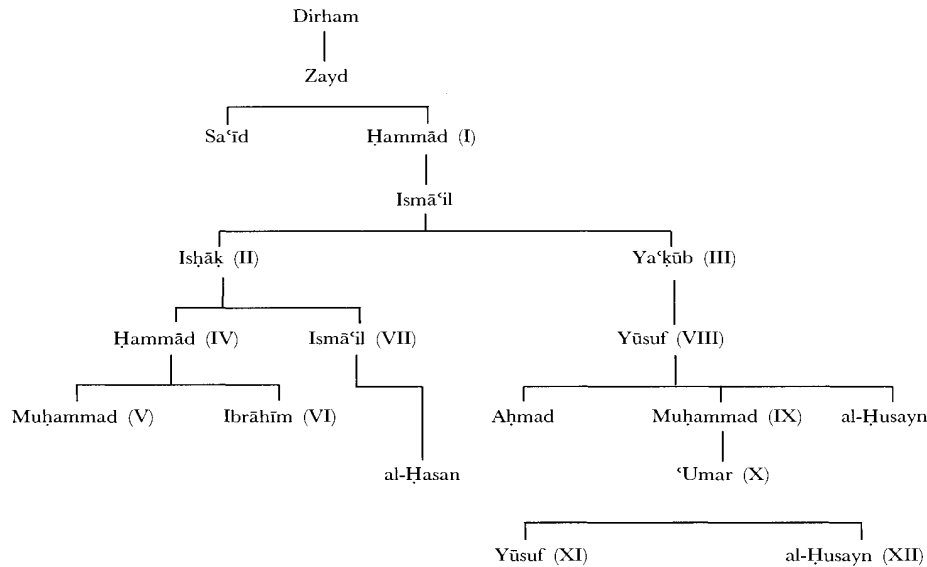
I. — Abū Ismā'il ḤAMMĀD B. ZAYD B. DIRHAM (98-179/717-95) is the first member of the family to have made a mark on history. A blind slave of Hāzīm b. Zayd al-Djāhḍamī (Azd), he was enfranchised by his two sons, Djārīr and Yazīd (see Ibn Qutayba, *Ma'ārif*, index), devoted himself to the study of *ḥadīth* and passed on his knowledge to a number of traditionists, including Bishr al-Hāfi [q.v.]. He is to a certain extent regarded as the founder of an independent *madhhab* and accorded the same status as al-Thawrī in Kūfa, Mālik in the Hijāz, and al-Awzā'i in Damascus; he thus represented Baṣra, his home-town, but in spite of the respect with which he was treated he does not seem to have founded a school, since his descendants were themselves Mālikīs.

Bibliography: Ibn Sa'd, *Tabaqāt*, vii/2, 42; Balādhuri, *Futūh*, 283; Ibn Qutayba, *Ma'ārif*, 502-3, 525; Tabarī, index; Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, vi, 294 = § 2500; Ibn Baṭṭa-Laoust, index; Ibn al-Djazarī, *Kurra'*, i, 258; Makdisi, *Création*, ii, 52, 145; Abū Nu'aym, *Hilyat al-awliyā'*, vi, 257-67; 'Iyād, *Tartīb al-madārik*, index; Nawawī, *Tahdhīb al-asmā'*, 217-8; Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-huffāz*, i, 211-2; Ibn al-'Imād, *Shadharāt*, i, 292; Šafadi, *Nakt al-himyan*, 147; Massignon, *Lexique technique*, 168, 197, 243.

II. — Abū Ya'qub ISHĀK B. ISMĀ'IL B. ḤAMMĀD (176-230/792-845), grandson of the preceding, was responsible for *mazālim* in Egypt under the caliphate of al-Ma'mūn (in 215/830), then in Baṣra under that of al-Mu'tašim ('Iyād, *Madārik*, ii, 558-9; Ibn Taghribardī, *Nuḍūm*, ii, 212).

III. — Abū Yūsuf YA'KUB B. ISMĀ'IL B. ḤAMMĀD (d. 246/860), brother of Ishāk, was, it seems, the first *kādī* of the family; having served in this office at Medina, he made his way to Baghdād where he frequented the court of al-Mu'tašim and transmitted *ḥadīths*. Subsequently, al-Mutawakkil appointed him for the second time *kādī* of Medina, then of Fārs, where he resided until his death (al-Tanūkhī, *Nishwār*, vii, 16-18; 'Iyād, *Madārik*, ii, 560).

IV. — Abū Ismā'il ḤAMMĀD B. ISHĀK B. ISMĀ'IL (199-267/815-81) was described in a general sense as being *kādī* of Baghdād (Khaṭīb Baghdādī, viii, 159), but there can be no doubt that the area in question was the Round City of al-Manšūr (in 251/865, according to Massignon, *Cadīs*, 108). He is mentioned among the companions of al-Muwaffaq, and to him are attributed a *Kitāb al-Muḥādana* and a *Radd 'alā*



l-Shāfi'ī (al-Tanūkhī, *Nishwār*, vi, 21, vii, 51; 'Iyād, *Madārik*, iii, 181-2).

V. — MUḤAMMAD B. ḤAMMĀD B. ISHĀK (d. 276/889) was appointed *kādī* of Baṣra by al-Muwaffak (Wakī, ii, 191-2).

VI. — Abū Ishāk IBRĀHĪM B. ḤAMMĀD (240-323/854-935), who survived his brother by many years, is considered principally as a traditionist. According to al-Khaṭīb al-Baḥdādī (vi, 61-2), he was also a *kādī*, but at what date, or in what town, is not known; he died, however, in Baḥdād (al-Šūlī, *Akhbār ar-Rādī*, etc., tr. M. Canard, Algiers 1946, 107; see also Ibn Farḥūn, *Dibāḥj*, 85; Ibn Taghribardī, *Nuḍūm*, iii, 249).

VII. — Abū Ishāk ISMĀ'IL B. ISHĀK B. ISMĀ'IL B. ḤAMMĀD [see AL-AZDĪ, in Suppl.].

On his son Abū 'Alī al-ḤASAN, who was a celebrated wit and an *adīb*, see Tanūkhī, *Nishwār*, vi, 326; Khaṭīb Baḥdādī, vii, 284.

VIII. — Abū Muḥammad YŪSUF B. YA'QŪB B. ISMĀ'IL B. ḤAMMĀD (208-97/823-910), was the first member of the other branch of the family to serve as *kādī* in Baḥdād, where he first assumed charge of the *ḥisba* (271/884-5) and of the *naḥkāt* of al-Muwaffak. This latter, on the death of Muḥammad b. Ḥammād (No. V), appointed as his successor Yūsuf b. Ya'qūb, who remained titular *kādī* of Baṣra, of Wāsit and of the districts of the Tigris from 276/883 to 296/909, but he was represented there by a deputy, for he was then living in Baḥdād, where the jurisdiction of *mazālim* was entrusted to him in 277. On the death of Ismā'il b. Ishāk (No. VII), he was given the post of *kādī* of East Baḥdād, which he combined with that of Baṣra, having as *nā'ib* in the capital his son Muḥammad from 289/902 onward. When in 296/908 the latter gave his support to Ibn al-Mu'tazz [q.v.], his father was dismissed and he spent the last year of his long life in retirement. He passed on some *ḥadīths* handed down by his cousin Ismā'il b. Ishāk (No. VII) and wrote a number of works: *Faḍā'il azwādj al-Nabī*, *K. al-Šayām wa 'l-du'ā' wa 'l-zakāt* and a *Musnad* of Shu'ba b. al-Ḥādīdī [q.v.].

Bibliography: Wakī, ii, 182; Tanūkhī,

Nishwār, v, vi, vii, viii, indices; 'Iyād, *Madārik*, iii, 182-7; Ibn al-Imād, *Shadharāt*, ii, 227; Ibn Taghribardī, *Nuḍūm*, iii, 171.

IX. — Abū 'Umar MUḤAMMAD B. YŪSUF B. YA'QŪB (243-320/857-932) is the most celebrated member of the entire family, and his *kunya* alone is sufficient to identify him. Born in Baṣra, he followed his father to the capital and held the office of *kādī* over the Round City of al-Manṣūr from 284/897 to 292/905, then over al-Sharkīyya from 292 to 296. Dismissed after the Ibn al-Mu'tazz affair, he remained unemployed for a few years, but was reinstated in 301/914 in East Baḥdād and al-Sharkīyya, where he remained until his death, after receiving, in 317/929, jurisdiction over the entire capital and being given the title of grand-*kādī*. Abū 'Umar played an important political rôle under the caliphate of al-Muqtadir; in particular, it was he who, in 309/922, issued a *fatwā* against al-Ḥallādj [q.v.], whom he ultimately condemned. L. Massignon paints a severe portrait of the man and accuses him of having given too much servile obedience to the authorities: "An accomplished courtier", he wrote, "with a magnificent command of manners which will always be legendary, and curiously devoted to the use of perfumes, he was able to contradict himself with the most disconcerting cynicism; he compensated for the imperfect subtlety of his Mālikī rite in matters of *ḥadīth* and of *ḳiyās* with a fastidious concern for the form in canonical casuistry; he must have been very proud of having finally succeeded, for the 'common good', in concluding such an arduous case with such an ingenious solution" (*Le cas de Hallāj*, in *Opera minora*, ii, 181). It is a known fact that he had drawn from the doctrine of al-Ḥallādj concerning the seven turns around the Ka'ba of the heart "an argument to make him one with the Carmathian raiders who sought to destroy the Temple of Mecca" (*ibid.*, 178).

In 310, his name was also put forward for the post of vizier and, in 317, he officiated when al-Muqtadir agreed to abdicate, although he destroyed the records of the abdication.



Bibliography: Tabarī, index; ‘Arīb, index; Šūlī-Canard, 40, 103, 107, 150; Mas‘ūdī, *Murūdj*, viii, 217-9, 256, 284 = §§ 3361-2, 3394, 3437; idem, *Tanbih*, ed. Šawī, 322, 329; Tanūkhī, *Nishwār*, iii, index, v, 208-11 and index, vi, vii, indices, viii, 106, 186-8; Khaṭīb Baghdādī, iii, 401-4; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Nudjūm*, iii, 235; Ibn al-‘Imād, *Shadharāt*, ii, 286-7; Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntazam*, vi, 222; Massignon, *Passion*, index; Sourdél, *Vizīrat*, index.

X. — Abu ‘l-Husayn ‘UMAR B. MUHAMMAD (d. 328/940), his father’s *nā‘ib* in East Baghdād from 311/923 onwards, succeeded him in the office of grand-*kādī* (320-8). In the court of al-Rādī, who is said to have wept when he died, he acted as vizier and undertook numerous political missions; in 323/935, he participated in the case of Ibn Shannabūd [q.v.], although he did not preside over the tribunal. Al-Šūlī, who had been his teacher, devotes to him a panegyric entry, recording his death on 16 Sha‘bān 328/27 May 940 (tr. Canard, 219). He appears to have been well versed in matters of *farā‘id*, of *hadīth*, of lexicography, of grammar and poetry, and several works are attributed to him: a *Musnad*, a *K. Ghārīb al-hadīth* and a *K. al-Farāq ba’d al-shidda* which was the first of this genre.

Bibliography: Šūlī-Canard, index; Miskaway, *passim*; Tanūkhī, *Nishwār*, iii, vi, vii, indices; Khaṭīb Baghdādī, vii, 284; Yāqūt, *Udabā’*, xvi, 67-70; Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntazam*, vi, 307; Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 364-5.

XI. — Abū Naṣr Yūsuf B. ‘UMAR (305-56/918-67) was already deputising for his father and astonishing the public with the extent of his knowledge when he sat for the first time as *kādī* in the mosque of al-Ruṣāfa (East Baghdād) on 25 Muḥarram 327/22 November 938. As *kādī* of West Baghdād in 328/940, it was he who recited the prayer for the dead over al-Rādī on 16 Rabī‘ I 329/19 December 940. He was retained in office by al-Muttaḳī, then dismissed and reinstated on 24 Sha‘bān 329/24 May 941, but the sequence of events is not clear; there is no doubt that he was soon dismissed once more, making his way to Iṣfahan; at his death, he was *kādī* of Yazd. In the meantime, he had adopted the Zāhirī doctrine.

Bibliography: Šūlī-Canard, 177, 220; Tanūkhī, *Nishwār*, iv, 23-5 and index, v, 261, vi, 14, vii, 16-8; Khaṭīb Baghdādī, xiv, 322-4; Ibn al-Djawzī, *Muntazam*, vi, 300, vii, 42.

XII. — Abū Muḥammad AL-HUSAYN B. ‘UMAR (d. after 360/971) succeeded his father together with his brother and was given East Baghdād in 328, then, the following year, he took on the duties of Abū Naṣr, but it seems that he did not retain them for long, since all trace of him is soon lost.

Bibliography: Šūlī-Canard, 227; Tanūkhī, *Nishwār*, iv, 203-4, vi, 74, vii, 17-18.

It would certainly be very interesting to pursue further study of this eminent family and to examine in a more exhaustive manner its links with authority on the one hand, and on the other, with the contemporary Banū Abī ‘l-Šhawārib. (CH. PELLAT)

IBN DJUMAY’, ABU ‘L-MAKĀRIM HIBAT ALLĀH B. ZAYN B. ḤASAN: see the article **IBN DJĀMĪ’**, where should be read **IBN DJĀMĪ’**; at present **IBN DJUMAY’** is generally considered as the right form of the name.

IBN DJURAYDĪ, ABU ‘L-WALĪD/ABU KHĀLID ‘ABD AL-MĀLIK B. ‘ABD AL-‘AZĪZ B. DJURAYDĪ AL-RŪMĪ AL-KURĀSĪ AL-MAKKĪ (80-150/699-767), Meccan traditionist of Greek slave descent (the ancestor being called Gregorios) and probably a *mawlā* of the family of Khālid b. Asīd.

After having first of all become interested in gathering together traditions of philological, literary and historical interest, he brought together *hadīths* from the mouths of ‘Aṭā’ b. Abī Rabāḥ, al-Zuhri, Muddjahid, ‘Ikrima and other famous persons, and passed them on, notably to Wakī’, Ibn al-Mubārak and Sufyān b. ‘Uyayna; his erudition was such that he was considered as the *imām* of the Hijāz.

Little is known of his life, except that he accompanied Ma’n b. Zā‘ida to the Yemen, soon returned from there and towards the end of his life made his way to ‘Irāk and al-Manṣūr’s court. His name is connected, on one hand, with the question of the legality of the transmission of *hadīths* by letter and not by *samā’*, and on the other, with the writing down of traditions. Like Sa‘īd b. Abī ‘Arūba [q.v.] in ‘Irāk, he was regarded as having been the first in the Hijāz, and even in the whole Islamic empire, to gather together *hadīths* into a work *fi ‘l-aḥbar wahurūf al-tafsīr*; these two scholars are often cited together, especially by al-Dhahabī in Ibn Taghribirdī, *Nudjūm*, i, 351, year 143), who enumerates with some regret the authors of the oldest collections. Goldziher, in *Muh. Studien*, ii, 211-12, Eng. tr. ii, 196-7, has shown that the priority accorded to Ibn Djuraydj was unmerited, and has remarked that collections of *hadīths* are mentioned at an earlier period; at all events, his work was a selection of legal traditions in classified form, as the *Fihrist*, ed. Cairo 316, notes, grouped by chapters on legal purity, the prayer, the *zakāt*, etc.

Bibliography: Djāhiz, *Bayān*, iii, 283; idem, *Hayawān*, index; Ibn Kutayba, *Ma‘ārif*, 488-9, 519; Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, no. 348, ed.; Ihsān ‘Abbās, iii, 163-4; Khaṭīb Baghdādī, *Ta‘rikh*, x, 400-7; Ibn Taghribirdī, *Nudjūm*, i, 351; Ibn al-‘Imād, *Shadharāt*, i, 226-7; Nawawī, *Tahdhīb*, 787; Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb*, vi, 402-6; Dhahabī, *Tahdhīb al-huffāz*, i, 160; Goldziher, *Muh. Studien*, index; Brockelmann, S I, 255, and bibl. given there; Bustānī, *Dā‘irat al-ma‘ārif*, ii, 404-5; Ziriklī, iv, 305.

(CH. PELLAT)

IBN FARĪGHŪN, *SHĀ‘YĀ* (?), author in the 4th/10th century of a concise Arabic encyclopaedia of the sciences the *Djawāmī‘ al-‘ulūm* “Connections of the sciences”. The author wrote in the upper Oxus lands, and dedicated his work to the Muḥtādīd *amīr* of Čaghāniyān [q.v.], Abū ‘Alī Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Muzaffār (d. 344/955). Minorsky surmised from his name (if this has been interpreted correctly) that he was a scion of the Farīghūnids [q.v.] in northern Afghānistān, rulers of the district of Gūzgān [q.v.] as tributaries of the Sāmānids, and latterly, of the Ghaznawids; a connection too with the unknown author of the Persian geography, the *Hudūd al-‘ālam* [q.v. above], is not impossible, though as yet unproven (see V. Minorsky, *Ibn Farīghūn and the Hudūd al-‘Ālam*, in *A locust’s leg, studies in honour of S.H. Taqizadeh*, London 1962, 189-96).

The author of the *Djawāmī‘* was first identified by D.M. Dunlop in his article *The Gawāmī‘ al-‘ulūm of Ibn Farīghūn*, in *Żeki Velidi Togan’a armağan*, Istanbul 1950-5, 348-53. He was clearly a pupil of Abū Zayd al-Balkhī, presumably the author of the geography *Suwar al-aḳālīm* re-edited and completed by al-Isṭakhrī [see AL-BALKHĪ and DJUĠHRĀFIYĀ. IV c, ii], d. 322/934, who had himself written a *K. Aḳsām al-‘ulūm* “Book of the divisions of the sciences”. Ibn Farīghūn used the *tashdīr* system in his arrangement of the sciences, i.e. that of “trees” and “branches” for the groups and sub-groups. The

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Ḍjawāmiʿ resembles the slightly later *Mafāṭih al-ʿulūm* of Abū ʿAbd Allāh al-Kh̲ārazmī [q.v.] in that it is divided in the first place into two *makālas*, one on the Arabic sciences and one on the non-Arabic ones, but it is not so clearly arranged as the *Mafāṭih*. A full evaluation of the work must await publication of the text, for which several mss. exist.

Bibliography: In addition to references given above, see H. Ritter, *Philologica XIII*, in *Oriens*, iii (1950), 83-5; F. Rosenthal, *A history of Muslim historiography*², Leiden 1968, 34-6; Brockelmann, S I, 435; Sezgin, *GA*, i, 384, 388 (reading the author of the *Ḍjawāmiʿ*'s name as "Mutaghabbī (?Mubtaghā) b. Furayʿūn").

(C.E. BOSWORTH)

IBN GHIDHĀHUM (usual French spelling: Ben Ghedahem), ʿALĪ B. MUḤAMMAD, leader of the 1864 revolution in Tunisia.

Born around 1815 as the son of a Badawī doctor and *kādī* of the Mādīr tribe in the district of Thala, he is said to have studied at the Great Mosque, became secretary to the *kāʿid* of his tribe, al-ʿArbī (Larbī) Bakkūsh, then *kādī*, but was dismissed by the latter. When the Khaznadār government decided (December 1863) to double the *madjba* tax, a revolt, starting in the south of March 1864, soon engulfed most of the country. Ibn Ghidhāhum was proclaimed "Bey of the People" by the Mādīr and recognised by some neighbouring tribes, probably thanks to his religious prestige (as an alleged *sharīf* and marabout of the Tidjāniyya), as well as to his promises. He killed the *kāʿid* Bakkūsh and his entourage, yet appealed to the tribes for moderation. His movement and authority having declined by July, he accepted an offer of amnesty and obtained an estate for himself and tribal commands for his aides. On 26 July, 400 *shaykhs* and notables surrendered in the northwest after the government had promised to halve the *ushr* tax, appoint native *kāʿids* instead of Mamlūks and abolish the constitution. Yet, the Khaznadār having merely played for time, Ibn Ghidhāhum took up arms again in the autumn, but in January his forces were crushed near Tebessa. He crossed into Algeria and was interned till January 1866. The chief of the Tidjāniyya recommended him to the French as one of his best *ahbāb* and as a learned man who had never mixed in politics. Hoping for the Tidjānī's intercession with the Bey, Ibn Ghidhāhum slipped back to Tunisia, but was caught and died in prison (10 October 1867). The significance of the rebellion and the personality and role of Ibn Ghidhāhum have been reconsidered since the thirties. M. Emerit sees the former as an "episode in the perennial struggle of the Badū against the settled population and beylical authority in general" (*RT* [1939], 227). In A. Temimi's view, Ibn Ghidhāhum lacked vision, resolve and a plan; he was carried along by the events rather than shaped them, and failed to embody the aspirations of the revolution; he betrayed them and dealt the latter a death blow (*ROMM*, vii [1970], 176).

Bibliography: further to references in the text: Ch. Monchicourt, *La région du Haut Tell en Tunisie*, Paris 1913, 230, 298, 318; M. Gandolphe, *Les événements de 1864 dans le Sahel, etc.* in *RT* (1918), 138-53; P. Grandchamp, *Documents relatifs à la révolution de 1864 en Tunisie*, Tunis 1935; J. Ganiage, *Les origines du protectorat français en Tunisie (1861-1881)*, Paris 1959, 226 f., 232, 248 f., 251, 262 f.; Ibn Abi ʿl-Diyāf, *Ithāf ahl al-zamān bi-akhbār mulūk tunis*

wa-ʿahd al-amān, Tunis 1964, 5, 112-33, 136, 168-71; B. Salāma, *Thawrat Ibn Ghidhāhum*, Tunis 1967; Kh. Chater, *Insurrection et répression dans la Tunisie du XIX^e siècle: la mehalla de Zanouk au Sahel 1864*, Tunis 1978. (P. SHINAR)

IBN AL-HĀDJĪJ, ḤAMDŪN B. ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN AL-SULAMĪ AL-MIRDĀSĪ AL-FĀSĪ (1174-1232/1760-1817), "one of the most outstanding scholars of the reign of Mawlay Sulaymān" (1206-38/1792-1823), according to E. Lévi-Provençal, *Les historiens des Chorfā*, Paris 1922, 342, n. 5).

As the *fakīh* appointed to the Moroccan sultan, he filled the office of *muhtasib* of Fās, then of *kāʿid* of the Gharb, before devoting a great part of his activities to literature. He is the author of several commentaries and glosses, of epistles of a religious character and of an account of the pilgrimage which he made, but also the author of a *makṣūra* [q.v.], of a poetic version of the *Hikam* of Ibn ʿAṭāʾ Allāh al-Iskandarī [q.v.], of a poem of nearly 4,000 verses in praise of the Prophet (with a commentary in 5 volumes) and a series of eulogies of the sultan. Some of his writings have been preserved in manuscript at Rabat (see Lévi-Provençal, *Les manuscrits arabes de Rabat*, Paris 1921, nos. 292 (5), 305, 337, 338, 434, 497 (11-12), and part of his poetic output (mss. 337 and 338 above; now K 963 and K 2707) has been gathered together into a *Diwān* lithographed at Fās and containing notably a certain number of *muwashshahāt*. This versifier, who still enjoys a certain celebrity, sometimes gave himself up to some curious pyrotechnics. M. Lakhdar (*Vie littéraire*, 283-4) sets forth a poem in 26 verses rhyming in *-dī* and in the metre *baṣīl*, of which each hemistich is divided into four sections written successively in red, black, blue and black; if the blue column is removed, the metre *munsarīh* results, if the blue and the red, *muṭṭadab*, and if the red alone, *madīd makhbūn*.

The genealogy and the *manāḳib* [q.v.] of Ḥamdūn Ibn al-Hādjīj were the subject of a monograph by his son Muḥammad al-Ṭālib (see Lévi-Provençal, *Chorfā*, 342-5) called the *Riyāḍ al-ward* (ms. Rabat 396).

Bibliography: Naṣīrī, *K. al-Istikṣā*, vi, 151; Kattānī, *Salwat al-anfās*, lith. Fās 1316/1898, iii, 4; Fudaylī, *al-Durra al-bahīyya*, lith. Fās 1314/1896, ii, 327; Sāʿih, *al-Muntakhabāt al-ʿabkarīyya*, Rabat 1920, 83; ʿA. Gannūn, *al-Nubūgh al-maghribī*, Beirut² 1961, i, 296-7, ii, 257, 282-7; Ibn Sūda, *Dalil muʿarrikh al-Maghrib al-akṣā*, Casablanca 1960, i, 215, ii, 349, 390, 421-2; ʿA. al-Djirārī, *Muwashshahāt maghribīyya*, Casablanca 1973, 182-5; M. Lakhdar, *Vie littéraire*, 281-4.

(ED.)

IBN HĀTIM, BADR AL-DĪN MUḤAMMAD AL-ḤAMDĀNĪ, state official and historian under the second Rasūlid sultan of the Yemen, al-Muzaḥḥar Yūsuf (647-94/1249-95).

Ibn Hātim's name appears nowhere in the biographical literature of mediaeval Yemen, and neither the date of his birth nor that of his death is known. The last reference to him falls under the year 702/1302-3. However, from his history of the Ayyūbids and early Rasūlids in the Yemen, *al-Simʿ al-ghāṭī al-ḥaman fī akhbār al-mulūk min al-Ḡhuzz bi ʿl-Yaman* (ed. G. R. Smith, *The Ayyūbids and early Rasūlids, etc.*, GMS, N.S. xxvi/1, *The Arabic text*, London 1974), it is possible to cull some information concerning the man and his official life. He belonged to the Banū Hātim of Yām of Ḥamdān, who at the time of the Ayyūbid conquest of the Yemen in 569/1173 controlled the area of Ṣanʿāʾ, the country's

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chief town. He was thus an Ismāʿīlī, though this proved no handicap to his rise to a high position in the staunchly Sunnī Rasūlid state under al-Muzaḥḥār Yūsuf. He was a member of the small cadre of some four or five officials employed by the sultan in the capacity of roving ambassador, personally representing him wherever in the country he was needed, now negotiating with recalcitrant tribes, now conveying a personal message from the sultan, at times even participating in military operations.

His official state position, however, did not restrict or hamper his historical writing in any way. His account of the Ayyūbid and first two Rasūlid sultans is a refreshingly impartial one, perhaps slightly biased towards his own family, the Banū Hātim, but containing much otherwise unknown information on this crucial period of Yemenī history, when the country was beginning to form a political unit after centuries of rule by numerous petty dynasties. He writes in the *Simt* of al-Muzaḥḥār Yūsuf's reign as a dispassionate eye-witness. We know too that he wrote *al-ʿIkd al-ṭamīn fī aḥkām mulūk al-Yaman al-mutaʾakkhkhīn*, though this remains undiscovered. It was clearly a more general history of the Yemen, covering a longer time-span than the *Simt*.

Bibliography: see the edition mentioned above and Smith, *The Ayyūbids, etc.*, Part 2, London 1978; idem, *The Ayyūbids and Rasūlids—the transfer of power in 7th/13th century Yemen*, in *JC*, xliii (1969), 175–88; Sir J. Redhouse and Muhammad Asad, *al-Khazrajī's History of the Rasūlī Dynasty of Yemen*, GMS, iii, Leyden and London 1906–18.

(G.R. SMITH)

IBN HISHĀM AL-LAKHMĪ AL-SABTĪ, ABŪ ʿABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD B. AḤMAD B. HISHĀM B. IBRĀHĪM B. KHALAF, lexicographer, grammarian, *adīb* and versifier. He was probably born at Seville, and certainly died in that city in 577/1182, after having lived for a long time at Ceuta.

We know very little of his life, but his biographers list his masters and his pupils and indicate the titles of his works, amongst which one notes several commentaries; one may merely remark that these included a *sharḥ* on the *Maḥṣūra* of Ibn Durayd, which was especially appreciated by al-Ṣafadī (*Wāḥī*, ii, 1301) and al-Baḥḍādī (*Khizāna*, Būlak, i, 490 = Cairo, iii, 105), *al-Fawāʿid al-maḥṣūra fī sharḥ al-Maḥṣūra* (of which several mss. exist; see Brockelmann, S I, 172; partial ed. by Boysen, in 1828 [see *MAḤṢŪRA*]) and a *sharḥ* on the *Faṣṭḥ* of Thaʿlab which already shows up Ibn Hishām's taste for the purity of the language (cf. al-Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 20). There are extant a small quantity of verses on the various senses of the word *khāl* and above all, a treatise on the *laḥn al-ʿamma*, given this title by Ibn al-Abbār and al-Suyūṭī (for *m.h.n.* read *laḥn*), but otherwise called *Taḥwīm al-lisān* by al-Marrākushī, and given two different titles in the Escorial ms. 46, *K. al-Radd ʿalā ʿl-Ḥubaydī fī laḥn al-ʿawāmm*, and ms. 99, *K. al-Madkhal/al-Mudkhal ilā taḥwīm al-lisān wa-taʿlīm al-bayān*. This work, which provides precious information on Spanish and Moroccan Arabic, comprises two basic sections: in the first one, the author makes critical remarks on the parallel books of al-Zubaydī and Ibn Makkī [q.v.], defending at the same time actual usages with arguments drawn from the old lexicographers. The transitional part is brought about by means of an exposition of the terms which provide dialectical variants (*luḡāt*), amongst which speakers have a tendency to choose

the less good one and thus end up committing faults. The second section, now thereby introduced, deals with current faulty expressions caused by phonetic, morphological or semantic changes; unnecessary borrowings are mercilessly tracked down and replaced by the corresponding Arabic words. Incorrect forms are introduced by the formula “they say . . .”, followed by “whilst the correct usage requires one to say . . .” or by an equivalent formula. The treatise ends with a series of proverbs drawn from classical poetry, but corrupted and deformed by the *ʿamma*; the use of this latter term poses, as in all analogous works, a difficult problem, concerning which one should refer to the article *LAḤN AL-ʿAMMA*.

The last chapter has been edited by ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz al-Ahwānī in *Mélanges Taha Husain* (Cairo 1962, 273–94); this same scholar had already published a study on the work and its author followed by a selection of western terms (*alfāz maghribiyya*) appearing in the second section (see *RIMA*, iii/1 [1376/1956], 133–57, and iii/2, 285–321). The remainder of this same section has been edited critically, with abundant annotation, and presented by M. El-Hannach as a *thèse du 3^e cycle* at the University of Paris IV in 1977, but this has not yet been published.

It may be of interest to note that the *Madkhal* was put together as part of a fairly common process of which it is possible, for once, to follow the details. Thus the treatises of al-Zubaydī and Ibn Makkī inspired in Ibn Hishām various observations which he communicated to his pupils without actually putting them together in the form of a book; the notes which he left behind or which his pupils took were brought together in 607/1210 for a man named Ibn al-Shārī under the title of *K. al-Madkhal fī taḥwīm al-lisān*; at the beginning of the 8th/14th century, Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. Hānī ʿal-Lakhmī al-Sabtī (d. 733/1332; see al-Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 82, and Pons Boigues, *Ensayo*, 319) arranged all these materials and “published” them under the title of *Inshād al-dawāl(l) wa-irshād al-suʿāl*; in the course of this same century, this latter work was in its turn worked on by Ibn Khātima (d. 770/1365 [q.v.]), who called the résumé which he had made the *Irād al-laʿāl min Inshād al-dawāl(l)*; finally, an unknown author extracted from this last avatar a section which G.S. Colin thought worthy of publication as a document (in *Hesperis*, xii/2 [1931], 1–32); it is the introduction of this extract which allows us to trace back this chain.

Bibliography: In addition to works already mentioned, see Ibn al-Abbār, *Takmila*, no. 1053; Ibn Dihya, *Muṭrib*, Cairo 1954, 183; Ibn ʿAbd al-Malik al-Marrākushī, *al-Dhayl wa ʿl-takmila*, ms. B. N. Paris 1256, f. 25; Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 20–1; H. Derenbourg, *Catalogue*, i, 58; Pons Boigues, *Ensayo*, 280; Brockelmann, I, 308, f. 113, 375, S I, 541.

(CH. PELLAT)

IBN KABAR, ABU ʿL-BARAKĀT, SHĀMS AL-RĪʾĀSA AL-NAṢRĀNĪ, Copt from Egypt (d. between 720 and 727/1320–7) who was secretary to Baybars al-Manṣūrī [q.v.], author of the *Zubdat al-fikra*. Certain historians, e.g. al-Ṣafadī, followed by Ibn Ḥadjar and al-Makrīzī, allege that Ibn Kabar helped him compile his book. It is difficult, impossible even, to evaluate the importance of this help, for Baybars undeniably had a talent as historian and a most lively taste for books and chronicles, as attests clearly al-Mufaḍḍal b. Abī Faḍāʾil, Ibn Kabar's contempo-



rary and co-religionist, and this view is shared by Abu 'l-Mahāsīn Ibn Taghribardī.

Moreover, it is certain that Ibn Kabar made a résumé of Baybars al-Manṣūrī's history, the *Mukhtār al-akhbār*, the ms. of which is preserved in the Ambrosiana collection of Milan (Ms C 45 Inf.). The section of the Fātimids, together with part of the reign of al-Manṣūr Ḳalāwūn, is lacking in this manuscript, and the text stops abruptly in the year 702/1302.

Ibn Kabar's main work is a book on the ecclesiastical sciences of the Copts, *Kitāb Miṣbāḥ al-zulma wa-ḍāḥ al-khidma*. This has been edited and translated by Dom Louis Villecourt, with the collaboration of Mgr. E. Tisserant and Gaston Wiet, in *Patrologia Orientalis*, xx/iv, Paris 1928. Ibn Kabar also left behind a Coptic-Arabic dictionary, published by Athanasius Kircher under the title *Scala magna*. A few others of his works remain unpublished.

Bibliography: al-Mufaḍḍal b. Abi 'l-Faḍā'il, *al-Manhaj al-sadiq*, ed. Blochet, PO, xiii, xiv, xx, Paris 1919-28; Makrizi, *Sulūk*, ed. Ziyāda, ii/1, 269; Ibn Ḥajjār, *al-Durar al-kāmina*, Cairo 1966, ii, 43; Ibn Taghribardī, *al-Manhal al-sāfi*, BN Paris ms., Fonds arabe 2069, f. 106a; Sakhāwī, *Flān*, tr. F. Rosenthal, in *A history of Muslim historiography*, Leiden 1952, 418; *Lingua aegyptiaca restitua*, Rome 1643, 41-272; Brockelmann, II², 55 (correct Bekr to Kabar); E. Tisserant, L. Villecourt and G. Wiet, *Recherches sur la personnalité et la vie de Abul Barakat Ibn Kūbr*, in ROC, xxii (1921-2), 373-94; Graf, GCAL, ii, 438-44; O. Löfgren and Renato Traini, *Arabic manuscripts in the Bibliotheca Ambrosiana*, i (Antico Fondo and Medio Fondo), Vicenza 1975, 71.

(ABDEL HAMID SALEH)

IBN AL-ḲATTĀN, a name well-known to historians of the mediaeval Muslim West and, as such, long thought to have been borne by only one person. There is, however, no doubt that it was the name of two different people who, in all probability, were father and son. Since nothing further can be said of this putative relationship, it seems prudent to speak of the two persons as the "Elder" and the "Younger".

1. **IBN AL-ḲATTĀN THE ELDER.** This person is to be identified with one Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Malik b. Yahyā al-Kutāmī al-Fāsi, a religious scholar and jurist from Fās, for whom we have only the date of his death, viz. 1 Rabi' I 628/7 January 1231. As all his biographers agree that he died in A.H. 628, he can hardly have been the author (as supposed by Lévi-Provençal and others after him) of the *K. Naẓm al-djumāna* (see below), since the author of this work served the Almohad caliph al-Murtadā (reg. 646-65/1248-66). Of the early background of this Ibn al-Ḳattān, all we know is that he was of Cordovan origin. We can only assume that either he or his father and family had emigrated from Andalusia to Fās. In later life his importance seems to have lain in the prominence of his position in the Almohad hierarchy, for we are told that he was head of the *ṭalaba* in Marrakesh and that he enjoyed great prosperity in the service of the ruler (on the *ṭalaba* as a high-ranking class of Almohad dignitaries, and on Ibn al-Ḳattān in particular, see Hopkins, *Medieval Muslim government in Barbary*, 104 f. and 108, respectively). After the death of the caliph Abū Ya'qūb Yūsuf al-Mustanṣir, Ibn al-Ḳattān the Elder fell victim to the Almohad power struggle which ended in the victory of Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh (al-'Ādil) over the caliph 'Abd al-Wāḥid

after only eight months' rule. Leaving Marrakesh in 621/1224, Ibn al-Ḳattān was able to return later, but in fact he seems never again to have been able to make a secure and permanent home there or indeed to lead a settled life. When he died, he was *kādī* of Sijjilmāsa, a city then in rebellion against the reigning caliph. Among writings attributed to this Ibn al-Ḳattān are a commentary on the *K. al-Ahkām* of 'Abd al-Ḥaḳḳ al-Iḡbīlī (confused with the *K. al-Ahkām* of Ibn al-Ḳattān the Younger), a *Maḳāla fī 'l-awzān* and *al-Nazar fī alhkām al-nazar*.

2. **IBN AL-ḲATTĀN THE YOUNGER**, otherwise Abū 'Alī (and/or Abū Muḥammad) al-Ḥasan (or al-Ḥusayn) b. 'Alī b. al-Ḳattān, historian, jurist and traditionist. Unlike the Elder, this Ibn al-Ḳattān has, surprisingly, found no place in known biographies. If "b. 'Alī b. al-Ḳattān" is any guide, we may be right in supposing him to have been a son of the preceding Ibn al-Ḳattān. The dates of his birth and death are unknown; the most we can say is that he flourished in the reign of al-Murtadā (see above), whose favour he enjoyed and for whom he is said by Ibn 'Idhārī to have written a history entitled *K. Naẓm al-djumān wa-wāḍiḥ al-bayān fīmā salafa min akhbār al-zamān* (there are variants of the title) as well as a number of other works, viz. *K. Shifā' al-ghalat fī akhbār al-anbiyā' wa 'l-rusul*, *K. al-Ahkām li-bayān āyātihi 'alayhi 'l-salām* (on *ḥadīth*), *K. al-Munādijāt*, and *K. al-Masmū'āt*. Of all these writings, only a part of the *Naẓm* seems to have survived. Until this part was discovered, the work was only known through the use which other Maghribī writers had made of it, notably Ibn 'Idhārī. The complete *Naẓm* was, so far as can be gleaned, a large encyclopaedic work covering the history, and to some extent the geography, of North Africa and Spain from the Arab conquest to the author's own time. The extant portion, dealing with the period 500-33/1106-7 to 1138-9, bespeaks a tendentious "palace" chronicle, but it is valuable as it not only reproduces original official documents and quotes authors whose works are no longer known to us, but it also reports on the Fātimids in Egypt, giving information not to be found elsewhere.

Bibliography: J.F.P. Hopkins, *Medieval Muslim government in Barbary*, London 1958, loc. cit.; Maḥmūd 'Alī Makkī, *Ḍiuz' min Kitāb Naẓm al-djumān* (Muhammad V University Publications), Rabat n.d., but ca. 1966 (almost all the main references may be found in Makkī's introduction to this edition); on Abū 'l-Ḥasan, see I. 'Abbās, *Contributions to the material on the history of the Almohads, as portrayed by a new biography of Abū al-Ḥasan Ibn al-Ḳattān (628/1230)*, in *Akten des VII. Kongresses für Arabistik und Islamwissenschaft*, Göttingen 1976, 15-38.

(J.D. LATHAM)

IBN KAYSĀN, Abū 'l-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm, Baghḍādī philologist who according to all the known sources, died in 299/311-12; this date is nevertheless challenged by Yāqūt who, believing that al-Khaṭīb al-Baghḍādī is in error, opts for 320/932.

He was the pupil of al-Mubarrad and Tha'lab [q.v.], and is said to have brought together the doctrines of the grammatical schools of both Baṣra and Kūfa, though his own preference was for the former; he was moreover the author of a work, no longer surviving, a *K. al-Masā'il 'alā madhhab al-nahwiyyīn mimma khalafa fīhi al-kūfiyyūn wa 'l-baṣriyyūn*. Abū Hayyān al-Tawḥīdī relates in his *Imtā'z* (iii, 6) that he had written over his door "enter

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and eat". In another, unspecified work, the same author (cited in particular by Yāqūt and al-Suyūṭī) describes the programme of his lecture courses and describes the crowd which surrounded him, leaving about a hundred mounts in front of the gate of the mosque where he was teaching, but Yāqūt does not seem to take Abū Ḥayyān's account at its face value. In addition to the *K. al-Masā'il*, Ibn al-Nadīm attributes the following works to Ibn Kaysān: *al-Muhaddithah fi 'l-nahw*, *K. al-Shādhānī fi 'l-nahw*, *al-Mudhakkār wa 'l-mu'annath*, *al-Maḥsūr wa 'l-mamdūd*, *Mukhtaṣar al-nahw*, *al-Mukhtār fi 'ilal al-nahw*, *al-Hidjā' wa 'l-khaṭṭ*, *al-Waḥf wa 'l-ibtidā'*, *al-Hakā'ik*, *al-Burhān*, *al-Kirā'āt*, *Ma'ānī al-Kur'ān* and *Gharīb al-hadīth*, to which one should perhaps add *Gharīb adab al-kātib*, *al-Lāmāt*, *al-Taṣārif*, *al-Fā'il wa 'l-maf'ūl bihi*, cited by Yāqūt, *Sharḥ al-tiwāl* (al-Anbārī) and a *Talkīb al-kawāfī wa-talkīb ḥarakātihā*, which is doubtfully authentic. The *Kitāb Maṣābiḥ al-kutāb* (read the latter word thus) ascribed by A.J. Arberry, *Chester Beatty Library. Handlist of the Arabic manuscripts*, Dublin 1955, to Ibn Kaysān seems to be in fact by an author of Shī'ī sympathies, the well-known Abū 'l-Ḳāsim al-Ḥusayn al-Wazīr al-Maghribī [see *AL-MAGHRIBĪ*]; see U.Y. Ismail, *A critical edition of al-Maṣābiḥ fī tafsiṛ al-Qur'ān al-'aẓīm attributed to Ibn Kaysān al-Nahwī*..., Manchester Ph.D. thesis 1979, unpublished.

Bibliography: Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, 81 (ed. Cairo 120); Khaṭīb, Baghdādī, *Ta'rikh Baghdād*, i, 325; Kifī, *Inbāh*, ed. Cairo 1369-74/1950-5, iii, 57-9; Zubaydī, *Tabakāt al-nahwiyyīn*, ed. Cairo 1373/1954, 170-1; Anbārī, *Nuzha*, ed. A. Amer, Stockholm 1963, 143; Yāqūt, *Udabā'*, xvii, 137-41; Suyūṭī, *Bughya*, 8; F. Bustānī, *Dā'irāt al-ma'ārif*, iv, 484; Brockelmann, I, 111, S I, 170.

(CH. PELLAT)

IBN KHALAF, the name of a family, of whom the best-known two members are:

1. Abū ḤALĪB MUḤAMMAD B. 'ALĪ B. KHALAF, called Fakhr al-Mulk, vizier of the Būyids, born at Wāsiṭ on Thursday 22 Rabī' II 354/27 April 965, and killed by Sulṭān al-Dawla Abū Shudjā' Fanā-Khusraw on 27 Rabī' I 407/3 September 1016. The poets and scholars, to whom he had been extremely generous, composed for him a great number of poetic eulogies, and al-Karājī [q.v.] dedicated his *Fakhr* and his *Kāfi* to him.

2. Abū SHUDJĀ' MUḤAMMAD AL-ASHRAF B. MUḤAMMAD B. 'ALĪ B. KHALAF, son of the preceding, whose date of birth is unknown, but he was killed in 466/1073-4 by Badr al-Djamālī [q.v.], at the time when this latter arrived in Egypt at the summons of the Fātimid caliph al-Mustanshir. Abū Shudjā' was this caliph's minister on two occasions: firstly, for two days only, in Muḥarram 457/December 1064-January 1065, and secondly, at the end of the same month in the same year, and this tenure of office lasted till mid-Rabī' I of the same year/February 1065.

It seems that this minister should not be confused with 'Alī b. Khalaf al-Kātib [see the following article], despite some recent attempts at this identification which are conjectural and unjustifiable.

Bibliography: Ibn Khallikān, *Wafayāt*, ii, 85; Ibn al-Ṣayrafi, *Ishāra*, 53; Šābi', *al-Wuzarā'*, ed. Farrājī, *passim*; Ibn Muyassar, *Ta'rikh Miṣr*, ed. Massé, ii, 15, 23, 33; Suyūṭī, *Husn al-muhādara*, ii, 203; Dawādārī, *Kanz al-durar*, vi, 382; Makrīzī, *Iti'āz*, ii, 271, 313, 333; Ibn al-Kalānisi, *Dhayl*, 64; Saḡadī, *Wāfi*, iv, 118; Yāqūt, *Udabā'*, xiii, 260, xviii, 234; idem, *Buldān*, v, 350; Ibn Sa'īd,

Mughrib, section al-Kāhira, ed. Naṣṣār, 359; Ibn Taghrībardī, *Nuḍūm*, iv, 242, 257; G. Shayyāl, *Maḍmū'a*, i, 114-5; A.H. Saleh, *Une source de Qalqaṣandī*, Mawādd al-Bayān, *et son auteur*, 'Alī b. Ḥalaf, in *Arabica*, xx/2 (1973), 192-200. (ABDEL HAMID SALEH)

IBN KHALAF, Abū 'L-ḤASAN 'ALĪ B. KHALAF B. 'ABD AL-WAHHĀB AL-KĀTIB, one of the great secretaries (*kuttāb*) of the Fātimids of Egypt (al-Kalkaṣandī, *Subh*, vi, 432; idem, *Daw'*, 402). The date of his birth is unknown, but it is known that in 437/1045-6 he was living in Egypt, where he wrote his work for the secretaries of the *diwān al-inṣhā'*, his manual called the *Mawādd al-bayān*, which contains in particular model letters and official documents. An incomplete manuscript of this work has recently been identified in the Süleymaniye Library in Istanbul (Fatih 4128).

Ibn Khalaf was also the author of two works which he cites in his *Mawādd*, the *Ālat al-kuttāb* (fols. 162b and 166a) and a *Kitāb al-kharāḍī* (fols. 16a and 25b), but these have not come to light. The date of his death is uncertain. Al-Habbāl al-Miṣrī records, in his *Wafayāt al-Miṣriyyīn fi 'l-'aṣr al-Fātimī*, in Shawwāl 455 the death of a certain Abū 'L-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Khalaf al-Zayyāt (cf. *RIMA*, ii/2 [1956], 336-7), who could be our secretary.

Bibliography: In addition to references given in the article, see Ḥādījī Khalifa, ii, 559; G. Shayyāl, *Maḍmū'a*, i, 14-15; S.M. Stern, *Fatimid decrees*, 105; A.H. Saleh, *Une source de Qalqaṣandī*, Mawādd al-Bayān, *et son auteur*, 'Alī b. Ḥalaf, in *Arabica*, xx/2 (1973), 192-200.

(ABDEL HAMID SALEH)

IBN KĪRĀN, Abū 'ABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD AL-TAYYIB B. 'ABD AL-MADJĪD B. 'ABD AL-SALĀM B. KĪRĀN (1172-1227/1758-1812), *fakīh* and *littérateur* of Fās. He received a traditional education from the local scholars, and himself taught rhetoric to numerous pupils, including Ibn al-Ḥādīdī [q.v.], Hamdūn, Ibn 'Adjība, al-Kūhin [q.v.] and the sultan Mawlay Sulaymān (1205-38/1792-1823), who continually showed his high opinion of Ibn Kīrān by consulting him and by entrusting to him, with other *fiqhahā'*, the applying of his ordinances. His work is largely preserved, and comprises commentaries on various sūras and other writings (mss. Rabat K 1373, K 1379, K 1673, K 2534), notably *al-Murshid al-mu'in 'alā 'l-darūr min 'ilm al-dīn* of Ibn 'Ashīr (lith. Fās 1296; ms. Rabat K 81), and also an *urḍūza* on the logic of his pupil Ibn al-Ḥādīdī (ms. Rabat 434). He also wrote glosses to Ibn Hishām's commentary on the *Alfiyya* of Ibn Mālik (Fās 1315) and, in collaboration with three other scholars, a commentary on the forty *hadīths* of al-Nawawī (ms. Rabat 55). Amongst his original works, one might mention two short grammatical works on *law* (ms. Rabat D 938) and *kāla* (K 1072, 1373); an *urḍūza* on metaphor (Fās 1310; the commentary of al-Būrī in ms. Rabat D 921); and a short work meant to exhort the faithful (K 1072 with some *responsa*).

His brother Muḥammad b. Abd al-Madjīd (d. 2 Muḥarram 1214/6 June 1799) has left behind an *urḍūza* on *i'rāb* (ms. D 1348, with comm.), and his son Abū Bakr (d. 4 Djumādā II 1267/16 April 1851) was an *imām* at Fās.

Bibliography: Nāṣirī, *Istikṣā'*, iv, 149; Kattānī, *Salwat al-anfās*, lith. Fās 1316/1898, iii, 2 ff.; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Chorfa*, index; Ibn Sūda, *Dalīl mu'arrikh al-Maghrib al-Akṣā'*, i, 374; Brockelmann, S II, 875; Bustānī, *DM*,



iii, 484; M. Lakhdar, *Vie littéraire*, 275-7 and bibl. given there. (Ed.)

IBN AL-KUFF, AMĪN AL-DAWLĀ ABU 'L-FARĀDJ B. MUWAFFAḤ AL-DĪN YA'KŪB B. IṢHĀK, known as AL-MALIKĪ AL-MASĪHĪ (the Melkite Christian) AL-KARAKĪ, physician and surgeon.

He was born at Karak [q.v.] in 630/1233. His father, Muwaffaḥ al-Dīn Ya'kūb, was a learned court clerk under the Ayyūbids, who excelled his peers in Arabic philology, literature, calligraphy, poetry and history. Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a, in his *Uyūn al-anbā'*, Cairo 1882, ii, 273-4, gives the first and only complete, contemporary biography of Ibn al-Kuff, brief though it is. From it we learn that the family moved from al-Karak to Sarkhad in southeastern Syria, whither the father was transferred to work for the state, possibly ca. 643/1245. Becoming acquainted with Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a, the father's relationship with the latter soon developed into a lifelong friendship. Upon request, Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a gladly accepted to be Abu 'l-Faradj's first medical teacher, finding the latter a very intelligent student. Under this master, Abu 'l-Faradj mastered first of all the basic courses and doctrines of the healing art. He then took the advanced subjects of therapeutics and clinical medicine. When towards the middle of the century, the father again moved to Damascus for a new job there, Abu 'l-Faradj accompanied the family and continued his education at the Syrian capital. Besides medicine, he studied philosophy and logic, natural history, metaphysics and mathematics. Here also, no doubt, he obtained medical training at the city's hospitals. During the reign of the Ayyūbid al-Nāṣir Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Yūsuf (648-58/1250-60), Ibn al-Kuff was appointed as the first known military physician-surgeon at 'Adjlūn [q.v.]. There he stayed for several years, until he was summoned during the reign of the Mamlūk al-Zāhir Baybars (658-76/1260-77) to become the physician-surgeon at the Damascus citadel.

Ibn al-Kuff's fame seems to have spread widely, and he gained the respect of his colleagues and medical students. Upon requests from a number of them, he composed several works, including his best-known manual on surgery, *Umdat al-iṣlāḥ fī 'amal ṣinā'at al-djānāh*, ed. Hyderabad 1356/1937. Other works still extant in manuscript include his text on the healing art, *al-Shaḥīf fī 'l-tibb*; his commentary on Ibn Sīnā's *al-Kānūn* on medicine *Sharḥ al-Kānūn*; his commentary on Hippocrates' *Aphorisms*, *al-Uṣūl fī Sharḥ al-fuṣūl*, which deserves an independent investigation; and his compendium on health care and the treatment of diseases, *Djāmi' al-gharad fī ḥifẓ al-siḥḥa wa-daf' al-marad*. He died at Damascus in 685/1286 at a relatively early age.

Bibliography: In addition to Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a's *Uyūn al-anbā'* see Ḥadjdī Khalīfa, *Kashf*, ed. Istanbul 565, 1023; Leclerc, *Histoire*, ii, 203-4; Brockelmann, *GAL*, I, 649, S, I, 899; E. Wiedemann, *Beschreibung von Schlangen bei Ibn Kuff*, in *SPMSE*, xlviii-xlix (1916-17), 61-4; G. Sobhy, *Ibn 'l-Kuff, an Arabian surgeon of the VII century al-Higra*, in *Jnal. of the Egyptian Medical Association*, xx (1937), 349-57; O. Spies, *Beiträge zur arabischen Zahnheilkunde*, in *Sudhoffs Archiv*, xlv (1962), 153-77; G. Kircher, *Die einfachen Heilmittel aus dem Handbuch der Chirurgie des Ibn al-Quff*, diss. Bonn 1967; S. Hamarneh, *The physician, therapist and surgeon Ibn al-Quff*, Cairo 1974; idem, *Catalogue of Arabic manuscripts on medicine and pharmacy at the British Library*, Cairo 1975, 189-93.

(S.K. HAMARNEH)

IBN KULLĀB, 'ABD ALLĀH B. SA'ĪD B. MUHAMMAD AL-KATTĀN AL-BAṢRĪ (died 241/855?), foremost representative of a compromising theology during the time of the *mihna* [q.v.]. Nothing is known about his life. He contradicted the Mu'tazilī doctrine of *khalk al-Kur'ān* by introducing a distinction between the speech of God (*kalām Allāh*) and its realisation: God is eternally speaking (*mutakallim*), but he can only be *mukallim*, addressing himself to somebody, if this addressee exists. Speech is a permanent and unchangeable attribute (*ṣifa* or *ma'nā*) which subsists in God; but when, in revelation, it becomes speech to somebody, it is subject to alteration: it may be represented in various languages and must adapt itself to various situations by taking the form of an order, a statement etc. The expression *khalk al-Kur'ān* is thus misleading: it is true insofar as the "trace" (*rasm*) of God's speech is concerned, its reproduction (*ḥikāya*) in historical reality, especially in a Holy Scripture, and its subsequent recitation (*kur'ān* = *kirā'a*), which is a meritorious action (*kaṣb*) performed by man; but it does not allow for the conclusion drawn by the Mu'tazila that God is only speaking through temporal speech and not *per se*. That there is uncreated speech is proved by the word *kun* "Be", by which God created everything else and which can therefore not be created itself. This uncreated speech does not yet consist of letters and sounds; it can therefore not be heard by anybody (in contradiction to sūra IX, 6 which had to be interpreted metaphorically). The only exception was Moses, to whom God said: "I have chosen thee, so listen to what is suggested" (XX, 13); he heard God speak to him directly. But we do not have any information about how Ibn Kullāb explained this kind of perception.

God's speech is eternal not by itself (which would mean that one attribute or "accident", namely eternity, were to subsist in another one, namely speech), but by the eternity of God's essence. God's attributes are related to each other in a most intimate way: they are "neither identical nor not identical". They share common features, but they are not interchangeable. The same must therefore be said with regard to their relationship with God's essence: *lā hiya huwa wa-lā hiya ghayruhū*. They are not entirely different from Him, but also not completely identical with Him, i.e. no mere "names" in the sense of 'Abhād b. Sulaymān [q.v.], the Mu'tazilī with whom Ibn Kullāb held frequent discussions. There was no necessity, in this context, for a distinction between *ṣifāt al-dhāt* and *ṣifāt al-fī'l*: God's will, which was considered a "factual quality" and as such temporal by the Mu'tazilis, is eternal according to Ibn Kullāb, likewise His kindness (*karam*) and His generosity (*djūd*). His friendship (*walāya*) and His enmity (*'adāwa*, *sakht*). The formula was also applied to the *ṣifāt khabariyya*, attributes which are only accepted because they form part of revelation, i.e. the anthropomorphisms: God's face, His hands, His eye, etc., are "neither identical with Him nor not identical with Him". We do not know what this meant exactly, but we hear that God is "sitting on His throne" with His essence, not as a body and not in a definite place.

Ibn Kullāb did not restrict God's attributes to those mentioned in the Kur'ān. An attribute may be inferred from any description (*wasf*) given about God. But there are some of them which do not fit into the "formula". God is eternal and thus possesses eternity (*kidam*, which does not belong to the

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Kur'anic vocabulary), but this eternity must be directly identical with Him because nothing eternal exists besides Him. Similarly, His being can in no way be "not identical" with Him. The character of God's divinity was discussed among Ibn Kullāb's followers.

In other theological problems, Ibn Kullāb supported the view of the *aṣḥāb al-hadīth*. He believed in the *ru'ya bi'l-abṣār*, in the final salvation of all Muslims in spite of their sins, and in a moderate form of predestination. Man has no immanent capacity of acting (*kudra*); he only receives it in the moment of the performance. He may use it for the contrary of his action, i.e. for sin as well as for obedience, but this freedom of choice does not influence the salvational status determined by God from the beginning.

Ibn Kullāb's *ṣifāt* theory was prepared by earlier speculations inside and outside the Mu'tazila, especially by discussions between Abu 'l-Hudhayl [q.v.] and Hishām b. al-Hakam [q.v.] and by the ideas of the early Zaydī theologian Sulaymān b. Djarīr al-Rakkī (for whom cf. W. Madelung, *Der Imām al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm*, 61 ff.). He was, however, the first to elaborate them into a coherent system which corresponded to the tenets of the *aṣḥāb al-hadīth*. He also apparently put them on a broader basis by adding, e.g., a theory of human speech which worked with the same differentiation between speech as such and its reproduction through letters and sounds. He wrote several books, among them a *K. al-Ṣifāt* and a refutation of the Mu'tazila. Only a small fragment of one of them has been found up to now (cf. *Oriens*, xviii-xix [1965-6], 138 f.). Among his adherents in Baghdad was the mystic al-Hārith al-Muḥāsibī (died 243/857); in Nishāpūr his doctrine seems to have been supported by al-Husayn b. al-Faḍl al-Badjalī, a contemporary who was mainly known as a commentator of the Qur'ān. The orthodox reaction under al-Mutawakkil and the prohibition of *kalām* in 238/852-3 seriously hampered the expansion of the school. Theologians who held similar ideas were attacked by Ahmad b. Hanbal and his disciples as *Lafziyya*, people who believed in the createdness of the pronunciation (*lafz*), i.e. the recitation of the Qur'ān. But two generations later, Ibn Kullāb's ideas were renewed by Ahmad b. 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Kalānisi from Rayy and by his contemporary al-Ash'arī (died 324/936 [q.v.]). The Kādī 'Abd al-Djabbār (died 415/1025) still polemicalises much more against the Kullābiyya than against al-Ash'arī, and seems not always to distinguish sharply between them. But al-Muḥaddasi notes already in ca. 375/985 that the Ash'ariyya school was superseding its predecessor. The last traces of the school disappear in the 5th/11th century.

Bibliography: The main information about Ibn Kullāb's doctrine is found in Ash'arī's *Maḳālāt al-Islāmiyyin*, cf. index s.v. 'Abd Allāh b. Sa'īd, cf. also Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, ed. R. Taghaddud, Tehran² 1973, 230, ll. 6 ff. These and other sources are analysed in J. van Ess, *Ibn Kullāb und die Mihna*, in *Oriens* xviii-xix (1965-6), 92 ff. See also M. Allard, *Le problème des attributs divins*, Beirut 1965, 146 ff.; W.M. Watt, *The formative period of Islamic thought*, Edinburgh 1973, 286 ff.; F.E. Peters, *Allah's Commonwealth*, New York 1973, index s.v.; H. Daiber, *Das theologisch-philosophische System des Mu'ammār ibn 'Abbād as-Sulamī*, Beirut 1975, index s.v.; H.A. Wolfson, *The philosophy of the Kalām*, Cambridge, Mass. 1976, 248 ff.; J. Peters, *God's created speech*, Leiden

1976, index s.v.; R.M. Frank, *Beings and their attributes*, Albany 1978, index. (J. VAN ESS)

IBN MANGLĪ, MUHAMMAD AL-NĀSIRĪ, a Mamlūk officer of the guard [see HALKA] of Sultan al-Malik al-Ashraf Sha'bān (764-78/1362-77 [q.v.]), known as the author of several works on the art of war and of a treatise on hunting.

According to a laconic item of information given by Ibn Manglī himself, he must have been born in Cairo at the opening of the 8th/14th century, between the years 700 and 705/1300-6. As his arabised name shows (perhaps originally Mōnglī), his father was a Kīpčak [q.v.], who had been brought at a tender age to the Mamlūk training school and recruited to the corps of the Bahriyya [q.v.] under Sultan al-Malik al-Nāṣir Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad [q.v.], who held three separate periods of power between 693/1293 and 741/1341; this is the origin of the title of affiliation, al-Nāṣirī, applied to him. Our author fell therefore into the class of *awlād al-nās* [q.v.] "sons of the people of high rank", which allowed him to become a member of the sultan's guard of honour. After having undergone the wide-ranging military education of the "youths of good family", he ended his long career as a military man, in this same élite corps, with the high rank of *muḳaddam* (= colonel or brigadier?), ensuring him comfort of life and respect. To his cultural interests, Ibn Manglī added a deep religious sense, almost asceticism; at the end of his treatise on hunting, he thanks God for allowing him not to take a wife, the source of unhappiness. It is unknown whether his own death preceded or followed the ignominious end of his master, strangled to death.

Ibn Manglī's works on the art of war and on military and naval tactics are only known to us through titles and citations, but his treatise on hunting, put together in 773/1371-2, is preserved in a unique manuscript (Paris, B.N., Ar. 2832, ff. 53) called *Uns al-malā bi-waḥsh al-falā* "The sociable contact of the élite people with the wild beast of the open desert". The author did not intend to compile an original work, but, so he says, conceived the idea of it as an abridgement (*muḳhtaṣar*) of the great encyclopaedia on venery *al-Djamhara fī 'ulūm al-bayzara* "Compendium on the arts of falconry" (Escorial, Ar. 903; Istanbul, Aya Sofya 3813; Calcutta, Asiatic Soc., Ar. 865 M9) written in 638/1240 by the Baghdādī author Abu 'l-Rūh 'Isā b. 'Alī b. Ḥassān al-Asadī. To the basic fabric of al-Asadī's work Ibn Manglī was able to add, in addition to the fruits of his own long experience on the subject, references to the best authors, such as al-Damīrī, al-Djāhiz, Ibn Kutayba, Ibn Waḥshiyya, Ibn Zuhr, al-Rāzī and many others. One is grateful to him for not having conceived of it as an *adab* [q.v.] work; his clear, precise and curt style reflects the military man, whilst certain dialectical expressions show the contemporary language.

In 1880 one Florian Pharaon, a person of Levantine origin, brought out an edition and translation, under the title *Traité de vénerie* (Paris, pp. 154 text, 143 tr.), of Ibn Manglī's work; but the manuscript which he used, very lacking and defective, is not the Paris one. As a result, one wonders whether this Pharaon knew Arabic and anything about hunting at all, since the work of the Mamlūk author is so mangled.

As well as the great interest which Ibn Manglī's treatise holds for the devotee of the chase and the specialist on animals, the historian can glean from it a host of details on the horses, the style of riding and the handling of weapons as known amongst



the Mamlūks of the 8th/14th century, for whom hunting served as a school for war.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, II, 136, S II, 167; G. Zoppoth, *Muhammad ibn Mānglī, ein ägyptischer Offizier und Schriftsteller des 14. Jhr.*, in *WZKM*, liii (1957), 288-99; *ET* art. BAYZARA; D. Möller, *Studien zur mittelalterlichen arabischen Fahnereiliteratur*, Berlin 1965; F. Viré, *Abrégé de l'encyclopédie d'Ibn Manglī*, annotated tr. (forthcoming).

(F. VIRÉ)

IBN MATTAWAYH. ABŪ MUḤAMMAD AL-ḤASAN B. AḤMAD, Mu'tazilī theologian. Virtually nothing certain is known about his life beyond that he was a student of Kādī 'Abd al-Djabbār (d. 415/1025) in Rayy and survived him. His grandfather Mattawayh has been erroneously identified, on the basis of the title page of Houben's edition of his *al-Maḍmū' fi 'l-muḥīt bi 'l-taklīf*, as 'Alī b. 'Abd Allāh b. 'Uṭba (read 'Aṭṭiya) b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Nadīrānī, who was rather the scribe of one of the manuscripts of this book. The death dates given, without mention of a source, by Houben (469/1076) and by 'Abd al-Karīm 'Uṭhmān (468/1075) do not appear reliable. There is no evidence in his extant works that he survived his teacher for over half a century. His *K. al-Tadhkira* was evidently composed soon after 'Abd al-Djabbār's death, for none of the latter's students except Abū Muḥammad b. al-Labbād is mentioned in it, while Abū Rāshid al-Naysābūrī (who cannot have survived 'Abd al-Djabbār very long) quotes it in his *K. Ziyādāt al-sharḥ*. There is a possibility that he is identical with, or related to, the Ibn Mattawayh or 'Sibt Maṭṭūya" lampooned by the vizier al-Ṣāhib b. 'Abbād (d. 385/995), 'Abd al-Djabbār's patron in Rayy, in some obscene verses, especially since one of the verses seems to allude to his belonging to the Mu'tazila (see al-Tha'ālibī, *Taṭima*, iii, 101 f.; Yāqūt, *Udabā'*, ii, 342).

Ibn Mattawayh generally set forth the doctrine of his teacher 'Abd al-Djabbār, whose *K. al-Muḥīt bi 'l-taklīf*, a comprehensive Mu'tazilī theology, he paraphrased, commented upon and, in a few points, criticised in his *K. al-Maḍmū' fi 'l-muḥīt bi 'l-taklīf* (vol. i edited by J.J. Houben, Beirut 1965, and by 'Umar al-Sayyid 'Azmi, Cairo 1965). Also extant is his *K. al-Tadhkira*, a work in two volumes on the nature of substances and accidents (vol. i edited by Sāmī Naṣr Luṭf and Fayṣal Badī'ūn, Cairo 1975). A commentary on it by an anonymous author writing ca. 570/1174-5 is preserved in manuscript (see S.M. Dānišpazhūh, in *Nashriyya-yi Kitābkhānāyi Markazī-yi Dānišgāh-i Tihārān*, ii [1341/1962], 156 f.). His *K. al-Kifāya* is quoted in Ibn Abī 'l-Ḥadīd's *Sharḥ Nahḍ al-balāgha*. In it he argued at length for the superior excellence of 'Alī over Abū Bakr. Going beyond any previous Mu'tazilī position, he affirmed the impeccability (*ʿisma*) of 'Alī but maintained, against the Imāmī Shī'ī doctrine, that impeccability was no prerequisite for the validity of the imāmate. A *K. al-Taḥrīr* by him is quoted in Maḥmūd b. al-Malāḥimī's *K. al-Mu'tamad fi uṣūl al-dīn*.

Bibliography: al-Ḥakīm al-Djushamī, *Sharḥ al-ʿayūn*, in *Fadl al-ʿitizāl wa-tabakāt al-Mu'tazila*, ed. Fu'ād Sayyid, Tunis 1393/1974, 389; Ibn al-Murtaḍā, *Tabakāt al-Mu'tazila*, ed. S. Diwald-Wilzer, Wiesbaden 1961, 119; Sezgin, *GAS*, i, 627; 'Abd al-Karīm 'Uṭhmān, *Kāḍī 'l-kudāt 'Abd al-Djabbār b. Aḥmad al-Hamadḥānī*, Beirut 1386/1967, 51.

(W. MADELUNG)

IBN MIKSAM. MUḤAMMAD B. AL-ḤASAN B. YA'KŪB B. AL-ḤASAN B. AL-ḤUSAYN B. MUḤAMMAD B. SULAYMĀN

B. DĀWŪD B. 'UBAYD ALLĀH B. MIKSAM, ABŪ BAKR AL-'ATTĀR AL-MUKRI' AL-NAHWĪ, who lived from 265/878-9 until 354/965, was one of the most learned experts in *kirā'a* [q.v.] and also noted for his knowledge of Arabic grammar as practised in the school of Kūfa. According to his contemporaries, his only fault was that he, when teaching the Qur'ān, instructed in various readings (*kirā'āt*) which were not agreed upon by the majority of scholars of his days (*idjmā'*). Thus, instead of *nadjiyyan* in XII, 80, he read *nudjabā'a*, which did not make sense in the context. He tried to justify his controversial readings with grammatical arguments. This evoked the scorn of other Qur'ān teachers, and the matter was brought to the attention of the sultan who demanded that he recant. Ibn Miksam yielded to the pressure, but in other reports it says that he abided by his readings until his death. Apparently this caused some concern with the theologians of his days in regard to those ignorant people who were taken with his teachings and, subsequently, led astray. The whole episode bears a strong resemblance to what happened one year later to Ibn Ṣhanabūdh (d. 329/939 [q.v.]). Yāqūt mentions the titles of eighteen books attributed to Ibn Miksam, mainly dealing with Qur'ān and the Arabic language, but also including a refutation of the Mu'tazila. All of these seem to have been lost.

Bibliography: Nöldeke-Schwally, *Gesch. des Qorans*, index s.v.; al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Ta'rikh Baghdād*, ii, 206 ff.; Yāqūt, *Udabā'*, vi, 498-501; Ibn al-Djazarī, *Ghāyat al-nihāya*, ii, 123 ff.; Ibn al-Anbārī, *Nuzhat al-alibbā'*, 360-3; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Lisān al-mizān*, iv, 130 f.

(G.H.A. JUYNBOLL)

IBN MĪTHAM. ABU 'L-ḤASAN 'ALĪ B. ISMĀ'ĪL B. SHU'AYB B. MĪTHAM (often read as al-Haytham) B. YAHYĀ AL-TAMMĀR (whence the less common name for him, IBN AL-TAMMĀR), AL-ASADĪ (al-Ṣābūnī, according to Ibn Ḥazm, *Fisal*, iv, 181), *Imāmī theologian* of the 2nd/8th century.

Mītham was a Companion of the Prophet (Ibn Ḥadjar, *Isāba*, no. 8472) who had adopted the cause of 'Alī b. Abī Tālib and had settled at Kūfa, where his great-grandson was born at an uncertain date; nor is the date of his death known. Having left his natal town for Baṣra, 'Alī b. Ismā'īl frequented the great Mu'tazilī scholars of the time, especially Abū 'l-Hudhayl and al-Nazzām [q.v.], with whom he engaged in controversy, but apparently without great success (cf. al-Khayyāt, *Intiṣār*, index, who states that he was under the influence of the young (*ahdāth*) Mu'tazilīs). Al-Mas'ūdī, in *Murūdj*, vi, 369 = § 2566, mentions him at the head of the theologians who took part in a colloquium organised by Yahyā b. Kḥālīd b. Barmak on *'ishk* [q.v.], and records (vi, 371 = § 2569) the presence there of Hishām b. al-Ḥakam [q.v.]. The latter, who died in 179/795-6, is considered as the main representative of Imāmī theology in his time, and Ibn Mītham did not enjoy a parallel fame; but it is probable that Ibn Mītham was his elder, since he is cited before him by Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, ed. Cairo, 249, who states that he was the first to formulate the doctrine of the imāmate, and attributes to him a *Kitāb al-Imāma* (called *al-Kāmil*) and a *K. al-Istihkāk*. If al-Nawbakhtī (*Firāk al-Shī'a*, 9) is to be believed, this political doctrine may be summed up in the following manner: 'Alī was the most meritorious (*afḍal*) after the Prophet, and the community committed an error in choosing Abū Bakr and 'Umar, but did not however fall into sin; on the other hand, 'Uṭhmān was to be rejected (*takfir*). For his part,

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al-Ash'arī, *Makālāt*, 42, 54, 516, delineates the main outlines of his theological doctrine: the Divine Will is, for him, as for Hishām, a moving force (*haraka*), but for him, a moving force external to God, which moves Him. In regard to faith, this consists essentially in respect for the divine obligations; whoever infringes them loses the quality of *mu'min* and becomes a *fāsiq*, without however being wholly excluded from the community, since he can marry within it and inherit.

Bibliography: In addition to the sources mentioned above, see Tūṣī, *Fihrist*, 212, no. 458; Nadjāshī, *Riḍāl*, 176; Abū 'Alī al-Karbalā'ī, *Muntahā 'l-makāl*, 207-8; Māmakānī, *Tanqīh al-makāl*, ii, 270; Baghdādī, *Hadīyyat al-'arīfīn*, i, 669; Kahhāla, *Mu'djam*, vii, 37; W.M. Watt, in *St. Isl.*, xxi, 289, 291; idem, *The formative period of Islamic thought*, Edinburgh 1973, 158-9, 188. (Ed.)

IBN AL-MUBĀRĀK AL-LAMAṬĪ [see AL-LAMAṬĪ].
IBN MUḴBIL, ABŪ KA'B (Abu 'l-Ḥurra in Ibn Durayd's *Ishṭikāk*, 12) TAMĪM b. UBAYY b. MUḴBIL b. al-'Adjlān al-'Amirī (i.e. the 'Amir b. Ṣa'sa'a; see Ibn al-Kalbī-Caskel, Tab. 101), Bedouin poet of the *muḴḥadram*, who is said, like many other people of his age, to have lived 120 years (although al-Sidjīstānī does not cite him in his *K. al-Mu'ammarīn*). He died after the battle of Šifīn (37/657), to which he alludes in one of his poems (*Diwān*, 345), probably in Mu'āwiya's reign and in any case, at a time when al-Aḫṭal [*q.v.*] had already made himself known to him.

Ibn MuḴbil seems to have led the rather monotonous life of the Bedouins of his time, and his biographers, eager for pieces of information, record hardly any striking facts. They give prominence to his marriage to his father's widow, al-Dahmā', whom he had to divorce in conformity with the laws of Islam (Ibn Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, 325-6), but he long regretted this, judging by the numerous verses where her name is mentioned (see *Diwān*, index). When he had reached an advanced age, he asked for hospitality from a certain 'Asar al-'Ukaylī, who had two daughters; these last mocked him, because he was blind in one eye, so their father compelled one of them, Sulaymā, to marry him (*Diwān*, 76-7). As a good Bedouin poet, Ibn MuḴbil mentions several women in the *naṣīb* of his poems, and in particular a certain Kabsha/Kubaysha (see *Diwān*, index), but of course, no precise information can be drawn from this. Although Ibn al-Kalbī does not mention any progeny of his, he is said to have had a dozen children (Ibn Rashīk, 'Umda, ii, 291), all poets in their turn, and al-Bakrī (*Mu'djam mā si'djam*, i, 131) adds the name of an Umm Sharīk who is said to have transmitted her father's verses.

Another fact lacking from his life story is an exchange of *hiḍā'* [*q.v.*] verses with a poet who was a partisan of 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, al-Nadjāshī [*q.v.*]; the latter had attacked his tribe in the time of 'Umar b. al-Ḳhaṭṭāb, and the dispute was brought before the caliph, who first of all shrank back from delivering a judgment but was subsequently forced to throw al-Nadjāshī into jail (this happening is recorded by numerous authors, in particular, Ibn Kutayba, *Shi'r*, 290; al-Bakrī, *Faṣl al-makāl fī sharḥ Kitāb al-amṭhāl*, Beirut 1391/1971, 310-11; Ibn Rashīk, 'Umda, i, 37-8; al-Ḥuṣrī, *Zahr al-ādāb*, i, 19-20; al-Baghdādī, *Khizāna*, Būlak, i, 113 = Cairo, i, 214-15; etc.). The two poets exchanged insults over a period of years, and once again one sees Ibn MuḴbil replying to his enemy, who had attacked Mu'āwiya after the battle of Šifīn (*Diwān*, No. 42).

He had previously expressed pro-Umayyad sentiments in an elegy inspired by the murder of 'Uthmān (*Diwān*, no. 3), but apart from his polemics with al-Nadjāshī, he seems to have been uninterested in political affairs and to have held aloof from addressing eulogies to highly-placed personages. Hence if *madīḥ* [*q.v.*] is little represented in his *diwān*, boasting poetry (*fakhr*), personal or tribal, abound on the other hand. As a Bedouin poet, he defends naturally the Bedouin qualities such as generosity, contempt for riches, courage and endurance; the main characteristic of his work is indeed description (*waṣf*), of the desert, atmospheric phenomena, the camel, wild animals, and especially, the arrows (*kidāh*) used in the gambling game called *maysir* [*q.v.*], to such a point that he became proverbial for them and one spoke of the *kidh* Ibn MuḴbil (Ibn Kutayba, *Shi'r*, 427). His work was exploited by the philologists (Sibawayh cites him ten times; see also, e.g., al-Mubarrad, *Kāmil*, 498; al-Baghdādī, *Khizāna*, Būlak, i, 111-13 = Cairo, i, 211-15, *shāhid* 32, etc.), and because of the number of place names in his poetry, he was a source for the compilers of geographical dictionaries (Yāḳūt cites him 142 times in the *Mu'djam al-buldān*).

He was reproached basically because he regretted too much the pre-Islamic times and found himself ill at ease (Ibn Sallām, *Ṭabaḳāt*, 125; see *Diwān*, 129-41), and it may be because of this that the judgments of the critics on him differ considerably. Ibn Sallām, 119, places him in the fifth class of the *Djāhiliyya* poets with *Khidāsh* b. Zuhayr, al-Aswad b. Ya'fur and al-Muḥabbal b. Rabī'a, who are not remarkable as poets. Most curiously, al-Aḫṭal, whom he had in fact attacked (*Diwān*, 109-12, 312-14), is said to have delivered a very favourable verdict on him (Tha'lab, *Madjālīs*, 481; Ibn Rashīk, 'Umda, i, 80), whilst al-Asma'ī [*q.v.*] did not consider him at all as one of the *fuhūl* (al-Marzubānī, *Muwashshāh*, 80); this severe judgment did not however prevent this same scholar from collecting together his *Diwān*, of which other recensions were made by Abū 'Amr al-Shaybānī, al-Tūṣī, Ibn al-Sikkī and al-Sukkarī (*Fihrist*, ed. Cairo, 224) and a commentary written by Muḥammad b. al-Mu'allā al-Azdī (Yāḳūt, *Udaba'*, xix, 55). One at least of these recensions was known in Ifrīkiya, as the 'Umda of Ibn Rashīk and the *Masā'il al-intikād* of Ibn Sharaf (who adjudged Ibn MuḴbil's poetry as archaic and solidly constructed) attest in particular, and also in al-Andalus (see Ibn Ḳhayr, *Fahrasa*, 397), but it is only recently that there has been discovered at Çorum [see ÇÖRUM] the manuscript of an unidentified recension. A very careful edition of the *Diwān* has been done by 'Izzat Ḥasan (Damascus 1381/1962), to which he has appended a *Dhayl* and various highly useful indices; another ed. by Ahmet I. Türeke, Ankara 1965.

Bibliography: The main sources have been given in the article; 'Izzat Ḥasan's introduction to the *Diwān* contains the sparse biographical details which are known and a study of Ibn MuḴbil's works. See further Zirīklī, *Al'am*, s.v.; Wahhābī, *Marāḍī*, i, 123-5, where some new references may be found. (CH. PELLAT)

IBN NĀDJI, ABŪ 'L-ḲĀSIM/ABU 'L-FADL b. 'ĪSĀ b. NĀDJI AL-TANŪKHĪ, *kāḍī*, preacher and biographer, who was born and who died at al-Ḳayrawān (ca. 762-837 or 839/ca. 1361-1433 or 1435). He studied in his natal town and in Tunis, and then filled various posts as *kāḍī* and as *khāṭib* (in *Djarba*, Beja, Lorbès, Sousse, Gabès, Tebessa and al-Ḳayra-



wān), and put together commentaries on *fikh* works, in particular, on the *Risāla* of Ibn Abī Zayd al-Ḳayrawānī (this *sharḥ* was printed at Cairo 1914, 2 vols.). However, his fame stemmed especially from a collection of biographies of religious scholars of his natal town from its origins till the 9th/15th century, the *Maʿālim al-imām fī maʿrifat ahl al-Ḳayrawān*, only the part with the notices on the 8th/14th century being completely from his own pen; all the opening is in reality a borrowing from a collection by a predecessor, al-Dabbāgh [q.v. above].

Bibliography: Ahmad Bābā, *Nayl al-ibtihādī*, 223; Ibn al-Ḳāḍī, *Durrat al-hidāī*, No. 1330; Introd. to Ibrāhīm Shabbūh's ed. of the *Maʿālim*; see also the *Bibl.* to AL-DABBĀGH. (Ed.)

IBN NĀSIR, the name, nowadays replaced by AL-NĀSIRĪ, of a Moroccan family who founded the branch of the Shādhiliyya order [q.v.] known as Nāsiiriyya and founded its headquarters at the *zāwiya* of Tamgrūt [q.v.] in southern Morocco. The numerous biographical sources, published and unedited, as well as a monograph on the family, the *Taʿat al-muḥṣṭarī* (Fās 1309) by Ahmad al-Nāsirī al-Salāwī, allow its history to be traced easily and allow a genealogical tree to be constructed; the reader will find information on this in the article AL-NĀSIRIYYA, and there will merely be given here some information on those members of the Banū Nāsir who took part in a conspicuous fashion in literary and intellectual life over the last four centuries.

1. AL-HUSAYN b. MUḤAMMAD b. Ahmad b. Muḥammad b. Husayn b. Nāsir b. ʿAmr b. ʿUthmān al-Darʿī (d. 1091/1680) succeeded his father (d. 1052/1642) as head of the *zāwiya* of Ighlān (a few miles from Zagora). This *zāwiya* was, however, definitively abandoned after an outbreak of plague which broke out in 1091/1680, of which al-Husayn was himself a victim; he had made three journeys to the East and had composed a *Fahrasa* extant at Rabat (ms. 506j).

2. His elder brother, Abū ʿAbd Allāh MAḤMAD b. MUḤAMMAD (1015-85/1606-74) had left the Ighlān *zāwiya* in 1040/1631 in order to settle in the one at Tamgrūt, which he now headed; according to the most reliable tradition, it was he who founded the Nāsiiriyya order. He wrote several works of *fikh*, some poetry, letters and *adwiba* on points of law.

3. Maḥammad's son AHMAD (1057-1129/1647-1717) succeeded his father as head of the order. He made the pilgrimage four times, and utilised these occasions to establish branches of the order in various parts of North Africa, as far as Egypt, and composed concerning his pilgrimage of 1121/1709-10 a voluminous *Rihla* (lith. Fās 1320; partial tr. A. Berbrugger, in *Exploration scientifique de l'Algérie*, ix, 1846, 165 ff.); this travel account has a certain interest because the author adds his personal observations on the regions which he passed through and records events of some importance, in addition to his mention of his itineraries and the religious personages whom he met en route. Since Ahmad left behind no children, the headship of the *zāwiya* passed to the descendants of his brother Muḥammad al-Kabīr.

4. Abū ʿAbd Allāh MUḤAMMAD (al-Makkī) b. Mūsā b. Muḥammad (al-Kabīr) b. Maḥammad succeeded his father, who died in 1142/1729. The task of inspecting the order's branches in the various towns of Morocco led him to write a travel narrative, *al-Rayāḥin al-wardīyya fī l-rihla al-Marrākushīyya* (ms. Rabat 88 G, 1-83), but he also left behind some poetry and several biographical works, amongst

which may be noted the *Fath al-malik al-Nāsir fī iḥḍāzāt marwīyyāt Banī Nāsir* (ms. Rabat 323 K) on the *iḥḍāzāt* received by his forebears, and above all, *al-Durar al-muraṣṣaʿa fī akhbār ʿayān Darʿa* or the *Kashf al-raʾaʿa fī l-taʾrīf bi-sulahāʾ Darʿa* (mss. Rabat K. 265 and 88 G, 84-116), finished in 1152/1739, which traces the history of the Nāsiiriyya order. He died after 1170/1756.

5. Abū ʿAbd Allāh MUḤAMMAD b. ABD AL-SALĀM b. ʿAbd Allāh b. Muḥammad (al-Kabīr), who died in 1239/1823. He made the pilgrimage to Mecca twice and wrote two accounts of these. The autograph ms. of the first, *al-Rihla al-kubrā*, is extant in the Royal Library at Rabat (no. 5658); the author adds his own personal observations and is not afraid to contradict his predecessors (notably al-ʿAyyāshī and al-ʿAbdarī [q.v.]). He further left behind *al-Mazāyā fī mā ḥadathā/uhdithā min al-bidaʾ bi-Umm al-Ḳawāyā*, a *Fahrasa* (ms. Rabat 3289 K), a commentary on the 40 *ḥadīths* of Maḥammad al-Djāwharī (ms. Rabat 137 Q) and some *responsa* on some cases in point, the *Kaṭʿ al-waṭīn min al-marīk fī l-dīn* (ms. Rabat 1079 D, fols. 107-15).

6. It is convenient, finally, to note that the famous author of the *K. al-Istikṣā*, AHMAD AL-NĀSIRĪ [see AL-SALĀWĪ] was a direct descendant of Ibn Nāsir.

Bibliography: To the works by members of the family cited above, one should add the great biographical collections of Moroccan authors like Ifrānī, *Safwat man intaṣṣar*, lith. Fās n.d.; Ḳādirī, *Nashr al-mathānī*, Fās 1310/1892; Muḥammad al-Kattānī, *Salwat al-anfās*, lith. Fās 1316; ʿAbd al-Hayy al-Kattānī, *Fihris al-fahāris*, Fās 1346-7/1927-9; the manuals of Moroccan literature; Ibn Sūda, *Dalīl muʾarrikh al-Maghrib al-Aksā*, Casablanca 1960-5; Lévi-Provençal, *Chorfa*, index s.v. Ibn Nāsir; M. Lakhdar, *La vie littéraire au Maroc sous la dynastie ʿalawide*, Rabat 1971, index s.v. Ibn Nāsir and the *bibl.* cited there. (Ed.)

IBN NĀZIR AL-DJAYSH, TAKĪ ʿL-DĪN ʿABD AL-RAḤMĀN, *kādī*, official and author of the Mamlūk period in Egypt. His precise dates are unknown, but he was apparently the son of another *kādī* who had been controller of the army in the time of Sultan al-Nāsir Nāsir al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Ḳalāwūn, and he himself served in the *Dīwān al-Inṣhāʾ* under such rulers as al-Manṣūr Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Muḥammad (762-4/1361-3) and his successor al-Ashraf Nāsir al-Dīn Shāʿbān (764-78/1363-76). His correspondence was apparently collected into a *maḍmūʿa*, for al-Ḳalkashandī [q.v.] quotes four letters from it, to external rulers, in his *Ṣubḥ al-aʿshā*. Ibn Nāzir al-Djaysh was also, in a well-established Mamlūk tradition, the author of a manual for chancery secretaries, the *Tathkīf al-Taʾrīf*, an improved version of the well-known guide of Shihāb al-Dīn Ibn Faḍl Allāh al-ʿUmarī [see FAḤL ALLĀH], *al-Taʾrīf bi l-muṣṭalah al-sharīf*, the *Tathkīf* has survived in at least four manuscripts (not however recorded in Brockelmann) and is again quoted several times by al-Ḳalkashandī.

Bibliography: M. Gaudefroy-Demombynes, *La Syrie à l'époque des Mamelouks d'après les auteurs arabes*, Paris 1923, pp. XII-XIII; W. Björkman, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Staatskanzlei im islamischen Ägypten*, Hamburg 1928, 69, 75, 129; C.E. Bosworth, *Christian and Jewish religious dignitaries in Mamlūk Egypt and Syria: Qalqashandī's information on their hierarchy, titulature and appointment*, in *IJMES*, iii (1972), 67. (C.E. BOSWORTH)



IBN AL-RĀHIB, Coptic polygraph, born between 1200-10 and died between 1290-5. Known principally as a historiographer on account of the *Chronicon orientale*, which has been falsely attributed to him since the 17th century, Nushū' al-Khilāfa (or simply al-Nushū') Abū Shākir b. al-Sanā (abbreviation of Sanā' al-Dawla) al-Rāhib Abu 'l-Kāram (alias Abu 'l-Maḍjīd) Buṭrus b. al-Muhaddhib in fact represents, with Abū Ishāq b. al-ʿAssāl [q.v.] and Abu 'l-Barakāt Ibn Kabar [q.v.], the leading encyclopaedist of the golden age of Christian Arabic literature, in the 7th/13th century. He wrote about all the disciplines of human knowledge which an Arab Christian of the period was in a position to cultivate: chronology and astronomy, history, philology and hermeneutics, philosophy and theology (in the full spectrum of their ramifications). But it is not this fact alone which confers upon his work an encyclopaedic character; such versatility was not unusual in his milieu. The decisive factor is most of all his method of working, the very dimensions of his studies and finally, the abundant wealth of textual sources, Greek and patristic, Muslim Arab and Christian, which he quotes or incorporates to a large extent in his own works. It is in this work of compilation, besides, even more than in original thought, that the value of his writings seems to reside.

Ibn al-Rāhib was born into a large and distinguished Coptic family of Old Cairo, all of them churchmen as well as senior officials of the Ayyūbid state. His father, known at the time under the name al-Sanā al-Rāhib or al-Rāhib Anbā Buṭrus (he became a monk at an advanced age), enjoyed a considerable reputation both in public administration, where for two periods he was responsible for state finance, and in ecclesiastical circles, where he virtually played the role of interim patriarch in the latter part of the long period during which the diocese of Alexandria was vacant (1216-35), before becoming spokesman for the opposition under the much-contested patriarchate of Cyrillus b. Laqlāq (1235-43). His son, al-Nushū' Abū Shākir, was, for his part, deacon of the renowned church of al-Mu'allāqa and played a senior role in the administration, apparently in the *diwān al-ḡuyūsh* [q.v.].

It was relatively late, probably after leaving public service in the wake of political repercussions which accompanied the rise to power of the Mamlūks, that he began his literary activity. It is in fact confined to the period between the years 655/1257 and 669/1270-1. Beyond the latter date, Ibn al-Rāhib limited himself to reproducing and improving his works. Extremely extensive and hitherto unedited, these are, in chronological order:

(a) *K. al-Tawārīkh*. Recently identified in three manuscripts, this is the work on which, in reality, Ibn al-Rāhib's renown is based. It comprises three distinct parts, unequally divided into fifty-one chapters: a study of astronomy and chronology (chs. 1-47); a history of the world (ch. 48), of Islam (ch. 49) and of the Church (in the form of a history of the patriarchs of Alexandria—ch. 50); and finally, a brief account of the Seven Ecumenical Councils of the Orient (ch. 51). The celebrated *Chronicon orientale* represents, in fact, only a mediocre abstract of the long chronological section (chs. 48-50). The *K. al-Tawārīkh* was, in addition, exploited to a large extent by the Christian historiographer, al-Makīn b. al-ʿAmīd [q.v.] and—through the latter, apparently—constantly mentioned by al-Makrīzī and Ibn Khaldūn [q.v.]. In the first half of the 16th century it was translated into classical Ethiopic (Ge'ez) by no less

a person than the Etcheguié Enbaqom, which acquired for it a position of considerable eminence in Ethiopian literature. For this the manual of the ecclesiastical year and of universal chronology, entitled *Abushākēr*, is not the least of the evidence.

(b) The study of Coptic philology, completed in 1263, includes a rhymed vocabulary (*sullam mukaffā*) according to the method used by the Arab lexicographers, preceded by a grammar (*mukaddima* [q.v.]) which, through its originality, is distinguished from the series of Coptic prefaces of the Middle Ages. Although the vocabulary itself hitherto seems to be lost, an attentive reading of the prologue—which is available to us along with the grammar and in which the author sets out his project in detail—enables us to see there a work of lexicography far superior to the *Scala rimata* of his contemporary Ibn al-ʿAssāl [see SULLAM].

(c) *K. al-Shifā* (1267-8). A work of Biblical Christology, of an exclusively exegetical character. Conceived according to massive proportions, it was originally structured on the basis of the image of the Tree of Life, consisting of a triple trunk (*asl*), each part bearing three branches (*far*) loaded with innumerable fruits (*thamara*). The abundance and the variety of patristic and other commentaries (especially the *Firdaus al-nasrāniyya* of the Nestorian Ibn al-Tayyib [q.v.], which are dotted throughout the work, make it an interesting Arabic florilegium of Biblical commentaries relating to the person of Christ.

(d) *K. al-Burhān* (1270-1). An extensive theologico-philosophical summa in fifty chapters (*mas'ala*), dealing with almost all the questions of philosophy, theology, ethics and culture likely to be of interest to an educated Copt of the period. It is particularly to be noted that the theodicy of the *K. al-Burhān* (chs. 28-40) hinges entirely on that of the *K. al-Arbaʿin* of the great Persian theologian Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī [q.v.].

Bibliography: Graf, *GCAL*, ii, 428-35; Adel Y. Sidarus, *Ibn al-Rāhib's Leben und Werk. Ein koptisch-arabischer Enzyklopädist des 7./13. Jahrhunderts* (Islamkundliche Untersuchungen 36), Freiburg 1975, with detailed analysis of sources and complete bibl.

(A. SIDARUS)

IBN AL-RŪMIYYA, ABU 'L-ʿABBAS (sporadically: Abu Dja'far) AḤMAD B. ABĪ 'ABD ALLĀH MUḤAMMAD B. MUḤARRIR B. ABĪ 'L-KHALĪL 'ABD ALLĀH AL-UMAWĪ AL-ḤAZMĪ AL-ZĀHIRĪ AL-NABĀTĪ AL-ʿASHSHĀB, Spanish-Arabic pharmacobotanist. He was born in Seville in 561/1166 (according to others, 567/1172) and died there in 637/1240. His allegedly Byzantine origin on the maternal side may have procured him the nickname by which he became known, but which he did not like hearing. In any case, he was a freedman of the Umayyads. He was educated as a Mālikī traditionist and jurist, but then joined the Zāhiriyya and became an ardent adherent of Ibn Ḥazm [q.v.]. None of his writings bearing upon this activity seems to have survived; some *riḍāl*-works may be mentioned here: *al-Mu'lim bi-zawā'id* (or: *bi-mā zādahu*), *al-Bukhārī 'alā Muslim*, *Ikhtisār Ghara'ib hadīth Mālik* (*li-l-Dārakutnī*), *Nazm al-darārī fī-mā tafarrada bihi Muslim 'an al-Bukhārī*, further an abstract from Ibn al-Kaṭṭān's (d. 360/971) *K. al-Kāmil fī 'l-ḡuḡā' wa 'l-mabrūkīn*, and a supplement to this work under the title *al-Ḥāfil fī tadlīl al-Kāmil*, finally legal investigations on the performance of the prayer, like *Hukm al-ḡuḡā' fī adbār al-salawāt* and *Kayfiyyat al-adhān yawm al-ḡum'a*. The knowledge related to these subjects he acquired during an

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extensive study-tour, made in connection with the pilgrimage which he undertook in 613/1216, and which led him through North Africa, Egypt, al-Hijāz, Syria and 'Irāq. His extraordinary long biography in Marrākushī's *Ḍhayl* (see Bibl.) can be explained by the fact that this author cites most, if not all, of the traditionists and jurists whose lectures Ibn al-Rūmiyya attended and who were his authorities in *ḥadīth*.

His real renown, however, is based on his achievements as a pharmacobotanist. As he himself relates, he was initiated into pharmacology in 583/1187 in Marrākushī by 'Abd Allāh b. Šāliḥ, one of Ibn al-Bayṭār's teachers. With him he studied three works: (1) the *Materia medica* of Dioscorides; (2) the work by Ibn Ḍjuldjul [*q.v.*] in which the latter explains the simple medicines named by Dioscorides (*Tafsīr asmā' al-adwiya al-mufrada min kitāb Diyus-kūridis*); and (3) the brief treatise of the same author on medicines not mentioned by Dioscorides (*Makāla fī dhikr al-adwiya allatī lam yadhkurhā Diyus-kūridis ilkh.*). Seventeen years later (600/1204), Ibn al-Rūmiyya in his turn taught the works mentioned, also in Marrākushī. The shortcomings and inaccuracies which meanwhile had struck him in the works of Ibn Ḍjuldjul induced him now to write a corresponding book by himself, namely *Tafsīr asmā' al-adwiya al-mufrada min kitāb Diyus-kūridis* (the title thus being identical with that of Ibn Ḍjuldjul). In all probability, bordering on certainty, it is this work which exists in an anonymous text of the *maḍmū'a* Nuruosmaniye 3589; the present writer is preparing a text-edition together with an annotated German translation. Ibn al-Rūmiyya shortened considerably the contents of Dioscorides' work, to the extent that he left out almost completely the therapeutic uses of the medicinal herbs; instead, he did, however, give much space to their botanical description. The nomenclature of the herbs is also particularly important: it offers significant material for the knowledge of Mozarabic [see *ALJAMĪA*] and of the Berber dialects in Morocco at that time. Above all, it is noteworthy that the author makes a sharp distinction between the certain and the uncertain, especially between what was transmitted and what he had seen himself. If one bears in mind that ancient natural science already at an early stage abandoned personal investigation in favour of compilation and came to rely more and more on written sources, the endeavour, recognisable here, to gain a solid basis, particularly by examining nature itself, has to be rated highly.

It is reasonable to assume that Ibn al-Rūmiyya wrote down the *Tafsīr* before he started on the journey to the Orient mentioned above. The second botanical work, however, *al-Rihla al-mashrikiyya*, more comprehensive but only known to us through numerous extracts by Ibn al-Bayṭār, turns out to be the richly scientific result of this journey which lasted about two years. Of particular interest for the history of civilisation is the description of the manufacture of papyrus, the oldest one since Pliny (for this and the other Arabic accounts, see A. Grohmann, *Allgemeine Einführung in die arabischen Papyri*, Vienna 1924, 35 f.). The *Rihla* is of high quality and has led both L. Leclerc (*Histoire de la médecine arabe*, ii 244) and M. Meyerhof (*Maimonide*, xxxiii) to the judgement that Ibn al-Rūmiyya is the botanist par excellence among the Arabs and that he can only be compared with al-Qhāfī [*q.v.* above] as far as independence of scientific method is concerned. With the latter, Ibn al-Rūmiyya found moreover many faults; his work *al-Tanbīh 'alā aghlāt al-Qhāfī*

fī adwiyatihi (quoted by Marrākushī, *Ḍhayl*, 1/2, 513) has been unfortunately lost, as is also a treatise on compound drugs (*Makāla fī tarkīb al-adwiya*), mentioned by Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a.

Bibliography: Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a, *Uyūn*, ii, 81; Ibn al-Abbār, *al-Takmilā li-Kutāb al-Šila*, Cairo 1955, i, 121; Abū Shāma, *Tarāḍīm riḍāl al-kamayn al-sādis wa 'l-sābi'*, Cairo 1366/1947, 170; Ibn Sa'īd, *Ikhṭisār al-kidh al-mu'allā fī 'l-ta'rīkh al-muḥallā*, ed. Ibr. al-Ibyārī, Cairo 1959, 181; al-Marrākushī, *al-Ḍhayl wa 'l-takmilā*, ed. Sharīfa, i/2, 487-518; Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-huffāz*, Haydarābād 1377/1958, iv, 210; Šafadī, *al-Wāfi bi 'l-wafayāt*, viii, 45 (no. 3451); Ibn Rāfi', *Muntakhab al-Mukhtār*, Baghdād 1357, 8; Ibn al-Khaṭīb, *al-Iḥāta fī akhbār Qhamāta*, Cairo 1319, i, 88-93; Ibn Farḥūn, *Dibāḡ*, Cairo 1351, 42 f.; Maḳkarī, *Nafḥ al-tib*, ed. I. 'Abbās, ii, 596, iii, 135, 139, 185; Ibn al-Imād, *Shadharāt al-dhahab*, v, 184; A. Dietrich, *Medicinalia arabica*, Göttingen 1966, 183-7; idem, in *Acc. Naz. Lincei, Convegno Internaz. 9-15 Aprile 1969 (Oriente e Occ. nel Medioevo: Filosofia e scienze)*, Rome 1971, 375-90; M. Ullmann, *Die Medizin im Islam*, Leiden 1970, 279 f.

(A. DIETRICH)

IBN RUSHD, ABU 'L-WALĪD MUḤAMMAD B. AḤMAD, AL-DJADD ("the grandfather" of the celebrated philosopher Averroes or Ibn Rushd [*q.v.*]), the most prominent Mālikī jurist of his day in the Muslim West, whose very real merits as an exponent of Mālik have been eclipsed by his grandson's fame as an exponent of Aristotle. Born in 450/1058-9, he died on 21 Ḍhu 'l-Ḳa'da 520/8 December 1126 and was buried in the cemetery of (Ibn) 'Abbās in east Cordova, his native city.

From 511/1117 until 515/1121 Ibn Rushd was, as *kādī 'l-djama'a* in Cordova, holder of the highest office in the Andalusian judiciary. For some reason that is not very clear, he either resigned or, less probably, was dismissed. What is clear is his important political role following the defeat, on 13 Šafar 520/19 March 1126, of Alfonso I of Aragon (El Batallador) at Arniswāl (? Anzul). Until his defeat, Alfonso had made rapid progress in his attempt to recover al-Andalus for Christendom and had gained widespread Mozarab sympathy and collaboration. Quick to perceive the danger that still threatened Islam from within, Ibn Rushd hastened to Marrakesh on 30 March 1126 to warn the Almoravid ruler 'Alī b. Yūsuf b. Tāshufīn [*q.v.*] and to advise him. Expressing his legal opinion that the Mozarabs had, by their treachery, lost all right to protected status, he prevailed upon 'Alī to have large numbers deported, and in consequence many were transported to Salé, Meknès and other places in Morocco. At the same time, he advised the construction of walls around Andalusian cities and towns as well as a wall around Marrakesh for the protection of the Almoravids against rivals on their own soil. He is also said to have recommended the replacement of 'Alī's brother, Abū Tāhīr Tamīm, as Almoravid representative in Spain, possibly because of his inability to defend Islam there. Five months after his return to Spain he died—in the same year as his famous grandson was born.

Abu 'l-Walīd Ḳurṭubī, as our Ibn Rushd was known, was a great teacher of Mālikī *fiqh* and the author of commentaries and compendia of basic works. One of his most important commentaries was that on the *Mustakhrāja* of al-'Utbi' (d. 255/869), viz. *K. al-Bayān wa 'l-tahṣīl li-mā fī 'l-Mustakhrāja*, etc. (in 110 parts). Better known today is his *K.*

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al-Mukaddimāt al-mumahhadāt li-bayān mā 'kīdathu rusūm al-Mudawwana (Cairo 1324; Muṭhannā repr. Baghdād, n.d. but 1960s). To his pupil Ibn al-Wazzān (*not* -Warrāk) we owe an important—historically and otherwise—collection of *fatwās* entitled *Nawāzil Ibn Rushd*, a selection of which, together with an illuminating introduction, has been published by Iḥsān 'Abbās in *Al-Abḥāth*, xxii (Beirut 1969), 3-63). In such of Ibn Rushd's writings as have come down to us, one perceives an incisive and logical mind and clarity of thought matched by lucidity of expression.

Bibliography: All the essential references have been brought together in Iḥsān 'Abbās's introduction to the *Nawāzil* cited above.

(J.D. LATHAM)

IBN SA'DĀN, ABŪ 'ABD ALLĀH AL-HUSAYN B. AḤMAD, official and vizier of the Būyids in the second half of the 4th/10th century and patron of scholars, d. 374/984-5.

Virtually nothing is known of his origins, but he served the great *amīr* 'Aḥud al-Dawla Fanā-Khusraw [*q.v.*] as one of his two inspectors of the army (*'arid al-djāysh*) in Baghdād, the *'arid* responsible for the Turkish, Arab and Kurdish troops. Then when 'Aḥud al-Dawla died in 372/983 and his son Šamsām al-Dawla Marzubān assumed power in Baghdād as supreme *amīr*, he nominated Ibn Sa'dān as his vizier. He occupied this post for two years, and seems to have made it his policy to reverse some of the trends of the previous reign; thus according to Abū Hayyān al-Tawhīdī [*q.v.*], he favoured the release in the new reign of the historian Ibrāhīm b. Hilāl al-Šābī [*see* AL-ŠĀBĪ] and took charge of the proper burial of the corpse of Ibn Bakīyya [*q.v.*], the former vizier of 'Izz al-Dawla Bakhtiyār executed by 'Aḥud al-Dawla. However, his enemy Abu 'l-Kāsim 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Yūsuf [*q.v.* above], formerly *kātib al-inshā'* to 'Aḥud al-Dawla, secured his dismissal on what was, according to Rūdhrawārī, a trumped-up charge of complicity in the military revolt in Baghdād of Asfar b. Kurdūya in support of Šamsām al-Dawla's brother and rival for power, Šaraf al-Dawla Šīrīl. Ibn Sa'dān was accordingly imprisoned and then executed in 374/984-5.

The sources say of him that he was liberal to his dependants, but kept himself inaccessible from the populace of Baghdād—in Rūdhrawārī's phrase, *bādhih li-'aṭā'ihi, māni li-likā'ihi*—thus incurring unpopularity to the point that his personal boat on the Tigris (*ṣabṣab*) was once stoned. His claim to lasting fame lies in his role as a Maecenas—he renewed the pensions of scholars which had lapsed on 'Aḥud al-Dawla's death—and as the organiser of a circle of literati in Baghdād embracing both Muslims and Christians and at which all kinds of speculative and philosophical questions were discussed. He was the friend and patron of Tanūkhī (*see* the latter's *Nisḥawār al-muḥādara*, ed. 'Abbūd al-Šihādī, Beirut 1391-2/1971-2, iv, 96-7). Tawhīdī was one of his *nudamā'*, and dedicated to Ibn Sa'dān his epistle on friendship, the *K. al-Sadāka wa 'l-ṣadīk*, although this was not completed for another 30 years (cf. M. Bergé, *Une anthologie sur l'amitié d'Abū Hayyān al-Tawhīdī*, in *BEO*, xvi [1958-60], 15-60). He was intimate enough with Ibn Sa'dān to address to the vizier an epistle on statecraft (in his *K. al-Imtā' wa 'l-mu'ānasa*, ed. Aḥmad Amīn and Aḥmad al-Zayn, Cairo 1953, iii, 210-25, tr. by Bergé, *Conseils politiques à un ministre. Épître d'Abū Hayyān al-Tawhīdī au vizir Ibn Sa'dān al-'Arīd*, in *Arabica*, xvi [1969], 269-78). In both the *K. al-Imtā'* and the *K. al-Sadāka* Tawhīdī gives us a picture of these scholarly sessions;

the participants included the Muslim philosopher Abū Sulaymān al-Manṭiqī [*q.v.*], the Christian ones Yahyā b. 'Adī and 'Isā b. Zur'a [*see* IBN ZUR'A], Ibrāhīm al-Šābī, Miskawayh [*q.v.*], the engineer and mathematician Abu 'l-Wafā' al-Būzadjāmī [*q.v.*], the *māḍūn* poet Ibn al-Ḥaḍḍjādī [*q.v.*], and several others. It was at the request of Abu 'l-Wafā' that Tawhīdī composed a record of 37 of the sessions, forming his *K. al-Imtā'*; and Tawhīdī's collection of philosophical discussions, his *K. al-Mukābasāt*, derives also to a considerable extent from these meetings.

Bibliography: (in addition to references given in the text): For the scanty details of Ibn Sa'dān's life, *see* Abū Shudjā' al-Rūdhrawārī's *Ḍhayl* to Miskawayh, ed. Amedroz, in *Eclipse of the 'Abbasid caliphate*, iii, 40, 85, 102-3, 107, and Ibn al-Athīr, ix, 27, 29. Concerning Tawhīdī's information, cf. D.S. Margoliouth, *Some extracts from the Kitāb al-Imtā' wal-Mu'ānasa of Abū Hayyān Tawhīdī*, in *Islamica*, ii (1926), 380-90; For the text of a letter of Ibn Sa'dān's to the Būyid Fakhr al-Dawla [*q.v.*], *see* Kalkashandī, *Subh al-a'shā*, viii, 137. Of secondary literature, *see* Ibrahim Keilani, *Abū Hayyān al-Tawhīdī, essayiste arabe du IV^e s. de l'Hégire*, Beirut 1950, 42-3; Maḥfūzullah Kabir, *The Buwayhid dynasty of Baghdad*, Calcutta 1964, 156, 179; J.Ch. Bürgel, *Die Hofkorrespondenz 'Aḥud al-Daulas*, Wiesbaden 1965, 118-19; H. Busse, *Chalif und Grosskönig, die Buyiden im Iraq (945-1055)*, Beirut-Wiesbaden 1969, 65, 239, 509-10; M. Bergé, *Pour un humanisme véu: Abū Hayyān al-Tawhīdī*, Damascus 1979, index, s.v. al-'Arīd.

(C.E. BOSWORTH)

IBN AL-SARRĀDJ, appellation of a family prominent in the 9th/15th century history of the Naṣrid kingdom of Granada. Passing into Spanish literature as "Abencerraje" in the 16th century ("Bencerraje" may date from the end of the 15th), the name appears more than a century later in French as "Abencérage" (which, *pace* Lévi-Provençal (*Hist. Esp. Mus.*, i, 351) does not derive from Sirādj), and finally in English as "Abencer(r)-age".

The patronymic "b. al-Sarrādj" is known well before the 9th/15th century. It is borne, for example, by an Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad of Málaga, a 5th/11th century panegyrist of the Hammūdis [*q.v.*], and in the 7th/13th century both by a grammarian of Pechina living in Almería and by yet another Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad, a *faqīh* and *khaṭīb* of the Great Mosque of Granada. Early in the next century we find an Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. al-Sarrādj, a Granadan doctor and botanist whose works, now lost, were esteemed in their day.

Up to the beginning of the 8th/14th century the patronymic is borne by isolated figures whose connexions with one another are really indeterminate. If, as claimed, the B. al-Sarrādj were of noble Arab lineage—seemingly of old Yemenī stock—it is strange to find no mention of them in the great Hispano-Arab genealogical treatises.

From the mid-8th/14th century we begin to discern in Granada the emergence of a clearly definable family, militarily successful and increasingly influential. One notable member was Abū Ishāk Ibrāhīm b. Abī 'Abd Allāh b. al-Sarrādj (d. 766/1364), commander of the *qaṣaba* of Ronda and governor of its highly important military district. By the early 9th/15th century the family was playing a vital part in defending Naṣrid frontiers and enjoyed a reputation for valour in the *djihad*. Before mid-century it



already constituted a powerful and ruthlessly ambitious political party.

In 1419 the party staged its first rebellion through members in command of Guadix and Ilora. Resentful of 'Alī al-Amīn, then regent for the Naṣrid minor Muḥammad VIII *El Pequeño*, they slew the former and replaced the latter by Muḥammad IX *El Zurdo*, a grandson of Muḥammad V. The grand vizierate fell to Abu 'l-Ḥaǧǧīǧ Yūsuf b. al-Sarrāǧ, organiser of the coup, and thereafter for eight years the Abencerrajes held sway in Granada.

When, in October 1427, Muḥammad was restored by loyalists led by Riǧwān Bannigash (Banegas), Yūsuf b. al-Sarrāǧ and his followers opted not to follow their sultan into exile at the court of the Ḥafṣid Abū Fāris in Tunis, but to lie low and spy a chance for pardon. This once gained, they plotted and achieved the restoration of Muḥammad IX with the aid of Juan II of Castile and Abū Fāris. By December 1429 Yūsuf b. al-Sarrāǧ and his sultan were back in power in Granada and so remained till December 1431, when the former fell at Loja fighting a joint Castilian and loyalist Granadan force, whose success put Yūsuf IV on the throne. But Yūsuf's reign was brief: by April 1432 Muḥammad IX was back on the throne and Yūsuf dead. Throughout Muḥammad IX's third reign—up to 1445—prominent positions were assigned to the sons of Yūsuf b. al-Sarrāǧ (Muḥammad and Abū 'l-Kāsim) and other members of their family and party. The period 1445-60, on the other hand, was one of vicissitudes as the Naṣrid throne fell successively to Muḥammad X *El Cojo* and Yūsuf V, and then reverted first to Muḥammad X and then to Muḥammad IX, who reigned till the end of 1453 or early 1454.

Since the sultan Sa'd (*Ciriza/Muley Zād/Ḥāh; reg. 1454-62, 1462-4*) owed his throne to the B. al-Sarrāǧ—now led by one Abū 'l-Surūr al-Mufarrīǧ—the family enjoyed his favour for a time. In 1460 we find the son of Abū 'l-Kāsim (above), another Abū 'l-Ḥaǧǧīǧ Yūsuf, as one of the most influential *kā'id*s of the realm, and yet another Yūsuf b. al-Sarrāǧ as a *wazīr* in Mufarrīǧ's administration. But soon came a rift: resentful of tutelage, perhaps, and indignant at covert attempts to have his son Abū 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī (Muley Hacén) supplant him, Sa'd had Mufarrīǧ and the *wazīr* Yūsuf summarily executed in the Alhambra (July 1462). Muḥammad and 'Alī b. al-Sarrāǧ fled to Málaga and set up Yūsuf V (Aben Isma'el)—who was assured of Castilian support—as counter-claimant. His premature death brought Abū 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī to the fore again, and in August 1464, the latter, in concert with the B. al-Sarrāǧ, overthrew Sa'd and seized the throne. The B. al-Sarrāǧ were back in power: an Ibrāhīm b. al-Ash'ar, an influential *kā'id* who had married into the family, became grand *wazīr*, and his administration included Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad, son of Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Sarrāǧ (above). A strange circumstance was soon to undo them. In 1419 'Alī had married Fātima, daughter of Muḥammad IX. On his death, the veneration in which they held him as their patron shifted to Fātima. And so 'Alī's late marriage to a Christian renegade was seen as a personal affront, and they drifted into rebellion. Savage retribution followed. Those who escaped with their lives fled, some to asylum in the noble houses of Medina Sidonia and Aguilár, other to various Castilian border towns. In 1482 they then slipped back to supplant 'Alī by his eldest son—by Fātima—Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad (XII), the famous Boabdil. Till the end of Boabdil's reign and of Muslim

Granada, the family's party held supreme political power. Granada once in Christian hands (1492), the Abencerrajes sold up and moved to the Alpujarra, then in March 1493 emigrated almost en masse to the Maghrib. Ironically, the family that had once defended Islam in Spain so well, had, by their part in ruinous civil wars, done so much to bring about its downfall.

Their story as told in Pérez de Hita's *Historia de los vándalos de Zegries y Abencerrajes* (1595, 1619) is fiction born of a few grains of truth. In this celebrated novel, which moulded most subsequent literary treatment of "moros de Granada", the Abencerrajes are the model of all chivalry, valour and charm. Their rivals are the brave but jealous and brutally perfidious Zegries—from *thaghrī* "borderer", a term seemingly applied to Maghribī *muǧāhidūn* in Spain (who were in fact politically a spent force well before the 9th/15th century). Falsely and secretly accused of dishonouring Boabdil and plotting against him, the leading Abencerrajes are unsuspectingly summoned to the Alhambra and assassinated. Not all perish; the word gets out, and insurrection follows. After a fierce struggle Muley Hacén is proclaimed, but finally the rebels are pacified, and Boabdil is restored. The Abencerrajes are banished and take refuge in Castile where they convert to Christianity. The honour of Boabdil's wife—besmirched by the Zegries at the beginning of the whole saga to turn Boabdil against the Abencerrajes—is finally vindicated and the accusers slain by Christian knights. During the 17th and 18th centuries the theme of the Abencerrajes was taken up by other European authors, notably Chateaubriand in his *Les aventures du dernier Abencérage*.

The *Sala de los Abencerrajes*, in the *Cuarto de los Leones* of the Alhambra, derives its name from various assertions that thirty-odd Abencerrajes were slain there by Muḥammad X or, as others say, Muley Hacén or Boabdil. The fiction appears to have its roots in (a) Sa'd's assassination of Mufarrīǧ and Yūsuf (above), and (b) Hernando de Baeza's account of the murder of Muḥammad IX and his sons by Sa'd and Abū 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī in the *Cuarto de los Leones*.

Bibliography: L. Seco de Lucena Paredes, *Los Abencerrajes: leyenda e historia*, Granada 1960 and bibliography (73-5); R. Arié, *L'Espagne musulmane au temps des Nasrides*, Paris 1973, 130 ff.

(J.D. LATHAM)

IBN SHAKRŪN (pronounced *Shukrun*) AL-MIKNĀSĪ, ABŪ MUḤAMMAD OF ABŪ NAṢR 'ABD AL-KĀDIR B. AL-'ARABĪ AL-MUNABBAḤĪ AL-MADAGHIRĪ, Moroccan physician and poet who was contemporary with sultan Mawlay Ismā'īl (1082-1139/1673-1727) and who died after 1140/1727-8. He received a traditional education at Fās, studied medicine under Ādarrāk [*q.v.* above] Ahmad b. Muḥammad, performed the pilgrimage and profited by the opportunity to follow courses in medicine at Alexandria and Cairo. He then returned to settle at Meknès, where he entered the sultan's service, but led a fairly austere and cloistered life.

As well as a commentary on a grammatical work and various poems which reveal a certain talent for versifying, Ibn Shagrūn owes mainly his fame to an *urǧūza* of 673 verses on food hygiene, the *Shagrūniyya*, which has always been highly popular among the people; it gives interesting pieces of information on food practices of the time (ed. Tunis 1323/1905; lith. Fās 1324/1906; ms. Rabat K 1613). He was also the author of a *risāla* called *al-Naḥḥa al-waǧdiyya*

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fi 'l-*ushba al-hindiyya* on sarsaparilla and the treatment of syphilis; this text has been studied and made use of H.J.P. Renaud and G.S. Colin in their *Documents marocains pour servir à l'histoire du "mal franc"*, Paris 1935, index.

Bibliography: Ibn Zaydān, *Ithāf al-lām al-nās*, Rabat 1347-52/1929-33, i, 264, v, 320-30; 'Alamī, *al-Anīs al-mutrib*, lith. Fās 1315, 193; Lévi-Provençal, *Chorfa*, 297; Renaud, *Médecine et médecins marocains*, in *AIEO Alger*, iii (1937), 90-9; M. Lakhdar, *La vie intellectuelle au Maroc*, Rabat 1971, 161-6 and bibl. cited there. (Ed.)

IBN AL-ŠUKĀ'Ī (vars. *Sukā'ī*, *Šakā'ī*, *Šakkā'ī*), AL-MUWAFFAQ FADL ALLĀH B. ABĪ 'L-FAKĤR AL-KĀTĪB AL-NAŠRĀNĪ, official of the Mamlūk administration, who died almost a centenarian in Damascus in 726/1325, leaving behind the reputation of having been a good Christian and a chronicler worthy of trust. He composed a *Harmony of the four gospels* (a work which corresponds to the description of ms. 1029 in the Sbat collection, at present inaccessible) in Hebrew, Syriac, Coptic and Latin, and as well as a biographical work on singers (*Wafayāt al-muṭribīn*), three historical works: a continuation of the *Ta'rikh* of al-Makīn Ibn al-'Amīd, a résumé of the *Wafayāt al-'ayān* of Ibn Khallikān whose title is unknown to us, and a continuation of this last, the *Tālī Kitāb Wafayāt al-'ayān*. The historian al-Šafādī acquired for his personal library the copy of the *Tālī* at present in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris as arabe 2061.

The *Tālī* is thus the sole work of Ibn al-Šukā'ī which has survived. It is in the conventional form of a biographical collection containing entries, arranged in alphabetical order, of persons who died between 657/1258 and 725/1324. Beyond the apparently monotonous nature of the compilation, it is from the choice of persons covered, the terms used to describe them and the anecdotes retailed about them, that the personality of the author emerges. He appears as a Christian firmly attached above all to moral standards, a skilful diplomat who knew how to retain the friendship of his contemporaries at a time of violent changes when the Mongol invasions led to a deterioration of relations between Muslims and *Dhimmīs*, and a trusty official who held the posts of *kātib* in the *diwān al-murtaǧǧā'*, the *diwān al-birr* and the *diwān al-mawārith*. The exercise of his functions in the matter of frauds and inheritances gave him access to the records of several financial scandals which the authorities had probably stifled, since the chroniclers contemporary with Ibn al-Šukā'ī, although very fond of retailing these matters, do not mention them. However, his frequenting of Damascene intellectual circles where tasty anecdotes were passed round by word of mouth, gave him the subject-matter for several stories which he gives and which can also be found, with variants, in al-Dhahabī, al-Yunīnī and al-Djazarī, and which al-Šafādī was to insert in his own work after the text of the *Tālī*.

Ibn al-Šukā'ī's moderation in depicting his contemporaries was not merely dictated by prudence. One should see in it rather the indulgence of a person who had reached an advanced age and who, although he allowed himself some lively and ironical comment on those who had, either at close hand or from a distance, made up part of his life, prided himself that in the eventide of his life he had as a Christian been able to come to terms with his Muslim environment, to gain confidence and attract confidences, and to behave as a well-balanced individual without losing

any of his personal dignity and without compromising his faith.

Bibliography: Ibn Kādī Shuhba, *al-Flām bi-ta'rikh al-Islām*, ms. Oxford, Or. Marsh 143, fol. 200b; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Durar*, iii, No. 591; Ibn al-'Imād, *Shadharāt*, vi, 75; Brockelmann, I, 400 (with the name given incorrectly); S. al-Munadjjid, in *RIMA*, ii/1 (1956), 99; Ziriklī, *A'lām*, v, 358; Kaḥḥāla, *Muḍjam*, viii, 76; *Tālī Kitāb Wafayāt al-'ayān* (un fonctionnaire chrétien dans l'administration mamelouke), ed. and tr. J. Sublet, Damascus 1974.

(J. SUBLET)

IBN AL-TAMMĀR [see IBN MĪTHAM, above].

IBN 'UQDA, ABU 'L-'ABBĀS AḤMAD B. MUḤAMMAD B. SA'ĪD B. 'ABD AL-RAḤMĀN B. IBRĀHĪM B. ZIYĀD B. 'ABD ALLĀH (B. ZIYĀD?) B. 'ADJLĀN AL-HAMDĀNĪ AL-ḤAFĪZ, Kufan traditionist, was born on 15 Muḥarram 249/10 March 863. His ancestors, 'Adjlān and Ziyād were clients of 'Abd al-Raḥman b. Sa'īd b. Kaṣṣ al-Sabī'ī al-Hamdānī (d. 66/686) and 'Abd al-Wāḥid b. 'Isā b. Mūsā al-Ḥāshimī respectively. His father was a Kufan Zaydī making a living by copying books and teaching the *Qur'ān*, literature and grammar, and was given the nickname 'Uqda because of his knowledge of the intricacies of Arabic grammar and inflection. Ibn 'Uqda visited Baghdād three times. The first time, in his youth before 272/886, he heard *ḥadīth* from a number of renowned traditionists. The second time, most likely in the first decade of the 4th century (913-22 A.D.), he incurred the enmity of the popular traditionist Yahyā b. Šā'id (d. 318/930) by contesting the reliability of the *isnād* of one of his *ḥadīths*. According to one account, he was briefly imprisoned by the vizier 'Alī b. 'Isā [q.v.] at the instigation of the followers of Ibn Šā'id until his criticism was proved correct. This detail is not confirmed by another, more elaborate account. A third time, he visited Baghdād towards the end of his life and taught in the mosque of al-Ruṣāfa, where he is known to have transmitted *ḥadīth* in Šafar 330/November 941, and in the Šhī'ī mosque of Barāthā. His only other trip was to the Ḥiǧāz. Thus he transmitted mostly from Kūfāns and visitors to Kūfa. He died on 7 *Dhu 'l-Ka'da* 332/1 July 944 in Kūfa.

Ibn 'Uqda was generally recognised as the greatest traditionist of Kūfa in his time. Fabulous stories were related about his prodigious memory and the hundreds of thousands of traditions collected and memorised by him and the camel-loads of books which his library contained. His transmission spanned the whole gamut of Kūfan traditions, Sunnī, Imāmī, and Zaydī, and Sunnī and Šhī'ī traditionists were equally eager to hear from him. Among his prominent Sunnī students were al-Dāraḳuṭnī, Ibn 'Adī, al-Ṭabarānī, and Abū 'Ubayd Allāh al-Marzubānī. Though he was criticised for relating objectionable (*munkar*) *ḥadīths*, reports on the blemishes (*maḥālib*) of Abū Bakr and 'Umar, and traditions from newly-discovered books (*unḍāda*), and on this basis was accused of having spoiled the *ḥadīth* of Kūfa, he was considered a faithful transmitter. Among the Imāmīs, Ḥārūn b. Mūsā al-Talla'ukbarī and Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Šalt transmitted from him. He appears frequently as the only Kūfan transmitter of early Kūfan Imāmī traditions in his time complementing the common Imāmī transmission of the school of Kumm. The Imāmī *riǧāl* books hold him in high esteem as a transmitter, though emphasising that he remained a *Djārūdī* Zaydī until his death. Actually, he seems to have

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supported the views of the Ṭālibiyya, who considered in principle all descendants of Abū Ṭālib as suited for the imāmate, rather than those of the sectarian Zaydiyya of his time, who restricted it to the descendants of 'Alī and Fāṭima. He appears as an important informant of Abū 'l-Faradj al-Isfahānī in his *K. Maḳātil al-Ṭālibiyyīn*, to whom he transmitted in particular the *K. Nasab Āl Abī Ṭālib* of the 'Alid Yahyā b. al-Ḥasan b. Dja'far.

Ibn 'Uḳda's own works, whose titles are listed in the Imāmī *riḡāl* works, included a book on the merits of Kūfā (*K. Faḍl al-Kūfā*), an enormous *K. al-Sunan*, a Ḳur'ān commentary, books on the transmitters from 'Alī, al-Ḥasan, al-Ḥusayn, 'Alī Zayn al-'Abidin, Muḥammad al-Bākir, Zayd b. 'Alī, Dja'far al-Sādiq, Abū Hanīfa, as well as *musnads* of 'Alī, Zayd b. 'Alī, and Abū Hanīfa. A fragment of his *K. Dhikr al-nabī* has been published from a papyrus (N. Abbott, *Studies in Arabic literary papyri*, i, Chicago 1957, 100-8). His book on the transmitters from Zayd b. 'Alī was the chief source of an extant similar work by the Kūfan Zaydī Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-'Alawī (d. 445/1053).

Bibliography: al-Tūsī, *Fihrist kutub al-Shī'a*, ed. A. Sprenger, Calcutta 1853-5, 42-4; idem, *Ṭiḡāl al-Tūsī*, ed. Muḥammad Šādiq Āl Bahr al-'ulūm, Nadjaf 1381/1961, 441 f.; al-Nadjašī, *al-Riḡāl*, Tehran n.d., 73 f.; *Ta'rīkh Baghdād*, v, 14-23; Ibn Shahrāshūb, *Ma'ālim al-'ulamā'*, ed. 'Abbās Ikbāl, Tehran 1353/1934, 13 f.; Ibn al-Djāwzī, *al-Muntazam*, vi, 336 f.; al-Dhahabī, *Tadhkirat al-huffāz*, Haydarābād 1334/1915, iii, 55-7; idem, *al-Ibar*, ii, ed. F. Sayyid, al-Kuwayt 1961, 230; idem, *Mizān al-'itidāl*, ed. 'Alī Muḥammad al-Bidjāwī, Cairo 1382/1962, i, 136-8; Ibn Ḥadjar, *Lisān al-mizān*, Haydarābād 1329-31/1911-13, i, 263-6; al-Safādī, *al-Wāfi*, viii, ed. Iḥsān 'Abbās, Wiesbaden 1969, 395 f.; al-Kh'ānsārī, *Rawḍāt al-djannāt*, ed. A. Ismā'īliyyān, Kumm 1390-2/1970-2, i, 208 f.; R. Strothmann, *Das Problem der literarischen Persönlichkeit Zaid b. 'Alī*, in *Isl.*, xiii (1923), 15 f.; Muḥsin al-Amin, *A'yān al-Shī'a*, Damascus 1935-, ix, 428-45; W. Madelung, *Der Imam al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm*, Berlin 1965, 47, 59.

(W. Madelung)

IBN 'UMĀRA [see AL-DĪKDĀN, above].

IBN 'UTHMĀN AL-MIKNĀSĪ, Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb b. 'Uthmān, a Moroccan diplomat and vizier of the 12th/18th century, who played a prominent role in the forging of ties between his country and Spain. At the start of his career he followed his father as preacher in one of the mosques of Meknès; here he came to the attention of the Sultan, Sidi Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh (1171-1204/1757-89) who, at a date difficult to determine, took him into his service as a secretary. In 1193/1799, he was sent to the court of King Charles III of Spain with the object of obtaining the redemption of Algerian captives and of renewing friendly relations between the two states; this mission met with success and led to the treaty of Aranjuez which was signed in 1780 (see V. Rodríguez Casado, *La embajada del Talbe Sidi Mohamed Ben Otomán en 1780*, in *Hispania*, xiii (1943), 598-611; idem, *Política marroquí de Carlos III*, Madrid 1946, 285-306; M. Arribas Palau, *El texto árabe del Convenio de Aranjuez de 1780*, in *Tamuda*, vi (1958); idem, *Carta árabe de Mawlay Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh relativas a la embajada de Ibn 'Uthmān de 1780*, in *Hespéris-Tamuda*, ii/2-3 (1961), 327-35), and Ibn 'Uthmān has left a detailed account of his mission,

al-Iksir fī fikāk al-asīr published by M. El Fasi in Rabat in 1965, with a long introduction describing the life and work of the diplomat.

On his return, he was appointed vizier, but the success of his first mission induced the sultan to entrust him with a second, to Malta and Naples, to secure the redemption of more captives; this mission, carried out in 1196/1782, was also made the subject of an account entitled *al-Badr al-sāfir fī fikāk al-asārā min yad al-aduww al-kāfir* (this has been summarised by Ibn Zaydān, *Ithāf*, iii, 320-9, and a number of manuscripts exist in Rabat and Meknès).

Three years later, Ibn 'Uthmān was entrusted with a new mission, this time to the court of 'Abd al-Ḥamīd I in Istanbul, with the object of resolving with the Ottoman sultan a conflict provoked by Turkish soldiers on the borders of Algeria and Morocco. The diplomat set out on the 1st Muḥarram 1200/4th of November 1785 and did not return to Morocco until 29th Sha'bān 1202/4th of June 1788; he had in fact taken advantage of his stay in the Orient to make the Pilgrimage, which provided him with the material for a third *niḥla*, with a more elaborate title than the preceding two: *Ihrāz al-ma'allā wa 'l-raḳīb fī ḥadjaḳ Bayt Allāh al-harām wa-ziyārat al-Ḳuds al-sharīf wa 'l-Ḳhalīl wa'l-tabarruk bi-kabr al-Ḥabīb* (see Ibn Zaydān, *Ithāf*, iii, 30-5; an edition by M. El Fasi has been in the course of preparation for a considerable length of time).

On his return, he was sent to escort to Algeria the captives released by Spain. On the death of Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh, he continued in the service of Mawlay al-Yazīd (1204-6/1789-92) who sent him on to the court of Charles IV of Spain; setting out at the end of December 1790, he was received by the sovereign in Madrid on the 27th of January 1791, but his mission was unsuccessful and he set out for home on the 18th of August; the following day, Charles IV declared war on Morocco; Ibn 'Uthmān was however permitted to return to Madrid, where he lived as a private citizen until April 1792. Some very interesting documents concerning his stay in Spain have been discovered and published by M. Arribas Palau (*La estancia en España de Muḥammad ibn 'Uthmān (1791-1792)* in *Hespéris-Tamuda*, iv/1-2 (1963), 120-92; cf. the same *Cartas árabes de Marruecos en tiempo de Mawlay al-Yazid (1790-1792)*, Tetuan 1961). On the death of al-Yazīd, Ibn 'Uthmān returned to Morocco and entered the service of Mawlay Sulaymān (1206-38/1792-1823), who had already written to him in Spain entrusting him with a diplomatic mission. The new sultan did not hesitate to appoint him governor of Tetuan, as well as his representative in dealings with foreign consuls in residence in Tangier (see M. Arribas Palau, *Muḥammad ibn 'Uthmān designado gobernador de Tetuán a finales de 1792*, in *Hespéris-Tamuda*, ii/1 (1961), 113-27). Because of his talents as a diplomat, he was also given the task of resolving internal problems; one of his major achievements was persuading, in 1797, the governor of Safi, 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Nāsir, to support the new administration; the latter had previously refused to recognise Mawlay Sulaymān. His last important diplomatic act was the signing on 22 Ramadān 1212/2 March 1799 of the treaty between Morocco and Spain (see M. Arribas Palau, *El texto árabe del tratado de 1790 entre España y Marruecos*, in *Tamuda*, vii (1959), 9-51). He died soon after at Marrakesh, where he was travelling in the Sultan's entourage (beginning of 1214/mid-1799) and it was his rival al-Zayyānī [q.v.] who was entrusted with the task of returning his belongings to Meknès.

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In addition to descriptions of journeys, which are also historical documents of great value, Ibn 'Uthmān is the signatory of a considerable corpus of diplomatic correspondence which has for the most part been published and translated by M. Arribas Palau. He has also left a number of poems which bear witness to a considerable poetic talent and confirm what one might be entitled to expect of a Moroccan with a strong grounding in traditional culture. His account of the journey to Istanbul and the Holy Places also reflects the education that he had received, and it often gives the impression of a stylistic exercise in rhymed prose, rich with religious and literary reminiscences. On the other hand, his other writings are composed in a simpler and more natural style; a number of dialectical forms are encountered here, and the author does not hesitate to transcribe Spanish words when he talks about Spain and describes, not without precision and colour, the novelties that he has observed in that country.

Bibliography: In addition to the fundamental works of M. Arribas Palau given in the article, see Marrākushī, *al-Flām bi-man halla Marrākush wa-Aghmāt min al-a'lām*, Fās 1355-8/1936-9, v, 142-3; Ibn Zaydān, *Ithāf al'lām al-nās*, Rabat 1347-52/1929-33, iii, 301-5, 318-30, iv, 159-68; Zayyānī, *Turjumān*, ed. and tr. O. Houdas, *Le Maroc de 1631 à 1812*, Paris 1886, index.; H. Pérès, *L'Espagne vue par les voyageurs musulmans*, Paris 1937, 17-29; M. al-Fāsī, *Muhammad b. 'Uthmān al-Miknāsī*, Rabat 1961-2; M. Lakhdar, *Vie littéraire*, 266-71, and bibl. cited there.

(Ed.)

IBN WAHB, ABU 'L-HUSAYN ISHĀK B. IBRĀHĪM B. SULAYMĀN B. WAHB AL-KĀTIB, scion of an old and distinguished secretarial family and author of a remarkable Shī'ī work on Arabic rhetoric, style and the secretary's art, the *K. al-Burhān fī wuḍūḥ al-bayān*. His grandfather Sulaymān was vizier to al-Muhtadī and al-Mu'tamid, fell in disgrace under al-Muwaffaq and died in his prison in 292/905. About his father and himself we know almost nothing. His *floruit* belongs to the first half of the 4th/10th century. His book must have been composed in or after 335/946-7, since it mentions the vizier 'Alī b. 'Isā [q.v.] as already dead. He is thus a contemporary of Kudāma b. Dja'far [q.v.], under whose authorship the work was placed by the editors of the truncated Escorial ms., 'A.H. 'Abbādī and T. Ḥusayn, despite strong doubts of the latter, and published under the title *Nakd al-nathr* (Cairo 1351/1933). The discovery by 'Alī Hasan 'Abd al-Kādir of a complete copy of the work in the Chester Beatty Collection (ed. A. Maṭlūb and Kh. Ḥadīthī, *Baghdād* 1387/1976) made possible the correct identification of author and title.

The *Burhān* represents an interesting attempt to apply Greek, Mu'tazilī and Imāmī doctrines to Arabic rhetoric. The latter trend is evidenced by positive references to some imāms of the Twelver line, including the eighth, and by the use of principles such as *takīyya*, *'isma*, *zāhīr/bāṭin*, *ta'wīl*, *numūz* (in the Qur'ān), *kilmān* and *badā'*. It also shows some influence of Ḍajābiḡ's *Bayān*, but is strongly critical of it. Whether he was also influenced by Kudāma has not yet been conclusively proved. The author also cites four writings of his own, the *K. al-Hudūdīya*, *K. al-Idāh*, *K. al-Ta'abbud* and *K. Asrār al-Qur'ān*. None of these seems to have survived, nor has any mention of them been found in the sources so far.

Bibliography: T. Ḥusayn and 'A.H. 'Abbādī

(eds.), *K. Nakd al-nathr*, Cairo 1941, Introd. 20-4; 'A.H. 'Abd al-Kādir in *al-Risāla*, xvi (1948), 1257 ff. and in *RĀAD*, xxiv (1949), 73-81; B. Tabāna, *Kudāma b. Dja'far wa 'l-nakd al-adabī*, Cairo 1373/1954, 94-108; S.A. Bonebakker (ed.), *K. Nakd al-shī'r*, Leiden 1956, 16-20; Sh. Ḍayf, *al-Balāgha taṭawwur wa-ta'rīkh*, Cairo 1965, 93-102; Maṭlūb and Ḥadīthī (eds.), *K. al-Burhān*, Introd., 1-41; (For his conception of the term *bayān*, see art. s.v. in i, 1115a).

(P. SHINAR)

IBN WARSAND, 'ALĪ B. AL-HUSAYN AL-BADJALĪ, founder of a Shī'ī sect in the Maghrib known as the Badjaliyya [see AL-BADJALĪ]. His books (*kutub*), in which he gathered Shī'ī legal traditions, are quoted by the Kādī al-Nu'mān in his *K. al-Idāh*. These quotations indicate that he wrote in the first half of the 3rd/9th century and belonged to the Mūsawī Shī'a, who recognised Mūsā al-Kāzim as their last imām and as the Mahdī. He lived and taught in Nafta in Kaṣṭīliya. His doctrine seems to have been propagated first by his son al-Ḥasan [see AL-BADJALĪ] in Dar'a and then, still before 280/893, by a Muḥammad Ibn Warsand, quite likely a son of al-Ḥasan, in the Sūs al-Akṣā. There the Badjaliyya come to constitute one of the two factions into which the population of Tārūdānt was divided and engaged in constant fighting with the other, Sunnī Mālikī, faction. They supported, and were led by the Idrīsīd amīrs of the region who were themselves converts to their doctrine. Their close association with them probably lies behind the, evidently mistaken, assertion of some sources that they restricted the imāmate to the Hasanid descendants of 'Alī to the exclusion of Ḥusaynids. The Badjaliyya were wiped out in Tārūdānt after the Almoravid conquest of the town in 458/1066. The sect survived, however, in Tiyyūwīn, the second major town of the Sūs. It was most likely absorbed or extinguished after the middle of the 6th/13th century by the Almohad movement originating in the same region.

Bibliography: (in addition to the sources mentioned in the article on al-Badjalī): al-Idrīsī, *Description de l'Afrique septentrionale et saharienne*, ed. H. Pérès, Algiers 1957, 39; Ibn Abī Zar', *Rawḍ al-kirās*, ed. C.H. Tornberg, Uppsala 1834, 82; M. Talbi, *L'Émirat Aghlabide*, Paris 1966, 571-3; W. Madelung, *Some notes on non-Isma'īlī Shīsm in the Maghrib*, in *Stud. Isl.*, xlv (1976), 87-97; Widad al-Kādī, *al-Shī'a al-Badjaliyya fī 'l-Maghrib al-Akṣā*, in *Ashghāl al-mu'tamar al-awwal li-ta'rīkh al-Maghrib wa-hadāratihi*, i, Tunis 1979, 165-94.

(W. MADELUNG)

IBN ZAKRĪ, a name of at least two Maghribī scholars, one from Tlemcen, of the 9th/15th century, the other from Fās, of the 12th/18th century. As well as Zakariyā' in the Qur'an (III, 37, 38, VI, 85, XIX, 2, 7, XXI, 89, 90), an Arabic form of the Zacharias of Luke (i, 5-25), Maghribī nomenclature recognised and still recognises, among Muslims and Jews, the name Zakrī (orthography Zekri, and, as a patronym, Benzekri, Benzecri and Ibnou-Zekri).

These two scholars are:

1. **IBN ZAKRĪ** (Abu 'l-'Abbās Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Maghrāwī al-Tilimsānī) born at the beginning of the 9th/15th century and died in Šafar 900/1494 at Tlemcen, whence his *nisba*. Brosselard (315-16) put an end to the uncertainties of the Arabic biographical sources which placed the date of his birth sometimes in 899/1493 and sometimes in 906/1505, and to the errors of oral tradition which located his burial place at Yabdar three leagues from



Tlemcen, by publishing the epitaph of his tomb discovered by him at Tlemcen "three hundred paces from that of Sanūsī", also corroborating the assertion of al-Warṭhilānī (1121-93/1710-79) who says he had "visited his tomb, at al-'Ubbād, in the vicinity of those of Abū Madyan, al-Sanūsī, the 'Ukbānīs, Ibn Marzūkh and the two sons of the Imām".

After losing his father at an early age and being brought up by his mother, Ibn Zakrī was placed at the age of twelve as an apprentice weaver. With a gift for study, the young Ibn Zakrī made his way, when he was able, to the mosques and *madāris* of Tlemcen (al-'Ubbād, al-Ya'kūbiyya) to hear the lectures of the 'ulamā' of the age, among others Ibn Zāghū (Aḥmad b. Muḥammad, d. 845/1441; see Aḥmad Bābā, 78, 308; al-Hafnāwī, ii, 42), who was also a weaver; al-'Ukbānī (Kāsim b. Sa'īd, d. 854/1450; see Ibn Maryam, 147; Aḥmad Bābā, 85; al-Hafnāwī, ii, 85); Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. al-'Abbās b. 'Isā al-'Ubbādī (d. 871/1467; see Ibn Maryam, 223). On his relations with his masters and on his character, the biographical accounts report some anecdotal details which show him as studious, obliging and, moreover, gifted with a fine voice.

Having become in his turn a doctor of religious law, engrossed in the sources of *fikh*, jurisprudence, Kūr'ānic exegesis, theology and Arabic grammar, he exercised successfully the functions of *kādī*, *muftī* and professor, and had future masters as disciples, including Zarrūkh (Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. 'Isā al-Burnusī al-Fāsī, 846-79/1442-93; see Ben Cheneb, no. 51; Brockelmann, S II, 361), who was a cobbler; Ibn Marzūkh (Aḥmad b. Muḥammad *hafīd al-Hafīf* [q.v.], d. 925/1519); Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. al-'Abbās (d. 920/1513; see Ibn Maryam, 259); Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Hādīdj al-Mannāwī (d. 930/1521; see Ibn Maryam, 8, 17, 18, 23).

His biographers have also noted that he had a memorable controversy, doubtless theological, with his rival al-Sanūsī (Muḥammad b. Yūsuf b. 'Umar b. Shu'ayb 830-95/1427-90 [q.v.]), and that he is the author of the following writings:

(a) *Bughyat al-tālib fī sharḥ 'Akādat Ibn al-Hādīdj* (Esc. 2, 1538; Fās, Ḳarawīyyīn, 1594; see Brockelmann, I, 339);

(b) *al-Manzūma al-kubrā fī 'ilm al-kalām*, a theological treatise of more than 1500 verses in *radīaz* metre, also entitled *Muḥaṣṣil* (or *Mukammil*) *al-makāṣid* (Esc. 2, 1561; Rabat, 89; Fās, Ḳarawīyyīn, 1569, 1571, 1587), which was made the object of a commentary in two versions, one long and one short, entitled *Nazm al-farā'id wa-mubdī 'l-fawā'id li-muḥaṣṣil al-makāṣid* by Aḥmad al-Mandjūr (926-95/1579-87 [q.v.]);

(c) Comm. on *al-Warākāt fī uṣūl al-fikh* of al-Djuwaynī (Abu 'l-Ma'ālī 'Abd al-Malik b. 'Abd Allāh, called Imām al-Haramayn [q.v.], entitled *Ghāyat al-marām bi-sharḥ mukaddimat al-imām*, Cairo i, 390; see Brockelmann, S I, 672, who gives a list of ten other commentaries on this work and S II, 85);

(d) *al-Masā'il al-'ashr al-musammāt bi-bughyat al-makāṣid wa-khulāṣat al-marāṣid*, Cairo 1344/1925;

(e) a certain number of *fatāwā* reproduced in the *Mi'yār* of al-Wānsharishī (the above lith., Fās 1315/1899 in 12 volumes);

(f) *Masā'il al-kadā' wa 'l-futūyā* on which there is no information;

(g) *Urdūza fī ḥisāb al-manāzil wa 'l-burūdj* on which no information is available.

Hādīdjī Khalīfa attributes to him erroneously some works of his homonym from Fās.

Tlemcen had a mosque bearing his name (called *Djāmi'* Sīdī Zegrī [sic]) to which Brosselard devoted a study, publishing an inventory of its endowments contained in an act of *hubs* dated 1154/1741. For its part, popular belief made of him a *walī* or saint and a *Ṣūfī*, capable of performing miracles (*karāmāt*) and of overcoming, by the gift of ubiquity, terrestrial distances (*tayy al-ard*). Finally, speaking of the 'ulamā' of Tlemcen, an Andalusian author said "Knowledge is with al-Tanasī, virtue with al-Sanūsī and pre-eminence (*riyāsa*) with Ibn Zakrī", whom another described as *ibn dhū'ā'i-hi* ("son of his arms" or "son of his works").

It should be added that Ibnou-Zekrī (Muḥammad al-Sa'īd b. Aḥmad al-Zawāwī al-Djannādī, professor of *fikh* in the upper division of the Algiers *madrasa* and *muftī* of Algiers, originally from the tribe of Ayth Zekrī of Great Kabylia (1267-1322/1851-1914), author of *Awḍaḥ al-dalā'il 'alā wudjūb iṣlāh al-zawāyā bi-bilād al-Kabā'il*, Algiers 1321/1903, used to say that he was a descendant of Ibn Zakrī al-Tilimsānī, as al-Hafnāwī remarks, who, with a note of scepticism, declares "In the matter of genealogy, people have to be taken at their word".

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2. IBN ZAKRĪ (Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Fāsī), born at an unknown date in Fās where he always lived and where he died in 1144/1731, was at first a young apprentice tanner (*dabbāgh*) in the service of his father with whom he used, after his manual work was done, to attend classes given by the latter's friend Abū 'Abd Allāh Maḥammad b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Abd al-Kādīr al-Fāsī [see AL-FĀSĪ in Suppl.]. He also followed the lectures given by Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad, otherwise known as al-Hādīdj al-Khayyāt al-Ruḳ'ī (d. 1115/1703; see al-Kādīrī, ii, 172, al-Kattānī, i, 230), always staying shyly at the rear of the auditorium. One or the other, or both, of these two *shaykhs* noticed the pertinence of the questions that he asked them and the active part that he took in discussions, and they immediately suggested to his father that he be given leave of absence from the tannery and encouraged to study, offering to take upon themselves the cost of his tuition. Their advice was followed. The young man completed his education with other teachers, including: Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Kādīr al-Fāsī [see AL-FĀSĪ in Suppl.]; Aḥmad Ibn al-Hādīdj (d. 1109/1697, see Lakhdar, 107-8 and Index); Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Masnāwī (1072-1136/1661-1724, see al-Kādīrī, ii, 204; al-Kattānī, iii, 44; Ben Cheneb, §



13; al-Nāṣirī, iv, 44; Lévi-Provençal, 301). He soon became *imām* of a small mosque in the jewellers' quarter (*sāgha*), where he gave, every Thursday and Friday, lectures on Sūfism according to the *Hikam* of Ibn 'Aṭā' Allāh [q.v.] with such success that the place became too small for his rapidly-growing audience. It is true that in this context his biographers are unanimous in saying that he was unrivalled, and that he was well versed in other branches of scholarship current at the time: Arabic grammar, lexicology, metrics, rhetoric, epistolary art, genealogy, biography, history, etc. He also used the practice and technique of *idṭihād*, in the sense of rational effort at explanation and deduction in the judicial sphere.

Among those who attended his lectures were: his own master al-Masnawī, mentioned above; Mas'ūd al-Tāhirī al-Djūfī (d. 1150/1737, see al-Kattānī, i, 326); Abū'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Manālī al-Zabādī (d. 1163/1750, see al-Kattānī, ii, 187); al-Wazīr al-Ḡhassānī (1063-1146/1653-1733, Lakhdar, 122-5) who wrote his biography in a pamphlet entitled *al-'Arf al-sihri fī ba'd faḍl al-Ibn Zakrī*, of which a manuscript copy is to be found in the Aḥmadiyya library in Fās (see Ibn Sūda, i, no. 724, p. 189); Gannūn, 288, attributes it, probably mistakenly, to the above-mentioned al-Zabādī.

In 1140/1727 he performed the duty of *ḥaḍiḍi* and noticing, while passing through Cairo, the people's addiction to tobacco, he took it upon himself to embark on a campaign for the prohibition of this, which he regarded as a vice. The result of this campaign was the convening, at the University of al-Azhar, of a colloquium in the course of which his arguments commanded respect, although the objection was raised that he was speaking as a Mālikī, whereas in Egypt one was either a Hanafī or a Shāfi'ī. He asked his opponents: "Would you smoke in the presence of the Prophet?"—"No," was the reply, "abstinence would be imposed by decency and by respect for the Prophet".—"Well then," he added abruptly, "should not anything that cannot be done in the presence of the Prophet be forbidden? To abstain from the performance of a duty is a *bid'a* (culpable innovation) and *bid'a* and its agent are condemned to the fires of Hell. Furthermore, to practise indecency outside the view of the Prophet and believe oneself blameless is hypocrisy!" Disconcerted, the 'ulamā' of al-Azhar made no reply.

Ibn Zakrī al-Fāsī enjoyed visiting the *chorfa* of Wazzān, in particular Mawlāy al-Tayyib (d. 1089/1679), and was associated with their disciple and biographer al-Ḥādīdj al-Khayyāt al-Ruk'ī, whose pupil he was. He was ultimately regarded as a miracle-worker who believed that, when wide-awake, he had seen the Prophet. It is also said that, endowed with a considerable fortune, he used it to render aid to the disinherited.

His writings, dealing with various subjects, were, it is said, "numerous, read and studied to advantage almost everywhere." These are, on the one hand, commentaries on works of grammar, theology and mysticism composed by Muslim authors of East and West, and annotations and glosses which have for the most part been left incomplete, and on the other hand, didactic poems concerning various matters, and at least one original prose work. Kattānī, i, 158, supplies the following list:

Sharḥ al-Farida fī 'l-nahw wa'l-taṣrif wa'l-khatt of al-Suyūṭī (lith. Fās 1319/1901); *Sharḥ al-Hikam*

al-'atā'iyya, ms. Paris 1351, on the programme of his teaching and the object of more than twenty glosses by Zarrūk (Aḥmad b. Aḥmad b. 'Isā al-Burnusī al-Fāsī (846-99/1442-93 [q.v.]), not to mention other commentaries, of which the most important would seem to be that of the Spanish mystic Ibn 'Abbād al-Rundī entitled *Ḡhayṭ al-mawāhib al-'aliyya*, Būlak, 1285/1868; see Brockelmann, G II, 143-4; S II, 145-7, IBN 'ABBĀD AL-RUNDĪ and IBN 'AṬĀ' ALLĀH; *Sharḥ al-kawā'id fī 'l-taṣawwuf* by Zarrūk, considered the most important and the best known of the latter's writings, Cairo 1318/1900 (see Brockelmann, S II, 326); *Sharḥ al-Naṣiḥa al-kāfiya li-man khaṣṣa-hu Allāh bi'l-'āfiya* by the same Zarrūk (see Brockelmann, S II, 361, who gives a list of other commentaries on this work); *Sharḥ Salāt 'Abd al-Salām b. Maṣṣūḥ*, also known as *al-Salāt al-maṣṣūḥiyya* (see its text in al-Fāsī (Abū 'Abd Allāh and Abū Ḥamid Muḥammad al-'Arabī b. Yūsuf, 988-1052/1580-1643), 63; in Gannun, 356, and in Ḥādīdjī, 175) which has been the object of a number of other commentaries (see al-Kattānī, i, 146; Lévi-Provençal, 312); notes (*ta'ālīk*) on al-Bukhārī's compilation, exegesis of Qur'ānic verses, an incomplete marginal gloss (*ḥāshiya*) on the commentary by Ibn Hishām on the *Alfiyya* of Ibn Mālik, poems on various subjects, miscellanea mentioned by al-Kādirī and al-Kattānī whose continued existence cannot be verified; a *Hamziyya* in praise of the Prophet, modelled on that of al-Būṣīrī [q.v. in Suppl.], with a commentary in two volumes (mss. Rabat K. 1372 and 1245); an original work which, after his death, seems to have caused a sensation in Morocco and which bears two titles, *al-Sayf al-ṣārim fī'l-radd 'alā'l-mubtadi' al-zālim* and *al-Fawā'id al-mutabā'a fī'l-'awā'id al-mubtada'a*; in these he propounds the thesis according to which "merit is a matter of piety, not of genealogy." This work exists in a manuscript volume in the library of 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Zaydān at Meknès (see Ibn Sūda, i, no. 418, p. 118). It aroused among the Moroccan 'ulamā' a polemic which lasted for almost a century, on the problem of racism and anti-racism. Al-Kādirī, who could have known Ibn Zakrī at the age of twenty, since he died only forty-two years later than him, at the age of sixty, claims that he heard a very widespread rumour (*mustafida*) that the latter had been responsible for the publication of a book in support of the *Shu'ūbiyya*, which asserted the superiority of non-Arabs over Arabs; he adds that all the contemporary men of religion reproached him for this and vilified him ruthlessly and justly. In the long biographical notice which he devotes to him, al-Kādirī invokes the authority of more than twenty teachers, and derives support from many Qur'ānic verses and *ḥadīths* in the attempt, first to give a definition of the *Shu'ūbiyya*, those who put non-Arabs and Arabs on the same level and those who put non-Arabs above Arabs, and then to lay emphasis on the merits of the Arabs, who gave birth to the Prophet Muḥammad and supported him in his noble mission, finally concluding that, as regards Muslim law, all Muslims, irrespective of race and irrespective of the period in which they embraced Islam, enjoy equal rights. However, a careful reading of this article gives the impression that, according to al-Kādirī, Ibn Zakrī had appointed himself the spokesman of Muslims of Jewish origin, then very numerous in Fās, who did not care for the Arabs, to whom they denied any distinctive merit, making no exceptions in this regard even for



the *Anṣār*, the *Kuraysh* and the parents of the Prophet, to whom a great many authentic *ḥadīths* explicitly gave a privileged status. Furthermore, these neo-Muslims prided themselves on being the descendants of the Banū Isrāʾīl and of the prophets Mūsā, Hārūn, Zakariyyā, and others, and on this account they considered themselves superior to the Arabs. By his action, again in the words of al-Ḳādirī, Ibn Zakrī had committed a reprehensible deviation and cut himself off from the faith, thus deserving "the punishment laid down for those who allow themselves to be led astray by passion." Moreover, had he not spent his time "among groups of men of his own kind, men living in ease and opulence, who arranged performances of musical entertainment in his presence, and whose sympathy he made great efforts to gain, putting forward ideas of the type which have been attributed to him, so well and to such an extent that all his associates ultimately became his disciples"?

More than half a century before, Mayyāra al-Akbar (Abū ʿAbd Allāh Muḥammad al-Fāṣī, 999-1072/1590-1662, see al-Ḳādirī, 235; al-Kattānī, i, 165; Lévi-Provençal, 259, n. 4, 7^o) had also written a book dealing with this problem and entitled *Nasīhat al-mughṭarīn fī l-radd ʿalā dhawī ʿl-tafrīka bayn al-Muslimīn* (Royal Lib., Rabat ms. 7248, fols. 71a-123b); its author, according to al-Ḳādirī, had a valid excuse and did not deserve reproach because, in his time, the neo-Muslims were the victims of harassment and even persecution on the part of Muslim Arabs. Mayyāra took their part, arguing in favour of the unity of the Muslim community.

Ninety years after Ibn Zakrī, Abū ʿl-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. ʿAbd al-Salām b. Muḥammad al-Bannānī (d. 1234/1818)—the Bannānī family is known to have been of Jewish origin—took up the defence of al-Zakrī and, with the object of dismissing al-Ḳādirī's accusations, wrote two books which, between them, bear no fewer than eight different titles, as follows: *Tahḍīb al-ādḥān waʿl-masāmiʿ bi-nuṣrat al-ʿallāma al-djāmiʿ*; *al-Nūr al-lāmiʿ wa-kanz ruwāt al-madḡamiʿ*; *al-Manḥal al-ʿadhb al-murwī fī nuṣrat al-ʿallāma Ibn Zakrī*; *Bustān al-fawāʿid al-muḥdathāt al-badāʿiʿ*; *Rashf al-darab bi-taḥḍīl Banī Isrāʾīl waʿl-Arab* (these five titles are those of the first book, which comprises two volumes, the first of which still exists, in private hands, in Fās; see Ibn Sūda, no. 256, p. 84); *al-Waḍḥ al-mughṭarī ʿalā nuṣrat al-ʿallāma Ibn Zakrī*; *al-Taḥḍīl wa-shifāʾ al-ghalīl wa-izālat dāʾ al-ʿalīl*; *al-Uḍḍāla al-mūfiya bi-muḥtāḍi al-manẓūma al-yūsiyya*, for the second book, completed in 1222/1807 in one volume, which still exists in the form of an autograph manuscript by Muḥammad b. ʿAbd al-Sallām Bannānī, and which was apparently a kind of commentary on a *qaṣīda* of about three hundred verses composed by Abū ʿUmar ʿUṭmān b. ʿAlī al-Yūsī (d. 1084/1674; see al-Ifrānī, 113; al-Ḳādirī ii, 13; al-Yūsī, in *fine*; Ben Cheneb, § 5); "in reply to those who denigrate the merits of the Banū Isrāʾīl and who maintain, wrongly, that Islam owes them nothing" (see Ibn Sūda, no. 427, and 1954, pp. 120 and 426).

This controversy over racism and anti-racism, at the end of the 12th/18th century and at the beginning of the 13th/18th century, throws an unexpected light on the ideas and pre-occupations of the Moroccan thinkers of that time and on their attitude towards non-Arabs and Jews converted to Islam.

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3. H. al-Kattānī (i, 161) devotes a brief biographical notice to another IBN ZAKRĪ (Abū ʿl-ʿAbbās Aḥmad, d. 1154/1741 in Fās) who is none other than the son of the preceding and who lived an ascetic life in the *khaḥwa* of the well-known Moroccan saint Sidi Būḡhta (Abū ʿl-Shitāʾ).

(M. HADJ-SADOK)

IBRĀHĪM SHĪRĀZĪ, better known as ḤĀDJDJĪ IBRĀHĪM SHĪRĀZĪ, was a Persian Prime Minister of the early Ḳādjār period, and a most influential agent in the transfer of power from the Zand dynasty to the Ḳādjārs.

His father, the one-eyed Ḥādjdjī Ḥāshim, reportedly of Jewish stock, had secured him a position of chief magistrate in the office of the *kalāntar* [q.v.] of Shīrāz. In the course of the chaotic period which followed the death of Karīm Khān Zand, the flattering attitude which he took towards his chief Mirzā Muḥammad Kalāntar earned him the favour of the Zand ruler Djaʿfar Khān, who subsequently, on the withdrawal and death of Mirzā Muḥammad, offered him the office of the *kalāntar* of Shīrāz (1200/1782). Luṭf ʿAlī Khān Zand, the youthful son and successor of Djaʿfar Khān, added his rather unthinking support to this parvenu's career, and, in the course of his ensuing struggle against the Ḳādjār Ākā Muḥammad Khān, he entrusted the holding of his capital to this rather dubious *kalāntar*.

Ḥādjdjī Ibrāhīm, however, either in order to protect his fellow-citizens against the consequences of the dynastic wars, or just to dissociate himself from a losing cause, was brought to betray his brave but tyrannical sovereign. Thus in 1205/1791, while Luṭf ʿAlī and his soldiers had camped outside Shīrāz, and the capital was entrusted to Ḥādjdjī Ibrāhīm, an incident in the Zand camp plotted by the Ḥādjdjī, together with a surprise coup d'état which the latter staged against the Zand party in Shīrāz, resulted in Luṭf ʿAlī's fleeing, upon which Shīrāz was lost for ever to the Zand. Meanwhile, as Ḥādjdjī Ibrāhīm, probably due to his fear of a Zand revanche, made an appeal to the Ḳādjārs, Ākā Muḥammad Khān occupied Shīrāz and appointed—not without some reservation—the old *kalāntar* as the Governor-General of the whole province of Fārs (1206/1791). Nevertheless, when after the extirpation of the Zands, and probably in order to curb the local influence of Ḥādjdjī Ibrāhīm, Shīrāz and the whole province of Fārs were granted to the Ḳādjār Crown Prince Bābā Khān (i.e. the later Faṭḥ ʿAlī Shāh), the Ḥādjdjī was given an honorific title of Iʿtimād al-Dawla [q.v.], with a rather nominal premiership, to keep him as an attendant in the Shāh's retinue (1209/1795).

Under Faṭḥ ʿAlī Shāh, who owed his accession

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partly to the wise arrangements made by the old Hādjī Ibrāhīm, the latter's prestige and fortune increased rapidly, and his sons, brothers, and relatives obtained vast tracts of land with important positions throughout the Persian provinces. However, his own arrogance, along with the offensive behaviour of his relatives, caused considerable administrative hostility, and some of his opponents presented to the Shāh convincing documents—forged or authentic—to prove his involvement in treasonable activities. A royal decree, issued in great secrecy, directed the royal emissaries to seize and prosecute Hādjī Ibrāhīm and all his relatives at one time, on a previously fixed date, in Tehran and the provinces (1215/1801). Of all his male descendants, only two small boys were spared.

Hādjī Ibrāhīm's downfall, in which his rival Mīrzā Shafī Māzandarānī had an important rôle, was later deplored by Faḥ 'Alī Shāh. His political opponents, however, did not cease to criticise him severely for his so-called treacherous character, his selfish impetuosity and his lack of tact in diplomatic affairs.

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(A.H. ZARRINKOOB)

IBRĪK (in Islamic art), a term used for any kind of ewer, irrespective of function or material, but generally a vessel for pouring water or wine. Together with a basin, it is also used for washing hands and feet. Other terms for specific kinds of ewers are *kubra* or *bulbula* (see Abū Nuwās, *Diwān*, ed. Wagner, i, Beirut 1958, 54, 3).

The chronology and geographical origin of early metal ewers up to the 4th/10th century have not yet been definitely established. They can be classified typologically into five groups, representing a slow departure from mainly Sāsānid and Soghdian prototypes towards the formation of truly Islamic shapes. The most characteristic features are: a tendency towards heavier bodies, with an emphasis on the lower part of the body in the earlier phases, shifting to the formation of shoulders; a development of shapes in which the transition between body, neck, mouth and foot is clearly marked and set off; and a preference for faceted shapes. One group is characterised by a bipartite neck which is contracted in its lower part and is cylindrical and faceted in the upper half. The ovoid or cylindrical body rests on three small feet (*Survey*, Pl. 244A). Another group is best known from the "Marwān" ewer in Cairo (*Survey*, Pls. 245-6), but its traditional association with the Umayyad caliph Marwān has to be dis-

carded. The chronologically latest type has an ovoid body, a low footring and a straight, slightly flaring neck with a flat lip. It is well-balanced in proportion and its shape was retained up to Salḍjūk times. Except for one group (the "Marwān" ewer), the handles meet the neck by its lip. Popular types of thumb rests are a pomegranate or a full palmette.

Between the early 5th/11th and the beginning of the 7th/13th century, workshops in Khurāsān and Transoxania produced bronze ewers which carry an oil lamp-shaped spout. Early examples have been found in Akhsikāth, in ancient Farḡāna, and in Shahrastān, ancient Ushrusāna. Late 6th/12th to early 7th/13th century specimens are inlaid with silver and copper. One ewer in Paris is dated 586/1190-1 (*Survey*, Pl. 1309A). Khurāsānian workshops active in the late 5th/11th and 6th/12th centuries also produced ewers with a high, raised spout. Some have spherical bodies, while in other cases the body is either melon-shaped, faceted or fluted. One of the fluted ewers is signed by Maḥmūd b. Muhammad al-Harawī and dated 577/1181 (Mayer, *Islamic metalworkers*, 1959, 59; for the whole group see Abū 'l Farāḍj al-'Ushī, *A bronze ewer with a high spout*. The dates suggested by the author are debatable).

In the 7th/13th century, Mosul, Damascus and Cairo workshops produced richly decorated inlaid brass ewers with a pear-shaped, plain or faceted body, cylindrical neck and straight spout. Dated and signed specimen are the "Blacas" ewer in the British Museum (Barrett, *Islamic metalwork*, 1949, pls. 12-13), and two ewers in Paris (Rice, *Inlaid brasses*, appendix, nos. 16 and 21). The pear-shaped body and straight spout remain characteristic features of 8th/14th century Mamlūk ewers. They have a high body, which is contracted in its lower part, and the neck is surmounted by a top-heavy cup (*The arts of Islam*, Hayward Gallery 1976, no. 216). Ewers with a strongly swelling body, curving spout and handle, a contracted or funnel-shaped neck and a high splayed foot occur in 9th/15th century Egypt and Iran simultaneously (J. Carswell, *Six tiles*). Their occurrence on painted tiles from Cairo and Damascus suggests a wider distribution than that attested to by preserved objects. Ewers depicted on contemporary and later miniatures seem to point to a continuation of this type in the 10th/16th and later centuries.

Ceramic ewers follow the metal shapes very closely. Some early ceramic renderings even imitate soldering marks. Ewers with a fluted or cylindrical body and a raised spout are particularly common among Persian monochrome glazed relief wares of the 6th/12th and 7th/13th centuries.

Wine ewers and washing services are frequently depicted in miniatures and other media (for 8th/14th century washing sets, see M. S. Ipsiroğlu, *Saray alben*, Diez'sche Klebebände aus den Berliner Sammlungen, Wiesbaden 1964, pls. XVII and XVIII).

Bibliography: General books: A.U. Pope (ed.), *A survey of Persian art*, Oxford 1938-9; G. Wiet, *Objets en cuivre*. Cat. Gén. du Musée Arabe du Caire, 1932; Monographs on single objects: K. Erdmann, *Islamische Giessgefässe des 11. Jahrhunderts*, in *Pantheon*, xxii (July-Dec. 1938), 251-4; D.S. Rice, *Studies in Islamic metalwork. II*, in *BSOAS*, xv/1 (1935), 66-79; idem, *An unpublished "Mosul" ewer dated 627/1229*, in *BSOAS*, xv/2 (1953), 229-32; idem, *Inlaid brasses from the workshop of Ahmad al-Dhakī*

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al-Mawsūfī, in *Ars orientalis*, ii (1957); U. Scerrato, *Oggetti metallici di età Islamica in Afghanistan, II: Il Ripostiglio di Maimana*, in *AIUON*, N.S. xiv/2, Naples 1964; A.S. Melikian Chirvani, *Œuvres inédites de l'époque de Qā'itbāy*, in *Kunst des Orients*, vi/2 (1969), 119-24; B. Marshak, *Bronze ewer from Samarkant*, in A.A. Ivanov and S.S. Sorokin (eds.), *Srednyaya Aziya i Iran* ("Central Asia and Iran"), Leningrad 1972, 61-90 (with English summary); Abu 'l Faraj al-'Ush, *A bronze ewer with a high spout in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, in *Islamic Art in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, ed. R. Ettinghausen, New York 1972, 191 ff.; J. Carswell, *Six tiles*, in *ibid.*, 101 ff. For a systematic discussion of the development of Islamic ewers with illustrations, see E. Baer, *Metal work in Islamic art and civilization* (forthcoming).

(EVA BAER)

ICHTHYOLOGY [see SAMAK].**İÇOĞLAN** [see İÇOĞHLANĪ].

IDRĪS B. AL-ḤASAN, 'IMĀD AL-DĪN, the last great exponent of the Ismā'īlī *dā'wa* [q.v.] in Yaman, came from a prominent al-Walīd family of Kuraysh which headed the Mustā'li-Tayyibī *dā'wa* since the beginning of the 7th/13th century. He was born in 794/1392 in the fortress of Shibām, a high peak of Mount Harāz and a stronghold of the Ismā'īlīs. In 832/1428 he succeeded his uncle 'Alī b. 'Abd Allāh as the nineteenth *dā'ī*. Besides being a versatile author, he was also a politician and a warrior; he fought several battles against the Zaydīs of Ṣā'da, thereby regaining control of several Ismā'īlī fortresses. He died on 19 Dhu 'l-Ḳa'da 872/10 June 1468.

He is considered the most celebrated historian of the *dā'wa*. His three historical works are the main sources for the history of the Ismā'īlīs from the 5th/11th century until the second half of the 9th/15th century. The first, *Uyūn al-akhbār*, in seven volumes, is the most comprehensive work on the history of the Ismā'īlī *imāms* and the Fāṭimid dynasty. It also contains valuable information on the beginning of the *dā'wa* in Yaman and on the Ṣulayhids [q.v.]. The second work, *Nuḥat al-afkār*, in two volumes, deals with the Ismā'īlī history in Yaman, especially after the collapse of the Ṣulayhids, until the year 853/1449, and is considered to be the most important source for the three-hundred-year history of the *dā'wa* there. The third work, entitled *Rawdat al-akhbār*, is a continuation of the preceding work, wherein the events are brought up to the year 870/1465. Both the latter works are of great importance, since they deal with contemporary events and shed light on an obscure period of Yamanī history.

In addition to panegyrics of the *imāms* and the *dā'īs*, his poetic *Diwān* contains some historical information. His work on Ismā'īlī doctrine entitled *Zahr al-mā'ānī* is regarded as the highest achievement on *ḥakā'ik* [q.v.] ever reached by the Yamanī *dā'wa*. He also composed several refutations of Sunnī, Zaydī and Mu'tazilī doctrines. Most of his works have survived and have been preserved in private collections.

Bibliography: The main biographical sources are the author's own works mentioned above; see also Ismā'īl b. 'Abd al-Rasūl al-Madjdī, *Fihrist*, ed. 'Alī Naḳī Munzawī, Tehran 1966, 34, 44, 73-7, 85, 97, 103, 150-1, 239-42, 270, 275-7; for a detailed description of his works and sources see Ismail Poonawala, *Bibliography of Ismā'īlī literature*, Malibu, Calif. 1977, 169-75.

(I. POONAWALA)

IDRĪS B. AL-ḤUSAYN B. ABĪ NUMAYY, ABŪ 'AWN, Sharīf of Mecca in the early 11th/17th century. He was born in 974/1566, and became *Sharīf* and governor of the Ḥijāz in 1011/1602-3 after his brother Abū Tālib and in conjunction with his nephew Muḥsin. This division of power ended, however, in a fierce internal family dispute, apparently over Idrīs's retinue and followers (*khuddām*), and in 1034/1624-5 the family deposed Idrīs from the governorship of the Ḥijāz in favour of Muḥsin. The conflict was resolved by a truce, during the time of which Idrīs promised to leave Mecca altogether. He now fell ill, and died and was buried at Yaḥyā in the Ḍjābal Shammar (17 Ḍjumādā II 1034/25 February 1625). Muḥibbī quotes extensively from the eulogistic poetry addressed to him in his heyday of power.

Bibliography: The main biographical notice is in Muḥibbī, *Khulāsat al-aṭhar*, Cairo 1284/1867-8, i, 380-4; see also 'Uṭhmān b. Bishr al-Nadjdī, *Umwān al-madjd fī ta'rīkh Nadjd*, Riyadh 1385-8/1965-8, i, 32; Aḥmad b. Zaynī Dahlān, *Khulāsat al-kalām fī bayān umarā' al-balad al-ḥarām*, Cairo 1305/1887-8, 64-6; Ziriklī, *al-A'lām*, i, 266.

(ED.)

AL-IDRĪSĪ, ḌJAMĀL AL-DĪN ABŪ ḌJA'FAR MUHAMMAD, B. 'ABD AL-'AZĪZ B. ABĪ 'L-KĀSĪM (d. 649/1251), upper Egyptian author of Moroccan background who wrote, under the Ayyūbid sultan al-Malik al-Kāmil, his monograph on the monuments of Ḍjīza (Gīza), the *K. Aneṣār 'uluw al-aḍrām fī 'l-kaṣf 'an asār al-aḥrām*. The oldest extant version of this text is preserved in a copy commissioned by the Ottoman philologist 'Abd al-Ḳādir b. 'Umar al-Baḥdādī (d. 1093/1682) [q.v.], who compiled—on the basis of Idrīsī's writing—his own *K. Maḳṣad al-kirām fī 'aḍjā'ib al-aḥrām*.

Idrīsī's tract on the Pyramids is distinguished from the copious earlier and later writings on the subject by its systematic and concise structure, its comprehensiveness and the rigorous application of the techniques and standards of *ḥadīth* scholarship to his presentation. Each of the six chapters of the book is a complete short monograph. Ch. 1 deals with the genre of the pagan '*aḍjā'ib*' and their compatibility with the tenets of Islam; considerable space is devoted to the question why the Pyramids are not, or are only summarily, mentioned in the Qur'ān. Idrīsī vigorously defends the protection of the Pharaonic monuments. He names as witnesses for his standpoint the *Ṣahāba* who wrote pious graffiti on the Pyramids, settled and died in Ḍjīza in the shadow of these pagan structures and "whose hands were not stretched out to them (sc. the Pyramids) in bad intent" (ms. Munich, Aumer 417, fol. 32a). He even contrives to declare Ḍjīza, by virtue of the *Ṣahāba*'s presence, a "holy land" (*arḍ mukaddasa*), and ranks the *ziyāra* to these '*aḍjā'ib*'—tokens of God's majesty and warning—as obligations incumbent upon every scholar coming to the area (*ṭalab al-'aḍjā'ib*). More than once the book betrays signs of a strong local pro-Egyptian, quasi-Shu'ūbī bias: Idrīsī takes up the *topos* of the legendary intelligence of the Egyptians and skilfully intertwines it, firstly with the tradition (from a *Kūṭāb Mas'ūsūn al-Rāhib*) that the dust of Ḍjīza and of Anṣīnā/ Antinoe, another old Egyptian sanctuary, constitute a talisman which gives the people of Egypt their unique mental gifts; and secondly with the role of Hermes [see HIRMIZ], whom he introduced as the Greek warden of sagacity and wisdom, apart from his

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function as one builder of the Pyramids. In the late 13th and the 14th century, we observe the dramatic widening of this chasm between iconoclastic Muslim zealots and the moderates of Idrīsī's kind who point at the unadulterable place of these 'adīā'ib within Muslim *Heilsgeschichte*.

In chs. 2 to 6, Idrīsī gives valuable data on the sites of Dīza, many of which are not repeated by later compilers. He gives a detailed description, also architectural, of the way the traveller takes from the Bāb Zuwayla, the south gate of the Fātimid city of Cairo, to the Pyramids. He mentions all the holders of high office who, between the days of al-Ma'mūn and his own, came to the Pyramids, often in search for treasures, *maṭālib*, as the Egyptians say. The Fātimid period saw the apogee of activities around the Pyramids; in al-Afdal b. Badr al-Djāmālī's days fires were lit on top of the Great Pyramid in certain nights. Idrīsī gives a list of contemporary scholars who saw, or wrote on, the Pyramids, among them Ibn al-Djāwzi, 'Abd al-Laṭīf al-Baghdādī (whose description of the Pyramids and the Sphinx he faithfully reproduces) and Ibn Mammātī (who composed a book on the Pyramids which Idrīsī counts among his sources), but also, *min ghayr ahl al-kibla* "from among the non-Muslims", the envoy of Frederick II to al-Kāmil (Count Thomas of Acerra?), who showed great zeal in deciphering a Latin inscription on the Pyramid of Cheops.

Idrīsī devotes extensive space to the controversial issue whether the Pyramids were built before or after the Deluge. He presents the arguments of those who held the latter position (among them a Jewish author who claims Aristotle as builder of the two great Pyramids), yet in an uncompromising fashion refutes their theories for the other, antediluvian, even pre-Adamite, theory. Unfortunately, the sphinx, *Abu 'l-Hawl* [q.v.], is given only passing mention. Too many stories circulated about it, as he complains.

Bibliography: Brockelmann, I, 478-9, S I, 879 f.; Hādjīrī Khalīfa, *Kashf al-zunūn*, i, 1833, 482, § 1412; U. Haarmann, *Die Sphinx. Synkretistische Volksreligiosität im spätmittelalterlichen islamischen Ägypten*, in *Saeculum* (1978), passim; idem, *Der Schatz im Haupte der Sphinx, in Die islamische Welt zwischen Mittelalter und Neuzeit*, Beirut 1979, passim.

(U. HAARMANN)

AL-'IDWĪ AL-HAMZĀWĪ, ḤASAN, one of the principal protagonists of the events preceeding the British occupation of Egypt in 1882, was born in the village of 'Idwa near Maghāghā in al-Minya province, Upper Egypt in 1221/1806.

He studied at al-Azhar [q.v.] and taught there from 1242/1826-7 onwards. He was a man of considerable wealth, which allowed him to spend generously on pious works and the publication of his writings. However, his inability adequately to regulate his financial affairs led to solvency problems and to a case raised against him in Court by the owner of the printing press, al-Maṭba'a al-Kāstiliyya, where he had most of his books printed (cf. al-Afūkātū Kātīskī (ed.), *Risāla... 'an al-da'wā allatī bayn... Mūsā Kāstīlī wa 'l-Shaykh Ḥasan al-'Idwī*, Cairo 1287/1870-1). In these works, which are listed in Brockelmann, *GA*, II, 486, S II, 729, he concerns himself mainly with *fikh* and related issues, while in addition he wrote on *ḥadīth*, *tawhīd* and *taṣawwuf*. His writings pertaining to the latter field reflect his adherence to al-Shādhiliyya order [q.v.]. He had been initiated into various branches of this *ṭarīqa*, amongst others into al-'Afīfiyya [see AL-'AFĪFĪ above].

He was among the religious notables who actively supported the Khedive Ismā'īl in his efforts to counter the danger of increasing international control, and played a significant role in the events preceeding the Khedive's deposition in 1879.

His role during the 'Urābī [q.v.] insurrection, when he sided with the 'Urābiyyūn and publicly demanded the deposition of the Khedive Tawfīk, caused his arrest following the British occupation of Cairo in September 1882. He was set free in the course of the subsequent court proceedings against those involved in the insurrection, on condition that he return to his native village of 'Idwa. He died in Cairo on 17 Ramaḍān 1303/19 June 1885 and was buried in the now-demolished mosque which had been constructed by him near the mosque of al-Ḥusayn (cf. 'Alī Mubārak, *Khiṭat*, v, 48) and close to the newly-erected mosque named after him, where his shrine may be found today (cf. the monthly *al-Muslim*, xix (Cairo 1969), 9, 4).

Bibliography: For biographies, see 'Alī Mubārak, *Khiṭat*, xiv, 37, where al-'Idwī's role in the 'Urābī insurrection is omitted (cf. G. Baer, *Studies in the social history of modern Egypt*, Chicago-London 1969, 243); Zakī Muḥammad Mudjāhid, *al-A'lām al-sharīfiyya*, Cairo 1950, ii, 98; Muḥammad al-Bashīr Zāfir al-Azharī, *al-Yawākīt al-thamīna fī a'yān madhhab 'ālim al-Madīna*, Cairo 1324-5/1906-7, i, 126 f.; Khayr al-Dīn al-Ziriklī, *al-A'lām*, ii, 214. For additional biographical data, see Ilyās al-'Ayyūbī, *Tārīkh Miṣr fī 'l-aḥd al-Khidiw Ismā'īl Bāghā min sanat 1863 ilā sanat 1879*, Cairo 1923, i, 42 f.; and A.M. Broadley, *How we defended Arabi and his friends*, London 1884, 365 ff., 369 f. On his *ṭarīqa* allegiance, see Muḥammad Zakī Ibrāhīm, *Dalīl al-mudjmal ilā 'l-ṭarīqa al-Muḥammadiyya al-Shādhiliyya*, Cairo 1969, 49. For al-'Idwī's role in the events referred to in the article, see A. Schölch, *Ägypten den Ägyptern. Die politische und gesellschaftliche Krise der Jahre 1879-1882 in Ägypten*. Zürich-Freiburg i.Br., n.d. *passim*, where further references may be found.

(F. DE JONG)

İKĀ' (form IV from *w-k-*), literally "to let fall" the wand (*kaḍīb*) in order to mark the rhythm in singing, a term denoting musical metrics or "rhythm" in the sense of measuring the quantity of notes. The early Islamic *ikā'* can be considered as a forerunner of mediaeval European mensura. Based on oriental practices inherited by the Arabs, it shows elements of Greek *rhythmos* and similarities to Indian *tāla*. According to Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Urmawī, the roots of *ikā'* go back to Sāsānid Iran, where Indian musical presence is attested.

The internal structure of *ikā'* is obviously of Arab origin, being built up in analogy to the prosodic rules of Arab poetry. One *ikā'* consists of two "cycles" (*adwār*), each of them being composed of several "basic" notes (*uṣūl*) and a pause (*fāṣila*). In modifying the basic notes, the musician gets at the metrical patterns of the chosen "form" (*djins*) of *ikā'*. The early music schools knew seven or eight forms, namely *al-thakīl al-awwal*, *al-thakīl al-thānī*, *al-ramal*, *al-hazādī* and their "quick" (*khafīf*) forms.

Al-Khalīl b. Aḥmad (d. 175/791), author of a lost *Kitāb al-İkā'*, is regarded as the "inventor" of this science. Citations in later sources or original texts give information about the *ikā'*-theories of more than ten authors up to the 5th/11th century, the most important being al-Fārābī, who dedicated two chapters of his *Kitāb al-Mūsīqī al-kabīr* and two remarkable monographs to this subject.



The *ikā'* tradition of the Mawṣilī school, preserved in the *Kitāb al-Aghānī* of Abū 'l-Faraj al-Iṣbahānī, persisted for a long time in Spain, whilst the development in the Eastern caliphate had already given birth to more elaborate systems. The metres described by Sa'ī al-Dīn al-Urmawī (d. 693/1294) led to the basic musical practice of the last "international" school of 'Abd al-Qādir al-Marāghī (d. 838/1435) as well as to the *uṣūl*, *awzān*, *durūb* or *adwār* (*al-ikā'*) of the succeeding local traditions in Iran (disappearing there in the 12th/18th century), in Turkey (where practice and theory continues up to our own days) and in the Arab countries (where the late 19th and the early 20th centuries have brought a revival of local metrical forms).

Bibliography: Almost all Arabic, Persian and Turkish musical treatises and most encyclopaedias dealing with music contain a chapter on *ikā'*. For its early Arabian theory, see F. Dieterici, *Die Propädeutik der Araber im 10. Jahrhundert*, Berlin 1865, 112-17; H.G. Farmer, *Sa'adyah Gaon on the influence of music*, London 1943, 78-89; A. Shiloah, *L'épître sur la musique des Ikhwān al-Safā'*, in *REL*, xxxiv (1966), 176-8; E. Neubauer, *Die Theorie vom iqā'*, I: Übersetzung des *Kitāb al-Iqā'āt* von Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī, in *Oriens*, xxi-xxii (1968-9), 196-232; H. Avenary, *The Hebrew version of Abū l-Salt's treatise on music*, in *Yawal* (Jerusalem), iii (1974), 68-71. For later Arabian theories and modern practice, see R. d'Erlanger, *La musique arabe*, Paris 1930-59. For Turkish forms, see Suphi (Ezgi), *Nazarî ve ameli Türk musikisi*, Istanbul 1933-53; H.-P. Seidel, *Studien zum uṣūl "devrî kebîr" in den peşrev der Mevlevî*, in *Mitteilungen der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Musik des Orients*, xi (1972-3), 7-69; S. Heper, *Türk musik-isinde usuller*, in *Musiki mecmuası*, Istanbul, no. 344-7 (June-Sept. 1978).

(E. NEUBAUER)

IKHTISĀN, MUHAMMAD ṢADR 'ALĀ', secretary and author under the Dihlī sultanate.

He was the son of Ahmad Hasan, a native of Dihlī, and entered his ancestral profession of *dabīr* or secretary in the *Divān al-Inshā'* or royal chancery some time towards the close of the Khaldjī period. On his accession to the throne in 720/1320, Sultan Ghiyāth al-Dīn Tughluq Shāh raised him to the position of *Dabīr-i khāṣṣ* in recognition of his learning whilst he was still in his early twenties, and in this capacity he accompanied the sultan on an expedition to Bengal. After the conquest of Bengal, the sultan, on his way back to Dihlī, invaded the independent territory of Tirhut, seized it and entrusted its charge to Ahmad Yalbugha. In Tirhut, Ikhtisān fell ill because of the overwhelming heat and was confined to bed for quite a long time; during this illness he translated a Sanskrit romance into ornate Persian, completing it in 725/1325, and calling it the *Basāṭin al-uns*.

The *Basāṭin al-uns* shows Ikhtisān's mastery of the Persian language. It contains an introduction giving us information about his own career and the grandeur of sultan Muhammad b. Tughluq, so that this introduction is a document of considerable historical significance, supplementing Baranī's *Ta'rikh-i Firūz Shāhī* with regard to the radical views of Sultan Muhammad b. Tughluq. Like Baranī, Ikhtisān also belonged to the sultan's faction and subscribed to his rationalist views about religion and society. Being an intellectual, well-versed in Islamic sciences, the sultan emphasised the need for re-interpreting the Islamic *Sharī'a* according to the

requirement of the time. The orthodox 'ulamā' opposed the sultan, whilst liberal thinkers like Ikhtisān supported him in this respect; Ikhtisān calls Muhammad b. Tughluq Nu'mān-i Thānī, while the orthodox Sūfis and 'ulamā' condemned him as a tyrant and oppressor (*djabbār* and *kahhār*).

On Muhammad b. Tughluq's death, his confidants were either killed or thrown into jail. Fortunately, Ikhtisān happened to be in Iran at that time, having been sent there by the late sultan as an ambassador to the Ilkhānīd Court. He may have got information of his patron's death and the accession of Sultan Firūz Shāh III to the throne (752/1351) in Multān, then a border city. It was there that he fell ill and died after a short illness. Thus Ikhtisān escaped imprisonment, while Baranī, the author of the *Ta'rikh-i Firūz Shāhī* underwent it as a result of the reaction against Muhammad b. Tughluq's policies.

Bibliography: Rieu, *Catalogue of the Persian manuscripts in the British Museum*, ii; Ikhtisān, *Basāṭin al-uns*, ms. British Museum Add. 7717; Sayyid Muhammad Mubārak Kirmānī, known as Mīr Khurd, *Siyar al-awliyā*, Delhi 1302/1885; Muhammad Bihāmad-Khānī, *Ta'rikh-i Muḥammadi*, ms. British Museum, Or. 137.

(I.H. SIDDIQUI)

IKHTIYĀRIYYA, the élite or veterans of an Ottoman guild or army unit (*odjak*).

Ikhtiyār, "choice" in Arabic, had acquired the meaning of "old" both in Turkish and in modern Arabic, and thus came to designate the chosen and the elders of certain units, two attributes which in traditional society were virtually identical. The *odjak ikhtiyārī* in Ottoman Egypt consisted of retired officers and veterans of the *odjaks*, and their function was mainly ceremonial and advisory. They were headed by a *bāsh ikhtiyār*. In the guilds the informal group of *ikhtiyāriyya* was also designated by a large variety of other similar terms (cf. Baer, *Egyptian guilds*, 53, and *Structure of Turkish guilds*, 183). There were no rules to determine when and under what conditions an *usta* became a member of this group. Similarly, its members had no well-defined tasks. Originally, as long as *futuwwa* traditions survived in the guilds, they played an important role in the ceremonies of initiation. Later, it was their principal function to support the head of the guild in his relations with the authorities and thus to demonstrate that he was acting in the guild's name. It was upon their recommendation that the head of the guild was appointed by the *kādī*, and the chief assistant of the *ketkhudā* [q.v.] of the Turkish guilds, the *yigit bashī*, was chosen from among them, and apparently by them, but their choice had to be confirmed by the authorities.

In 19th century Egypt, the traditional term for veteran masters in the guilds was replaced by the term 'umda (pl. 'umad), but the character and functions of this group remained the same. Documents from that period show that they participated in the control of prices of comestibles and the distribution of the tax burden among the members of the guilds.

Bibliography: H. Thorning, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis des islamischen Vereinswesens*, Berlin 1913, 113-14, 233-5; S. Shaw, *Ottoman Egypt in the 18th century*, Cambridge, Mass. 1962, 21, 30-5; idem, *Ottoman Egypt in the age of the French Revolution*, Cambridge, Mass. 1964, 38-40; G. Baer, *Egyptian guilds in modern times*, Jerusalem 1964, 53, 65-6; idem, *The structure of Turkish*

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guilds and its significance for Ottoman social history, in *Proceedings of the Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities*, iv, 183-4, 186.

(G. BAER)

IKLĪL AL-MALIK is the melilot, *Melilotus officinalis* (Leguminosae) (Greek μελίλωτος, French "mélilot", German "Honigklee"), a plant of the Papilionaceae family, of which about 16 kinds are or were used as medicine. The Arabic term ("royal crown") is a rendering of Syriac *k'ṭil malkā*; more infrequently-used synonyms are *nafal*, *hantam*, *shadjarat al-hubb* ("love-tree"), etc. In general, distinction is made between the yellow-blossomed plants, which grow one m. high, and the white-blossomed plants growing still higher. Both are slender biennial herbs which are indigenous to uncultivated lands in Europe and Asia, but not in the North. One of these kinds—or still another one?—is the *iklīl al-malik al-mu'akrab* "scorpion-like melilot", thus known because of the form of its blossom-pods which resemble the tail of a scorpion. Certain roots, introduced from Syria into the Arab West under the name *'irḳ al-hayya* ("serpent's root") and used there as antidote against poisonous snakebites, are said to be roots of the melilot. Finally, it may be remarked that the plant was known in Arabic Spain under the Romance name *kurunilla* (= *coronilla*, cf. F.J. Simonet, *Glosario de voces ibéricas y latinas* . . ., Madrid 1888, 135 f.). The Arab translators describe it, of course, under *mālīlūtus*.

In conformity with its Greek name, it was already known in antiquity that the melilot is a honey-producing plant. The Arabs adopted its therapeutic use largely from the Greeks. The aromatic herb was—and still is—used in compresses to soften and ripen hot, hard boils and all kinds of calluses. In warm compresses it is also useful for articular pains, if before a successful "purification" of the body takes place (through purging, blood-letting and vomiting). Together with other ingredients, the melilot cures stomach, ear and headaches. Taken internally, it procures the discharge of urine, menstruation and the foetus, and mitigates the irritation of itching with diseases of the testicles.

Bibliography: A full chapter on *iklīl al-malik* is given in A. Dietrich, *zum Drogenhandel im islamischen Ägypten*, Heidelberg 1954, 49-51. See further Dioscorides, *De materia medica*, ed. M. Wellmann, ii, Berlin 1906, 52 f. (= lib. iii, 40); *La "Materia medica" de Dioscorides*, ii (Arab. tr. Iṣṭafan b. Baṣīl), ed. Dubler and Terès, Tetuán 1952, 258; Rāzī, *Hāwī*, xx, Haydarābād 1387/1967, 125 f. (no. 140); *Die pharmakolog. Grundsätze des Abu Mansur* . . . Harawī, tr. A. Ch. Achundow, Halle 1893, 150, 340; Ibn al-Djazzār, *ʿItimād*, ms. Ayasofya 3564, fol. 12b; Ibn Sīnā, *Kānūn*, Būlāk, i, 243; Bīrūnī, *Ṣaydala*, ed. H.M. Sa'īd, Karachi 1973, Arab. 62 f., Engl. 41; Ibn Bīklārīsh, *Musta'īnī*, ms. Naples, Bibl. Naz. iii, F. 65, fol. 12b; Ghāfiqī, *al-Adwiyā al-mufrada*, Ms. Rabat, Bibl. Gén. k 155 i, fol. 21a-22a; Ibn Hubal, *Mukhtārāt*, Haydarābād 1362, ii, 20; Anonymous [Abu 'l-Abbās al-Nabātī Ibn al-Rūmiyya?] ms. Nuruosmaniye 3589, fols. 99b-100a (with precise description of the plant); Ibn al-Bayṭār, *Djāmi'*, Būlāk 1291, 50 f., tr. Leclerc, no. 128; Yūsuf b. 'Umar, *Mu'tamad*, ed. M. al-Sakkāḥ, Beirut 1395/1975, 6; Ibn al-Kuffī, *'Umda*, Haydarābād 1356, i, 211, cf. H.G. Kircher, *Die "einfachen Heilmittel" aus dem "Handbuch der Chirurgie" des Ibn al-Quff*, Bonn 1967, no. 3;

Suwaydī, *Simāt*, ms. Paris ar. 3004, fols. 10a, 13-14; 164a, 3-8; Barhebraeus, *The abridged version of "The Book of simple drugs" of . . . al-Ghāfiqī*, ed. Meyerhof and Sobhy, Cairo 1932, no. 30; Dāwūd al-Anṭākī, *Tadhkira*, Cairo 1371/1952, i, 55; I. Löw, *Die Flora der Juden*, ii, 1924, 465 f.; M. Asín Palacios, *Glosario de voces romances* . . ., Madrid-Granada 1943, no. 168.

(A. DIETRICH)

IKRĀH (A.), a legal term denoting "duress". The jurists distinguish two kinds: unlawful (*ikrāh ghayr maṣrūr*), and lawful (*ikrāh bi-hakk*). Only the first of these is recognised by the Ḳur'ān (*lā ikrāh fi 'l-dīn*, II, 256), and has legal effects.

Unlawful duress may be of two degrees, being grave (*ikrāh tāmm* or *muladjiḍī*) if it involves severe bodily harm, or slight (*ikrāh nāqis* or *ghayr muladjiḍī*) if it only involves verbal threats or minor buffets. Lawful duress, which has no legal effect, may take the form, for example, of a judge exerting duress on a debtor to discharge his debt by selling property surplus to his personal needs.

The authorities differ regarding the degree of validity in contracts agreed under duress, but in general the effect of duress in civil law is to make a declaration voidable by *khiyār*, i.e. the injured party has the right unilaterally either to cancel or to ratify the contract. In criminal law, the effect of duress is to diminish responsibility to the point of removing the penal sanction and making the act itself allowable; thus drinking wine under threat of death or mutilation is permissible.

Consequently, the attestation of absence of duress is an important element in the drafting of deeds of sale and other legal documents involving contractual obligations, and such absence of duress may be declared in phrases such as *bi-lā ikrāh wa-lā idjbār*.

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(R.Y. EBIED and M.J.L. YOUNG)

ILĀHĪ ERA, also known as *Ta'rikh-i Ilāhī* "Divine Era", was introduced by the Mughal Emperor Akbar in 992/1584. The first year of this era was the year of Akbar's accession, 963/1555-6, and it was a solar year beginning with Nawrūz (the day of vernal equinox, about 20 March). The names of the months were the same as those of the ancient Persian calendar. The number of days in a month varied from 29 to 32. The calculations were made, and rules for the era drawn up, by Faṭḥ Allāh Shīrāzī. Abu 'l-Faḍl justified the introduction of Ilāhī era on the ground that the Islamic lunar era, being ancient, should be replaced by some other era commencing from a recent epoch-making event. As the accession of Akbar was such an event, so the Ilāhī era was set to commence from that date. The Ilāhī era made it possible to keep a regular account of the officers' allowances, of book-keeping and of audit. In 1069/1658-9, Awrangzib [*q.v.*] abolished the observation of the Nawrūz festival, but did not prohibit the use of the Ilāhī months in the official records. He ordered that the *hidjra* months and years should be written before the Ilāhī months. In 1079/1668-9 he prohibited the publication of almanacs, but the officials protested



that without the use of almanacs it was not possible to follow the Ilāhī calendar properly; and some discrepancy between the actual vernal equinox and the initial day of the official solar year gradually appeared in course of time. Mirzā Rādjā Dī'ā'ī Singh's *zīd-jī Muḥammad Shāhī* in the next century was an attempt to evolve a new solar calendar for official use, based largely on the same principles as the Ilāhī calendar.

Bibliography: Abu 'l-Faḍl, *Akbar-nāma*, iii, Bibl. Ind., Calcutta 1873-87; idem, *A'in-i Akbarī*, i, Bibl. Ind., Calcutta 1867-77; Muḥammad Ḥāshim Kh^{afī} Khān, *Muntakhab al-lubāb*, Bibl. Ind., Calcutta 1860-74; S.H. Hodivala, *Historical studies in Mughal numismatics*, The Numismatic Society of India, Calcutta 1923; see also TA'RĪKH.

(M. ATHAR ALI)

ĪLĀK, the region of Transoxania lying within the great northwards bend of the middle reaches of the Jaxartes river and to the south of the right-bank affluent the Āhangarān (Russian form, Angren) river. It thus lay between the provinces of Shāsh [see TASHKENT] on the northwest and Farghāna [q.v.] on the east. The Arabic and Persian geographers of the 3rd-5th/9th-11th centuries describe it as a flourishing province, with its mountains producing silver and salt. They give the names of many towns there, the chief one being Tūnkāth, whose ruins have been identified by Soviet archaeologists 50 miles (90 km.) from modern Tashkent.

In early Islamic times, Īlāk lay on the frontiers between the abode of Islam and the pagan Turkish steppes. During the Sāmānid period and just afterwards, its local princes (given the title of *dihkān*) enjoyed considerable prestige, and minted their own coins during the period of Sāmānid collapse, e.g. in 388/998 and 399/1008-9. The author of the *Hudūd al-'ālam* describes the people of Īlāk as adherents of "those who wear white", presumably the supporters of the "veiled prophet" al-Muḥanna' [q.v.], whose rising took place in the late 2nd/8th century. This information may be anachronistic for his own time, but we do read that in the period of the Sāmānid amīr Naṣr b. Aḥmad (301-31/914-43) the local *dihkān* was sympathetic to the Ismā'īlī propaganda current then.

Bibliography: Le Strange, *The lands of the eastern Caliphate*, 482-3; Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*, 162, 169-75, 233, 243, 307; *Hudūd al-'ālam*, tr. Minorsky, 117, 356-7.

(C.E. BOSWORTH)

ILĪČPUR [see ELIČPUR, above].

ILLAYSH, MUHAMMAD B. AḤMAD B. MUHAMMAD, onetime Mālīkī *muftī* of Egypt and one of the principal protagonists in the events preceeding the British occupation of Egypt in 1882. He was born in Cairo in Raddjāb 1217/October-November 1802 into a family of Moroccan extraction. After a period of study at al-Azhar [q.v.] from 1232/1816-7 until 1245/1829-30, he was engaged in teaching at this institution, as well as at the Ḥusayn mosque. In 1270/1854 he was appointed to the office of *shaykh al-sāda al-Mālīkiyya* [q.v.] in succession to Muḥammad Ḥubaysh, and remained in office until the end of his life.

Concomitantly, he held supreme leadership of a *Shādhiliyya* [q.v.] *ṭarīqa*, that of al-'Arabīyya, in which position notable Azharī scholars such as Muḥammad al-Amīr al-Kabīr and Muḥammad al-Amīr al-Ṣaghīr had been his predecessors.

However, the mystical conception of Islam to which he must have adhered is only incidentally

manifest in his writings—the scope of which encompasses the majority of the fields of traditional Muslim learning—such as in his *Fath al-'alī 'l-mālik fi 'l-fatwā 'alā madhhab al-Imām Mālik*, Cairo 1319/1901-2, i, 5, where he supports the doctrine of *al-nūr al-muḥammadī* [q.v.]. He was opposed to the reforms introduced at al-Azhar by its *shaykh* Muḥammad al-Mahdī al-'Abbāsī. During the campaign for removal of the latter from office—which resulted in the appointment of Muḥammad al-Imbābī as *shaykh al-Azhar*—Muḥammad 'Illaysh became the favourite candidate of the Azharī 'ulamā' and of the students for succession of al-'Abbāsī. His involvement with the 'Urābiyyūn [see 'URĀBĪ], his active support of their cause and his effort to mount resistance against the British invasion—he was among the first to call for the proclamation of *qihād*—resulted in his arrest and detention following the British occupation of Cairo in September 1882. He died in prison on 9 Dhu 'l-Hijja 1299/22 October 1882.

Bibliography: Biographies may be found in 'Alī Mubārak, *Khīṭat*, iv, 41-44; Ilyās Zakḥūrā, *Mir'āt al-'aṣr fi ta'rīkh wa-rusūm akābīr riḍāl Miṣr*, i, 196 f.; Khayr al-Dīn al-Ziriklī, *al-'Ālam*, vi, 244; and prefixed to Muḥammad 'Illaysh, *Fath al-'alī 'l-mālik fi 'l-fatwā 'alā madhhab al-Imām Mālik*, 2 vols., Cairo 1319-21/1901-4. See also Abu 'l-Wafā al-Marāghī, *Min a'lām al-Mālīkiyya al-Miṣriyya*, in *al-Hady al-Islāmī*, Bayḍā', viii/1 (March 1969), 76-8. For a short discussion of the position of al-'Arabīyya al-Shādhiliyya under the leadership of Muḥammad 'Illaysh, see F. de Jong, *Turuq and Turuq-linked institutions in 19th century Egypt*, Leiden 1978, 113-14. For additional biographical data, see 'Alī Mubārak, *Khīṭat*, viii, 74; Amin Sāmī, *Takwīm al-Nil*, iii, part 2, 519 f., 921 f.; Muḥammad Raḥīd Ridā, *Ta'rīkh al-Ustādh al-Imām*, i, 133 f.; Aḥmad Shafīk, *Mudhakkirātī fi nisf kam*, i, 152, 178; Muḥammad 'Abd al-Djāwād al-Kāyātī, *Nafhat al-biṣām fi rihlat al-Shām*, Cairo 1319/1901-2, 6 f.; and Sulaymān al-Hanafī al-Zayyātī, *Kanz al-djāwarh fi ta'rīkh al-Azhar*, Cairo n.d., 162 f.

(F. DE JONG)

'ILM AL-AKTĀF [see KATIF].

'ILM AL-HANDASA (A.), geometry. From the 3rd/9th century onwards, the Arabs were introduced to geometry through the translation of Greek works, especially that of Euclid's *Elements*. They then adopted for this science the Greek name under the form *djūmatriya*. Subsequently, they came into contact with the applied geometry of Archimedes, of Hero of Alexandria, and with the Indian *Siddhantas* (in Arabic, *Sind Hind*), and definitively adopted the word *handasa* (borrowed, according to al-Khalīl, from the Persian *andāzah* = measure, size).

In the evolution of geometry among the Arabs, two important periods may be distinguished:

I. The period of translations and of initiation (3rd/9th century).

A. The first place belongs to the *Elements of Geometry* of Euclid (*Kitāb al-Uṣūl* or *K. al-Arkān*), one of the most translated and annotated books. (a) We may mention two translations owed to Ḥadjjādī b. Yūsuf b. Maṭar, one entitled the *Hārūnī*, the other, more precise, known by the name of the *Ma'mūnī*. (b) A translation by Ishāk b. Ḥunayn revised and corrected by Thābit b. Qurra of Harrān (219-88/834-901). (c) al-'Abbās b. Sa'īd al-Djāwarhī (214/829) wrote a commentary on it, including, among other things, a number of figures and particular cases

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added to the first proposition of these *Elements*. (d) A commentary on the fifth proposition by Abū 'Alī Muḥammad b. 'Isā al-Māhānī (between 239 and 270/853-84) comprises 26 figures and is concerned principally with proofs that do not make use of reasoning by absurdity. (e) A commentary by Abū 'l-'Abbās al-Faḍl b. Ḥatīm al-Nayrīzī (d. 310/922-3). (f) A commentary by Abū Dja'far al-Khāzin of Khurāsān (d. 310/922-3). (g) Abū 'l-Wafā' al-Buzdġānī (323-88/934-98) has left an incomplete commentary on it. (h) al-Kindī (184-259/800-73) devotes a *risāla* to the "objectives of the work of Euclid" (*Aghrād K. Uklidis*); he comments here, in particular, that the work is, in reality, a compendium of ancient knowledge set in order and annotated by Euclid, and that one of his followers, Hypsicles, added on the fourteenth and fifteenth propositions.

B. The *Data* (*Mu'tayāt*) of Euclid, translated by Ishāk and revised by Thābit.

We must mention at this point—and we shall have occasion to return to it—the criticisms made of Euclid's postulates by al-Nayrīzī in his *Risāla fi 'l-muṣāḍara al-mashhūra li-Uklidis* "Letter relating to the famous postulate of Euclid"; by al-Hasan b. al-Haytham (354-430/965-1038); by 'Umar al-Khayyām (467-517/1074-1123) in his *Risāla fi sharḥ mā aṣḥala min muṣāḍarāt Uklidis* "Letter explaining some difficulties raised by the postulates of Euclid"; and by Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Tūsī (597-672/1201-74) in his *Tahrīr uṣūl Uklidis* "Restatement of the Elements of Euclid", and his *Tahrīr muṣāḍarāt Uklidis* "Observations on the postulates of Euclid".

C. The *Conic sections* (*al-Kuṭū' al-makhrūṭiyya*) of Apollonius, a work which apparently comprised 8 propositions; the first four were translated, under the supervision of Aḥmad b. Mūsā b. Shākir, by Hilāl b. Abī Hilāl al-Himsī (d. 218/833), and the last three by Thābit b. Kūrā.

D. The *Elements of geometry* of Menelaus. Thābit translated three of its propositions. An unknown translator revised the chapters relating to triangles. The problem of transversals and their applications in the study of conic forms inspired Thābit to compose his work *al-Kawf fi 'l-shakl al-kattā' wa 'l-nisba al-mu'allafa* ("Survey of the transversal and harmonic division"), a work translated into Latin by Gerard of Cremona (*Liber Thabit de figura alchata*). Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Tūsī also made this work the basis of his treatise *Kutāb al-Shakl al-kattā'*, in which he set out to establish the fundamental principles of spherical trigonometry.

E. The work of Pappus (the *Collection of mathematics*), notably a translation by Thābit of his commentary on the Book of Ptolemy relating to the area of the sphere; and his commentary on the tenth proposition of Euclid.

F. The geometrical work of Archimedes: (a) His work *On the sphere and the cylinder*, translated by the Banū Mūsā, later by Thābit and by Ishāk b. Hunayn. A translation by Kusta b. Lūka (299/912) served as the basis for the Hebrew translation of Kalonimos b. Kalonimos (728/1328). (b) *On the squaring of the circle* (*Fī taksīr al-dā'ira; Tarbī' al-dā'ira; Misāhat al-dā'ira*), translated by Thābit and by Hunayn b. Ishāk, a translation revised by Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Tūsī (ed. Hyderabad 1359/1940). (c) The *Lemmata* (*al-ma'khūdhāt*), translated by Thābit and annotated by Abū 'l-Hasan 'Alī b. Aḥmad al-Nasawī (370-431/980-1040); Tūsī makes use of it in his study published in 1940 at Hyderabad. (d) *Measuring the side of a regular heptagon inscribed in a circle* (*tasbī' al-dā'ira*), a work which inspired in particular, Abū Sahl al-Kūhī.

G. The work of Hero of Alexandria, notably the *K. Hall shukūk Uklidis* ("Resolution of doubts concerning Euclid"); and the *K. al-Hiyāl al-rūhāniyya* ("Pneumatics").

We may note, finally, the translation of the *Sindhantās* which familiarised the Arabs with problems of surveying and of the measuring of surfaces and volumes, and in a general manner, with the various applications of geometry.

II. The period of creativity (4th-9th/10th-15th centuries).

The translated material was, as we have noted, progressively annotated, discussed and corrected.

From the 3rd/9th century, but especially after the 4th/10th one, the specific contribution of the Arabs became more important. The latter supplemented the ancient works in a number of disciplines (astronomy, optics, algebra), with new proofs and with the resolution of geometrical problems; new applications came into being, especially in sculpture and in architecture; trigonometry was discovered and codified; important theoretical questions were raised; the authority of ancient masters was contested, and the way was open for the progress of geometry in hitherto unknown directions.

But before reviewing certain of the most celebrated Arab contributions to geometry, here follow, century by century, the authors and the works which may be mentioned:

3rd/9th century: al-Kh'arazmī (d. ca. 232/846), *Bāb al-misāḥa*—al-Djāwharī (214-15/839-30); *Kutāb tafsīr K. Uklidis* "Commentary on the Book of Euclid"; *K. al-Aṣḥkāl allatī zādaha fi 'l-makāla al-ūla min Uklidis* "On the figures that he has added to the first proposition of Euclid"; *Ẓiyādat fi 'l-makāla al-khāmisa min K. Uklidis* "Supplement to the fifth proposition of Euclid", cf. *Fihrist*, Cairo 1348/1930, 379; and Suter, 21.—the Banū Mūsā b. Shākir (Muḥammad, d. 259/873), *Ma'rifat misāhat al-aṣḥkāl al-basīta wa 'l-kuriyya* "Information on the surfaces of plane and spherical figures" (mss. Carullah 1475, 3; 1502, 9; Köprülü, 930, 14; 931, 14; Rampūr 311; Bodl. i, 960); *Muḥaddimat a-makhrūtāt* "Introduction to the conical forms" (mss. Bodl. i, 943, 5; Leiden 979; Sarton 193); *Kismat al-ṣawāyā bi-thalātha aksām mutasāwiya* "Trisection of angles" (cf. *Fihrist*, 379.—al-Māhānī, *Risāla fi 'l-nisba* "Treatise on proportions" (*Fihrist* 379; mss. Bodl. 6009; Paris 3467, 1); *R. fi 'l-mushkil min al-nisba* "Epistle on complex proportions" (ms. Paris 2457, 39); *R. fi 26 shakl min al-makāla al-ūla min Uklidis* (*Fihrist*, 379, Thābit b. Kūrā; see D. above); *K. al-Shakl al-kattā'* (*Fihrist*, 380; mss. Paris 2457, 37; 2467, 13; Esc. 971, 2; Algiers 1446, 5); *K. fi misāhat kaṭ' al-makhrūt alladhi yusammā 'l-mukāfi'* "Surface of the conical form known as the parabola" (mss. Paris 2437, 25; Cairo vi, 197).—al-Battānī (244-317/858-929): we note in particular his contribution to trigonometry and his elegant solutions to problems of spherical trigonometry by means of orthographical projection, solutions known and partially imitated by Regiomontanus (1436-76).

4th/10th century: al-Nayrīzī, *Sharḥ Uklidis* (*Fihrist* 389; S. 363); *R. fi 'l-muṣāḍara al-mashhūra li-Uklidis*.—al-Buzdġānī, *K. fīmā yahtādġ ilayhi al-'ummāl wa 'l-kuttāb min ṣinā'at al-ḥisāb* "Elements of calculus essential for the accountant and the secretary"; 3rd part, *fī a'māl al-misāḥa* "Methods relating to surfaces".—al-Sidjī (358-89/969-99) one of the greatest Muslim geometers, *R. fi ikhrāj al-khuṭūt*



fi 'l-dawā'ir al-mawḍū'a min al-nuḳaṭ al-mu'īāt "In a given circle, to draw certain straight lines through given points" (ms. Paris 2458, 1; Sédillot, *Notices et Extraits*, xiii, 143); *R. fi 'l-ḡawāb 'an al-masā'il allatī su'ila 'anhā fi ba'd al-aḥkāl al-ma'khūḍha min K. al-ma'khūḍhāt li-Arḡhamidis* (ms. Paris 2458, 8; Sédillot 116); *Tahṣīl al-kawānīn al-handasiyya al-mahḍāda* (ms. Paris 2458, 2; Sédillot, 139); al-Sidjī was particularly interested in circles and in conical sections.

5th/11th century: Ibn al-Haytham is well-known for his studies in optics (Problem of Alhazen). Among his geometrical works we note the following (cf. *Uyūn al-anbā'*, ed. Beirut 1377/1957, iii, 154 ff.): *Sharḥ Uṣūl Uḳlīdīs fi 'l-handasa wa 'l-'adad wa-talkhīṣuḥu* ("Commentary and summary of the *Elements* of Euclid"; *K. al-Taḥlīl wa 'l-tarkīb al-handasiyyaynī* ("Analysis and synthesis in geometry"; *Maḳāla fi ḥall shakk, radd*¹⁰⁰ alā Uḳlīdīs fi 'l-maḳāla al-khāmisa kitābih fi 'l-Uṣūl al-riyāḍiyya "Analysis of a doubt, in response to Euclid in the 5th proposition of his work 'Elements of mathematics'"; *Maḳāla fi misāḥat al-muḡjassam al-mukāfi* "On the surface of the paraboloid"; *Maḳāla fi khawāṣṣ al-kaṭ' al-mukāfi* "On the properties of the parabola"; *Maḳāla fi khawāṣṣ al-kaṭ' al-zā'id* "On the properties of the hyperbola"; *Maḳāla fi ḥall shukūk al-maḳāla al-ūlā min K. Uḳlīdīs* "Analysis of doubts concerning the 1st proposition of the Book of Euclid". Let it be added that Ibn al-Haytham, besides his theoretical work, tried to find practical applications for his results. It is sufficient to recall, in this context, the anecdote related by al-Ḳifī (iii, 149, 150) concerning his attempt to construct a barrage on the cataracts of the Nile, near Aswān, with the object of regulating the course of the river.

6th/12th century: 'Umar al-Khayyām, *R. fi sharḥ mā aḥkālā min muṣāḍarāt K. Uḳlīdīs* "Explanation of difficulties raised by the postulates of the Book of Euclid" (mss. Leiden 967; Paris 4946); *Maḳālā fi 'l-ḡabr wa 'l-mukābala* (mss. Leiden 1020; Paris 2458, 7, 2461); in particular, geometrical solutions of second-degree equations.

7th/13th century: Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Tūsī, *R. al-shakl al-kaṭ'ā'*; here he expounds the theory of transversals from which he deduces original connections enabling him to lay the foundations of spherical trigonometry; *Tahrīr 'Uṣūl Uḳlīdīs* "Examination of the *Elements* of Euclid" (mss. Tunis 56R, 58R, Latin tr., Rome 1594); *Tahrīr muṣāḍarāt Uḳlīdīs* (ms. Tunis 4761); the method employed in these studies is adopted by a number of commentators on Euclid, including, especially, Shams al-Dīn al-Samarkandī, *Aḥkāl al-ta'sīs*, and the commentary by Mūsā b. Muḥammad Kādī-zāda al-Rūmī (815/1412) (mss. Tunis 2705, 223R, 2746; Esc. 952, Paris 6853); commentary by Ḥasan b. Muḥammad Nazzām al-Nisābūrī (811/1408) in his *Tawḍīḥ of the Tadhkira* of Tūsī (ms. Tunis 236, copy dating from 860/1398).

9th/15th century: Al-Kāshī (d. 832/1429): *al-Risāla al-muḥīṭiyya fi 'stikhṛādj muḥīt al-dā'ira* "Determination of the perimeter of the circle".

A brief analysis of the contribution of the Muslims towards the progress of geometry:

A. *Analysis*.—1. First one may note, in the guise of introduction to books on various disciplines, a number of geometrical questions, the solution of which is necessary for the explanation of the ideas studied subsequently in these works; this is the case with the opening chapters of treatises on astronomy where the properties of circles drawn on spheres are described in detail and where there are solutions to

problems of distances, volumes of solids, plane or spherical trigonometry.

On the other hand, in spite of the duality of origin of geometry and of arithmetic or of algebra, the two latter being initially discrete sciences, the former of continuous scope, the Muslims, since al-Kh¹⁰¹arazmī, have used algebra for the solving of geometric problems; they have also made use of geometry for the solving of new algebraic problems. It is sufficient, in this context, to recall the solution by al-Kh¹⁰²ayyām of cubic equations by means of intersection of circles, parabolas or hyperbolas; we may also cite al-Māhānī's problem concerning the plane sections of the sphere, which led him to the third-degree equation $x^3 + b^2 = bx^2$.

2. It is impossible to overestimate the importance of the revolution brought about in astronomical calculations, in particular, or in physics, by a sister science of geometry, developed and codified by the Muslims who made of it an independent discipline, sc. trigonometry. Thanks to this new science, a whole range of problems was completely solved, and with a precision depending uniquely on tables (*zīj*) established at an early stage.

In the 3rd/9th century, al-Battānī solved the equation $\sin x = a \cos x$ discovering the formula

$$\sin x = \frac{a}{\sqrt{1+a^2}} \quad (\text{for the arcs of the 1st quadrant}).$$

Ḥabash compiled the table of tangents. In the 4th/10th century, Abu 'l-Wafā' brought real progress to trigonometry. He established the relations: $\sin(a+b) = \sin a \cos b + \sin b \cos a$

$$2 \sin a = 1 - \cos 2a$$

$$\sin 2a = 2 \sin a \cos a$$

$$\sec a = \frac{1}{\cos a} = \sqrt{1 - \tan^2 a}$$

He set out the formula of sines in a spherical triangle:

$$\frac{\sin a}{\sin A} = \frac{\sin b}{\sin B} = \frac{\sin c}{\sin C}$$

Ibn Yūnus (958/1009) author of the Ḥākimī table, demonstrated the formula:

$$\cos a \cos b = \frac{1}{2} [\cos(a+b) + \cos(a-b)],$$

permitting the passage from a sum to a product, an operation which was to be of importance in the logarithmic system of calculation invented later.

In the 6th/12th century, Ḍjābir b. Aflāḥ knew the equation $\cos b = \cos B \sin c$. In short, Arabic trigonometry was already a long-established science when Fibonacci used it, ca. 1220, for the measuring of surfaces and when, ca. 1464, Regiomontanus, putting al-Tūsī's work to good use, composed the first treatise on trigonometry published in Europe in 1485.

3. Geometry was further applied by the Arabs in geodesic measurements, executed to check the ancient proportions and to verify the conclusions of the *Almagest* of Ptolemy (scientific expeditions by the Banū Shakir, ca. 212/827, in the region of Palmyra and Rakka, then in the neighbourhood of Sindjār, the Latin *Singara*, with the object of measuring the earth's inclination). Al-Battānī fixed the geographical coordinates of 310 locations, including 30 in the West; al-Ḥasan al-Marrākūshī gave the coordinates of 135 locations, of which 71 belong to the western Mediterranean. Al-Bīrūnī dealt with the problem of cartography and of the representation, on a plane surface, of the celestial or terrestrial sphere. He reviewed various methods of projection, conical, cylindrical, orthographical or



stereographical, the lines of the sphere being represented by ellipses, parabolas or hyperbolas.

4. "Geometry", wrote the Ikhwān al-Safā, "has as its principal field of application the measurement of surfaces, measurement which is essential for surveyors, accountants, tax agents, landowners, in their various operations or transactions, such as the collection of property tax, the drainage of water-courses, the postal service, etc."

5. An important area in the application of geometry is that of architecture and sculpture; Muslim art, inspired by geometry, invented the extended arch, cupolas resting on regular polygons, corbellings, stalactites, groups of polyhedrons of stucco and light. The work of the sculptor in stone or in stucco was designed by the mathematician.

B. Works.—Among the works of pure geometry written by the Muslims, Suter mentions only two treatises, in the 3rd/9th century the book by the Banū Shākir (*Maʿrifat al-aḥkāl al-bāṣita wa l-kuriyya*), and in the 4th/10th century, the *Geometry* of Abu l-Wafā which has come down to us in a Persian edition owed to one of his pupils (cf. F. Woepcke, in *JA* [1855], 218-56 and 309-59).

However, it is possible to take account of other writings which in our view are of great importance:

The ms. of Thābit b. Qurra mentioned above *Fi misāhat kaṭʿ al-makhrūṭ alladhī yusammā l-mukāfiʿ*, where, following the example of Archimedes, the former uses a method of integral calculus in the quest for the limit of the equivalent on "integral sums" for the determination of the surface of a segment of a parabola, or the volume of a paraboloid revolving around its axis or around any other straight line passing through the focus.

An important fact deserves to be remembered; this is the attitude of a group of Muslim scholars towards the principle of authority and the enormous prestige enjoyed by the name of Euclid since ancient times, a prestige which has not ceased to be immense up to a period close to the present day. In the list which we have presented, it is notable that, since the 3rd/9th century, scholars have not refrained from expressing serious reservations in regard to certain of Euclid's postulates, and in particular the famous 5th postulate concerning parallel lines.

In a closely-argued discussion, they first insist on the fact that Euclid himself, not entirely convinced by his proposition, does not see it as a "first truth" or an axiom, but a postulate which he simply invites the reader to adopt. Thus they attempt to go further and construct the theory of parallels by using other axioms and postulates, and employing the methods of Eudox and Archimedes.

The most remarkable works are those of Djawharī (3rd/9th century), of Abharī, of Nayrīzī (4th/10th century), of Ibn al-Haytham and Khayyām (5th/11th century) and of Tūsī (7th/13th century). These works were translated into Latin and Hebrew; their influence is evident in the work *Commentaries to the introduction of Euclid's elements* by Levi ben Gerson (14th century), in *Rectifier of wrong* by Alfonso (14th-15th century) and in the commentaries on the *Elements* of Euclid by Clavius (16th century).

The demonstration of the 5th postulate by Tūsī (published in Rome in 1594 and in London in 1657) was known to John Wallis (1616-1703) and to Saccheri (1667-1733). The essential point of the demonstration of Khayyām and of Tūsī rests on the possibility of constructing a quadrilateral ABCD (made famous later through the work of Saccheri) such that $AB = CD$, $\angle ABC = \angle DCB$, $\angle BCD = \angle CDA$, thus

entailing that $\angle BAD = \angle ADC$. Three cases are theoretically possible for these angles: they can be right-angles, acute or obtuse. Khayyām and Tūsī concluded that only the first case is really practicable. It is known that subsequently, the basic theorems of non-Euclidian geometry of Lobachevski and of Bolyai rest essentially on the hypothesis of the acute angle; the obtuse-angle hypothesis corresponds to the geometry of Riemann.

In conclusion, it may be said that the studies of the Muslims constituted an important milestone in the sequence of progress of geometry; they posed some essential questions, from a scientific as well as from a philosophical point of view. They had the excellent idea of not limiting geometry to continuous scales. They were remarkably adept at holding the balance between theoretical abstract thought and practical art, i.e. concrete application. If they were to a great extent the disciples of Euclid and of other masters of Greek geometry, they had the courage to criticise the works that they had inherited and to express serious doubts on their subject, and their theoretical scruples were great. They thus prepared the way for the subsequent development of geometry.

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(M. SOUSSI)

‘IMĀD AL-DĪN ‘ALĪ, FAḲĪH-I KIRMĀNĪ, Persian mystical poet of the 8th/14th century, was born at Kirmān about 690/1291-2.

In the *Safā-nāma* he relates that when his father died in 705/1305, he and a brother took over the direction of a *khānākhāh* which had been founded in Kirmān by his father's *shaykh*, Nizām al-Dīn Maḥmūd, for the benefit of the followers of the *kuṭb al-aḳṭāb* Zayn al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Salām Kamūyī. Through this line of mystical tradition, ‘Imād al-Dīn was connected with the teaching of Abū Ḥafṣ ‘Umar al-Suhrawardī [q.v.]. Besides his occupation as the *shaykh* of a convent, he was also a doctor of Islamic law, as his *lakab* suggests. Little reliable information concerning his life can be drawn from the traditional biographies. According to a frequently retold anecdote appearing for the first



time in the *Habīb al-sīyar*, the cat of ‘Imād al-Dīn could imitate his master in the performance of his prayers. The origin of the story can be traced to a line in one of the poems of Hāfiz, which has been interpreted as a reference to a rivalry between the two poets for the favours of the Muzaffarid ruler Shāh Shudjā‘ (cf. Humāyūn-Farrukh, Introduction, 81 ff.). Many panegyric references in the poems of ‘Imād al-Dīn indicate that he was on good terms with the rulers of his age and several of their ministers. His most important patrons were the Muzaffarids. Though Shāh Shudjā‘ favoured him in particular, ‘Imād al-Dīn already wrote poems dedicated to Mubārīz al-Dīn Muhammad. Occasionally, he praised their opponent, Abū Ishāq Indjū of Shīrāz, as well and it is possible that he stayed some time at Shīrāz himself. His poetry was also appreciated at the court of the Īl-Khān Abū Sa‘īd.

Most of ‘Imād al-Dīn’s life was apparently spent at Kirmān where, according to Dawlat-Shāh, he died in 773/1371-2. The alternative, but less probable, date of 793/1391 is mentioned by Takī Kāshī (cf. Sprenger, *Oudh catalogue*, Calcutta 1854, 436-8). The convent and the tomb of ‘Imād al-Dīn were still visited in the late 9th/15th century.

The known works of ‘Imād al-Dīn consist exclusively of poetry. As a pen-name he used the form ‘Imād, or more rarely, ‘Imād-i FaḲīh. The *Dīwān* contains predominantly *ghazals*. His place in the development of the Persian *ghazal* is an interesting one, as he was among the most prominent writers who cultivated the genre during the interval between the lives of Sa‘īd and Hāfiz. The former is named by ‘Imād as an admired predecessor. The latter was a younger contemporary who must have been acquainted with ‘Imād’s work. Not only did ‘Imād and Hāfiz share a number of patrons; their poetry shows that they made use of many similar motives. Listings of these common elements have been made by some modern researchers (e.g. Ibn Yūsuf Shīrāzī, Muhammad Mu‘īn and Humāyūn-farrukh). On the other hand, the style of ‘Imād is clearly distinguishable from that of Hāfiz on account of the former’s greater simplicity of language and the more coherent structure of his *ghazals*. The central theme is the longing of the lover for the transcendental Beloved. Anacreontic and *kalandarī* elements, though not lacking, are only subordinate motives. The mystical intention of ‘Imād’s *ghazals* cannot be mistaken, even in those cases where the poem serves as the prologue to a short panegyric address. The poet used to recite and discuss poems of his own in his *kānākāh*, as Dīāmī tells us in the *Bahārīstān*. From this notice, the conclusion may be drawn that he used them as a tool for this mystical teaching. The *ghazals* of ‘Imād have been analysed by K. Stolz, *Der Dīwān des ‘Imāduddīn FaḲīh*, in *WZKM*, xlix (1942), 31-70.

The second part of ‘Imādī’s literary output consists of a series of *mathnawīyyāt*. Apart from a few very short pieces, there are five poems of an intermediate size:

1. The *Ṣafā’-nāma*, or *Mu’nis al-abrār*, is a didactic poem written in imitation of Nizāmī’s *Makhzan al-asrār*, with which it has the metre *sarī‘* in common. It was completed in 766/1364-5 and dedicated to Shāh Shudjā‘. One of its original features is a description of Shīrāz. The text has been edited by Muhammad Iqbāl in *Oriental College Magazine*, v-viii (1929-32), *passim*.

2. The *Shuhbat-nāma*, or *Tarīkat-i shuhbat-nāma*, in the same metre as the *Būstān* of Sa‘īd, was com-

pleted in 731/1330-1. It was dedicated to the *wazīr* of the Īl-Khān, Ghiyāth al-Dīn Muhammad b. Rashīd al-Dīn Faḍl Allāh. In ten discourses, the manners are described of the rulers, the saints, the students, the scholars, the anchorites, the travellers, the *ahl-i futuwwat*, the beautiful ones, the lovers and the singers and musicians. To each discourse, one or more illustrative stories are added. The seventh chapter has been edited and translated by H.W. Duda, *‘Imāduddīn FaḲīh und die Futuwwa*, in *ArO*, vi (1934), 112-24.

3. The *Mahabbat-nāma-i sāhibdīlān*, a short *mathnawī* preceded by a prose introduction containing the dedication to the Īl-Khānīd *wazīr* Khwājā Takī al-Dīn ‘Irākī. The metre used in the second part is *hazaj-i musaddas-i mahdhūf*. The theme of love, studied here in all the realms of nature, is treated in the form of a series of ten disputations, between the soul and the body as well as between a number of entities which belong to the mineral, the vegetable and the animal kingdom. The illustrative stories, added in each case, deal with famous pairs of lovers (cf. H.W. Duda, *Ferhād und Schīrīn*, Prague 1933, 98-100, where the story of the fifth disputation is discussed). The title of the poem is a chronogram indicating that it was completed in 732/1331-2.

4. The *Tarīkat-nāma*, composed in the same metre as the preceding poem, was completed in 750/1349-50 according to a chronogram hidden in one of the lines, but Humāyūn-Farrukh regards the line as corrupt and dates the work between 754-9, i.e. during one of the last years of the reign of Mubārīz al-Dīn Muhammad, to whom it is dedicated. The subject of the poem is an adaptation of the *Misbāḥ al-hidāya*, the Persian translation by ‘Izz al-Dīn Maḥmūd Kāshānī (died 735/1334-5) of the *‘Awārif al-ma‘ārif* of Abū Ḥafṣ ‘Umar al-Suhrawardī (for a list of the ten chapter headings, see Munzawī, iv, 2994-5).

5. The *Dah-nāma* (in the ms. Aya Sofya no. 4131, dated 841 A.H., the work is called *Nasīhat-nāma*) belongs superficially to a genre of *mathnawīs* in the metre of the preceding poems which consists of collections of ten letters exchanged between an imaginary pair of lovers. ‘Imād has introduced several changes into the conventional pattern: he uses other metres as well, alternates between the forms of the *mathnawī* and the *qaṣīda*, and even deviates from the basic theme by inserting letters to some of his patrons instead of love-letters. See further T. Ganjei, *The genesis and definition of a literary composition, the Dah-nāma* (“Ten love-letters”), in *Isl.*, xlvii (1971), 59-66.

Contrary to the relative oblivion that has become the fate of the works of ‘Imād in later centuries, they seem to have been held in high esteem during his own lifetime and the immediately-following century. Several early manuscripts have been preserved, one of which (Madjilis no. 1030) may be an autograph. Among the writers of the beginning of the 9th/15th century, Bushāk and Ādharī highly praised the poetical talents of ‘Imād.

Bibliography: the *Dīwān-i ‘Imād-i FaḲīh-i Kirmānī* has been edited by Rukn al-Dīn Humāyūn-Farrukh, Tehran 1348/1969, with an extensive introduction; the aforementioned *mathnawīyyāt*, together with a short poem entitled *Humāyūnnāma*, have been edited by the same in *Pandj gāndj*, Tehran 2537/1978; For descriptions of the most important manuscripts, see further Sir G. Ouseley, *Biographical notices of Persian poets*, London 1846, 195-200; Sachau-Ethé,



Catalogue of the Persian manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, Part i, Oxford 1889, cols. 572-3; Maulavi Abdul Muqtadir, *Catalogue. Ellip; Bankipore, Persian poets: Firdausi to Hafiz*, Patna 1908, 217-9; Blochet, *Catalogue des manuscrits persans de la Bibliothèque Nationale*, iii, Paris 1928, 217-8; H.W. Duda, *Ferhād und Shīrīn*, Prague 1933, 191-2; idem, in *ArO*, vi (1934), 113-4; Ibn Yūsuf Shīrāzī, *Fihrist-yi kitābkhāna-yi madrasa-yi 'Alī Sipahsālār*, ii, Tehran 1318/1939, 643-4; idem, *Fihrist-i kitābkhāna-i Maḍlis-i Shūrā-yi millī*, iii, Tehran 1321/1942, 359-63; Ahmed Ateş, *Istanbul kütüphanelerinde farsça manzum eserler*, i, Istanbul 1968, 273-8; *Nuskhahā-yi khatfī*, vi, Tehran 1348/1969, 683; A. Munzawī, *Fihrist-i nuskhahā-yi khatfī-yi fārsī*, iii, Tehran 1350/1971, 1886, 2450 f.; iv, Tehran 1351/1972, 2819, 2985 f., 2990, 2994 f., 3174, 3327; The main biographical sources are Dawlat-Shāh, 254-6; Dīāmī, *Bahārīstān*, Vienna 1846, 101; Khāndamīr, *Ḥabīb al-siyar*, Bombay 1857, iii/2, 37 (see also 'Abd al-Ḥusayn Nawā'ī, *Riḍā-i Kitāb Ḥabīb al-siyar*, Tehran 1324/1945, 83); Amīn Ahmad Rāzī, *Haft iktīm*, Tehran 1340/1961, i, 275-7; Luṭf-'Alī Beg Ādhar, *Ātashkada*, Tehran 1337/1958, 124; Ridā-Kulī Khān Hidāyat, *Riyād al-'arīfīn*, Tehran 1305/1887-8, 109-10; See also Browne, *LHP*, iii, 258-9 and *passim*; Irādī Afshār, *Fihrist-i makālāt-i fārsī*, i, Tehran 1339/1960, 460, 5916. (J.T.P. DE BRUIJN)

'IMĀDĪ is the pen name of a Persian poet of the 6th/12th century whose personal name has not been transmitted. Sometimes the title Amīr is added to it, presumably referring to his prominence as a poet of the court in his own days. Another *nisba* often attached to the name 'Imādī is *Shahriyārī*. The biographical sources interpret the latter differently. According to some, it is derived from the name of a district of Rayy, implying that 'Imādī originated from that area, which is not unlikely. Others, however, have connected it with the founder of the Islamic branch of the Bāwandid dynasty [*q.v.*] of Māzandarān. It is certain, anyhow, that the former *nisba* refers to the poet's allegiance to a member of that family, Sayf al-Dīn 'Imād al-Dīn Farāmūr, designated as *shāh-i Māzandarān* (*Rāhat al-sudūr*, 210), although he cannot be identified definitely with any ruler known from other historical sources (cf. M. Kazwīnī, *Mamduḥ-i 'Imādī*, in *Bst makālāt*, Tehran 1332/1953, ii, 343-51). 'Imādī apparently started his literary career under the protection of this ruler, on whose death he wrote an elegy (*Rāhat al-sudūr*, 371-2, cf. especially the note by the editor). Afterwards, 'Imādī went over to the service of the Saldjūk court and composed several panegyrics for Sulṭān Rukn al-Dīn Toghrīl II (526-9/1132-4). Many other patrons are mentioned in the poems of 'Imādī, one of the latest may have been the Eldigūzid atābak Dīhān-Pahlawān Muḥammad (570-81/1175-86) (cf. the different opinion of Kazwīnī, *op. cit.*, 348). It is less certain that he also praised Sulṭān Toghrīl III (571-90/1176-94), as is sometimes asserted (for the full list of the patrons of 'Imādī, see S. Nafīsī, *Ta'likāt-i Lubāb al-albāb*, 724 f.). Of the two dates mentioned for his death, 573/1177-8 (Takī Kāshī) and 582/1186-7 (*Ātashkada*), the former seems to be the most probable.

'Awfī has entered a few of 'Imādī's poems under the name of 'Imād al-Dīn Ghaznawī. This has led to speculations about an eastern origin of 'Imādī. Later biographers mention the Ghaznawid poet Mukhtārī as his father. According to a notice given

by Takī Kāshī, 'Imādī studied treatises on *taṣawwuf* with Sanā'ī at Balkh. The same writer proposes the possibility that there might have been two different, but contemporaneous, poets by this name. This assumption was rejected already in the *Haft iktīm*. There is no evidence known from his own works that could corroborate the theory of his connection with Ghazna.

Although 'Imādī was first of all renowned as a poet of the court, he also wrote religious poetry. He recites poems of this nature during the sessions held by the famous preacher Ibn 'Abbādī (*Rāhat al-sudūr*, 209). In one of his *ghazals*, 'Imādī clearly refers to the transcendental meaning that should be read into the conventional imagery (cf. e.g. Dīādījarmī, *Mu'nis al-aḥrār*, ii, Tehran 1350/1971, 1108 f.).

There are some indications that point to a fairly high esteem for 'Imādī's poetry in his own time. Ḥasan Ghaznawī Ashraf even recommended his work as good material for the study of tyro poets (*Rāhat al-sudūr*, 57). 'Imādī exchanged poems full of mutual praise with another poet of Rayy, Kīwāmī. Both poets were in many respects imitators of the style of Sanā'ī. 'Imādī even went so far that he adapted one of Sanā'ī's poems for his own use (*Shams-i Ḳays*, 464 ff.). A modern critic (Furūzānfarr) has praised 'Imādī's ability to maintain a fair balance between subtlety of concepts and simplicity of language.

Quite soon, however, 'Imādī's poetry appears to have lost the interest of the public. No complete copy of his *Dīwān* is now known to exist. The largest collection now extant is the British Museum ms. Or. 298 containing more than 1400 lines, most of which belong to *qasidas*. More material is scattered over a great number of sources, but a comprehensive collection is still lacking.

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AL-IMĀRĀT AL-'ARABIYYA AL-MUTTAHIDA (the United Arab Emirates), the federation of seven shaykhdoms of the lower Gulf, formerly known as the Trucial States, inaugurated on 14 Shawwāl 1391/2 December 1971. The member states are Abū Zabī (Abū Dhābī), Dubayy, al-Shāriḳa (Sharḍja), 'Adīmān, Umm al-Ḳaywayn, Ra's al-Khayma and Fuḍjāyra. The federation's total area is about 30,000 square miles and its population (180,226 at the 1968 census) has been variously estimated, in the absence of reliable statistics, at anything between 320,000 and 700,000, mostly concentrated in Abū Zabī and Dubayy shaykhdoms.

Until December 1971, the seven shaykhdoms were



linked to Great Britain by a series of treaties, the oldest dating back to 1236/1820, whereby Britain exercised responsibility for the conduct of the shaykhdoms' foreign relations and ensured their observance of the engagements they had entered into over the years to respect the maritime truce and to abstain from piracy and slave-trading. It was generally accepted that an implicit reciprocal obligation devolved upon Britain from these engagements to defend the Trucial Shaykhdoms against their enemies. A first step towards promoting some form of association among the shaykhdoms was taken in 1371-2/1952 with the establishment of the Trucial States Council, made up of the rulers of the seven shaykhdoms. Further steps were the setting up of the Trucial States Development Council to assist economic, and especially agricultural, progress, and the organisation of the Trucial Oman Scouts (first formed as the Trucial Oman Levies in 1950 on the model of the Jordanian Arab Legion) to keep the peace throughout the shaykhdoms and along their borders. The definition of these borders was, for the most part, accomplished in the years between 1374-5/1955 and 1380-1/1961.

In Shawwāl 1387/January 1968 the British government announced that it intended to withdraw from its special position in the Gulf by the end of 1971 (Dhu 'l-Ka'da 1390), and at the same time to terminate its treaty relationship with the Trucial States, Bahrayn and Qatar. A month after the statement was made the rulers of Abū Zabī and Dubayy announced (on 19 Dhu 'l-Ka'da 1387/18 February 1968) that they were forming a union of their two shaykhdoms with the intention of co-ordinating their foreign and defence policies, and of co-operating over such matters as internal security, education, health services and immigration. At their instigation a conference of the Trucial Shaykhs and the rulers of Bahrayn and Qatar was held at Dubayy the following week, and on 28 Dhu 'l-Ka'da/27 February a decision was reached in principle to create a federation of the nine shaykhdoms. Ultimate power in the federation would reside in a supreme council made up of the nine rulers, while executive authority would be vested in a federal council. The agreement to establish the federation, which was to be called the "Federation of Arab Amirates" (*Itihād al-Imārāt al-‘Arabiyya*), was to come into force on the last day of Dhu 'l-Ka'da 1387/30 March 1968.

Over the next two years, little discernible progress was made towards the creation of the federation. Much of the preliminary work—on a common currency, a unified educational system, federal communications, integrated medical and social services, etc.—was delegated to committees, whose effectiveness was hampered by their lack of authority and their dilatoriness. The chief obstacles, however, were political. For nearly two centuries the shaykhdoms concerned had been at odds—and frequently in open conflict—with one another over territorial disputes, dynastic rivalries and tribal dissensions. These underlying and enduring sources of discord found an outlet during the negotiations towards federation in acrimonious disagreements over the site of the provisional federal capital, the selection and term of office of the federation's president, and, most seriously of all, the distribution of power in the supreme and federal councils and representation in the proposed consultative assembly.

Bahrayn and Qatar were insistent that they, Abū Zabī and Dubayy should have one vote each on the supreme council, while the remaining five

Trucial States were to be confined to one collective vote. They further insisted that all decisions taken by the council should be unanimous. For their part, the Trucial States wanted equality of voting rights, though they were divided over the question of unanimous or majority decisions, with Abū Zabī pushing most strongly for the principle of majority decisions. Perhaps the greatest disagreement of all was over the allocation of seats in the proposed consultative assembly. Bahrayn wanted representation to be on the basis of population, which would have given her twice as many seats as the other eight states combined. They in turn, and for this very reason, wanted equal representation for all states. Fear of Bahrayn's predominance in the federation, not only because of her numerical strength but also because of the superior skills and educational attainments of her people, was perhaps the most potent single reason why the federation of nine shaykhdoms languished and eventually expired.

Another important reason was the uneasiness engendered among some of the shaykhdoms' rulers by the overhanging threat of major territorial claims against two of their number—the Persian claim to sovereignty over Bahrayn, and Sa'ūdī Arabia's claim to a considerable portion of Abū Zabī shaykhdom, including the Buraymī oasis on its border with 'Umān. It was her desire for support in resisting the Persian claim that had greatly influenced Bahrayn's decision to participate in the federation. The other states, however, were reluctant to risk offending Persia by according Bahrayn the support she sought. Dubayy, for instance, because of her close commercial ties with Persia, was most averse to becoming embroiled in the dispute. There was a similar aversion on the part of most of the shaykhdoms to being drawn into Abū Zabī's frontier disagreement with Sa'ūdī Arabia. Qatar's relations with the Sa'ūdīs had been intimate for many years, whereas those with Abū Zabī had been distant, and at times hostile, for generations. Bahrayn was counting upon Sa'ūdī diplomatic help against the Persians, while Dubayy had for years been locked in a contest with Abū Zabī for political influence in Trucial 'Umān.

A fateful stage in the negotiations towards a federation of the nine shaykhdoms was reached in Rabi' I 1390/May 1970, when a resolution of the Perso-Bahraynī dispute was achieved. At the request of both parties, and of Britain as the protecting power, the UN secretary-general had appointed a personal representative in Muḥarram 1390/March 1970 to ascertain the wishes of the people of Bahrayn regarding the future political status of the shaykhdom and its relationship to Persia. The secretary-general's representative reported at the beginning of May that the Bahraynīs were "virtually unanimous" in wanting a fully independent, sovereign state, and that "the great majority" desired it to be an Arab state. The UN security council unanimously endorsed the report on 11 May, and later that month (Rabi' I 1390) the Persian government accepted it. The renunciation of the Persian claim to Bahrayn, although it was henceforth to determine Bahrayn's attitude to the Federation of Arab Amirates, had no effect upon the other threats to the federation's territorial integrity. In the first week of May, Sa'ūdī Arabia reasserted her claim to the western and southern areas of Abū Zabī and to the Buraymī oasis. A fortnight later Persia put forward a claim to the islands of Abū Mūsā and the Greater and Lesser Tūnbs (Tūnb-i Buzurk and Naḥiyy Tūnb),



situated a few miles inside the Gulf to the west of the Straits of Hurmuz. Abū Mūsā had up to this time been regarded as a possession of the Trucial Shaykhdom of al-Shāriḳa, and the Tūnbs as belonging to Ra's al-Khayma.

Having secured the abandonment of the Persian claim, the Bahraynīs had no wish to create a fresh source of friction with the Persians by taking the part of al-Shāriḳa and Ra's al-Khayma in the controversy over Abū Mūsā and the Tūnbs. This caution, combined with the resentment felt over what was considered to be the insufficient weight given to Bahrayn's interests and importance in the projected federation and the aversion to siding with Abū Zabī in its resistance to the Sa'ūdīs, served to set Bahrayn after May 1970 on a political course that took it steadily away from the federation and towards independence. Where Bahrayn led, Katar was bound to follow, as much for reasons of *amour propre* (its ruling family had been at feud with that of Bahrayn for over a century) as out of considerations of political advantage and prudence. The final spur was applied by the decision of the Conservative government in Britain, which had been elected to power in June 1970, to adhere to its predecessor's policy of withdrawal from the Gulf by the end of 1971. (The decision was announced in March 1971 but there is evidence that it had been reached some time previously.) Bahrayn declared its independence on 22 Djumāda II 1391/14 August 1971, and Katar followed suit on 11 Radjāb 1391/1 September 1971.

A few weeks earlier, six of the seven Trucial States, having concluded that a federation of the nine shaykhdoms was no longer feasible, had decided to form a federation of their own. The Trucial federation, entitled the "United Arab Amirates" (*al-Imārāt al-ʿArabiyya al-Muttaḥida*), was proclaimed at Dubayy on 25 Djumāda I 1391/18 July 1971. The ruler of Ra's al-Khayma, Shaykh Ṣaḡr b. Muḥammad al-Kāsimī, refused to join the federation, partly because its members showed no anxiety to assist him actively in opposing the Persian claim to the Tūnbs, partly because of his jealousy of the position and power which the rulers of Abū Zabī and Dubayy commanded within the federation. His fellow Kāsimī ruler, Shaykh Khālīd b. Muḥammad of al-Shāriḳa, proved more pliable over the extension of Persian authority over Abū Mūsā Island. His acquiescence in a Persian occupation was obtained in late November in return for an annual subsidy and an equal share in the exploitation of the submarine oilfields located off Abū Mūsā. On 12 Shawwāl 1391/30 November 1971, the day before Britain's special treaty relationship with the Trucial States was due to end officially, Persian troops occupied Abū Mūsā and the Tūnbs, meeting with armed resistance on the Greater Tūnb from the retainers of the ruler of Ra's al-Khayma. There were a number of repercussions from the Persian occupation of the islands, among them the expulsion of several thousand Persians from Irāḳ and the nationalisation by the Libyan government of the British Petroleum Company's assets in Libya. The most violent individual reprisal was the murder in Dhu l-Hijjja 1391/late January 1972 of the ruler of al-Shāriḳa, Shaykh Khālīd b. Muḥammad al-Kāsimī, by his cousin the ex-ruler, Shaykh Ṣaḡr b. Sulṭān al-Kāsimī, ostensibly in revenge for the alienation of Abū Mūsā to Persia. Shaykh Ṣaḡr b. Muḥammad of Ra's al-Khayma was so shaken by the assassination that at the end of Dhu l-Hijjja 1391/mid-February 1972 he joined the federation.

The treaties between Britain and the Trucial

States were abrogated on 13 Shawwāl 1391/1 December 1971, and the United Arab Amirates was formerly inaugurated the following day. Its president was Shaykh Zāyid b. Sulṭān al-Nihayyān, the ruler of Abū Zabī, and the vice-president, Shaykh Rāshid b. Sa'īd al-Maktūm, the ruler of Dubayy. Under the terms of the provisional constitution drawn up over the previous two years in consultation with an Egyptian jurist, Dr Waḥīd al-Rifā'at, they were to hold office for five years and be eligible for reappointment at the end of that time. The capital of the UAA was temporarily established at Abū Zabī until a permanent capital had been built on a site on the border of Abū Zabī and Dubayy.

The *fons et origo* of executive and legislative power within the federation is the supreme federal council, composed of the rulers of the seven constituent shaykhdoms or amirates. Decisions of the council are by majority vote, with Abū Zabī and Dubayy both possessing the power of veto. The president appoints the prime minister, the deputy minister and the other ministers (some two dozen) who together make up the federal council or cabinet. The cabinet's prime function is to carry into effect the decisions of the supreme council and the instructions of the president. The provisional constitution, which runs to 152 articles, also established a federal national council to serve as a consultative assembly. It consists of forty delegates appointed for a term of two years by the rulers of the amirates, Abū Zabī and Dubayy each having eight delegates, al-Shāriḳa and Ra's al-Khayma, six, and the other three amirates, four. Although the constitution would appear to empower the national council to initiate legislation, its principal task is clearly to discuss and approve the budget and draft legislation presented to it by the council of ministers. The constitution also provides for the establishment of a supreme court for the federation and a number of courts of first instance. Responsibility for the defence of the federation is vested in a higher defence council, headed by the president and consisting of the vice-president, the prime minister, the minister of defence and the interior, and the commander of the Union Defence Force, which has been formed around the nucleus of the Trucial Oman Scouts.

The constitution of the UAA, both in its provisions and in its operation, reflects the primacy within the federation of Abū Zabī and Dubayy, the two wealthiest and most populous amirates. At the end of their term as president and vice-president in 1396/1976, Shaykh Zāyid of Abū Zabī and Shaykh Rāshid of Dubayy were re-elected to their respective offices for a further five years. Members of their families and close adherents hold the chief portfolios in the council of ministers. The federal budget is provided almost exclusively by Abū Zabī from its large oil revenues. (Dubayy, although deriving a substantial income from oil and commerce, refuses to contribute more than a token amount.) Abū Zabī also has a defence force considerably larger and better equipped than that of the union. Naturally, the wealth and political predominance of the two shaykhdoms has inspired envy and some resentment among the less fortunate members of the federation, with the exception perhaps of al-Shāriḳa, which enjoys a moderate degree of affluence from oil revenues. The arbitrariness of fortune which has blessed Abū Zabī and Dubayy has tended to perpetuate and even to intensify the longstanding rivalries and animosities among the shaykhdoms, more particularly those between the northern Kāsimī tribal confederations



tion and the southern Banī Yās confederation. There are other strains within the federation besides those caused by the imbalance of wealth and by old tribal and dynastic vendettas. Social and economic changes in recent years have been rapid and profoundly unsettling. A huge influx of immigrants of all kinds has broken the traditional mould of society. Unearned affluence of an unreal magnitude has corroded customary morals, values and restraints. Alien ideological notions have undermined the old political certainties, with what eventual consequences it is impossible to foretell. The basis of the UAA was, and remains, a coalition of interests among its member states, especially the need for some kind of mutual security against the larger Gulf powers. Whether the federal structure erected thus far will prove sturdy enough to withstand the fissiparous pressures within it remains to be seen.

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(J.B. KELLY)

IMPECCABILITY, SINLESSNESS [see ‘ISMA].

IMPROVISATION [see IRTIJĀT].

ĪNAK (spelt *ināk*, *ināgh* and *ināk*), a title which existed in various Turkic and Mongol states.

The word is evidently a deverbal noun from the Turkic verb *inan-* [‘*ina-*] “to trust, to rely on” etc., with the basic meaning “close friend, confidant, trustworthy person”. (The spelling *‘ināk*, with initial ‘*ayn*, very often found in the Central Asian sources of the 19th century, is most probably only an indication of the initial back vowel; an explanation of this spelling given by A.A. Semenov, deriving the word from Arabic *‘ināk* “embrace”, is, at best, a late literary invention.) A similar derivative from the same verb, *inanē* “reliance”, “trust”, is registered in the Turkic texts of the 10th century and later as a title or rank of persons belonging to the close retinue of the ruler (cf. especially *inanē beg* in Maḥmūd Kāshgharī, i, 119, and *Kutadgu bilig*, Farghāna MS. 293; this title was used through the whole Saldjūk period (cf. also such titles as *inanē payghu*, *inanē bilge* etc.; see Sir G. Clauson, *An etymological dictionary of pre-thirteenth-century Turkish*, Oxford 1972, 187). The same meaning, probably, had also the title *inal* (another deverbal noun from the same stem), found already in the runic inscriptions of the Yenisey (see *Drevnetyurkskiy slovar*, Leningrad 1969, 218; S.E. Malov, *Yeniseyskaya pis’mennost’ Tyurkov*, Moscow-Leningrad 1952, 38, 45, 49). The titles *inal*, *inal-tegin*, *inalčuk* (*inalčik*) were also widely used during the Karakhānid and Saldjūk periods (see G. Clauson, *op. cit.*, 184-5); there is, however, another reading and explanation of this title from *inal* “deputy” [?], found in the Orkhon inscriptions and in Chinese sources of the same period (see *Drevnetyurkskiy slovar*, 209, 218; G. Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*, iv, 196-9, No. 1900; cf., however, P. Pelliot, *Notes sur l’histoire de la Horde d’Or*, Paris 1949, 182-3, n. 2). The word *ināk*, which is not found in runic inscriptions and appears first only in the texts written in the Uyghur characters, was borrowed into Mongolian from Turkic already before the end of the 12th century; it existed in the time of Čingiz-Khān as a title of close companions (*nukers* [q.v.]) of the Khān.

After the Mongol conquests this title, probably under the Mongol influence, superseded other derivatives of *inan*-also among the Turks. It is mentioned in Persian historical sources of the Mongol and Tīmūrid periods, without a definition of its meaning, but clearly as a title of high-ranking persons especially close to the ruler (examples given by Quatremère, *Histoire des Mongols de la Perse*, i, pp. L-LI, n. 84; see also the *Ẓafar-nāma* by Nizām al-Dīn Shāmī, ed. F. Tauer, i, 96, 142, ii, 109, 118, 148). Sometimes the *inaks* (*inākān*, *inākiyān*) are mentioned in these sources as a special category of the retainers of the ruler (cf. such expressions as *umarā’ wa inākiyān*, *mukarribān wa inākān*, *khawāṣṣ wa inākān*, *farzandān wa nūkarān wa inākiyān* [of an *amīr*], etc.). The term had the same meaning also in the Ak Koyunlu [q.v.] state, where one source mentions an *amīr* among the *inaks* whose post was equal to that of a *muhdār* (see V. Minorsky, in *BSOAS*, x/1 [1940-2], 170-1).

It seems that in the post-Tīmūrid period this title was used only in the Uzbek khānates of Central Asia. It is not mentioned by Maḥmūd b. Walī, the author of *Bahr al-asrār*, in his description of the ceremonial at the court of the Aštarkhānid ruler in Balkh (cf. V.V. Bartol’d, *Sočineniya*, ii/2, 390-3), though it certainly existed during the Aštarkhānid period; according to the *‘Ubayd-Allāh-nāma* by Muḥammad Amīn Bukhārī (early 18th century; see Russian tr. by A.A. Semenov, Tashkent 1957, 33), a person in the rank of *ināk* was keeper of the royal seal (cf. above, under the Ak Koyunlu) in the reign of Subḥān-Kulī Khān (d. 1114/1702). A retainer of ‘Ubayd Allāh Khān (1114-29/1702-11), a Kalmuk (i.e. a person of slave origin), was promoted simultaneously to the post (or rank?) of *ināk* and to the post of the first minister, *kosh-begi-yi kull* [see KOŠH-BEGI] (see *ibid.*, 45, 191); he was also the keeper of the seal (*ibid.*, 204). His two successors, also of slave origin, were also given the rank of *ināk* together with the post of the great *kosh-begi* (*ibid.*, 230, 276). The administrative manual *Madjma’ al-arḳām* compiled in Bukhārā in 1212/1798 mentions two *inaks*: first, “the great I.” (*ināk-i kalān*), who was the third (after the *kosh-begi*) among the four dignitaries especially close to the sovereign, and whose duty was to pass the royal orders to persons under the rank of *amīr*; and second, “the little I.” (*ināk-i khurd*), who kept the box with the royal seals and also had to receive all reports from the province and messages brought by foreign ambassadors, to open them and to pass them to the *munshī* for reading (see facsimile in *Pis’mennyye pamyatniki Vostoka* 1968, Moscow 1970, 56, 57). N. Khanikov (*Opisanīye Bukharskogo khanstva*, St. Petersburg 1843, 183-5, 187) mentions only one *ināk*, whose duty was to set his seal on the reverse of the diplomas granting the ranks of *mīr-i akhūr*, *ishik-aghāsī* and *čaghātāy-begī*; apparently, this was the office of the former *ināk-i khurd*. At the time of the last Mangīts [q.v.], however, the title *ināk*, as well as some other titles, became simply a honorary rank—the fifth from the top in the hierarchy of Bukhārā, between *dadkhān* and *parwānāci*—given to various officials.

In the Khānate of Khīwa, the title *ināk* was given to the leaders of the Uzbek tribes, and it was originally the second in importance after the title *atalik* [q.v., above]. The historian of Khīwa Mu’nis [q.v.], in his account of the administrative reform of Abu ‘l-Ghāzī [q.v.] (1053-79/1643-63), mentions that the Khān’s council of 34 ‘*amaldārs* established by Abu ‘l-Ghāzī included four *inaks* and four “Čaghātāy *inaks*” (*Firdaus al-ikhbāl*, ms. of the Leningrad Branch of the



Institute of Oriental Studies, C-571, f. 65b). There was one *ināq* from each of four *tupā*, into which all Uzbek tribes in *Kh*ārazm were apparently divided already in the 16th century: Uyghur and Nayman, Kūngrat and Kiyat, Mangit and Nukuz, Kaṅgī and Kīpčak; the meaning of the title *Čaghatāy ināq* is not clear. Mu'nīs (*ibid.*, f. 101a) claims that already in the reign of Abu 'l-Ghāzī, Umbay Ināq, the ancestor of the Kūngrat [*q.v.*] dynasty became the *khān*'s powerful first minister in reward for the service rendered by him previously. In the concluding part of the *Shadjara-yi Turk* written on behalf of Abu 'l-Ghāzī's son Anūsha (ed. Desmaisons, text, 327, tr., 351) there is mentioned a Yādīgār Ināq brought by Abu 'l-Ghāzī from Hazārasp to *Kh*īwa and given the *ināqlīk*, though he certainly already held the title *ināq* before (cf. *ibid.*, text, 326, tr., 349); this may be interpreted as a promotion of one of the Uzbek *ināqs* to the post of the "great I.", like that which Umbay Ināq held (later?). The reports of the Russian ambassadors, who were in *Kh*īwa in the reign of Anūsha *Khān*, show, however, that the *ināqs* were still on the second place after the *atalīks* (see *Nakaz Borisu i Semenu Pazukhinim* . . ., St. Petersburg 1894, 43-4). Artuq Ināq, from the Mangit tribe, became actual ruler of the *Khānate* of *Kh*īwa after its conquest by Nādir Shāh (1740).

In the third quarter of the 18th century, Muḥammad Amīn Ināq, chief of the Kūngrat tribe, became the ruler of the *khānate* and the founder of the dynasty, which remained in power till 1920 and is called sometimes in scholarly literature "Inakids". The third ruler from this dynasty, Eltuzar Ināq, proclaimed himself *khān* in 1219/1804. After that, *ināq* became the highest title for the Uzbek nobility in *Kh*īwa (the historians of *Kh*īwa mention cases of promotion from the rank of *atalīk* to the rank of *ināq*, see e.g. *Firdaws al-ikbāl* (ms. cit., ff. 317b, 578a). During the reign of Muḥammad Raḥīm *Khān* (1220-40/1806-25), his elder brother Kutlugh Murād had the title *ināq-bek* and was styled *amīr al-umarā'* (*ibid.*, f. 316a; but the *atalīk* was still considered as senior Uzbek *amīr*); he was called also *biy-ināq* and *ināq-ākā*. In the middle of the 19th century, the title of *ināq-bek* (that is, senior I.) was given to the *khān*'s heir, who was mostly governor of the town of Hazārasp; before the Russian conquest (1873), however, this title was applied not to the heir, but to one of senior relatives of the *khān* (cf. A.L. Kuhn's papers in the Archives of the Leningrad Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, file 1/13, ff. 36a-38b). Besides him and the four *ināqs* of the Uzbek tribes, the title was granted sometimes to the tribal chiefs of the Turkmens.

The title *ināq* existed also in the *Khānate* of *Khokand* [*q.v.*], where it was given to a court official (or officials) in charge of the provision for the court and for the *khān*'s bodyguards; they supervised also the personal domains of the *khān*. At the same time, apparently, it was here also, as in Bukhārā, an honorary rank given to various dignitaries, such as provincial governors (cf. V.P. Nalivkin, *Histoire du khatan de Khokand*, Paris 1889, 104).

Bibliography: in addition to the works cited in the text, see B. Ya. Vladimirtsov, *Obščestvennyy stroi mongolov*, Leningrad 1934, 93; P. Pelliot, *Notes sur l'histoire de la Horde d'Or*, Paris 1949, 182-3, n. 2; A.A. Semenov, in *Sovetskoye vostokovedeniye*, v (1948), 148-9; idem, in *Materiali po istorii tadžikov i uzbekov Sredney Azii*, ii, Stalinabad 1954, 61; A.L. Troitskaya, *Katalog arkhiva Kokandskikh khanov XIX veka*, Moscow 1968, 545;

idem, *Materiali po istorii Kokandskogo khanstva XIX v.*, Moscow 1969, 5, 21; Radloff, *Wörterbuch*, i, 1361-3; G. Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente in Neupersischen*, ii, 217-20, nos. 668-9; É.V. Sevortyan, *Étimologičeskij slovar' tyurkskikh yazikov*, Moscow 1974, 654-6. (YU. BREGEL)

İNĀT, a town in Ḥaḍramawt, about 10 miles/15 km. due east of Tarīm, and situated at the confluence of the Wādīs 'Ināt and Ḥaḍramawt. The holy family of 'Ināt is the Āl Bū Bakr b. Shaykh and the illustrious *manṣab*, Shaykh Bū Bakr b. Sālim, known as Mawlā 'Ināt, is buried in the town. The family has been subjected to severe criticism from other Sayyid groups because of its bearing arms. 'Ināt has become one of the most important *hawṣas* [*q.v.*] in Ḥaḍramawt. It is famous for its own breed of hunting dogs which seem to be indistinguishable from the common "pie-dog". With these dogs the inhabitants participate in the ibex hunt under the direction of the *Manṣab*. The number of the inhabitants of the town was greatly reduced after the war-time famine in Wādī Ḥaḍramawt, and a fairly recent figure suggests a population of about 1,300. The old quarter organisation has in reality disappeared, though originally there were several quarters. Landberg employs the spelling 'Eynāt ('Aynāt), though it seems that all other European forms proposed are erroneous.

Bibliography: H. von Wissmann, *Map of Southern Arabia*, Royal Geographical Society, London 1958; Le Comte de Landberg, *Arabica*, v, Leiden 1898, 206; R.B. Serjeant, *Sayyids of Hadramawt*, London 1957, 17-18; idem, *South Arabian hunt*, London 1976, 32-3. (G.R. SMITH)

'INĀYAT KHĀN, a noble of the Indian Mughal emperor Awrangzīb. He stemmed from *Kh*āf [*q.v.*] in *Khurāsān*, but no information about his early career is available. In 1077/1666-7 he was appointed head of the *diwān-i khālīṣa* (*diwān* of crown lands). In 1079/1668-9 he was promoted to the rank of 900 *dhāt* and 100 *suwār*. In 1080/1669-70 he reported that the expenditure had increased since the time of Shāh Djahān and that there was a large deficit; Awrangzīb thereupon ordered an enlargement of the *khālīṣa* lands and a reduction in expenditure. In 1082/1671-2 he was appointed *fawjdār* [*q.v.*] (commandant) of Čakla Barēlī and in 1086/1675-6, *fawjdār* of *Khayrābād*. In 1088/1677-8 he was again appointed *pīshdast-i daftar-i khālīṣa*, and was promoted to the rank of 1000 *dhāt* and 100 *suwār*. In 1092/1681-2 he was promoted to be head of the *diwān-i buyūtāt* (in charge of the Imperial Household accounts), and shortly after, at his own request, was appointed governor of Adjmēr. He took part in a campaign against the Rathors, but died in 1093/1682. He was not apparently implicated in the conspiracy of Padshāh Kulī *Khān*, his son-in-law, who was killed at about this time.

Bibliography: Musta'id *Khān*, *Ma'āthir-i Ālamgīrī*, Bib. Ind., Calcutta 1871; Shāh Nawāz *Khān*, *Ma'āthir-al umarā'*, Bib. Ind., Calcutta 1888, ii; *Kh*āf *Khān*, *Muntakhab al-lubāb*, Bib. Ind., Calcutta 1860, ii. (M. ATHAR ALI)

'INĀYAT KHĀN, an obscure general of the Mughal Emperor Awrangzīb [*q.v.*]. He was the father-in-law of Tahawwur *Khān*, one of the principal supporters of Awrangzīb's son Akbar during the rebellion of 1091-2/1680-1. When in *Dhu 'l-Hijja* 1091/January 1681 Awrangzīb advanced to Dō-rāha, in the Adjmēr region, 'Ināyat *Khān* was ordered to write to Tahawwur *Khān* inducing him to desert the prince's army,



then at Kurkī; Tahawwur Khān complied, but on his arrival in Awrangzib's camp some confusion arose in which he was killed.

Bibliography: Sir Jadunath Sarkar, *History of Aurangzib*¹, Calcutta 1912-24, iii, 411-12.

(P. JACKSON)

INCENSE [see LUBĀN].

INDEPENDENCE [see ʾISTĪQLĀL].

INFALLIBILITY [see ʾIṢMA].

INHİŞĀR, or in Ottoman Turkish also Haşır, were the words used for monopolies and restrictive practices of Ottoman guilds, the full term being *inhîşâr-i bey'i ve şîrâ*. These monopolies included restrictions concerning the number or kind of people allowed to perform a trade or a profession, as well as limitations imposed on production or on commerce. Restrictions of this kind were considered necessary and beneficial to society. As against this, monopolistic hoarding or cornering was condemned and prohibited by the government. To distinguish between the two kinds, the second was called in Turkey *iẖtikâr*, but this term was used in Arabic for both kinds of monopolies (cf. Baer, *Monopolies*, 145-6; *Egyptian guilds*, 107 n. 11, 159-61).

Documents relating to Istanbul and Cairo dating from the 18th and 19th centuries show that a craftsman or merchant who wanted to practice his craft or trade independently needed the agreement of the guild's head. In earlier periods, and in some smaller towns, economic activity seems to have been less restricted, though there is evidence that in the 17th century Cairo craftsmen in various branches underwent ceremonies of initiation in order to acquire an *iḏāza*, without which they were not allowed to practice their craft. One of the main purposes of these restrictions was to limit the number of shops or people occupied in a trade or craft. Such limitations are indeed documented for Istanbul from the 16th century onwards well into the 19th. In addition, efforts were made to prevent the establishment of "wildcat" enterprises, and especially to eliminate the illicit trade of hawkers and pedlars (*kollukçular*).

Another kind of restriction was the limitation of each guild to producing or selling specific goods only. The aim of such measures was to eliminate external and internal competition and thus to prevent social upheavals and unrest. For the same purpose it was ordered, in some cases, that specific production of particular dresses was limited to specific communities in order to maintain their distinctive costume. Many trades or guilds were confined to specific places or markets, which often bore the name of the craft or the trade.

Most of these restrictions were controlled by the *gedik* system. *Gedik* literally means "breach" and hence acquired the meaning of privilege. Thus a *gedik* was the right to exercise a craft or a trade, either in general or, more frequently, at a special place or in a specific shop. Most *gediks* included the right to the tools of a workshop or a business. The number of *gediks* in each craft was fixed, though it could be changed from time to time. Since nobody was allowed to become a master or open a shop without owning a *gedik*, new masters could be accepted only when a vacancy occurred. *Gedik*s were inheritable if the heir fulfilled all other conditions for becoming a master in the craft; otherwise the rule was that they be transferred to apprentices or journeymen of the guild, not to outsiders.

All monopolies and restrictions of the guild system were sanctioned by the authorities, decreed as gov-

ernment orders and enforced by the officers of the state. After some unsuccessful attempts to abolish them in Egypt in the middle of the 19th century, they gradually disappeared, in Egypt as well as in other parts of the Ottoman Empire, in the course of the second half of the century. On 9 January 1890 it was decreed in Egypt that every person was free to exercise any craft or occupation or profession or trade, except for dangerous occupations or for those which were government monopolies.

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(G. BAER)

INIMITABLENESS OF THE QUR'ĀN [see ʾIDJĀZ].

INSPECTION OF TROOPS [see ʾISTĪRĀP and (above) DĀḠ U TAṢḤĪHA].

INSTITUT DES HAUTES ÉTUDES MAROCAINES (I.H.E.M.) *al-Ma'had li 'l-'ulūm al-'ulyā al-maghribiyya*, one of the most important centres of intellectual life in Morocco over a period of forty years, bearing in mind the fact that it followed on from the École Supérieure de Langue Arabe et des Dialectes Berbères opened in Rabat in 1915 for the training of highly-qualified civilian interpreters.

The I.H.E.M. was established, by decree of the grand vizier, on 11 February 1920/20 Ḏjumādā I 1338, with "the object of instigating and encouraging scientific studies relating to Morocco, of coordinating them and centralising the results." It was replaced, in 1956, after Moroccan independence, by the Faculté des Lettres et des Sciences Humaines of Rabat.

If the École Supérieure had been directed by interpreters of distinction like M. Nehlil and I. Hamet, the I.H.E.M. was headed by a succession of professors of high renown, sc. H. Basset, E. Lévi-Provençal, L. Brunot and H. Terrasse. The staff of directors of studies, lecturers and research supervisors has included among its more distinguished members now dead, F. Arin, A. Basset, E. Biarnay, R. Blachère, H. Bruno, H. de Castries, J. Célrier, P. de Cénival, L. Chatelain, G.S. Colin, J. de Cossé-Brissac, R. Hoffner, M. Bendaoud, E. Laoust, C. Le Cœur, R. Le Tourneau, V. Loubignac, G. and W. Marçais, G. Marcy, P. Mauchaussé, J. Meunié, R. Montagne, L. Paye, H. Renaud, P. Ricard, J. Riche and A. Roux. Many of these have been contributors to this Encyclopaedia.

The achievement of the I.H.E.M. has been considerable. Morocco has witnessed the emergence of a strong school that has addressed itself with energy and enthusiasm to the scientific study of the country and has almost entirely re-evaluated our knowledge of the Maghrib and Muslim Spain. The Institute first published, as successor to the review *Les Archives Berbères*, a *Bulletin de l'I.H.E.M.* which after the first issue, took on the splendid title *Hespéris*, which it kept until it ceased publication. The scientific authority and exceptional documentary interest of this publication were such that in 1972 a complete facsimile edition was published (comprising the *Archives Berbères* and the unique *Bulletin*).

Hespéris published among its articles a *Bibliographie Marocaine* of a very wide-ranging character since it embraces, under some forty headings, all that is known concerning Morocco and its successive



civilisations. Edited by specialists from the Bibliothèque Générale of Rabat, it has made an unrivalled contribution to any methodical study of the Maghrib. This bibliography was published between 1923 and 1953.

Hespéris merged in 1960 with the review *Tamuda*, born in Tetuan in the last years of the Spanish Protectorate, and it continues in this form to serve Morocco and the pursuit of knowledge.

Besides *Hespéris*, the I.H.E.M. has published several collections comprising the complete *Hespéris* (15 volumes); collected Arabic texts (12 volumes); Publications of the I.H.E.M. (62 volumes); collected articles of the Centres d'Études Juridiques (45 volumes); Proceedings of the Congresses of the I.H.E.M. (9 volumes); some extra-mural publications, including *Initiation au Maroc* (3 editions), a *Notice sur les règles d'édition des travaux* and some *Brefs conseils pratiques* for the transcription and printing of Spanish and Portuguese words (R. Ricard); collected Notes and Documents (21 volumes); and collected Moroccan Berber Texts (2 volumes).

In addition to research, publications, public sources in Arabic (classical and dialectal), in Berber and in Moroccan civilisation, the I.H.E.M. provided training for the various degrees in arts and the law degree awarded by French universities. It thus enabled many young people to start and complete their higher studies in Arabic and in law without the obligation to go to France.

Also worthy of mention is the Institut Scientifique Chérifien, founded in 1920, an institution of higher education devoted exclusively to the study of scientific problems related to Morocco. Very advanced for its time, it was awarded the patronage of the Académie des Sciences de Paris. It continues to produce admirable work and numerous publications.

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(G. DEVERDUN)

INSTITUT DES HAUTES ÉTUDES DE TUNIS, an institution of higher learning founded in 1945, by the amalgamation of the Centre d'Études Juridiques, a subsidiary of the University of Algiers, and the École Supérieure de Langue et Littérature Arabes. This Institute benefited from its inception from an administration arranged under the patronage of the University of Paris and supervised by the

Department of Public Education of Tunis under the Protectorate, later by the Minister or Secretary of State for National Education of the Tunisian government. This administration was not altered by the Franco-Tunisian Cultural Convention of 1 September 1955: the latter in particular maintained the patronage of the University of Paris. Thus the Institute has continued to prepare students for degrees and diplomas offered by the French state and, simultaneously, to award Tunisian diplomas.

The Institut des Hautes Études de Tunis was directed by a president, assisted by a deputy president, resident in Tunis. The presidents have successively been William Marçais and Jean Roche, the deputy presidents Jacques Flour, Roger Jambu-Merlin and Pierre Marthelot. It comprised four sections, later to become faculties: legal and economic studies, science, literature and arts, philology and linguistics. Instruction was provided by French and Tunisian professors and lecturers, with qualifications entitling them to teach to the standards of French higher education, and by tutors, assistants and course supervisors appointed on the recommendation of the heads of section.

These studies were pursued by students registered in the normal way and also, after the independence of Tunisia, by the pupils of the École Normale Supérieure, of the École Nationale d'Administration and of the Centre d'Études Économiques, attending a number of joint courses. Thus, in 1958-9, the total strength numbered 1,522, of whom 382 were girls. Tunisians numbered 44.7 % of the total.

Apart from routine education, the Institut des Hautes Études included a number of laboratories and study centres, providing and co-ordinating specialised equipment and research facilities for the students of the various departments. Similarly, a university library offered its resources to the students, resources that in time were added to the study facilities provided by the General Library of Sūḥ al-ʿAṭṭārīn.

Finally, the Institut des Hautes Études was responsible for the creation of two reviews: the *Cahiers de Tunisie*, a quarterly review of the arts, replacing the former *Revue tunisienne*, and the *Revue de droit*, also quarterly. A certain number of volumes were published in the form of specialised collections: a Library of Law and Economics, Publications of the Science Section and the Literature Section (Paris, P.U.F.).

Thus there operated for some fifteen years an institution of modern higher education, equivalent to that of the French universities. The patronage of the University of Paris, reinforced by numerous visits from French professors, ensured that a high standard was maintained.

It was by virtue of these high standards that the Institut des Hautes Études de Tunis became the University of Tunis, by the decree of 31 March 1960.

If the patronage of the University of Paris has disappeared, along with an obsolete administrative council, links with the French university have remained very strong, although not institutional, and, naturally, not exclusive, since progressively with their acquisition of State doctorates, Tunisian professors have advanced in number and in responsibility in their own university. The guardianship of the Tunisian state was established with the least risk of friction when one of the heads of department, a Tunisian, Mahmoud Messadi, became Secretary of State for National Education; the pro-rector, for his part, was none other than a former professor of the Institute and director of the École Normale



Supérieure, Ahmed Abdesselem, both of them intellectuals, writers and academics of great distinction.

Thus the University of Tunis, totally and progressively integrated with the country, and totally independent in its fortunes, in the framework of the institutions of independent Tunisia, has become straightaway, in spite of its relative youth and in spite of (and to some extent, thanks to) its original links with the French university, one of the most distinguished and effective universities of the Arab world.

(P. MARTHELOT)

INSULT [see *SHĀTM*].

INTERPRETER [see *TURJUMĀN*].

INTERROGATION [see *ISTIFHĀM*].

INVECTIVE [see *HIDJĀʿ*].

INZĀL (French spelling: "enzel", from *anzala*, to lodge, give hospitality), traditional type of lease peculiar to Tunisia. Presumably a survival of the Roman *emphyteusis*, it served as a means of circumventing the inalienability of pious foundations. The Mālikis define it as a "lease in perpetuity (*kirāʾ muʿabbad*) of a property to a person engaging himself to build a house, or any other edifice, or plant trees on it and pay a perpetual rent calculated by the year or month" (D. Santillana, *Istituzioni di diritto musulmano malchita*, Rome 1925, i, 441). E. Clavel's definition distinguished between the two domanial aspects of the estate: "L'enzel est un contrat sui generis, par lequel le wakf ou le propriétaire d'un bien mulk se dépouille, à perpétuité, . . . du domaine utile d'un immeuble, n'en conservant que le domaine éminent, à charge par le tenancier de payer un canon annuel fixe" (*Le Wakf ou Habous*, Caire 1896, 2, 188). The rights of the lessee are so wide as to place him in *loco domini*: he may build, plant, make improvements (which become his property), bequeath or transfer his rights, etc. The *inzāl* resembles the Tunisian *kirdār* and the Egyptian *hikr*, but differs from both in four points: (1) it has lost its original purpose, viz. to render *wakf* property productive thus providing income to its beneficiaries; (2) it is no longer limited to *wakf*, but includes private property as well; (3) it is annulled in case of non-payment of rent for two consecutive years; (4) the amount of rent cannot be adjusted to the fluctuations of the rental value of the property. Under the French protectorate, the practice of *inzāl* gained momentum, as it enabled the colons to acquire extensive land holdings without prior capital investment.

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(P. SHINAR)

AL-ʿIRĀKĪ, SAYYID SHĀMS AL-DĪN, religious leader active in the evangelisation of Kashmīr. He was the son of Sayyid Ibrāhīm, a Mūsawī Sayyid, and was born in the small town of Kund-Sūlkān, situated near Tehran on the road to Kāzwīn. He received a good education, and, while still young came under the influence of Sayyid Muḥammad Nūr Bakḥsh (795-869/1393-1464), the founder of the Nūrbakḥshiyya Order [see KUBRĀ, NAḌM AL-DĪN]. Impressed by his eloquence and learning, Sultan Ḥusayn Mīrzā Bāyqārā (873-911/1469-1506) took

him into his service and sent him as his envoy to Sulṭān Ḥasan Shāh (877-89/1472-84) of Kashmīr. On arriving in the Valley, where he stayed for eight years, he became the disciple of Bābā Ismāʿīl, a Kubrawī saint, and then secretly won over Bābā Alī Naḍjdjār, one of his most devoted followers, to the Nūrbakḥshiyya creed, which was a mixture of Shīʿa and Sunnī doctrines, leavened by Ṣūfī pantheism. But his success was limited because, being an envoy, he could not preach openly. Besides, the Sunnī 'ulamā' came to know of his religious beliefs and compelled him to leave Kashmīr. He returned to Harāt, but as he lost the favour of Sulṭān Ḥusayn Mīrzā on account of his unorthodox beliefs, he left for Ray to live with Shāh Kāsim, the son of Sayyid Muḥammad Nūr Bakḥsh.

While he was in Ray, Shams al-Dīn heard that those whom he had converted in Kashmīr had relapsed into orthodoxy; so, on the advice of Shāh Kāsim, he decided to proceed to the Valley. He left Ray in Rabiʿ 1 907/September 1501. Travelling via Maṣḥad-Kandahār-Multān, he entered Kashmīr in the spring of 1502 through the Punč-Bārāmūla route. On arriving in Srīnagar, he again won over Bābā 'Alī Naḍjdjār. But the most important convert was Mūsā Rayna, a powerful noble, who supported him in his activities, and gave him money to build a *khānkāh* [q.v.] at Džaddibal in Srīnagar. But on account of the opposition of the orthodox 'ulamā' and of Sayyid Muḥammad Bayḥaḳī, the *waḳīr* of Sulṭān Muḥammad Shāh, he left Kashmīr. He went to Baltistān, to the north-east of Kashmīr, and carried on missionary work among its Buddhist inhabitants with considerable success. He stayed there for over two months until the defeat and death of Sayyid Muḥammad Bayḥaḳī [see BAYḤAḲĪ SAYYIDS above] in 911/1505, and returned to Srīnagar at the invitation of Mūsā Rayna, who had again become powerful. During the nine years that Mūsā Rayna was *waḳīr*, Shams al-Dīn carried on his activities without any hindrance. The conversion of Tādjī Čak and other Čak nobles further enabled him to consolidate his work.

Meanwhile, a great change had come over the Nūr bakḥshiyya which, under the influence of Ṣafawid Irān, increasingly began to identify itself with Shīʿism by shedding those of its doctrines which it had borrowed from Ṣūfism and Sunnī Islām. Shams al-Dīn, too, felt the impact and, inclined as he had always been towards the doctrine of the Twelvers, he now openly preached it, so that by the time he died in 932/1526, Shīʿism had become well established in Kashmīr. In remote Baltistān, however, the Nūrbakḥshiyya beliefs survived.

Bibliography: The only biography of Shams al-Dīn known to exist is a *Tuḥfāt al-ahbāb* by a contemporary of his whose exact name is not known. The manuscript of the work is with Sayyid Muḥammad Yūsuf, a Shīʿi *muḍjtahid* of Kashmīr and a descendant of Shams al-Dīn; Other works to be consulted are: Pīr Hasan Shāh, *Taʾrīkh-i Ḥasan*, ii, Srīnagar 1954; Mīrzā Haydar Dughlāt, *Taʾrīkh-i Rashīdī*, tr. E.D. Ross and N. Elías, London 1895; Nūr Allāh Shushtarī, *Maḍjālis al-muʿminīn*, Tehran 1299/1882; Mohibbul Hasan, *Kashmir under the Sultans*, Srīnagar 1974; *Oriental College Magazine*, Lahore (February and May 1925, and August 1929).

(MOHIBBUL HASAN)



IRAN

iii. LANGUAGES

- (a) Pashto [see AFGHĀN. (ii). The Pashto language]
- (b) Kurdish [see KURDS, KURDISTĀN. v. Language]
- (c) Zaza [q.v.]
- (d) Kh^wārazmian
- (e) Sogdian and Bactrian in the early Islamic period
- (f) New Persian
- (g) New Persian written in Hebrew characters [see JUDĀEO-PERSIAN. ii. Language]

(d) Kh^wārazmian.

Kh^wārazmian, last attested late in the 8th/14th century (before yielding to Turkish), belonged to the Eastern branch of the Iranian language family, being most closely related to Sogdian, its southeastern neighbour. Pre-Islamic records are limited to coin legends and other inscriptions in a regional, partly ideographic development of the Aramaic script, found on wooden tablets, ossuaries, and silver vessels, and some documents on leather. Surviving Islamic sources consist almost exclusively of (a) some 400 isolated sentences quoted in Arabic books of case-law, and (b) the Kh^wārazmian glosses (in one case almost complete) in different copies of al-Zamakhshari's Arabic dictionary *Muqaddimat al-adab*. They use the Arabo-Persian script, augmented by two letters (*h* and *f*) with triple dots above, producing *ç* (for both affricates *č* and *č̣*, as originally in Pashto) and *β* (i.e. *v*, distinct from *w*) respectively. While *p*, *č*, *č̣* (*f*), *kh* (*x*), *gh* (*γ*), *sh* (*š*), *zh* (*ž*), *k* (*k* and *g*) and the emphatics *ʕ*, *h*, *k* (*q*), *s*, *d* (*z*), *t*, *z* presumably had their Persian values, the remaining letters, including *th*, *dh* (fricative *θ*, *δ*), evidently kept their original pronunciation. The letters are, however, often unpointed and for the most part unvoiced. Remarkable is the distinct spelling of words in pause position, with a presumably stressed vowel *y*- before the last consonant, e.g. *ʔwrk* ['urg] 'wolf', in pause *ʔwryk* ['urēg]. The basic numerals exemplify some typical consonant developments: 1 *yw* (< *awa-*), 2 *ʔdw* (< *duwa-*), 3 *šy* (as Christian Sogdian, < *θaya-*; also 30 *šys* < *θrisas*, but 13 *hrδs* < **θridasa*, cf. Parthian *hryds*), 4 *čʔr* (< *čāθpārō*, cf. Parth. *čʔr*), 5 *pnc* (< *panča*), 6 *x* (< *xšwaš*), 7 *βd* (as Sogd., < **hafta*), 8 *ʔšt* (< *ašta*), 9 *šʔδ* (< **frāda* 'increase', but 19 *mwʔδs*), 10 *δs* (< *dasā*), 20 *ʔwsc* (< *wisatī*), 100 *sd* (< *satam*).

The morphology was characteristically Eastern Middle Iranian. Nominal forms distinguished two grammatical genders, two numbers and, in combination with pre- and postpositions, five variously inflected cases: nominative-accusative, genitive-dative, possessive, ablative and locative. A complex system of personal and demonstrative pronouns included many suffixed forms. There was a definite article, masc. *ʔy*, fem. *yʔ*, plur. *ʔy*, often coalescing with prepositions. Adjectives mainly preceded nouns. Examples: *ʔy kʔm* 'the mouth', *c-y kʔm-h* 'from his mouth', *f-y kʔm-h* 'in, into his mouth', *f-y pcycc f-y kʔm-n* 'in the corner' (**pcwyck* of the mouth); *yʔ (θ-zrywnk) βwm* 'the (grassy) earth', *yʔ βwmyʔ-δʔr* 'the earth (direct object)', *cʔ βwmy* 'from the earth', *ʔy bʔywnk ʔy βwmnʔn* 'Creator of the earths'; *yʔ pšk* 'the back', *ʔy bʔr yʔ pšk* 'the load of the back', *pr-ʔ pšk-h* 'on his back'; *wdnk pxyk* 'old wine (*pxtk*)', *yʔ wdnk bdw* 'the old property'; *wdnky rʔc* 'old veins (*rʔk*)'. The verbal system was based on a present stem and an imperfect formed from it, marked in polysyllabic stems by an *ā* substituted for the vowel of the first syllable: verbs with an initial vowel took a prefix *m*- instead. Through the use of various stem or final suffixes four tenses (present, imperfect, injunc-

tive and future), six moods (indicative, subjunctive, conditional, optative, potential and imperative) and a permansive aspect were all distinguishable. Compound tenses, formed with the past participle and the auxiliary *δʔy*- 'to have', are only rarely attested. Notable, besides the third-person singular present endings in *-c* (< *-ti*), are the third-person plurals in *-r*. The most striking syntactic feature was that of 'anticipation', whereby the objects of verb or preposition appeared as pronominal suffixes early in the sentence, in a regular order, even when they appeared later as independent forms, e.g. *hyδʔ-hy-nʔ-dʔ-br ʔy slm* 'he recited the greetings before him' (literally, 'he read-him-them-off-upon the greetings').

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(D.N. MacKENZIE)

(e) Sogdian and Bactrian in the early Islamic period.

1. Sogdian (or Soghdian) was the Middle Iranian language of Sughd [q.v.] and adjacent areas. As an Eastern Iranian language, Sogdian is related fairly closely to Choresmian (Kh^wārazmian, see (d) above) and Bactrian, more distantly to Middle Persian (Pahlavi). The form of Sogdian known from texts seems to be based on the language of the capital Samarkand, but the limited evidence available indicates that the dialects spoken in areas such as Bukhārā and Čāč (Shāsh, Tashkent) were quite similar and no doubt mutually comprehensible with Sogdian proper.

Most of the surviving Sogdian manuscripts date from the 4th to 10th centuries A.D.; in addition to secular texts such as letters and business documents, they include a mass of Buddhist, Christian and Manichaean literature, written in four different scripts. Almost all of this material was found far to the east of the Sogdian homeland, in areas where Sogdian merchants had founded trading colonies, in particular the Turfan [q.v.] oasis in Chinese Turkistan (Xinjiang) and Dunhuang in western China. The most important Sogdian texts found in Sughd itself are the so-called 'Mug documents' (published by Livšits and Bogolyubov-Smirnova). These date from the period of the Islamic conquest of Sughd under Kutayba b. Muslim [q.v.] at the beginning of the 2nd/8th century and represent part of the administrative archives of its last independent rulers. Of particular interest is a letter in Sogdian from an Arab official named 'Abd al-Rahmān b. Šubh to the Sogdian king Dhēwāštīc (see I. Yakubovich, *Mugh 1.1 revisited*, forthcoming in



Studia Iranica, xxxi [2002], 215-30). The Sogdian documents from the eastern colonies also contain a few references to the people and events of the Muslim world: a life of the Christian saint John of Daylam mentions al-Ḥadjjādī b. Yūsuf, the *amīr* of *Khurāsān* (d. 95/714) (see W. Sundermann, in *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, xxiv/1 [1976], 95-101), while the trilingual (Sogdian-Turkish-Chinese) inscription of Karabalgasun in Mongolia possibly alludes to events connected with the rebellion of Rāfi' b. Layth [q.v.] of Samarkand in 190-4/806-10 (according to Y. Yoshida, in *Documents et archives provenant de l'Asie Centrale*, ed. A. Haneda, Kyoto 1990, 119-20).

As a result of the important role of the Sogdian merchants in the long-distance trade between China, India and the West, Sogdian came to be used as a *lingua franca* of the Central Asian trade routes and many Sogdian documents may have been written by and for non-native speakers. This is particularly obvious in the latest Sogdian documents (3rd-4th/9th-10th centuries), some of which display strong influence from Turkish. Soon after the beginning of the 5th/11th century, Sogdian seems to have gone out of use as a written language, having been superseded by Turkish and in *Sughd* itself by Persian. Although New Persian is in origin the language of the south-western Iranian province of Fārs, its development into a literary language had begun in the east of the Iranian world, especially in Transoxania, with the result that the language of the earliest Persian poets is full of Sogdian and other Eastern Iranian words (see W.B. Henning, *Sogdian loan-words in New Persian*, in *BSOS*, x/1 [1939], 93-106). A certain amount of Sogdian linguistic material is also preserved in the writings of Muslim scholars such as al-Bīrūnī, who gives both the standard Sogdian and the *Bukhāran* names of many months, festivals, plants, etc. (see Henning, *Mitteliranisch*, 84-6). Particularly remarkable is the philosopher al-Fārābī's discussion in his *Kitāb al-Hurūf* of the means for expressing the notion of existence in Sogdian (see A. Tafazzoli, *Three Sogdian words in the Kitāb al-Hurūf*, in *Bull. of the Iranian Culture Foundation*, i/2 [1973], 7-8).

The disappearance of Sogdian as a language of culture and administration did not immediately lead to its disappearance as a spoken language. Indeed, one Sogdian dialect has survived to this day as a result of its speakers' location in a remote mountain valley in northern Tajikistan. Now known as *Yaghnōbī*, this language was estimated in 1975 to be spoken by some 2,000 persons, mostly *Sunni* Muslims.

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2. Bactrian was the Middle Iranian language of ancient Bactria with its capital Bactra, later *Balkh* [q.v.]. Bactrian is generally reckoned as an Eastern Iranian language, but it is now becoming clear that it has almost as much in common with Western Iranian, especially Parthian, as with Eastern Iranian languages such as Sogdian and Choresmian (*Kh* "ārazmian").

Unlike other Middle Iranian languages, Bactrian was usually written in the Greek script, a legacy of the conquest of Bactria by Alexander the Great. It is chiefly known from short inscriptions on coins and

seals from *Afghānistān* and the north-west of the Indian sub-continent; a few more substantial monumental inscriptions (mostly found in *Afghānistān*, but also in the neighbouring areas of *Uzbekistan* and *Pakistan*); a handful of manuscript fragments from Chinese Turkistan (*Xinjiang*), including a unique folio in Manichaean script; and a recently-discovered group of more than 150 documents, including letters, legal and economic documents and a couple of fragmentary Buddhist texts, most of which appear to originate from the principality of *Rōb* (al-Ṭabarī's *Rū'b*, modern *Rūi* in the northern *Hindūkush*). These documents now form by far the largest part of the surviving corpus of Bactrian, so that all surveys of the material written before they began to come to light in the 1990s must be regarded as seriously out of date.

The earliest Bactrian inscriptions date from the 1st to the 2nd centuries A.D., when Bactria was the centre of the *Kushān* empire, the latest to the 3rd/9th century. The documents belong to the intervening period, from the 4th century A.D. to the 2nd/8th century, during which time Bactria was subject to a succession of foreign rulers: the *Sāsānid* dynasty of Iran, the *Chionites*, *Hephthalites* (Arabic *Ḥayṭāl* [see *HAYĀṬĪLA*]), *Turks* and finally *Arabs*. By the middle of the 2nd/8th century, the area was substantially under Muslim control. Some of the latest Bactrian documents refer to the use of "Arab silver dirhams" and to taxes payable to the *Arabs* (the word used being *Tāzīg*), while the very last (dated in the year 549 of the local era, probably corresponding to 164/781) seems to have been written by a Muslim ruler, who prefaces the text with a Bactrian version of the *bismillāh*.

A number of Bactrian words and titles are cited by Muslim writers, who refer to the language as *al-balkhiyya* (the language of *Balkh*) or *al-tukhāriyya* (the language of *Tukhāristān* [q.v.], a term commonly used in Islamic sources but first attested in two Bactrian documents of the Hephthalite period, ca. 6th century A.D.). A list of Bactrian month-names is found in some manuscripts of al-Bīrūnī's *Chronology*, for example, though this does not seem to have the authority of al-Bīrūnī himself (see N. Sims-Williams and F. de Blois, *The Bactrian calendar*, in *Bull. of the Asia Institute*, x [1996 (1998)], 149-65).

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(f) New Persian.

- i. General introduction: definition, position, periodisation, denominations
- ii. History of the language, scripts
- iii. Phonology, grammar, word formation, vocabulary
- iv. History of grammar writing: Western-type and indigenous
 1. Studies on Persian in Europe
 2. Persian grammars by indigenous authors

i. General introduction

1. Definition

New Persian is the name given by Western scholars to the language written in modified Arabic script,



which has been used roughly in the past millennium, from the 9th century A.D. up to the present day, that is, historically, in the Islamic period of the Persian-speaking population. Geographically, it was first spoken in western Iran, with the south-western province Pārs or Fārs (Arabicised form; Lat. Persis) acting as a centre in mediaeval times. However, the bulk of its earliest literary documents (9th-10th centuries) originated from the north-east (Khurāsān, including Nishāpūr, Marw, Harāt, etc.) and Central Asia; but from the late 10th century, it became the literary language in Western Iran as well. In the subsequent centuries, parallel with the Islamisation of the neighbouring countries, Persian as a language of culture, administration and everyday communication dominated vast territories ranging from Anatolia to the Indian sub-continent (North India), including Transoxania and Afghānistān, developing various written and spoken standards and dialects. Shortly after its emergence, Classical Persian became the culturally-dominant language of the area in question. Its latest representative, Modern Persian, called *Fārsī* by native speakers, with its closely related dialects and variations is spoken by approximately 50 million people as their mother tongue or their second standard language. Today, Modern Persian is the official language of Iran, spoken as a mother tongue by 50% of the population (ca. 30 million). Its closest relatives are *Tādjīkī* [q.v.], the official language of Tādjikistān, written in modified Cyrillic script, and *Alghān* or *Kābulī Darī* [q.v.], the second official language after *Pashto* (which was declared to be the first in 1936) [see *AFGHĀN*, ii] in Afghānistān (ca. 5 million) and, in Central Asia, in the modern republics of the former Soviet Union (ca. 5 million). These three languages, Modern Persian, *Tādjīkī* and *Darī*, regard Classical Persian as their common ancestor with which unbroken continuity is supposed to have been maintained. Therefore the latter two are sometimes described as the varieties or dialects of Persian (see G. Lazard, *Le persan*, in *Compendium linguarum iranicarum* (= *CLI*), ed. R. Schmitt, Wiesbaden 1989, 289; J. Wei, *Dialectal differences between three standard varieties of Persian, Teheran, Kabul, and Tajik*, Center for Applied Linguistics of the Modern Language Association of America, Washington D.C. 1962; G.L. Windfuhr, *Persian*, in *The world's major languages*, ed. B. Comrie, London and Sidney 1987, 523). Small segregated Persian-speaking communities can be found in neighbouring multilingual areas as well.

2. The position of New Persian among the New Iranian languages

New Persian is a member of the South Western group of the New Iranian languages within the Indo-Iranian branch of the Indo-European language family. From among the Western New Iranian languages (e.g. Kurdish dialects, Balōčī, etc.) New Persian is the major representative, sharing a series of phonological and grammatical features with them while also exhibiting innovations. See, for instance, the preservation of the Old Iranian initial voiced plosives *b*, *d*, *g* both in the South-West Iranian New Persian *birādar* < Middle Persian *brādar* < Old Iranian **brātar*- "brother" and in the North-West Iranian Balōčī *brāt* vs. Eastern Middle Iranian Sogdian *br't* and Eastern New Iranian *Pashto uror* (cf. D.N. MacKenzie, *Pashto*, in Comrie, *op. cit.*, 548). New Persian is the only New Iranian language which is documented in all three of its historical periods (Old, Middle and New Persian), displaying various local dialects as well. After an approximately two-century period of cultural and linguistic dominance of Arabic between the collapse of

the Sāsānid empire (7th century) and the emergence of a new literary Persian language (ca. mid-9th century), it became the culturally dominant language in subsequent centuries. Its first documents appeared in the eastern provinces after its having supplanted Middle Persian and Arabic in the written medium and other Middle Western and Eastern Iranian languages such as Parthian in Khurāsān, and Sogdian, Bactrian and Khāzarmian in Transoxanian (cf. Lazard, *The rise of the New Persian language*, in *CHIr*, iv, Cambridge 1975, 595-632).

Genetically, New Persian derives from Middle Persian, although not without breaks in the continuum. Geographically, the two preceding phases, Old Persian and Middle Persian, are linked to the regions of the southwest of Iran (i.e. the province of Pārs), while New Persian appears to have emerged first as a language of literature in the East. Typologically, however, the differences between Old Persian and Middle Persian are very considerable (especially in phonology and grammar), but less so between Middle Persian and New Persian (see H. Jensen, *Neupersische Grammatik*, Heidelberg 1931, 4; Lazard 1975, 596; idem, *Les modes de la virtualité en moyen-iranien occidental*, in *Middle Iranian studies*, ed. W. Skalmowski and A. van Tongerloo, Leuven 1984, 1-13). The changes concerned mainly the exponents of inflectional morphology which induced alterations in the language type. Old Persian, like many other old Indo-European (Greek, Latin) and Indo-Iranian (Sanskrit, Avestan) languages, was inflectional, while Middle and New Persian became a language of a mixed type displaying less inflectional and more agglutinative characteristics. That is to say, grammatical categories earlier expressed by inflection and conjugation were partially preserved, even though with significant restructuring in the verbal paradigm, but some of them were completely abandoned (see W. Sundermann, *West-mitteliranische Sprachen*, in *CLI*, 110-11). In nominal morphology, for instance, the old case system was supplanted by new ways of expressing grammatical categories such as by pre- and postpositions, *idāfa* structure or word order, supposedly due, among other factors, to stress placement. As a result, analytic structures began to be dominant in New Persian morphology, while inherited Old Iranian synthetic structures came to be gradually, but not completely, abandoned. Simultaneously, the vocabulary incorporated a large number of northwestern and eastern Iranian elements (see W. Lentz, *Die nordiranischen Elemente in der neupersischen Literatursprache bei Firdosi*, in *Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik*, iv [1926], 251-316, and W.B. Henning, *Sogdian loan words in New Persian*, in *BSOAS*, x [1939-42], 93-106) and, in increasing proportion, Arabic lexical items. More recently, there has been considerable borrowing from various Turkic languages and neologisms from such Western languages as French, English and Russian.

3. Periodisation

New Persian, which spans more than a thousand years, has undergone considerable changes. Persian as it appears today is markedly different from the language of the classical authors, displaying considerable variations in both the spoken and written standards. Traditionally, the periods of Persian, especially those of its written variants, are linked to the alternation of the ruling dynasties (cf. Old Persian as the official language of the Achaemenids in the 6th-4th centuries B.C., or Middle Persian, the language of the Sāsānids in the 3rd-7th centuries, and further used by the Zoroastrian clergy in religious writings in the 8th-10th



centuries; see J. de Menasce, *Zoroastrian literature after the Muslim conquest*, in *CHR*, iv, 543-65.). Similarly, the emergence of New Persian is connected with the fall of the Sāsānid empire and the Arab conquest. The transition periods, however, appear to be the most tangible if they are accompanied by a change in the writing system, or in close connection with it, a change in faith. Nevertheless, neither Middle Persian and New Persian nor the various stages of the last thousand years' history of New Persian in the Islamic era can easily be separated. It is well known from the more recent periods of Persian how much written and spoken varieties can differ from each other. Certain spoken forms were used in Persian for centuries without being incorporated in the literary language, or else they were taken over with a certain delay, sometimes centuries later, under social pressure, as a result of literary and political movements. As a consequence, the various linguistic stages can only be set up *post hoc* and always with a certain degree of idealisation and oversimplification. This is the more so since the transmission of all ancient texts was very uncertain because the copyists often "normalised" them by introducing or abolishing archaisms and dialecticisms. Consequently, the actual use of the language, which must have been marked by individual features and plenty of idiosyncrasies, often fails to be accounted for.

According to generally accepted views, after its emergence in the spoken registers (ca. 7th-9th centuries) New Persian is divided into Early Classical (9th-12th centuries), Classical Persian (from the 13th century on), and Modern Persian (from the 19th century on), which is supposed to be based on the local dialect of Tehran. Windfuhr provides a classification into five periods such as "formative" (7th-10th centuries), "heroic" (10th-12th centuries), "classical" (13th-15th centuries), "post-classical" (15th-19th centuries) and finally "contemporary" Persian, following a predominantly literary periodisation (*Persian grammar. History and state of its study*, The Hague 1979, 166).

Other views, found especially in former Soviet studies written in Russian, ascribe the splitting of Classical Persian into three new, closely related literary languages such as the Modern Persian of Iran (*Fārsī*) and Afghān (or Kābulī) *Darī* and *Tādjīkī* to the beginning of the 16th century when the disintegration of the earlier common classical heritage and the first steps towards developing new local standards might have begun (see L.S. Peysikov, *Problema yazika daru v trudakh sovremennikh iranskikh uonnikh*, in *Voprosi yazikoznaniya* 1960, 120-5; V.A. Yefimov, V.S. Rastorgueva and Y.N. Sharova, *Persidskiy, tadzhikskiy, dari in Osnovi iranskogo yazikoznaniya* (= *OIJ*); *Novoiranskiye yaziki, zapadnaya gruppa*, eds. V.A. Abaev, M.N. Bogolyubov, V.S. Rastorgueva, 1982, 7 *Tādjīkī*, by I. Steblin-Kamenskiy; Zs. Telegdi, *Beiträge zur historischen Grammatik des Neupersischen. I. Über die Partikelkomposition im Neupersischen*, in *Acta Linguistica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*, v [1955], 68 n. 1). In earlier Soviet publications the denomination "klassičeskij persidsko-(dari)-tadžikskij" (*OIJ* 1982, 20) or simply "*Tajik*" (Rastorgueva, *A short sketch of Tajik grammar*, Bloomington, Ind. 1963, 1) was used to refer to the common origin, claiming an unbroken continuity with the Classical Persian language and literature (*OIJ*, 1982, 9, 13). Another periodisation marks off the last (19th-20th) centuries, when the emergence of the three modern languages was supposed to have begun (A. Pisowicz, *Origins of the New and Middle Persian phonological systems*, Cracow 1985, 9 n. 1; Lazard 1989, 289). The divergent opinions on the periodisation can be attributed to the differ-

ent ways of evaluating spoken and written forms. The new written varieties, *Darī* and *Tādjīkī*, are obviously based on ancient local spoken dialects (Lazard, *La langue des plus anciens monuments de la prose persane*, Paris 1963, 15), but the characteristic features of these dialects were first observed in written media only in the last century (see W. Geiger, *Bemerkungen über das Tadschikī*, in *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie* (= *GIPh*), ed. W. Geiger and E. Kuhn, Strassburg 1895-1904, i, 2, 407-8; I.M. Oranskij, *Die neuiranischen Sprachen der Sowjetunion*, The Hague 1975, i, 22; A. Farhādi, *Le persan parlé en Afghanistan: grammaire du Kāboli*, Paris 1955, 2; L.N. Dorofeeva, *Jazik farsī-kabuli*, Moscow 1960, 9-10). Meanwhile, the overall cultural dominance of Persian, both as a common *Hofsprache* and as a spoken language continued also to prevail in the former Persian-speaking area.

4. Denominations

As the periodisation indicates, the division between the classical language and its modern continuations presents peculiar difficulties, reflected in the denominations of Persian in Western scholarship and in the native tradition. The two main varieties of New Persian are generally called Classical and Modern Persian in the West with further subdivisions into diachronic, local and style or register variants. In linguistic literature, both scientific and popular, New Persian is sometimes called Modern Persian (e.g. J. Darmesteter, *Études iraniennes*, 2 vols., Paris 1883; H. Paper, in *Current Trends in Linguistics* (= *CTL*), vi [1970], Introduction, or Windfuhr 1979, 7) vs. contemporary Persian or contemporary colloquial or Neo-Persian (see F. de Blois in *Persian literature. A bio-bibliographical survey begun by the late C.A. Storey* (= *PL*), v, part 1, London 1992, part 2, 1994 or in French, *néopersan* (Lazard 1989, 263). Native speakers use the name *Pārsī* or its Arabicised form, *Fārsī*, or both, without distinction (see M.T. Bahār, *Sabk-shināsi ya tātauwur-i nathr-i fārsī*, ²Tehran 1337/1958, i, 2), denoting all varieties of New Persian. In scholarly publications, the denomination *fārsī-i bāstānī* vs. *fārsī-i naw* distinguishing an "old archaic" and a "new" variety of [New] Persian, can also be found in Iran (see *Lughat-nāma* (= *LN*) by Dihkhudā). *Fārsī* is the name of the official language of today's Iran, which has come to be used as an equivalent of Modern Persian, or simply Persian in modern text and grammar books outside Iran as well (A.K.S. Lambton, *Persian grammar*, Cambridge 1967, p. xi n. 1; D. Crystal, *The Cambridge encyclopedia of language*, Cambridge 1987, 301; similarly Lazard, *Le persan*, 1989, 263). In native sources the name *Darī* [q.v.] or *Fārsī-i darī* is also used, referring to the oldest and most respected variety of the [Classical] literary Persian or, simply as an equivalent of *Pārsī* or *Fārsī*. The speakers of *Tādjīkī*, which is very closely connected to Persian, use also *Fārsī* to designate their mother tongue (*Fārsīwān*, *Fārsībān*, or *Fārsī-gū[y]*) *Tādjīk*.

ii. History of the language

I. The emergence of New Persian: *Pahlawī*, *Pārsī*, *Darī*

1. The native tradition

The complexity of the linguistic situation in Iran is clearly indicated by the wide range of names used for Persian since the time of its emergence, either as common names, synonyms or denominations, with or without clear distinctions being made. Therefore the history of the language starts here with investigations into the early native tradition as a source of language history. The early history of the names applied to the various forms of Persian and the alleged change of



their references may elucidate the eclectic use of these denominations in more recent periods and the difficulties of the periodisation of the language history as well. It must be emphasised, though, that the authors of these early Islamic sources who spoke about the varieties of Persian were not linguists but historians, geographers and literary men, in most cases of the last category, poets. Hence the information they gave about the dialects once spoken or still spoken in the age they lived in was more "narrative" than "technical", and it was often embedded in myths with much folklore and obscure details. The picture one can gain from these texts is thus not always clear or coherent. A truly technical treatment of linguistic issues in Iran lies in the distant future.

2. Mediaeval Arabic and Persian sources on Persian language

The intricate problems of the transition period between Middle Persian and New Persian (7th-9th centuries) has been extensively treated by G. Lazard in a series of studies based on the analysis of mediaeval Arabic sources, Early and Classical New Persian texts as well as Persian and non-Persian dialects (see the summary in *La formation de la langue persane*, Paris 1995). One of the earliest sources mentioning the names *Pahlavī*, *Pārsī* and *Darī*, which denoted the languages used in Iran at the end of the Sāsānid period, was attributed to Ibn al-Muḳaffā' (d. 757 [q.v.]) by Ibn al-Nadīm (d. 987) in his *Fihrist* and repeated by Kh̲ārazmī (d. 985), and by Yāqūt (d. 1229) through Ḥamza al-Isfahānī (d. 970) (see Bahār 1958, i, 19; Lazard, *Pahlavī, Pārsī, Darī. Les langues de l'Iran d'après Ibn al-Muḳaffā'*, in *Iran and Islam. In memory of the late Vladimir Minorsky*, ed. C.E. Bosworth, Edinburgh 1971, 361-91; idem, art. *Darī* in *Elr*, vii, 1994, 34-5). These descriptions continued to be repeated by Persian lexicographers until the 19th century, albeit with certain modifications (cf. E.M. Jeremiás, *Pahlavī, Pārsī and Darī in Persian lexicography*, in *Acta Ant. Hung.*, xxxviii [1998], 175-83).

In the following, some shifts in the meanings of these terms will be shown through some characteristic passages quoted from this native tradition. After talking about *Pahlavī* as the language of Fahla (i.e. the ancient Media) the earliest informant, Ibn al-Muḳaffā', says that *Darī* is "the language of the cities of Madā'in; it is spoken by those who are at the king's court. [Its name] is connected with presence at court. Among the languages of the people of Khorasan and the east, the language of the people of Balḵ is predominant." He continues on to say that *Pārsī* is "the language spoken by the *mowbeds* (priests), scholars and the like; it is the language of the people of Fārs" (translated by Lazard in his art. *Darī*, 34). This rather incoherent description can be better elucidated by Arabic and Persian sources originating from the subsequent (10th-11th) centuries, e.g. al-Mas'ūdī and al-Muḳaddasī or Firdawsī, Bal'amī, Ḥakīm Maysarī, Kaykāwūs b. Iskandar, etc. As evidenced by these texts, the denominations *Pahlavī*, *Pārsī* and *Darī* may have changed their references to varying degrees during the first centuries of the Islamic era, denoting various written and spoken varieties depending on the text where they appeared. Accordingly, *Pahlavī* or *Pahlawānī* (literally meaning "Parthian" originating from Pahlaw < Parthava "Parthia"), appears to have referred at one time to Parthian and Middle Persian but also to the local dialect of the northern region called Fahla in an Arabised form (see the poems written in this dialect and called *Fahlawīyya*, cf. *Elr*, ix, 158 and the most

recent publications on this topic in *Madjalla-i zabānshināsī*, xv [1379/2000], no. 1). *Pārsī*, "the ancient language" first denoted Middle Persian (*Pārsīg*) as described by Ibn al-Muḳaffā', but with a shift of meaning it came to mean New Persian and has continued to denote New Persian of whatever kind until today (see *LN*, art. *Pārsī/Fārsī*). *Darī* (etymologically, "belonging to the royal court") also denoted the Persian language which was supposed to be spoken both in the capital of the Sāsānid empire (Ctesiphon) and in the East. It was the name of the language of literature which appeared in the eastern part of Iran, sc. *Khurāsān*, and has been used in Persian texts since the 10th century. All the quotations in Arabic sources attributed to Persian kings or their subjects were thought to have been in *Darī* (cf. Bahār 1957, i, 19) and the language of all the ancient texts was called *Darī* or *Pārsī-i Darī* (Lazard 1989, 264), sometimes contrasted with *Pahlavī* when the latter denoted Middle Persian or *Pārsī* (Lazard 1994). The expression *Pārsī-i Darī* (in Arabic *al-fārsīyya al-darīyya*) indicates that occasionally, it might have been distinguished from *Pārsī* as a special variety, the *Darī* form of *Pārsī* (e.g. al-Muḳaddasī and Kaykāwūs b. Iskandar, ca. 1082-83; cf. Lazard 1994, 34). Other than that, it was often used as a synonym for *Pārsī*. The expression *Pārsī u Darī* (in the *Shāh-nāma* by Firdawsī, ed. Moscow, viii, 254) seems to be a "distortion" (see P.N. Khānlari, *Tārīkh-i zabān-i fārsī*, 3 vols., new ed. Tehran 1365/1986, i, 273).

In his earlier studies, G. Lazard explained the linguistic situation of the post-Sāsānid period by contrasting *Pārsī* and *Darī* as the written and spoken form of the same language. According to his interpretation, it was the spoken language that spread to the eastern region, as Ibn al-Muḳaffā's report suggested, after having gradually supplanted the local dialects (e.g. Parthian). As a spoken variety, it was supposed to have been used in the whole empire, but it was in *Khurāsān* that it was first used for literary purposes and became the new literary language of the subsequent centuries.

3. Early dialectal sources (8th-11th centuries): the evidence of Judaeo-Persian texts

Recently published sources on local dialects and on the Judaeo-Persian texts, however, have helped throw new light on the linguistic situation and the rise of the new literary language in the first centuries of the Islamic era, as described earlier (Lazard, *Lumières nouvelles sur la formation de la langue persane: une traduction du Coran en persan dialectal et ses affinités avec le judéo-persan*, in *Irano-Judaica*, ii, ed. Sh. Shaked and A. Netzer, Jerusalem 1990, 184-98 = 1995, 107-21). A manuscript discovered in Mashhad which contained an anonymous and undated Kur'an translation (*Kur'ān-i Kudś, kuhantarīn bargardān-i Kur'ān ba fārsī*, ed. 'A. Rawāḳī, Tehran 1362/1984) was written in a local dialect of Sīstān in the 11th century, as supposed by Lazard. This text shares a series of dialectal features with Judaeo-Persian texts (mainly Bible translations and paraphrases), and both show common peculiarities with Middle Persian, mainly regarding words and certain morphological features. The properties which the two sources share are unknown in literary New Persian, which induced Lazard to develop a new hypothesis that at the beginning of the Islamic period "there were important differences between the common language spoken in the south and that in use in the north. The former, as represented by literary Middle Persian, retained most of its ancient forms; the latter evolved from the same Persian language,



which had spread throughout the north, but evinced the influence of the dialects that it had supplanted there, particularly Parthian. It thus diverged noticeably from the original form. Both were called *Pārsī* (Persian), but it is very likely that the language of the north, that is, the Persian used on former Parthian territory and also in the Sasanian capital, was distinguished from its congener by a new name, *Darī* ([language] of the court). It was only natural that several centuries later, literary Persian, based on the speech of the Northeast, bore the same name" (1994, 35; see also 1989, 263 n. 1).

This hypothetical reconstruction might be extended in the future by investigating other Persian sources as well, the text editions of which are far from being completed, and these may help clarify some more details. True, there are other interpretations also. For instance, Khānlari has developed the (unlikely) hypothesis, relying on al-Muḥaddasī's report (10th century), that *Darī*, the chancery language of Bukhārā, had been transported there from the royal court of the Sāsānids by the state officials (1986, i, 280-1).

4. More recent native sources on the languages of Iran: lexicography and grammar from the 17th-19th centuries

Extensive descriptions of the languages used in Iran, like those of Ibn al-Muḥallā' and his compatriots, can only be found much later, in the huge Hindustānī lexicographic compilations written in and after the 17th century. These works, of which the most famous are the *Farhang-i Dīhāngīrī* (= *FDj*), 1608-9, ed. R. 'Afīfī, Mashhad 1351/1972; *Burhān-i kāfī* (= *BK*), 1652, ed. M. Mu'īn, Tehran 1341/1962; and *Farhang-i Rāshīdī* (= *FR*), 1654, ed. M. 'Abbāsī, Tehran 1337/1958 (see *JAMUS*, 2. Persian lexicography), partly preserved the old heritage and partly added some more information on language varieties, grammar, style of letter writing, etc. These accounts about the grammar, dialects, history and vocabulary of Persian, which occasionally bear witness to fantasy at work, were collected in chapters and placed as an introductory part to the *farhangs*, serving as a kind of grammatical introduction. The very first chapters usually dealt with the varieties of Persian (*Pārsī*) which were supposed to be of seven *gūna* "species": four of them (*harawī*, *sagzī*, *zāwulī* and *sughdī*) were regarded as obsolete (*matrūk*), in which "letter, book and verse cannot be written" (*FDj* 15; *FR* 46) and three others as currently used (*mutadāwīl*), these being *Darī*, *Pahlawī* and *Pārsī*. Apart from the suprising fact that these languages were treated as the variations of *Pārsī* still in living use in Iran in the 17th century (e.g. *Pārsī* was described as the common language of Iran, with Iṣṭakhr as its capital), they covered slightly or markedly different notions as compared to earlier sources, but also contained ideas similar to those found in the first grammatical compilations that relied heavily on lexicography, e.g. 'Abd al-Wasī' Hānsawī's *Risāla* from 18th-century India (lith. Kānpur 1872) or Irawānī's *Kawā'id* (lith. [Tabriz] 1262/1846; see Jeremiás, *Tradition and innovation in the native grammatical literature of Persian*, in *Histoire, Épistémologie, langage* (Paris), xv [1993], 51-68). The three denominations were treated fairly consistently in these recent sources, differences existing only in detail, emphasis and arrangement. In comparison with older sources, however, the authors of these compilations did not bother to reconcile the most contradictory and fabulous accounts in the description of the single languages; they simply quoted them as differing opinions on the same subject (e.g. on *Darī*: "some said that it was spoken in Balkh, Marw, Bukhārā, Badakhshān . . . , but according to others it was spo-

ken in the Kayānīan court, and then there were those who regarded it as the purest, unmixed language" (see *FR* 47; *FDj* 16; *BK* 20, 500). Entirely new motives also appeared in these descriptions: one was something like "ideological", and another might be called a "linguistic argument". Both concerned the reputation of Persian among the languages spoken by Islamic peoples. The eminence of Persian as the second language after Arabic was illustrated by various stories and supported by a *tafsīr* [q.v.] called *Daylamī* with the intention of symbolising the role of *Pārsī* as a common language in the whole empire (*BK* 500; Irawānī, fol. 4b, see Jeremiás 1998, 181). The superiority or dignity of the Islamic languages like Arabic, Persian or Ottoman Turkish appears to have been a matter of debate since the 15th century, enthusiastically treated by Mīr 'Alī Shīr Nawā'ī and Kemāl Pāsha-zāda [q.v.] (see R. Brunschvig, *Kemāl Pāshāzāde et le persan*, in *Mélanges d'orientalisme offerts à Henri Massé*, Tehran 1963, 48-64 (= *Études d'islamologie*, Paris 1976, i, 379-95); B.G. Fragner, *Mīr 'Alī Shīr Nawā'ī: the "Judgement" reconsidered*, in *Irano-Turkic cultural contacts in the 11th-17th centuries*, ed. É. Jeremiás, Budapest 2002; idem, *Die "Persophonie". Regionalität, Identität und Sprachkontakt in der Geschichte Asiens*, in *Anor*, v, Halle-Berlin 1999).

This linguistic argument was even more clearly spelled out in the 17th-century lexicography where *Darī* was treated. The compilers declared that "*Darī* is the language in which there is no deficiency (*nuḳṣānī*)" (see *FDj*, 16; *FR* 47; *BK*, 20). The idea of *nuḳṣānī* seemed to denote something missing from the "authorised" (*ṣaḥīḥ*) word form. As examples, the authors quoted two lists of doublets: nouns with the same meaning, but written with or without the initial *alif*, which represented the vocalic onset, e.g. *abrishum*/*barishum* "silk", *ispid*/*sapid* or *sipid* 'white', *ishkam*/*shikam* "belly", *uṣṭur*/*shutur* "camel" etc. and imperative verbal forms with or without the verbal prefix *bi-*, e.g. *bi-raw*/*raw* "go"; *bi-ṣnaw*/*ṣnaw* "listen", etc. According to the commentary, the "defective" words are not correct *Darī* forms. The sources say almost unanimously that Persian is regarded as "correct, uncorrupted" (*ṣaḥīḥ*) only if there is no *nuḳṣānī* in it.

This very peculiar interpretation of *Darī* goes back to the traditional treatment of lexical and grammatical doublets based on a peculiar analysis of the (morphological) structure of the word. Ancient lexicographers and prosodists listed all the so-called "meaningful letters" (*hurūf-i ma'ānī*) occurring in different positions in the word, first at the end where rhymes appeared (see Shams-i Kays's rhyme science in *al-Mu'djam fī ma'āyir ash'ār al-adjam*, ed. Mudarris Radawī, ²Tehran 1338/1959, in the 13th century), and later, as an extension of this practice, at the beginning and in the middle of the word. The technical terms denoting the base (*aṣlī*) and the extension (*waṣṭī* or *zā'id*), were borrowed from the Arabic grammatical and literary tradition, but they were adapted to Persian with a special connotation. *Aṣlī* denoted the base which always appeared as a word, while *zā'id* marked any additional element, mainly inflectional and derivational morphemes attached to this base form. Later, the term *zā'id* came to be used in a somewhat different meaning in lexicography denoting any letter which was added to or removed from the base form without changing its meaning (cf. Jeremiás, *Zā'id and aṣl in early Persian prosody*, in *JSAI*, xxi [1997], 167-86). All the sources from the 17th century seemed to agree that these doublets were used only in poetry as required by prosody but never in common speech. However,



talking about *Darī*, the author of *FR* (47) added that the “defective” forms were also used in towns, by which he probably meant that these forms were used both in poetry and the spoken idiom. The problem with the doublets of the imperative forms is somewhat different. Imperative forms may appear with or without the verbal prefix *bi-* in literary texts. But it was obligatory for the imperative in genuine *ṣaḥīḥ darī* forms, as Shams-i Kayas remarked (232). Prestigious authors such as Ni‘mat Allāh (ca. 1540, cf. A.M. Piemontese, *Catalogo dei manoscritti persiani conservati nelle biblioteche d'Italia*, Rome 1989, no. 403, fol. 296) or even earlier, Muḥammad b. Hindūshāh Nakhchawānī [q.v.], the author of *Shāh al-Furs* (1328), seems to share this opinion (cf. ā [“come” imperat.] *ba-mānī dar-ā wa bi-yā*, ed. ‘A. Tā‘atī, Tehran 1341/1962, 19). Moreover, *BK* and *FDj* make a clear distinction between the two functions of the verbal prefix *bi-*: it was regarded as obligatory in the imperative but obsolete in past forms, where it was used as embellishment. This usage may have indicated a change in the language (see below, on grammar). In more recent native sources, however, this distinction seems to have become dimmed and the verbal prefix *bi-*, in both present and past forms, was called *zā‘id* in most cases, that is, an element which only has an aesthetic function (cf. *FR*, 15; Hānsawī, 3; Irawānī, fol. 22b). This topic was also dealt with by Irawānī (1846), who used a strange “linguistic” argument proving the eminence of Persian against other Islamic languages; this argument rests on its [grammatical] simplicity: there is no *‘rāb*, no dual and no feminine gender which would make the language difficult for beginners, says Irawānī (fol. 3b).

These scattered references on language and its different variations may help one to draw the following conclusions. It seems to be a *communis opinio* that from the very beginnings the most highly respected literary variety of Persian was called *Darī* in indigenous sources, sometimes as an extension, and sometimes as an equivalent of *Pārsī* or *Fārsī*, and this view continued to prevail in subsequent centuries. More recent sources, however, tend to talk about the “rules of *Pārsī*” or *Fārsī* (see Ni‘mat Allāh, ‘Abd al-Wāsi Hānsawī, Rawshan ‘Alī Džawnpūrī, Irawānī, Tālakānī, Ḥabīb Isfahānī, to mention only a few, cf. the references in *PL*, iii/1, 1984, 123ff.). But despite this preference for the name *Darī* in older sources, the denominations *Pārsī*, *Fārsī* or *Fārsī-i Darī* or *Darī* seem to have been used almost interchangeably. One must not forget that these eclectic sources did not use well-defined terms when they talked about language. On the contrary, literary persons (*ahl-i zabān*) usually thought of the language in terms of “ancient” or “modern” and “common (spoken)” or “dialectal” forms. The reason for that was quite obvious: there was no grammatical tradition in Persian, “no exact norm (*mikyās*) of the rules (*kawānīn*) of Persian (*Darī*) on the basis of which the correct (*ṣaḥīḥ*) and corrupt (*fāsiḍ*) usage could be defined and on which one could rely when defining what was right (*sawāb*) and wrong (*khatā*) in Persian speech (*kalām-i Pārsī*), to which one could turn in case of need”, thus noted by Shams-i Kayas in the 13th century (*op. cit.*, 205) and repeated almost word for word by Shams-i Fakhri in the 14th century (*Lexicon persicum id est libri Mi‘yār i G‘amālī pars quarta*, ed. C. Salesmann, Kazan 1887, 3) and the author of *FDj* in the 17th century (4). But even if writers were unaware of the fine grammatical distinctions of social or historical dimensions, they must have had some knowledge of the differences between

the usage of the “ancient” (*mutakaddimīn*) and “modern” (*muta‘akḥḥūrīn*) poets (see Shams-i Kayas, 208-9) or of the language of literary or common speech (*muḥāwarāt-i pārsī*, in *FDj* 40; *BK* 26; Ḥabīb Isfahānī, *Dastūr-i suḥḥan*, [Istanbul] 1289, 54) or poetry and prose (see ‘Abd al-Wāsi Hānsawī, 41; Ḥabīb Isfahānī, 15). Scattered hints at some “virtual” norm in Shams’s poetic manual, which never came to be institutionalised, or the lists of doublets and denominations such as *Furs-i qadīm* (*FDj* 8; *FR* 47), *Pārsī-i bāstānī* (*FDj* 4; *BK* 500) in lexicography might serve as proofs (cf. Jeremiás, *Grammar and linguistic consciousness in Persian*, in *Proceedings of the Third European Conference of Iranian Studies*, ii, ed. C. Melville, Wiesbaden 1999, 19-31). The literary model was but the poets’ use of the language, which was far from being uniform. This discrepancy between linguistic and literary norms may be the very reason for the lack of clarity and the contradictions in the sources (see the definition of *Darī* in *LN*: *zabān-i fārsī-i rasmi-i ma‘mūl-i imrūza* “the official Persian language used today”), which makes the separation of *Fārsī* and *Darī* almost impossible. Paradoxically, however, the lack of a strictly regulated norm preserved more of the linguistic reality of the previous periods in comparison with the Arabic grammatical literature which often dealt with an idealised construct which differed considerably from actual speech (see K. Versteegh, *Landmarks in linguistic thought. III. The Arabic linguistic tradition*, London 1997, 156).

II. The impact of Arabic

With a few exceptions (see below, V. Scripts, 2), all the sources discussed above were written in the Perso-Arabic script (the earliest manuscript dates from the beginning of the 10th century, cf. L.P. Elwell-Sutton, *Arabic influences in Persian literature*, in *Elr*, ii, 233-7). It was not only the script that was taken over, but Arabic became the medium of written expression, both in administration, science and literature in the eastern areas (Kḥurāsān and Transoxania) in the first two centuries after the Muslim conquest. As a consequence, the supreme dominance of the Arabic language and culture almost completely supplanted Persian in the written medium during this period. Even though the western part of Iran preserved longer the ancient culture, as the Pahlawī writings from the 9th-10th centuries attest, the knowledge of the “old” language, that is, Middle Persian, and its insurmountable script was a privilege of a few. However, Persian was never abandoned but was allowed to thrive in the spoken idiom and from the mid-9th century in the East, and from the end of the 10th century in the West, it began to regain its position in culture and literature (cf. *IRAN*, v. History (a)). Moreover, Persian not only survived as a spoken idiom, and began to appear in the written documents, but was also imported by Muslim conquerors into further eastern areas, unlike the other territories of the caliphate, and a considerable proportion of the Arab population which had settled in the towns of Iran were assimilated rapidly. In the subsequent centuries, in Transoxania, Afghānistān, North India (and later also westwards to Anatolia), Persian became the main literary language.

But this new literary language, which is called New Persian and was based on the spoken variety of the East, showed essentially new characteristics due to the impact of Arabic and the culture imported by this language. Despite the Persians’ increasing national identity, Arabic as the language of science became gradually adopted and cultivated by a growing number of significant scholars of Iranian origin (cf. C.E. Bosworth, *The political and dynastic history of the Iranian*



world (A.D. 1000-1217), in *CHI*, v, 4). Contemporaneously, models of Arabic scientific thinking began to be adapted to Persian. The sphere of literature adduces a good example of this development: although Iranians retained and cherished the ancient tradition in mind and memory, as Firdawsī's *Shāh-nāma* shows, Persian poets tried to follow the rules of the Arabic prosody from the early beginnings of New Persian poetry, in sharp contrast to the previous literary canons. As a consequence, the following centuries saw the infiltration of a large number of Arabic loan words into New Persian (ca. 30% in the 10th century and 50% in the 12th century: cf. Lazard, *Les emprunts arabes dans la prose persane du X^e au XII^e siècle: aperçu statistique*, in *Revue de l'École nationale des langues orientales*, ii [1965], 53-67; 'A.A. Šādiqī, *The Arabic element in Persian*, in *EL*, ii, 229-31). As a result, Persian, as a new literary language "appears to have been from the start a mixed language, based on the Persian dialect but bearing marked traces of other Iranian dialects and infiltrated with Arabic words" (Lazard 1975, 597). This mixed nature of Persian, and the fact that their language is essentially different from those of their neighbours, was well known to the Iranians themselves from the start, as evidenced by the first works in literary sciences (prosody and lexicography), which made a clear distinction between the Arabic and Persian letters, words and word formation in most cases. Moreover, this knowledge subsisted until quite recently in the native tradition (see "the [*fārsī*] language is a mixture of two languages" (*murakkab az du zabān*), written by Ḥabīb Isfahānī, *op. cit.*, preface, 4, in the 19th century).

III. Classical Persian and its variants

The script, religion and literary models (e.g. the new system of versification) are the most decisive characteristics which distinguish the period of New Persian from the previous ones (see also W.B. Henning, *Die Schrift als Symbol der Einheit des Mitteliranischen*, in *Mitteliranisch*, Hdb. d. Or., I, iv, *Iranistik, Linguistik*, Leiden-Köln 1958, 21). Despite its bewildering variety at the outset—*Khurāsān* and *Sīstān* especially displayed markedly distinctive features—New Persian appears to have become a surprisingly "unified" literary language after the 13th century (Lazard 1963, 23-4) and continued to be regarded as such during the subsequent centuries, as the common name *Pārsī* indicates. But this was an *apparent homogeneity* which might be attributed to at least two main factors: the highly conservative script, which remained practically unchanged over the last thousand years, and the prestige of Classical Persian literature. Due to its Semitic character, the Arabic script by its very nature disguised changes in the pronunciation of words or in the meaning in most cases of the grammatical morphemes, giving the impression of a static language situation. On the other hand, the general respect and admiration surrounding the classical literature, especially poetry, helped keep the language of the classical authors alive for centuries until fairly recently.

It does not mean, however, that men of letters and scholars were or are not aware how significantly speech and writing differ in Persian (see, for instance, P.N. Khānlari, *Zabān u lahūja*, in *Dar bāra-i zabān-i fārsī*, Tehran 1340/1961, 75-85; M.R. Baṭīnī, *Tawṣīf-i sākhīmān-i dastūr-i zabān-i fārsī*, Tehran 1348/1969, 11; 'A.A. Šādiqī, *Zabān-i fārsī wa gunahā-i mukhtalif-i ān*, in *Farhang u zindagī*, ii [1349/1970], 61-6; T. Wahidiyān, *Dastūr-i zabān-i āmiyāna-i fārsī*, Tehran 1343/1964). However, the first attempts to include linguistic expressions closer to the colloquial style in

text and grammar books (e.g. Šādiqī, and Gh. Arzhang, *Dastūr, Sāl-i duvvum*, Tehran 2535/1976) were received with sharp criticism at first (see M.S. Mawlā'i, in *Yaghmā*, xxx [2536/1977], 245-51), though it was common experience that the characteristic features of classical and modern standards, even the least formal or vulgar forms, could appear in literature either intermingled in the same work or clearly distinguished. This might also explain why the language is simply called *Fārsī*, that is, "Persian" implying all the variants. The differences between the diachronic ("les formes anciennes" Lazard 1989, 288) and synchronic variants (formal and colloquial standards, local usage or the new literary standards like *Tādjikī* and *Afghān Darī*) in phonology, grammar and vocabulary came to be described by linguists, although much remains to be done. It must be emphasised, however, that the apparent variations in the grammar of Persian do not always reflect ongoing changes in the language but rather the standardisation process of the literary language. As the formation of the Classical Persian literary language clearly testifies, dialectal or colloquial forms may have disappeared or become incorporated in the written language, occasionally or else in varying degrees, depending on the literary genre. Poetry, for instance, preserved more of the earlier archaic forms, supposedly due to the requirements of prosody, while prose displayed considerable variation in the same genre (see, for instance, the early *tafsīrs*, in Jeremias, *Some grammatical problems of early New Persian syntax*, in *Proceedings of the second European conference of Iranian studies*, Rome 1995, 325-34). This linguistic diversity was occasionally associated with divergent stylistic values. For instance, some recurrent patterns could be classified either as archaic, dialectal or colloquial or as social variants. This was mainly due to the lack of a firmly established linguistic norm based on a highly respected canon such as the *Kur'ān* in Arabic, on the basis of which the grammar of the language might have been worked out. Paradoxically, this diversity inside Classical Persian or between classical and modern usage, and the maintenance of the classical literary norm, causes difficulties in defining stages in the linguistic history of Persian (see A.V. Rossi, *Sprachübergänge und historische Übergänge in der iranischen Literatur*, in *Transition periods in Iranian history*, Studia Iranica, Cahier 5, 1987).

IV. Modern Persian: spoken and written variants

This phenomenon gives a special status to Persian: the fact that even today, native speakers can understand (though not always in the strictly linguistic sense of the word) ancient texts, and by reading and memorising them they become acquainted with some grammatical characteristics of the ancient language, sometimes dating from a thousand years back. The message of the novels or poems written occasionally (not typically) by modern authors in the style of the ancient language seems to be fully understood (see, for instance, *Parizād u Parīmān* by Šādiq Čubak in the collection of short stories, *Čarāgh-i ākhir*, Tehran 1948). In these literary works, the ancient language is imitated by using "classicising" grammatical archaisms like obsolete prepositions or verbal forms. The maintenance of this very formal style as a literary norm has been backed by social institutions: this language was taught in school as the norm of Persian. The same divergence between the newly-arising spoken variant and its acceptance as a literary (written) standard is likely to have existed throughout the modern period, which makes it almost impossible to tell the



exact point in time of the beginnings. But Modern Persian, as it appears today, is distinctly different from the classical language, displaying also a wide range of social, dialectal, diachronic and stylistic variations, which are consciously used by authors in most cases. *Style*, therefore, seems to be the most essential factor in the definition of Modern Persian (see C.T. Hodge, *Some aspects of Persian style*, in *Language*, xxxiii [1957], 355-69).

The crucial question is, therefore, in what sense the term Modern Persian is used. It is generally linked with the spoken dialect of Tehran (see IRĀN, vii, Literature; J. Towhidi, *Studies in the phonetics and phonology of Modern Persian*, Hamburg 1974; Peysikov 1960; Waḥīdīyān 1964; etc.). This view is a consequence of the periodisation which marks the beginning of the modern period with the rule of the Kādjār dynasty, with the capital Tehran as a centre from the 19th century onwards. It must be emphasised, however, that, on the one hand, certain typical characteristics of Modern Persian's formal and informal standards began to appear centuries earlier in the written literature and, on the other, some typical colloquialisms can be traced back in other local dialects as well. That is, not all the typical features of Modern Persian can be restricted topographically to Tehran and chronologically to the 19th century, though there are many belonging to them. For instance, from the 15th century on, a set of "archaisms" (e.g. the verbal prefixes *hamī-* instead of *mī-* or *bi-* with past forms such as *bi-guft* and certain preposition like *farā*, *furū* or the combination of the pre- and postposition *mar...rā*, etc.) were gathered in a separate chapter and labelled as embellishment (*zīnat*, *taḥsīn*) by native lexicographers (*Lughat-i Nīmat Allāh*; FDj; BK; FR), clearly indicating their archaic character. Similar lists were repeated time and again until recent times in native lexicography and grammar (see 'Abd al-Wāsi' Hānsawī; Irāwānī) as well. This shows that native scholars came to realise that grammatical forms such as certain prepositions or verbal forms, abundantly used in ancient texts, had ceased to belong to living usage. They became obsolete and served only as a "decoration" of style for their age (see Telegdī 1955, 134 n. 133; M. Bākīr, *Bā-i zīnat bar sar-i fīl* ("The ornamental verbal prefix bi-"), in *MDATeh*, viii [1961], 1-10; Jeremiás 1993, 63, 1997, 183). Similarly, in some of the earliest descriptions of Persian in the West—though not in all of them—the verbal morpheme *bi-* prefixed to simple past forms was characterised as redundant or pleonastic (W. Jones, *A grammar of the Persian language*, London 1828, 49; J. Platts, *A grammar of the Persian language*, London 1894, 174; C. Salemann and V. Shukovski [Žukovskiy], *Persische Grammatik*, Berlin 1889, 60). Beyond doubt, these grammars were intended to describe the language of the Classical texts, but occasionally hints were made at the living usage, which might have differed from the classical forms in many ways. Early evidence for this may be the first collections of Persian and non-Persian spoken local dialects from the last century. Žukovskiy, one of the first dialectologists of Persian patois, immediately recognised the richness of the non-standard Persian local varieties during his first field trip (1883-86) along the Tehran-Shīrāz-Isfahān route. In his materials of Persian and non-Persian dialects, and in those of his later followers such as O. Mann (1901-3, 1906-7), K. Hadank and A. Christensen, a set of characteristic features which are the same or similar to those of the spoken (colloquial) language of Tehran appears. See some examples from the phonology and

morphology: (a) *āN* > *u*, *o* (Žukovskiy, *Materialiŭya izučeniya persidskikh narečij*, i, St. Petersburg, 1888, 212; V.W. Geiger, *Kleinere Dialekte und Dialektgruppen*, in *GIPh*, i, 2, 357, 422; K. Hadank, *Die Mundarten von Khunsār*..., in *Kurdisch-Persische Forschungen*, 1926, iii, 1, XXXIX; A. Christensen, *Iranische Dialektzeichnungen aus dem Nachlass von F.C. Andreas*, zusammen mit Kaj Barr und W.B. Henning, in *Abhandl. Göttingen*, Phil.-Hist. Kl., Dritte Folge, Nr. 11, 1939, 15; Lambton, *Three Persian dialects*, London 1938, 44; O.I. Smirnova, *Isfahānskij govor*, Moscow 1978, 13); (b) the colloquial variations of the verbal personal affixes in Sing. 3. *-ad* > *-e* (*-i*, *-z*, etc.) (Geiger in *GIPh*, 411; Mann, *Die Mundart der Mukri Kurden*, in *Kurdisch-Persische Forschungen*, iv, III, 1, 1906, LXXV; idem, *Die Tājik-Mundarten der Provinz Fārs*, in *KPF*, i, 1909, 24; Christensen, *op. cit.*, 267), in Pl. 2. *-id* > *-in*, *-ī(t)* and in Pl. 3. *-and* > *-an*, *-in* (Mann, *op. cit.*, 1909, 25); (c) the progressive verbal forms constructed with the auxiliary *dāštan* collected in Isfahān in 1885 (see Žukovskiy, *Osobennoe značenie glagola dāštan v persidskom razgovornom yazıke*, in *ŽVORAO* iii [1888], 376-77; A.Z. Rozenfel'd, *Vospomogatel'naya funktsiya glagola dāštan v sovremennom persidskom yazıke*, in *Sovetskoe Vostokovedeniye*, v [1948], 305-310) and also used in the Central dialects and Māzandarānī (see the bibl. in Jeremiás, *On the genesis of the periphrastic progressive in Iranian languages*, in *Medioranica* [1993], 104 n. 10); (d) colloquialisms in the nominal morphology: the omission of the *idāfa* vowel (Žukovskiy, 1888, 214) or the determinative morpheme, the stressed suffix *-ā* ~ *ā(h)*, *-e* (Hadank, *op. cit.*, 10-13, Christensen, *op. cit.*, 42), etc.

This selection of the relevant features seem to support the opinion that some essential characteristics of Modern Persian, both its literary written form (*fārsī-i kitābī*) and its oral variants (*fārsī-i muḥāwara'i*), must have existed centuries earlier. Its modern descriptions, however, are primarily based on the usage as it is written and spoken in Tehran (*fārsī-i āmiyāna*), the present capital of Iran, which is becoming the common spoken standard all over Iran through the modern mass media (cf. Lazard 1989, 289; Pisowicz, 9).

V. Scripts

1. Perso-Arabic script

New Persian, including its chronological and dialectal variants used in Iran, Afghānistān and Central Asia (except Tādjīkī [q.v.]) in the 20th century, since the Islamic conquest has been written predominantly with the Arabic script augmented with four modified letters for denoting peculiar Persian phonemes (p پ, ch چ, zh ژ, g گ) which do not exist in Arabic. These "Persian letters" were created from their nearest equivalent letters (b ب, j ج, z ز, k ک) and both series continued to be used in the manuscript tradition until the 12th century and beyond (for the details of adaptation from the time of Sibawayhi (8th century [q.v.]) see P. Horn, *Neupersische Schriftsprache*, in *GIPh*, i/2, 12; Lazard 1963, passim; F. Meier, *Aussprachefragen des älteren neupersisch*, in *Oriens*, xxvii-xxviii (1981), 71; Khānlari, *Wazn-i shīr-i fārsī*, Tehran 1354/1975, 117, etc.). The Arabic writing being a Semitic, consonantal alphabet, it was not designed for an Indo-European language like Persian, consisting as it did only of consonantal signs (*harf*) representing the semantic load whereas, in Persian, consonants and vowels are of equal value. In this system vowels are represented only partially and in various ways: by consonantal letters, orthographic devices and superscript signs. In the script, therefore, there is no one-to-one correspondence between graphemes and phonemes (e.g. the geminated consonants are written with one *harf* with



the superscript sign called *tashdid* as *hm'm* = *hammām* "bath" in most cases), although there is a regularity in denoting or omitting certain phonemes. The Persians, while having for the most part, adapted the letters and the principles of the Arabic writing, developed innovations in order to denote the peculiarities of the Persian language. In the Semitic system, three letters (*harfs*), *alif*, *yā'* and *wāw* are used to mark long vowels *ā*, *ī*, *ū* and the sequences *ay*, *aw* (traditionally called diphthongs), whereas short vowels remain normally unwritten. Exceptions are the word initial and word final positions: word initial short vowels (*a*, *i*, *u*) are represented graphically by the letter *alif* and their long equivalents with *alif* and the corresponding *harfs* (*yā'* or *wāw*). Furthermore, the letter *alif* is the sign of the glottal stop which is practically used as an orthographic device following the principles of the Arabic (Semitic) orthography which do not allow a syllable to start with vowels, and do not allow a sequence of two vowels (cf. G. Endress, *Die arabische Schrift*, in *Grundriss der arabischen Philologie*, i, ed. W. Fischer, Wiesbaden 1982, 165-97), e.g. *'knwn* = *aknūn* "now", *'jt'dan* = *uftādan* "to fall" and *'sfh'n* = *isfahān* "Isfahān", *'w* = *ū* "he/she" and *'yr'n* = *īrān* "Iran". Initial long *ā* is rendered with *alif* surmounted by the superscript sign *madd* *ī*.

The Perso-Arabic script gradually developed a special system of denoting word final short vowels (*a*, *i*, *u* in the Classical Persian transcription system and *e*, *o* in the Modern system) by the "silent" letters (*bayān-i haraka*), e.g. *hā'*: *ṣ'hn'mh* = *Shāh-nāma*, *kh* = *kī* (in ancient texts also written as *ky*, *k*) and *wāw*, e.g. *du* = *du* "two" and *tu* = *tu* "you", but *tr* = *tu-rā* "you (acc.)". Historically short vowels (*a*, *i*, *u*) can be denoted optionally in all positions by superscript signs (*zabar* or *zebar* in Modern Persian) = Ar. *fatha*, *zīr* = Ar. *kasra* and *pīsh* = Ar. *damma*). In ancient manuscripts, the early classical long vowels (*madījūl*) *ē* and *ō* were distinguished occasionally by special superscript signs on the letters *yā'* and *wāw* (e.g. *Codex Vindobonensis*, ed. F.R. Seligmann, Vienna 1859, and Bukhāran Jewish-Persian texts, cf. Horn, in *GLPh*, i/2, 33; the Lahore *Tafīr* (*madījūl* *ē*), cf. MacKenzie, *The vocabulary of the Lahore Tafīr*, in *Iran and Islam. In memory of the late Vladimir Minorsky*, 419 n. 7; and see further Meier 1981, 86, and Windfuhr 1979, 150). The orthography of *alif* and *hamza* representing phonemes or serving as orthographical devices display intricate problems both in Arabic and Persian. The complexity or sometimes confusion in their description can be ascribed to the double adaptation (first of the Nabatean Aramaic writing to Arabic in the late 7th century, then the Arabic script to Persian) and to its relatively late standardisation. Its orthography was not yet fixed in the 9th century (see Endress, 189). A Persian characteristic of the orthography is that *hamza*, the sign of the glottal stop in Arabic, does not necessarily appear as a separate letter, but it is used as a hiatus symbol (Windfuhr 1979, 139) on syllabic or morpheme boundaries (there is a disagreement on this point; see HAMZA; Lazard 1957 = 1992, 48; Windfuhr 1987, 527). The Arabic loans, however, can follow or disregard the rules of the classical Arabic orthography (e.g. the vocalic restriction rules) according to registers and contexts where they appear.

The Perso-Arabic script, which is written from right to left, contains 32 letters: 28 letters are taken over from Arabic plus four special Persian letters supplied with three dots. But not all the letters distinguish phonemes in Persian (see below, iii. Phonology). These letters (allographs) came mainly, but not exclusively

through Arabic loan words, e.g. *ض, ط, ظ* = */z/*, *ص, ث* = */s/*, *ط* = */t/*, *ق, گ* = */gh/*, *ح* = */h/*, *آ, ع* = *'* (or zero). Some of these letters (*ث, ذ, ص, ط, ق* and *ع*) do occur in words of Persian origin due to various reasons, e.g. as reflexes of earlier linguistic periods or the unfixed and wavering orthography (see, for instance, *padhīrūflan*, in Modern Persian pronunciation *pazīroflan*, *Tahmūrath* vs. *Tahmūras/Tahmūrat*, *ṣad* or *sad* "hundred", *Ṭīhrān* or *Tīhrān* "Tehran" (see Horn, in *GLPh*, 12; Meier 1981, 105). The digraph *kh"/kh'* (= */kh/*) is a remnant of the archaic spelling of a labialised fricative (Pisowicz, 121). Ancient manuscripts show sporadically the spellings of the early New Persian period. E.g. the triple-dotted letter *fā'* (ف) denoted the postvocalic spirant labiodental */v/* (see also some sparse examples in word-initial position in Lazard 1963, 137-8; idem, 1989, 264; Meier 1981, 72; Pisowicz, 119), and the dotted *dāl* (د) denoted the spirant pronunciation of the postvocalic *d* (commonly transcribed with the Greek letter *δ*) in words of Persian origin (see the wavering manuscript tradition in Meier 1981, 105). While the letter *fā'* was abandoned early, the use of the letter *ī*, which appears to have been more widespread (except in Transoxania, Balkh and Ghazna, see Shams-i Kays, 221), continued to be preserved through the old poets' practice of selecting rhyme long after its disappearance from the living usage (ca. 13th century, see Rempis, in Lazard 1963, 144, n. 1). This phenomenon was included in the traditional lexicography as "the rule of *dhāl* and *zāl*" until the 19th century (see Shams-i Kays, 254-6; BK, 21; Irāwānī, fol. 6b; cf. Lazard 1963, 143; Meier 1981, 111; Pisowicz, 107). Some words have preserved the archaic spelling, but the pronunciation of this letter has merged with */z/* in Modern Persian, e.g. in *pazīroflan*.

The first attempts to put Persian texts into Arabic script originate from the 9th century. After some fluctuation and instability (see Meier 1981; Lazard 1963, 4) a standard system of script appears to have developed by the 12th century and has remained almost unchanged until recently. The lack of punctuation and capital letters, the disguised pronunciation and an apparent inconsistency in the orthography of certain words and compounds can cause considerable difficulties in reading Persian texts. Although in the most recent period there are some attempts to improve orthography, this question is far from being settled (see Windfuhr 1979, 150).

For the various styles of handwriting, see KHATT. ii.

2. *Non-Arabic scripts used for New Persian texts* (for a summary, see Meier, 88-9; Lazard 1989, 264-5)

(a) Hebrew characters have been used from the 8th century onwards by Jewish communities to denote their own dialect called Judaeo-Persian [*q.v.*], related very closely to the southern dialect of early New Persian.

(b) An undated bilingual Psalm-fragment written by Christians in New Persian with Syriac characters has been preserved in the materials found in Chinese Turkestan (see F.W.K. Müller, *Ein syrisch-neupersisches Psalmbruchstück aus Chinesisch-Turkestan*, in *Festschrift Eduard Sachau*, ed. G. Weil, Berlin 1915, 215-22; W. Sundermann, *Einige Bemerkungen zum syrisch-neupersischen Psalmbruchstück aus Chinesisch-Turkestan*, in *Mémoires de la Mission de la Chine*, ed. Ph. Gignoux et A. Tafazzoli, Louvain 1974, 441-52).

(c) Among the fragments written in Manichean script there are also some New Persian texts (see M. Boyce, *A catalogue of the Iranian manuscripts in Manichean script in the German Turfan collection*, Berlin 1960, 150; W.B. Henning, *Persian poetical manuscripts*



from the time of Rūdākī, in *A locust's leg. Studies in honour of S.H. Taqizadeh*, London 1962, 89-104).

(d) Religious writings and a fragmentary dictionary were written by Armenian Christians in their own script in the 15th century (see Pisowicz, 76).

(e) The Latin script was used by travellers and missionaries to describe Persian texts for centuries, the supposedly oldest one in the *Codex Cumanicus* written in the 13th century (see D. Monchi-zadeh, *Das Persische im Codex Cumanicus*, Uppsala 1969; A. Bodrogligeti, *The Persian vocabulary of the Codex Cumanicus*, Budapest 1971; Pisowicz, 73 ff.). Glosses, grammars and vocabularies compiled especially for practical purposes, can be found abundantly from the 16th-17th centuries onwards (see P. Orsatti, *Sistema di trascrizione e fonetica neopersiana nel Dictionarium Latino-Persicum di P. Ignazio di Gesu*, in *AIUON*, xlv [1984], 41-81; Jeremiás, *Grammatical rule and standard in the first Persian grammars written in Latin (XVIIIth c.)*, in *Italia ed Europa nella linguistica del Rinascimento*, ed. M. Tavoni, Ferrara 1996, 569-80). Though these texts can give some useful information on the pronunciation of Persian, as a whole they must be regarded as unreliable sources on crucial points of the history of Persian phonology (see Pisowicz, 79).

(f) Apart from modern *Tāḡīkī* the Cyrillic alphabet was used by a Russian traveller in his account of his journeyings, to denote some Persian words in the 15th century (see Pisowicz, 79).

iii. Phonology, grammar, word formation and vocabulary I. Generalities

In spite of its apparent homogeneity owing to many factors, New Persian of the Muslim period underwent profound changes affecting all levels of grammar and vocabulary. The distinction, therefore, between the various stages of Persian is necessary, but, as the periodisation indicated (see above, i), it cannot easily be made. There are two main approaches to the description of linguistic phenomena in Iranian studies. Diachronic or historical studies trace the changes that took place between various phases, while synchronic description is concerned with the Persian used at a given time. But while Modern Persian can be described on the basis of its present use, the synchronic description of Classical Persian can only be carried out with limitations due to the absence of a standardised Classical Persian. Otherwise comparisons can be made between the language style used by Firdawsī (10th c.), Bayhaḳī (11th c.), Nizāmī (12th c.), Sa'dī (13th c.) or Džāmī (15th c.), etc. Their varieties of Classical Persian share a set of common features but they also differ inasmuch as they display different language forms. In linguistic studies, the dominance of the diachronic approach is clearly felt, whereas synchronic studies have only recently begun to emerge.

II. Phonology

The phonemic status and the exact phonetic characterisation of Persian sounds can be established with certainty for the most recent period; the following analysis therefore starts with formal Modern Persian and aims to identify the characteristic features of the previous phases in comparison with it (cf. Windfuhr 1979, 7; Lazard 1989, 265; Pisowicz, 9).

The sound system of the formal Modern Persian consists of 6 vowels and 24 consonants. There is, however, a considerable disagreement on the phonemic status of certain phonetic sequences or the conditioned and optional allophonic variations, which can reduce or increase the number of phonemes depending on the currently applied theory of analysis or the register examined. The phonemic status of the glottal stop or that of the sequences [ej] and [ou]

(traditionally called diphthongs) are such variables.

The six vowels of Modern Persian are the front /i/, /e/, /a/ and the back /u/, /o/, /ā/ articulated with a high /i, u/, a mid /e, o/ or a low /a, ā/ (or, according to others, with high, mid-high and mid-) tongue position. Historically there was a phonological opposition between long and short vowels in Classical Persian (/ā/ - /a/, /ī/ - /i/, /ū/ - /u/), but length ceased to be a phonemic characteristic in the modern period (/ā/ - /a/, /ī/ - /e/, /u/ - /o/), although it has been retained in certain positions as a redundant phonetic property. Therefore *ā, i, u* are occasionally distinguished as long or "stable vowels" (*ā, ī, ū*) vs. short or "instable ones" (*a, e, o*) in the descriptions of Modern Persian (cf. Lazard 1989, 265). The diphthongs [ej] and [ou] occurring within one word are commonly analysed as the combination of two phonemes, a vowel and a consonant /e/ + /y/ and /o/ + /w/ in Modern Persian (see the summary, including the history of the monophonemic interpretation, in Windfuhr 1979, 137-8; Pisowicz, 22-7 and Lazard 1989, 265). The biphonemic interpretation of the sequence /ow/ entails the postulation of a phoneme /w/ in Modern Persian (cf. the phonemic inventory in Classical Persian), which appears in a certain style with a limited distribution, after /o/ and in word final position (see Pisowicz, 24). As for the distribution of vowels, there is no restriction except for the final position: there is no final /a/ (see Classical Persian final /a/ > /e/) except in two words (*na* "non-", *va* "and") and /o/ occurs rarely (see the studies on experimental phonetics in Lazard 1970, 67; esp. Š.G. Gaprindašvili and Dž.S. Giunašvili, *Fonetika persidskogo yazika*, Tbilisi 1964, i; J. Towhidi, *Studies in the phonetics and phonology of Modern Persian*, Forum Phonetikum 2, Hamburg 1974).

The most significant characteristics of the phonological development in New Persian are the loss of contrast between long and short vowels and the lowering of the historically short high vowels /i/ > /e/, and /u/ > /o/. Early Classical Persian contained two more long vowels /ē/, /ō/, which merged with /ī/ and /ū/ by the Classical period (see F. Meier, *Aussprachefragen des älteren Neupersisch*, in *Oriens*, xxvii-xxviii [1981], 70-176), but were preserved by the rules of classical rhyming long after their disappearance from living use. For allophonic variations and fluctuations in vowels, see M. Shaki, *The problem of the vowel phonemes in the Persian language*, in *ArO*, xxv [1957], 45-55; Pisowicz, 13-16; Lazard, *A grammar of contemporary Persian*, Costa Mesa 1992, 19-22.

The consonants of Modern Persian include the voiceless and voiced plosives and affricates /p/, /t/, /č/, /k/, /q/, /ʔ/, /b/, /d/, /j/, /g/, the voiceless and voiced fricatives /f/, /s/, /š/, /x/, /h/, /v/, /z/, /ž/, the nasals /m/, /n/, the liquids /l/, /r/ and the semivowels /w/, /y/. (See the transcription: /q/ = *k*, /j/ = *č*, /š/ = *š*, /x/ = *kħ*, /ž/ = *zh*, [ɣ] = *gh*.) The phoneme /q/ represents three conditioned allophones, the uvular voiceless plosive [q] in the (absolute) initial position (*kānun* [qānun] "law" or in the medial geminate sequence (*baḳkāl* [baqqāl] "grocer"), the voiced fricative [ɣ] in intervocalic position (*makāle* [mayāle] "study") or in certain consonant clusters (*taghyir* [tayyir] "change") and the uvular voiced plosive [G] after /n/. There is, however, a disagreement about the place of /q/ in the system of phonemes, whether it is a plosive /q/ or fricative /ɣ/, due to its considerable fluctuations in pronunciation (see the details in Pisowicz, 42-7).

The occurrence of the glottal stop /ʔ/ as a separate



phoneme is restricted to certain medial and final positions before and after consonants in careful speech represented with the letter *ʿayn* and the signs *hamza* or *alef*, such as *maʿlum*/*maʿlum* “known”, *al-ʿān*/*alʿān* “now” or *robʿ*/*robbʿ* “quarter”. It can also occur in intervocalic position in words of Arabic origin in place of the genuine *ʿayn* as in *sāʿat*/*sāʿat* “hour”. Its rise was due to the impact of two separate Arabic phonemes /ʔ/ and /ʕ/ transmitted by loans, but the pronunciation of the Arabic voiced pharyngeal /ʕ/ merged entirely with the glottal stop. The phonemicity of the initial glottal stop is questioned (cf. Pisowicz, 50-1). Besides, there is a non-phonemic indigenous glottal articulation represented by the signs *hamza* or *alef* (which may have helped the incorporation of the glottal stop of Arabic origin into Persian), e.g. in a vocalic onset before any initial vowel after a pause /emruz/ → [ʔemruz] “today”, before any internal vowel preceded by a vowel /pāiz/ → [pāʔiz] “autumn” or at a morpheme boundary between vowels /bi-ārām/ → [biʔārām] “restless”. In various registers of Modern Persian the glottal stop can alternate with zero (hiatus) or an intrusive element like the glide *y* (rarely *w* or *h*), e.g. /xāen/ → [xāʔen] ~ [xāyen] “traitor” or /xāne-i/ → [xāneʔi] ~ [xāneyi] “a house”, except when the glottal stop represents an etymological pharyngeal spirant. The latter can be replaced by a hiatus, but never by a glide, e.g. *sāʿat*/*sāʿat* → [sāat] (Pisowicz, 49). In general, its appearance or disappearance, occasionally with a compensatory lengthening of the preceding vowel or, more rarely, consonant (/maʿlum/ → [ma:lum], /daʔe/ → [daffe]), or substitution by an intrusive element can vary according to register under certain conditions (see the details in Windfuhr 1979, 139-40; Pisowicz, 20-2, 47-51; Lazard 1992, 11-4, 31-4). In the spoken register, the glottal stop does not exist at all (Lazard 1992, 12), but according to others it is pronounced at a morpheme boundary after a consonant before the following vowel in all styles (see [mano] “I and . . .” vs. [manʔo] “prohibition and . . .” in Pisowicz, 48). For other characteristics of the colloquial style such as assimilation, contraction, the dropping of *h*’s, etc. see Hodge 1957; E. Provasi, *Some notes on Tehrani Persian phonology*, in *Iranica*, ed. Gh. Gnoli and A.V. Rossi, Naples 1979, 257-80; Pisowicz, 57-8; Lazard 1992, *passim*. On the impact of Arabic loans, see Ali-Ashraf Sadeghi, *L’influence de l’arabe sur le système phonologique du persan*, in *La linguistique*, ii (1975), 145-52.

Characteristic of Classical Persian is the full phonemic status of the semivowel /w/ with the labiodental fricative [v] as an allophone (preserved in Afghan Dari, cf. Farhadi, 37-8). The reconstruction of phoneme /w/ for the early Classical Persian and the fact that there is no initial cluster in Persian (see syllable structure) make the postulation of the phoneme /xʷ/ plausible. But the labial articulation disappeared gradually (/xʷ/ > /x/) with an accompanying labialisation of the following short vowel (/xʷaʃ/ > Mod. Pers. /xoʃ/ “happy”, but /xʷāstan/ > Mod. Pers. /xāstan/ “to wish”), while the archaic spelling has been retained (cf. Meier, 75; Pisowicz, 121). Another characteristic of Classical Persian is that /q/ and /ɣ/ were separate phonemes, as they still are in certain modern dialects, such as Tadjiki. Another remarkable feature is the distinct spellings of certain allophones, such as the labiodental fricative [v] (written with the triple-dotted *f*), the spirant pronunciation of the phoneme /d/ in intervocalic or final postvocalic positions [ð] (written with the dotted *d*), originally a dialectal feature in central and southern Iran in early Classical

Persian. The former disappeared early, but the latter seems to have been in use until the 13th century, as the spellings of the ancient manuscripts testify. The fluctuations of dialectal origin such as *b* ~ *f* (*abzār* – *afzār*) or *b* ~ *w* (*nabard* – *naward*) are also attested in manuscripts (cf. Lazard 1963, 137 and *passim*).

The syllable structures are V, CV, VC, CVC, VCC and CVCC, if initial glottal stop is disregarded. But their types are CV, CVC and CVCC if it is regarded as a separate phoneme. There are no genuine clusters in initial position in New Persian. Old and Middle Persian initial clusters were replaced by syllables containing prothetic or anaphytic vowels (Middle Persian *spād* > Classical Persian *ispād* or *sipād* / *sifād* > Modern Persian *sefid* “white”). For details, see J. Krámský, *A study in the phonology of Modern Persian*, in *ArO*, xi [1939], 66-83; C.T. Scott, *Syllable structure in Tehran Persian*, in *Anthropological Linguistics*, v [1964], 27-30; Windfuhr 1979, 143-4; Lazard 1989, 266.

Stress in Modern Persian is expiratory and non-phonemic. In general it falls on the final syllable of non-verbal forms (nouns, adjectives, adverbs). Certain conjunctions, adverbs and particles have initial stress, such as *vāli* “but”, *āri* “yes”, *āyā* “whether”, etc. Nouns (incl. infinitives, participles or verbal nouns) retain their final stress if the following suffixes are attached to them: the indefinite marker *-i*, the object suffix *-rā*, the connecting vowel of the *iḍāfa* *-e*, the conjunction *-o* “and”, *ham* “also” or one of the pronominal clitics *-am*, *-at*, *-ash*, *-mān*, *-tān*, *-shān* or, one of the clitical forms of the verb “to be” *-am*, *-i*, *ast*, *-im*, *-i*, *-and*). By contrast, the plural markers *-hā* and *-ān* carry the stress (*ketāb-hā* “books”, *zan-ān* “women”) and forms in apostrophe (vocative) preserve an archaic initial stress (*pedār* (voc.) vs. *pedār* (nom.) “father”). On the other hand, all verbal forms have non-final stress (except for the form of the 3rd person singular in the simple past, which carries the stress on the final syllable, e.g. *kharid* “he bought”). It may fall on the stem (*kharid-am* “I bought”), on the verbal prefixes (*mi-khar-am* “I am buying/I buy”, *bé-khar-am* “[that] I buy”), on the preverbs (*bār mi-andāz-ad* “he abolishes”) or on the nominal part of the verbal phrase (*hārf mi-zan-am* “I am speaking/I speak”). The verbal prefixes of negation or prohibition (*na-*, *ne-*, *ma-*) are always stressed (*némi-khar-am* “I am not buying/I do not buy”, *ná-kharid-am* “I did not buy”, *má-khar* “don’t buy”). In true compounds or in compound nominal phrases, a secondary (weaker) stress may occur on the first nominal part in addition to the main or primary stress, e.g. *ātes-parāst* “fire-worshipper”, *ketāb-e pedār* “the father’s book”.

As the examples attest, stress is relatively fixed in words and phrases. However, it may be weakened, shifted or completely disappear according to the speaker’s purport, if there is emphasis upon one segment, e.g. *hārf mi-zan-am* vs. *hārf mi-zan-am*.

In a typical sentence, the primary stress falls on the last syntagm, which is normally a verb or verbal phrase. At the beginning, a conjunction, an adverb or a vocative may appear with initial accent followed by nominal phrases with final or nearly final accent. Affirmative sentences have a falling intonation, but in interrogative sentences the pitch rises.

Although stress is non-phonemic, certain phonemic sequences may appear as contrasting minimal pairs, such as *māhi* “fish” vs. *māh-i* “a moon” or *shāh-i* “kingship” vs. *shāh-i* “a king”, but this contrast as a distinctive feature does not exist in the lexicon (cf. *māhi* – *māh*, *shāhi* – *shāh*). In colloquial Persian there are several such minimal pairs originated from contracted



forms, e.g. *kharidām* (< *kharidē am*) "I have bought" vs. *kharid-am* "I bought".

For further details, see M. Lucidi, *L'accento nel persiano moderno*, in *Ricerche linguistiche*, ii [1951], 108-40; G.E. Nye, *The phonemes and morphemes of Modern Persian: a descriptive study*, Doct. Diss. Series no. 11, Ann Arbor 1955; Ch.A. Ferguson, *Word stress in Persian*, in *Language*, xxxiii [1957], 123-35; Towhidi 1974; Windfuhr 1979, 144-9; Lazard 1970, 67-8; 1992, 37-46; 1989, 266-7.

III. The problems of transliteration and transcription

Persian script disguises pronunciation, therefore a certain extent of interpretation in transcription with Latin (or Cyrillic, etc.) characters is necessary. More than one system has been conceived representing historical, etymological or stylistic factors. For instance, the differences between the phonological inventories of Classical and Modern Persian appear to be so essential that they may be represented by different systems of transcription. See the transcription of Classical Persian phonemes: *ā, ī, ū, (ē, ō), a, i, u, p, t* (or *f*), *č, k, k̄* (or *q*), *ʔ* (or *ʿ*), *b, d, ḡ, g, j, s* (or *š, s* = Arabic *ḡ*), *ḡ, kh, kh̄*, *h* (or *h̄*), *z* (or *z̄, ž* = Arabic *ḡ*), *zh, gh, m, n, l, r, w, y*, and that of Modern Persian: *ā, i, u, a, e, o, p, b, t, c, k, k̄* (or *q, ḡ*), *ʔ* (or *ʿ*), *b, d, ḡ, g, j, s* (or *š, s̄*), *ḡ, kh̄* (or *kh̄*), *h* (or *h̄*), *v, z* (or *z̄, ž, z̄*), *zh, m, n, l, r, w, y*. The transcription of Classical texts according to modern pronunciation is also justified because that is the way they are read today. For practical reasons, however, here the transcription of titles, names or grammatical terms follows the system used throughout in the *EI* which represents Classical Persian consonants in an Arabised form reflecting the written forms closely (e.g. *idāfa*, but Class. Pers. *izāfa*, Mod. Pers. *ezāfe*). Occasionally, Modern Persian pronunciation is indicated as well. Archaic and dialectal spellings (except for the digraph *kh̄*) are omitted and the morphological structures in the examples are phonemically represented, which means that non-etymological glides or intrusive elements (e.g. *khāna-i* "a house" in Classical Persian or *khāne-i* in Modern Persian) or apharesis (e.g. *dānešdū ast* > *dānešdū-st* "he/she is a student"), etc., normally remain unwritten.

IV. Grammar: morphology and syntax

In this section, first a formal classification of word classes will be given with occasional references to their occurrences in smaller and larger grammatical units (words, phrases) and then to their functional classification in larger constructions (clause, sentences).

1. *Verbs and verb phrases* (morphology, semantics of verb forms, colloquial and archaic features, etc.)

The morphology of verbs is clear and transparent, but their semantics gives rise to considerable difficulties. Verbal forms can consist of either one word or more than one word and can express a wide range of grammatical categories like number (singular, plural), person (first, second, third), tense (present, past, future, etc.), mood (indicative, conjunctive, imperative), aspectual nuances (imperfect, perfect, progressive, inferential, etc.) and voice (active, passive). Simple verbs have a clear-cut morphological pattern: the minimal verbal form consists of a stem and a personal suffix, but the majority of simple verbs have also a verbal prefix. These forms are based on two stems, i.e. present (I) or past (II). Past stems always end in dental plosives (after vowels, *n, r* in *-d*, otherwise in *-t*) and are derived from infinitives by dropping the ending *-am*. Present stems can be either regular or irregular. The first group can be obtained from past stems by cutting *-id-*, e.g. *kharidan* "to buy" → *kharid-* (II) → *khar-* (I). Present stems of irregular verbs are to be found in

vocabulary, e.g. *kardan* "to do" → *kard-* (II), *kon-* (I) or *didan* "to see" → *did-* (II), *bin-* (I). Certain groups of irregular verbs share certain common features in deriving their present stems from past stems, e.g. *sāktan* "to make" → *sākt-* (II), *sāz-* (II), *gorikhtan* "to flee" → *gorikht-* (II), *goriz-* (I) or *farmudan* "to order" → *farmud-* (II), *farmāy-* (I), *sorudan* "to sing" → *sorud-* (II), *sarāy-* (I), etc. (see more details in Lazard 1992, 131-5). Verbal stems can combine with two sets of personal suffixes: the first set is attached to the forms based on stem (I): 1. *-am*, 2. *-i*, 3. *-ad* in singular and 1. *-im*, 2. *-id*, 3. *-and* in plural; the second set attached to the forms constructed with the stem (II) is the same except sing. 3rd person (a zero morpheme *o*). Complex (called also "compound" or "analytic" vs. "synthetic") verb forms consisting of more than one constituent are constructed on certain nominal forms of the main verb, i.e. the past participle (past stem + *-e*, e.g. *kharid-e*, *sākt-e*) or the so-called short infinitive (which is formally equivalent with the past stem, e.g. *kharid*) plus auxiliary verbs like the various types of the verb "to be" (i.e. the full verb *budan*, *bāš-* or its clitic forms like *-am*, *-i*, *ast*, *-im*, *-id*, *-and*), *khāstān*, *khāh-* "to wish/will" or *šodan*, *šav-* "to become". The so-called progressive form has a special structure: both the main verb and the auxiliary (*dāštan*, *dār-* "to have") are conjugated forms (*dār-ad mi-kon-ad, dāšt-o mi-kard-o, dāšte mi-karde ast*) and can be separated from each other by other word(s). The use of this periphrastic progressive is restricted in several ways, e.g. it can be used only in indicative mood and in affirmative sentences (see for more details, below). The future tense is expressed with a special morphology of the auxiliary *khāstān*, *khāh-* "to wish" (the present form of the auxiliary without the verbal prefix *mi-* plus the short infinitive of the main verb, e.g. *khāh-ad kard* "he will do" cf. also the use of *khāstān* as a modal auxiliary, e.g. *mi-khāh-ad be-kon-ad* "he wants (would like, etc.) to do"). The majority of finite verb forms have one or two verbal prefix (*mi-*, *be-*, *na-*, *ma-*), which may express various meanings like mood, aspect, negation or prohibition. Their use is partly, but not wholly, exposed to the stylistic levels of their context. The verbal prefix *mi-* (< Classical Persian *hamī* < Early Classical and Middle Persian *hamē*) occur with both simple and complex forms constructed on present and past stems or on past participles: *mi-kon-ad, mi-kard-o, mi-karde ast, dāšte mi-karde ast*. The prefix *be-* (< Classical < Middle Persian *be-*) or its allophonic variations *bi-* or *bo-* are used only with non-indicative forms in Modern Persian, based on the present stem such as subjunctive present (*be-kon-ad*) and imperative (*be-kon*). All simple and complex verb forms in the indicative are negated with *na-*. It is prefixed to the finite forms of simple main verbs (*na-kard-o*) or to the participles of complex verbs (*na-karde ast, na-karde bude ast*, etc.), except for the future and passive forms where it is prefixed to the auxiliary (*na-khāh-ad kard, karde na-šod-o*). In the prohibitive, the prefix *na-* (*na-kon, na-kon-id*) is used generally, except for very formal (literary) style where *ma-* (*ma-kon, ma-kon-id*) appear instead. Colloquial language does not use *ma-* at all. The prefixes *na-* and *mi-* may be used simultaneously (with the allophone *ne-* of the morpheme *na-* if it is followed by *mi-*, e.g. *ne-mi-kon-ad*), but *be-* and *mi-/na-/ma-* may not in Modern Persian (see the different usage in Classical Persian).

The paradigm of the verb *kardan*, *kon-* "to do": indicative mood: present *mi-kon-am* "I do, I am doing", preterite (simple or "aoristic" past) *kard-am* "I did", imperfect *mi-kard-am* "I was doing, I used to do", etc.,



progressive forms in the present and the past: *dār-am mi-kon-am* "I am (in the act of) doing", *dāst-am mi-kard-am* "I was (in the act of) doing", (present) perfect *karde-am* "I have done", etc., past perfect (or pluperfect) *karde budam* "I had done", etc.; there are three more ("double") complex forms based on the perfect, *mi-karde-am* "I have been doing (inferential)", *karde bude-am* "I had done" (inferential) and *dāste mikarde-am* "I have been doing" (inferential); periphrastic future *kh'āh-am kard* "I will/shall do"; subjunctive mood: present *be-kon-am* "I may do", "that I do", subjunctive past *karde bāš-am* "I may have bought", "that I did", etc.; two imperative forms *be-kon* "do" (sing.), *be-kon-id* (pl.). Nominal forms (traditionally called participles, or participle adjective, used as modifiers or agential noun) are based on two stems: *nevis-ande* (present stem plus *-ande*) "writing (adj.), writer" (see *nevis-ande-gān* "writers"), *nevešt-e* (past stem plus *-e*) "written, writing" (see *nevešt-e-hā*, *nevešt-e-jāt* "writings"). Nominal forms derived from verbs are the full (or long) infinitive *kardan* which can be used in all functions where a noun can appear, but the occurrence of the short infinitive is strictly limited: apart from future forms it appears after impersonal expressions only (*bāyad raft* "one must go"). The two participles, *nevis-ande* "writing" or "writer" based on stem (I) plus *-ande* and *nevešt-e* (see above) can be used as verbal adjective, e.g. *sāl-e āyande* "the next (coming) year", or as noun, e.g. *nevešt-e-hā-ye Bahār* "B.'s writings". The participles *nevešt-e*, *karde*, etc., are suggested to have active meaning in modern Persian (see Telegdi, 1961, 186; Humāyunfarrukh, 78-9; see also *LN nevešt-e* = *nevešt-e šode*) in contrast to ancient usage in which it was regarded as having passive meaning. A homophone form of the past participle of certain transitive verbs (actually nonfinite verb forms) has been distinguished by Lazard (*gérondif*) expressing co-ordinated "circumstantial complementation" on the basis of their differing syntax (see *baste* "closed" used as "gerundive" in *baste ast* "it is closed" or *baste nist* "it is not closed" vs. the verbal form "perfect" like *baste ast* "he has closed" and *na-baste ast* "he has not closed" (cf. Lazard 1989, 273, 281; 1992, 168-9; see also *fi'l-i waṣfī* in Humā'i, in *LN Muqaddima*, 120, and Humāyunfarrukh, 519). Similarly, forms derived from present stem with (non-productive) *-ān* or *-ā* with limited force, e.g. *raṭān* "running" or *dānā* "learned, wise" are suggested to be also called "gerund" (see *gérondif* in Lazard 1989, 273; idem 1992, 167-8). This distinction itself and the true nature of these forms, however, remain to be clarified. The participle of obligation or possibility is formed by the full infinitive plus a suffix *-i* like *didan-i* "[things ought] to be seen".

Passive formation: certain verbs can express the passive with the fully conjugated forms of the auxiliary *šodan* (or *gaštan*, *gardidan* in formal style or *āmadan* in very formal style and in the classical language) attached to the past participle of the main verb, e.g. *kharide mi-šavad* "is being bought", *kharide šod* "was bought", *kharide šode ast* "has been bought", *kharide kh'āh-ad šode* "will be bought", *kharide šavad* "be bought" (subj.), etc. The agent of the action is rarely expressed by circumlocutions such as *be tavassot-e* "by (lit. the intermediation of)", *az dast-e* "by (lit. by the hand of)", *az tarafe* "on behalf of", "by (lit. from the side of)", e.g. *Hasan az tavassot-e Ahmad košte šod* "H. was killed by Ahmad", etc. The spoken style avoids passive formation. The place of passive forms in the verbal paradigm and the details of its morphology and semantics, especially those of verbal compound phrases (locutions) need further investigations (cf. *taqsim kard*

"he divided (something among some persons)"—*taqsim šod* "it was divided (into sg.)", but *towziḥ dād* "he explained (sg.)"—*towziḥ dāde šod* "explanation was given" (on the passive see J.A. Moyne, *The so-called passive in Persian*, in *Foundations of Language*, xii (1974), 249-67).

Note some additional features of verbal morphology: the so-called primary verbs like "to be", "to exist" or "to have" have a special, sometimes deflected morphology, e.g.: the notion of the substantial verb is expressed with full forms (a), defective forms (b) or with clitics (c): a) forms based on *bud-* (II), *bāš-* (I) (or its archaic variant *bov-*) "to be", e.g. indic. present *mi-bāš-am* "I am" (lit.), past *bud-am* "I was" (it never takes the prefix *mi-* except in hypothetical clauses) and in present subj. *bāš-am* "may I be, etc.", imperative *bāš* "be" (these two forms never take the prefix *bi-*), old optative (used in formulas only) *bād* or *bādā* "may it be!"; *hast* "exists" (*hast-am*, *hast-i*, *hast*, etc.), in negation *nistam*, *nisti*, *nist*, etc., but it has no infinitive; *dāstan* "to have" never takes the prefixes *mi-* and *be-* (it may take in certain verbal phrases, e.g. *dust mi-dāram* "I love (s.o.)"). For other defective forms of modal auxiliaries such as *kh'āstan*, *kh'āh-* "to wish, will", (*mi-*)*bāyest*, *bāyad* (inc. such archaic forms as (*mi-*)*bāyesti* "it is necessary, one must", see Lazard 1992, 137-42. On the other hand, the auxiliary *tavānestan*, *tavān-* "can" has a regular conjugation. On the modern usage of auxiliary expressions, see Parwiz Nā'il Khānlari, *Dar bāra-i zabān-i fārsi*, Tehran 1340/1974, (*passim*); Bāṭini, *Masā'il-i zabānshināsi-i navin*, Tehran 1354/1975, 191.

This rather poor inventory of verbal morphology does not reveal all the underlying semantic distinctions which verb forms can cover. The overlap of tense and aspect or mood and aspect cause considerable difficulties whose details have not been wholly explored. In addition, the syntactic realisation of aspect can be limited by further facts, e.g. by social context or lexical choice. Therefore, the main oppositions may differ to some extent in formal and informal standards: the use of the so-called progressive forms, for instance, can alter aspectual oppositions (on this novelty in colloquial Persian see Salemann and Shukovski, 1888; Rozenfel'd 1948; Lazard 1957, 151 = 1992, 160; K. Kishāvarz, *Mudār's uā mādi-i malmūs*, in *Rāh-namā-yi kitāb*, v (1962), 687-94; S. Obolensky, *Persian basic course*, Washington 1963, 8, 253; M.R. Bāṭini, *Sākhtimān-i dasturi-i zabān-i fārsi*, Tehran 1348/1969, 15; Jeremias, *Diglossia in Persian*, in *Acta Linguistica Acad. Scient. Hung.*, xxxiv (1983), 280-3). The most essential points of the semantics of verb forms are as follows: the present forms *mi-kon-am* "I do" and *be-kon-am* "that I do" (meaning obligation, possibility, etc.) express a clear opposition of moods between indicative and subjunctive expressed by verbal prefixes (*mi-*, *be-*). On the other hand, *mi-kon-am* "I do" and *dār-am mi-kon-am* "I am (in act of) doing" are contrasted with reference to aspect: the first form is unmarked for aspect and *mi-* simply indicates indicative, but the periphrastic construction expresses a progressive ongoing action. This latter construction is stylistically marked: it occurs in the written and spoken informal standard only. In addition, its use is morphologically and also lexically limited: verbs form two disjoint sets according to their inherent aspectual properties: those which can appear in the progressive and those which cannot. The latter group called "stative" or "non-progressive" verbs, e.g. *istādan* "to stand", *mordan* "to die", etc. expresses the present progressive by means of perfect (*nešaste-am* "I am sitting") and the past progressive by means



of pluperfect (*nešaste budam* "I was sitting"). These "stative" verbs have also progressive forms conveying another modal implication, the so-called "ingressive": *dār-am mi-nešin-am* "I am going to sit down" (cf. Šādiqi-Arzang 2535/1976, 40; Waḥīdiyān, 68). Because of this restricted use of progressive forms, the present indicative *mi-kon-am* can also convey various imperfective (continuous, durative, iterative, progressive, etc.) values, but in formal Persian only ("I do" or "I am doing"); in Modern spoken Persian this "aoristic" form means "I do" only.

The past tense offers a larger scale for expressing aspectual nuances than the present. The past forms *kard-am* "I did" and *mi-kard-am* "I was doing" convey distinctions between perfective (traditionally called simple past or "aoristic") and imperfective. Here the verbal prefix *mi-* can cover various aspectual values, e.g. continuous, iterative, durative and also progressive in formal Persian. Similarly to the present forms, informal Persian has an additional form with progressive value *dāšt-am mi-kard-am* "I was doing" in the past. This latter verb contrasts with continuous but non-progressive within imperfective (*mi-kard-am*) as well as with non-continuous (perfective) past forms (*kard-am*). It means that both *mi-kon-am* and *mi-kard-am* can cover more aspectual values in the formal language than the same form in the informal register. On the other hand, *mi-kon-am* "I do" (and also "I am doing" in formal Persian) and *kard-am* "I did" can be in opposition with the perfect *karde-am* "I have done" which indicates the present relevance of a past situation (e.g. *nāme-rā nevešte-am* "I have written the letter"). Note that this phonological form of the perfect belongs to the formal language. In the spoken variety, contracted forms are used like *kardē-am* > *kardam* with an ultimate stress vs. *kard-am* in the simple past which has stress on the stem (cf. stress in (iii) Phonology, above). The past perfect (called also pluperfect) *karde bud-am* "I had done" indicates an anterior event completed before another action was taking place (*vaqt-i ke Ḥasan vāred šod Piruz raft-e bud* "When H. arrived P. had (already) gone"). In fact, these perfect forms belong to a semantically complex category of fairly wide applicability expressing various aspectual features of resultative character. It also includes an aspectual nuance called "inferential", "distanced past" or "auditive", a well-known aspectual category in Tadjik and Turkic languages ("non-evident" verb forms). These terms indicate that the speaker is reporting an event which he has not witnessed himself and his knowledge is from second hand ("reported speech"). A series consisting of four such verbal forms (*karde-ast*, *mi-karde ast*, *dāste mi-karde ast*, *karde bude ast*) began to be interpreted as "inferential" in the Modern Persian paradigm only recently (see Windfuhr, *The verbal category of inference in Persian*, in *Acta Iranica*, xxii (1982), 263-87; Lazard, *L'inferentiel ou passé distantié en persan*, in *Stud. Ir.*, xiv (1985), 27-42; idem, 1989, 273). It should be noted, however, that in earlier descriptions of Persian grammar (Horn, in *GIPh*, 154; Jensen 1931, 158; Rastorgueva 1964, 38; Lazard 1957 = 1992; idem, 1963, 295) the "double" compound verb forms (sometimes mentioned only cursorily) were interpreted on the basis of their morphology as extended forms of the perfect, the imperfect or the past progressive (see *mi-karde ast* "the compound imperfect" in Lazard, 1992, 154 or "perfect durative" in Rastorgueva 1964, 43, *raft-e bude ast* "the double compound past" or "the completed past of the perfect" in Lazard 1992, 156, *dāste ... mi-karde ast* "the completed past" of the progressive in Lazard, 1992, 160) and accordingly, they

were regarded as forms which combined certain nuances of the perfect ("completed time") with the durative meaning of the imperfect, etc. Their relationship with equivalent Tadjik forms were expressly denied (cf. Lazard, *Caractères distinctifs de la langue tadjik*, in *Bulletin de la Société Linguistique*, lii (1956), 151; idem 1963, 295). On the other hand, in one of the earliest descriptions of the informal standard of Modern Persian, Waḥīdiyān (1964, 62-4) described these forms as *naḵli* "narrative" verb forms by giving the following examples: [*be-towri ke mi-guy-and*] *Vahid az safar bar gaste [ast]* "[it is said that] V. has returned from journey" in contrast to *Vahid az safar bar gāst* "V. returned from journey", *goft zohr-hā mi-kh'ābide-i* "He said [that] you used to sleep at noon" and [*mi-guy-and*] *dāste mi-kh'orde* "[it is told] he was eating (had been eating)" (cf. also Šādiqi 2535, 60-6). It is emphasised that if there are expressions like *zāheran*, *gayā* "apparently", *mi-guy-and* "it is told" or *šande-ast* "it is heard (reported)", etc. the use of the inferential is obligatory, otherwise it is the language users' choice.

For compound or periphrastic verbs, see below, V. Word formation and vocabulary.

The characteristics of the verbal system in the early classical periods of Persian: The morphological structure of verbal forms (prefix + stem + verbal suffix) is the same in the earlier periods of Persian as in Modern Persian. There are, however, essential differences both in the behaviour of certain constituents of the verbal form and also in the set of grammatical devices, the use of which was abandoned in the subsequent periods or preserved only for conveying highly formalised archaic or "neo-classical" style. Such a difference between Modern and Classical Persian appears in the use of verbal prefixes: the meaning and rules of their order and combination with each other and the two stems (past and present) varied widely: e.g. the classical prefixes (*hamī-* and *bi-* expressed mainly aspectual differences and could combine with both stems, e.g. *bi-raft*, *bi-šud* "(he) went away, passed away" with perfect, resultative nuance vs. (*hamī-raavad* "(he) is going" with continuous, progressive, iterative, etc., aspectual meaning (note that *hamī* was still used as an adverb in early classical sources written separately). These verbal prefixes preserved certain features of their origin in ancient texts: *bi* < Middle Persian *be-* was a preverb attached inseparably to the verb, while *hamī* < early Classical and Middle Persian *hamē* "always", being an adverb, moved freely, and its place became fixed only in later periods.

On the other hand, the minimal verbal form consisting of the present stem joined by personal suffixes (*rav-ad*) was used widely as an "aoristic" unmarked neutral form. Thus, with some oversimplification, the set of prefixes and suffixes attached to verbal stems remained unchanged almost totally in the past millennium, but the meaning and ordering of morphemes, that is, the internal composition of verbal forms varied significantly throughout history. For the details of the combinations of the verbal prefixes (*hamī-* and *bi-* or *bi-* and the negation *na-* or (*hamī* prefixed to imperative and nominal forms, or *bi-* prefixed to forms in the simple past, complex verbal forms or nominal forms, etc. see Lazard 1963, 274-326; Ahmadi Gīwī, *Dastūr-i tārikhi-i fīl*, passim; on the pre-classical use of the preverb *bi-*, see J. Josephson, *The preverb be and the verb kardan in Book Pahlavi Texts*, in *Proceedings of the Second European Conference of Iranian Studies*, ed. B.G. Fragner et al., Rome 1995, 335-46.

Early Classical Persian texts have preserved a group of archaic elements of verbal morphology (see the



ancient forms of personal suffixes or verb forms without any suffix, etc.). The most characteristic features of this early period are: the morpheme *-i* < *ē(d)* attached to conjugated forms (incl. the clitic forms of the verb "to be" or rarely, stem forms) was used in differing functions in present and past forms expressing various values of mood (optative, conditional or irreal modality), but in the past it could also convey the habitual, durative, etc., nuances of aspect (similarly to *(ha)mī-*). In old prose it appears to have been a productive morpheme and was used simultaneously with the verbal prefixes *bi-* and *(ha)mī-*, but subsequently it fell into disuse and its function was taken over gradually by the verbal prefix *mī-* even though not completely—the morphology and semantic values of these forms or the differing use of *-ē* and *-ād* have not been fully explored, see the examples in Ahmadi Ġiwī, 337-42, and Lazard 1963, 327-38, e.g. *agar man ānjā na-budam-ē* ... "If I had not been there ..." (irreal), or *čūn pēš-i payghāmbar āmad-ē guft-ē* "when he used to come to the Prophet he used to say ..." (habitual). For other archaic elements occurring in ancient texts such as the old precativ or optative (*dār-ād*, *rasān-ād*, *kun-ād*), the imperative formed by *-ē* (*dih-ē*, *bi-first-ē*), the type of the perfect (*kardast-am*), or verbal (and also nominal) forms followed by the morpheme *-ā* conveying the vocative or exclamative (*guft-ā*), and for the verbal morphology and syntax of ancient texts, consult Lazard 1963; Bahār, *Sabk-shināsi*, Tehran 1337/1958; Ahmadi Ġiwī, Tehran 1380/2001.

2. Nouns and noun phrases

Generalities: Nouns, adjectives and partly adverbs are forms which do not exhibit any specific morphological feature (e.g. ending) that would indicate their word class individually. They easily enter into another word-class while materially they remain the same and may occur in various syntactic functions. See the examples *pir* "old" and "old man", *mard* "man" and "brave" (cf. *mard-tar* comp., *kheyli mard ast* "he is very brave"), or *bālā* used as an adverb (*bālā āmadan* "to come up(wards)"), or as an attributive (*oṭāq-e bālā* "the upper room", cf. *bālā -tar* comp.) or as a noun (*bālā-ye kheyābān* "the upper part of the street"); or *khub* "good" and "well" (*dokhtar-e khub* "good girl" and *khub mi-khānad* "he reads well").

The noun or noun phrase can function as subject, object and various complements expressed by prepositional phrases in the sentence. These syntactic roles or such grammatical categories as determination (definiteness and indefiniteness) are expressed by postponed markers (called sometimes exponents, suffixes, particles or post-positions) and by determiners of various types; occasionally they can also remain unmarked. The markers attached to the noun (phrase) display a set of stressed and unstressed grammatical morphemes of various natures (*idāfa*, plural- or object-markers and articles). A striking characteristic of Persian is that the noun and its marker(s) are not closely knit; markers do not constitute inseparable elements of the word they are joined to. They can move relatively freely, although to varying degrees, and can be attached to one noun, to a chain of nouns or a noun phrase as a whole. The sequence of these markers, their phonetic forms (allomorphs) or even the rules of their presence or absence are not always firmly fixed. Their use is governed by stylistic factors and vary also in different phases of Persian. In ancient texts their place and sequence were freer than in more recent sources, where they tend to move towards the end of the noun phrase in an ordered sequence (esp. the object marker *-rā*) if there is more than one marker. This

sort of "group inflection" (a traditional, but not quite appropriate term) is a characteristic of New Persian which, in this point, differs significantly from the behaviour of the formatives of the agglutinating languages or from the nominal inflection of the ancient Indo-European languages. In the latter, word-classes, traditionally called parts of speech, are morphologically recognisable and the basic syntactic relations are expressed by case endings attached to specific stem-forms and only to those. In Persian this old type of nominal inflection was gradually abandoned and the new way of marking morpho-syntactic categories developed by the Islamic period (see Telegdi, *Zur Morphologie des Neupersischen*, in *AO Hung.*, xii (1961), 183-99; idem, *Beiträge zur historischen Grammatik des Neupersischen. I. Über die Partikelkomposition im Neupersischen*, in *AO Hung.*, v (1955), 75; Lazard 1992, 262-4.

Gender, number and other categories (the morphemes *-i*, *-e*, *-rā*): Gender is not marked morphologically in Persian. Female and male can be expressed lexically by the words *māde* "female" and *nar(re)* "male" pre- or postponed (the latter, which is more colloquial, is constructed with *idāfa*), such as *māde-sir* or *sir-e māde* "lioness" and *nar-sir* or *sir-e nar* "(male) lion". The feminine ending of the Arabic loans *-at* > Class. Pers. *-a* > Mod. Pers. *-e* (malek "king", maleke "queen", but also *-at* as in *sā'at* "hour") is rarely used with words of Persian origin, such as *hamšir*—*hamšire* "brother—sister" (formal). In a very formal style an adjectival modifier following an Arabic broken plural may appear in an Arabicised feminine form (*mamālek-e khāreje* "foreign countries" vs. standard *mamālek-e khārej*).

Plural is expressed by two alternating stressed morphemes: *-hā* with inanimates and *-ān* (variants: *-gān* or *-yān* according to the word's final vowel) with human beings, such as *ketāb-hā* "books", *zan-ān* "women" or *bande-gān* "servants" (exceptions are numerous, e.g. *derakht-ān* "trees", *akhtar-ān* "stars", etc.). The stressed plural marker has a firmly fixed position immediately following the noun. Sometimes it may also be added to constructions consisting of two nouns in juxtaposition or adjectival phrase, such as *[kot-o šāwār]-hā* "coat-and-trousers = suits".

In Modern Persian, except in very formal styles, *-hā* is widely used in place of *-ān*. In addition, certain Arabic loans have preserved their original plural formation, both regular (*-āt*, *-jāt*, *-iyāt*, *-in*, *-yun*, *-ālāt*) or irregular ("broken plural"), such as e.g. *kalema* "word" and *kalemāt* "words" or *vazir* "minister" and *vazarā* "ministers". In the formal language, the plural marker *-āt* or *-jāt* occur with non-Arabic words as well, e.g. *farmāyeš-āt* "instructions" or *miwe-jāt* "fruits". Arabic broken plurals were widely used in Classical Persian and continue to be retained in modern formal style. Sometimes Persian plural markers are also added to Arabic broken plurals cumulating the two types of plural formation, such as *zarf* "vessel", *zoruf* or *zoruf-hā* "vessels". In the classical period, certain Persian words were re-borrowed from Arabic with their broken plurals modelled on patterns of Arabic morphology (where they are in use to this day), such as *farmān* "order" and *farāmīn* "orders", *bostān* "garden" and *basātīn* "gardens", etc. Certain nouns have double plurals, each with its separate meaning, such as *sar-ān* "chiefs" and *sar-hā* "heads" or *harf-hā* "letters" and *horuf* "speeches". Selection from among the alternative plural forms is mainly governed by stylistic factors.

There is a special use of the plural marker *-hā* occurring in adverbial expressions conveying a shade of meaning "approximation" (cf. *ba'd-hā* "afterwards" in Lazard 1992, 93; *birun-hā* "somewhere outside",



tu-hā "somewhere inside" in G. Hinchā, *Beiträge zu einer Morphemlehre des Neupersischen*, in *Isl.*, xxxvii (1961), 143-60).

Historically, both *-ān* (< Old Iranian pl. gen. **-ānām*) and *-hā* (< Book Pahlavi *-ihā*) had their roots in Middle Persian. The former was older and more widely used with all sorts of nouns, but the latter took its place gradually (see W. Sundermann, *Mittelpersisch*, in *CLI*, 155). For further details cf. Jensen, 38-41; Lazard 1963, 195-9; idem 1992, 57-66; R. Humāyūnfarrukh, *Dastūr-i dīāmī-i zabān-i fārsī*, ²Tehran n.d. (1337/1958), 253-74; M. Mu'īn, *Mufriad wa dīām*, Tehran ³1369/1991; Hinchā 1961, 141-60.

Idāfa (possessive and attributive constructions): The modification of a noun with a following modifier is expressed by a clitic vowel *-e* or after vowels *-ye* (Class. Pers. *-i* or *-yi*) attached to the head noun(s). The construction is called *idāfa* (Class. Pers. *izāfa*, Mod. Pers. *eżāfe*) "annexation" (cf. the similar but not wholly equivalent construction in Arabic). The head noun(s) in singular or plural is (are) followed by one or more modifiers, which can be an adjective (as in most cases) or a noun, a pronoun, or more complex spatial and temporal expressions consisting of nouns, adjectives, prepositions, etc. Two main types can be distinguished according to their inner structures: *ketāb-e bozorg* "the big book" and *ketāb-e pedar* "the book of the father" (called Ez. I and Ez. II by Hinchā, 148-51, or *tarkib-e vafsi* "descriptive composition" and *tarkib-e eżāfi* "possessive c." by native grammarians). If the first type is extended by another adjective, the new modifier refers to the head noun (*[ketāb]-e bozorg-e fārsī* "the big Persian book"), while in the second case the new modifier refers to the second noun-member of the construction (*ketāb-e [pedar]-e fārsī* "the book of the Persian father" which itself functions as a head as well. More complex noun-phrase structures may contain a long chain of modifiers (*tadvin-e dastur-e zabān-e fārsī* "the codification of the grammar of the Persian language" or [Ferowsi.] *sokhanguy-e piruzi-ye niki har badi* "[F.] an orator of the victory of goodness over badness"), sometimes representing a reduced relative clause (*kaleme-hā-ye makhtum be hā-ye gheyr-e malfuz-e fārsī* "words with non-spoken final h"). Theoretically, noun phrases can be indefinitely extended, but their complexity is constrained by perception factors. Depending on the semantic relation between the head and its modifier(s), several subtypes can be listed: e.g. qualification by a noun indicating origin (*āb-e česme* "well-water") or material (*ketāb-e adabiyāt* "the book of literature") or specification (*šahr-e Tehrān* "the city of T.", *mazhab-e eslām* "the religion of Islam" etc.). Detailed descriptions of these types in rhetorical terms as *haqiqi* "literal" vs. *majāzi* "metaphorical" etc., can be found in native literature (see Mu'īn, *Izāfa* (the genitive case), Tehran ³1370/1991). Titles and other designations may occur either with *idāfa* (*āqā* "mister", *janāb*, *hazrat* "excellence, honour, dignity", *marhum* "late") or without *idāfa* (*doktor*, *hakim*, *šeykh*). If a head noun is suffixed by the indefinite *-i*, the adjective attributive follows it without *idāfa* (*ketāb-i bozorg* "a big book"). This construction is characteristic of formal Modern Persian only, but it was commonly used in Classical Persian. Another characteristic of the ancient language is that modifiers (both nouns and adjectives) often precede the head noun. In this case there is no *idāfa* construction, the constituents stand in juxtaposition (*delir mard* "a brave man", *Irān šahr* "the empire of Iran", cf. Lazard 1963, 200-3). The connecting vowel *-e* (in classical transcription *-i*) may be dropped both in the classical poetry due to the requirements of prosody

and in modern dialects or in colloquial styles (in rapid speech), especially in frequently used expressions (*pedar-bozorg* "grandfather", *janāb-āli* "Sir", etc.).

Historically, the *idāfa* construction developed fully by the New Persian period (see the use of the partly equivalent and scarcely occurring Middle Persian relative particle *-ī* in Sundermann, *Mittelpersisch*, 158-9).

Several details, esp. the syntactic-semantic relations between the constituents of the multiple *idāfa* structures, which are characteristic of the formal written style, remain unresolved (see L.S. Peysikov, *Voprosi sintaksisa persidskogo yazika*, Moscow 1959, 41-108 (the most detailed description); M.R. Bāṭini, *Tawṣīf-i dastūr-i zabān-i fārsī*, Tehran 1348/1969, 137-52; Lazard 1992, 66-71; idem 1989, 275).

Definiteness—indefiniteness: The unstressed clitic *-i* (< Class. Pers. *-ī*, < early Class. Pers. *-ē* < Old Persian *aiva-* "one") traditionally called "indefinite article" or "article of unity" is joined to a noun in singular or plural or to a noun phrase, e.g. *ketāb-i* "a book" or *ketāb-hā-i* "some, certain books" (vs. *ketāb-hā* "books") or *ketāb-e bozorg-i* "a big book". In the colloquial language indefiniteness is often expressed by the numeral *yek* "one" which precedes the noun (*yek ketāb* "a book") and may be used simultaneously with the clitic *-i* (*yek ketāb-i*). Although the expressions *yek ketāb* and *yek ketāb-i* appear to be equivalent in certain contexts, they may also have different stylistic values. There are, for instance, cases, where *-i* and *yek* are not interchangeable; see the terms "Kennzeichnung der Individualisierung" ("the sign of individualisation") for *yek* and "Restriktion" ("restriction") for *-i* by Hinchā, 169-70, e.g. *yek ruz* "eines (bestimmten) Tages" ("a particular day") vs. *ruz-i* "pro Tag, ein einzelner Tag" ("daily, every day"). Although the fine points of the use of the clitic *-i* have not been wholly explored, there can be a restricting function, which appears to make the reference of the noun phrase more precise. In addition, its relatively independent character are manifested in phrases like in the following examples by Hidjāzī (quoted from Telegdi, 1961, 192): *javān-e šekaste va nākhōš-i* "a tired (lit. broken) and sick young man" (Hidāyat) or *har jāhel-e az donyā bikhabar-i* "each ignoramus who does not understand the world", or *dar donyā-i digar* "einer anderen Welt" "in a different world" (Cubak). This latter type was especially common in Classical Persian, where the clitic *-i* tended to be joined to the first head noun.

The same clitic morpheme *-i* with a restricting function can be attached to the antecedent of a restrictive relative clause (*mard-i ke tu-ye olāq ast* "the man who is in the room"). (This morpheme is called *yā-ye ešāre* by native grammarians.) The antecedent noun may be preceded by a demonstrative pronoun and is compatible with the stressed object suffix *-rā* (*ān mard-i-rā ke...* "that man whom...") and the stressed morpheme *-e* which is used only in colloquial style (*ān mard-e-i ke...* "that man who..."). According to Hinchā, the clitic *-i* is in complementary distribution with Ez. II and the pronominal possessive suffix *-as* in each position (171). There is considerable disagreement, however, on whether these two functions of the clitic *-i* with different distributions are to be regarded as one or two morphemes. Native speakers seem to distinguish the two functions (cf. Lazard, *L'enclitique nominal -i en persan: un ou deux morphemes*, in *BSL*, li (1966), 249-64; idem, 1989, 275-6). For more details see Meier, 139-44; Windfuhr, 3-40; Ch. Lehmann, *Yā-ye ešārat. Zur Grammatik der persischen Relativsätze, in Indogermanische Forschungen*, lxxxii (1977), 97-106.

A stressed morpheme *-e* is used after nouns in



singular (*hotel-i* “the hotel [in question]”) as if it was a definite article (Hincha’s term is “Punktualisierung”, 176), but its use is restricted to the colloquial style in Modern Persian only. In formal language there is no direct way of expressing definiteness, but it is possible to indicate the definite or indefinite nature of the noun acting as an object in the sentence (see the object suffix *-râ*). The morpheme *-e* has a limited distribution as it may occur with demonstrative pronouns (*ân pesar-e*), but never with the so-called indefinite “article” *-i* (for a different view, see Hincha, 176). If the *-e* is joined to a noun phrase (Ez. I) the *ežjfe* vowel *-e* is dropped, e.g. *ketâb-bozorg-e* (cf. ‘A.A. Šadikî, *Dastûr. Sâl-i duvvum*, Tehran 2535/1976, 131). Apparently its occurrence is widespread in both Persian and non-Persian dialects (see Christensen 1939, 42, and also Windfuhr, 41).

The object marker *-râ*: The unstressed morpheme *-râ* (also called particle or postposition, which indicates its relatively independent or word-like character) is attached to a noun in singular or plural, or to a noun phrase of whatever length, indicating direct object under certain conditions. These “conditions” are a matter of debate and are impossible to grasp by hard and fast rules: its place, functions, appearance or disappearance seem to be dependent on grammatical, semantic and stylistic factors. In the sequence of the postponed morphemes which can follow a noun or a noun phrase, *-râ* is always the last in the sequence in Modern Persian (e.g. *ketâb-hâ-i-râ*). It is said to mark the direct object in the sentence if it is made “definite” by pre- and postponed determiners, modifiers or by context, e.g. *ân ketâb-râ* “that book (acc.)”, *ketâb-e u-râ* “his book (acc.)”, *ketâb-râ khândam* “I read the book”. There are cases, however, where the direct object can also be followed both by the morpheme *-i* and by *-râ*. In these cases the morpheme *-i* appears to make the object not indefinite, but rather restrictive or “individuated”, e.g. *ketâb-i-râ* “a certain book (acc.)”. On the other hand, the object marker is not used if the object is generic, e.g. *šab-hâ ketâb mi-krân-am* “in the evenings I read book(s)” (cf. Lazard 1989, 280). The rationale for its occurrence is far from clear. It may be connected with the semantic nature of the noun acting as object or with the relationship between object and predicate (“caractère humain de l’objet” or “absence d’affinité sémantique entre le verbe et l’objet”) or, with the complexity of the expression (cf. Lazard 1989, 280; idem 1992, 74-6, 183-90). Its use in the colloquial language is very unsteady: it is often missing where formal language would use it.

In Modern Persian *-râ* sometimes appears where a direct object marker is not expected to occur. Some of the instances of these “uncommon” uses of the morpheme *-râ* do occur in both formal and informal Modern Persian, while others may be seen only in the very formal (literary) style. The first group includes elliptic exclamative phrases, such as *khodâ-râ šokr* “thanks to God”, *to-râ be-khodâ* “I swear you by God” or *khodâ-râ* “for God’s sake!” or *qazâ-râ* (= *az qazâ*) “by chance”. An emphatic use of the morpheme *-râ* introducing a topic at the beginning of the sentence occurs in the less formal style, such as *to-râ ce kâr konam?* “What am I to do with you?” (lit. “As for you, what shall I do?”). Sometimes it is used with adverbial expressions denoting time (*zohr-râ* “at noon” quoted by Lazard from Šadikî Hidāyat). The second group whose construction is characteristic of the very formal (literary) style in Modern Persian consists of expressions where the noun followed by *-râ* features as indirect object, like *to-râ goftam* [= *be to goftam*] “I told you”

or *šomâ-râ kâr dâram* [= *bâ šomâ kâr dâram*] “I have to speak to you”. In these examples *-râ* is substituted by prepositions in the equivalent expressions which are equivalent grammatically but not stylistically. Another archaic and very formal use of this morpheme is the construction where *-râ* is attached to the complement of the existential verb “to be” expressing possession (that is, to the possessor noun), such as *u-râ pesar-i bud* “he had a son”, an equivalent of the sentence *u pesar-i dâšt* (cf. Lazard 1992, 191; Hincha, 186). These latter two functions are obviously remnants of old usage. Not only these two points but the whole domain of its use (place, functions, distribution, etc.) show differences between Modern and Classical Persian displaying also dialectal variations (cf. its use with the proposed particle *mar*). See further details in Telegdi 1961, 194; Lazard 1963, 356-84; idem, *Le morphème râ en persan et les relations actancielles*, in *BSL*, lxxvii (1982), 177-207; I.K. Ovtšinnikova, *Funktsii posleloga râ v sovremennom literaturnom persidskom yazıke*, in *Trudi Instituta yazıkoznaniya*, vi (1956), 356-391; idem, *Ispol'zovanie posleloga râ v proizvedeniyakhı tadjikskikhı i persidskikhı klassiceskikhı avtorov (XI-XV vv.)*, in *TIP*, vi (1956), 392-408.

3. Adjectives and adjective phrases

Adjectives are invariable words in Persian showing no distinction of gender, number or case. Comparative adjectives are formed by the suffixes *-tar* and *-tarin* (*boland-tar* “high” *boland-tarin* “highest”, note that the same suffix can be attached to adverbs as well). There are certain adjectives which have suppletive comparative and superlative forms, see *beh*, and *beh-tar* (“better”), *beh-tarin* (“best”) in relation to *khub* “good” or *biš*, *biš-tar* (“more, numerous”) in relation to *besyâr* “much, many”, etc. These doublets can be used in different social contexts in Modern Persian. The comparison between two gradable adjectives are made by the preposition *az* (*in pesar az ân boland-tar ast* “this boy is taller than that”). Superlative forms usually precede the head noun (*qadim-tarin ketâb* “the oldest book”), similarly to certain adjectives with special semantic value (*khub pesar-i* (“a good boy”, see Lazard 1989, 277). Adjectives may be preceded by adverbs or adverb phrases. The most commonly used premodifiers of this type are *besyâr*, *kheyli* “very”, *‘ajâb* “strange” (*mas’ale-ye kheyli mohem(m)* “very important problem”).

For ancient comparative and superlative forms like *meh*, *mehin* (“greater, greatest”), *beh*, *behin* (“better, best”), the doublets *khub-tar/beh-tar* and some additional points of their use or modes of intensification in both Modern and Classical Persian, see Lazard 1992, 81-9; idem 1963, 201-14.

Because of their “unmarked” nature, adjectives easily change their word-class membership without any morphological modification—for instance, a large part of them can be used as nouns or adverbs (see above, I. Generalities). The syntactic behaviour of these words, which obtain their new meaning via transposition, is similar to the other members of the same word-class even though their original word-class attributes do not disappear completely. For instance, nominalised adjectives take the same exponents as the noun proper while preserving some features of their own in certain constructions (e.g. in *idāfa* or in compounds such as *deltang* and *tangdel*, see Telegdi, *Zur Unterscheidung von Substantiv und Adjektiv im Neupersischen*, in *AO Hung.*, xv (1962), 325-36).

4. Adverbs and adverb phrases

This heterogeneous class overlaps with other word classes such as nouns, adjectives or prepositions, etc. The group of words which are traditionally regarded as adverbs are *konun/aknun* “now”, *emruz* “today”, *fardâ*



"tomorrow", *zīr* "under", *zebar* "above", *nazdīk* or *nazd* "near", *dur* "far", *ʿaqab* "behind", *piš* "before", *pas* "after", *birun* "outside", *bālā* "up", *pāin* "down", *sakht* "very", etc., in addition to the morphologically derived adverbs (of manner in most cases) created from adjectives by the still creative suffix of Arabic origin *-an*, e.g. *ettefāqan* "by chance", *jeddān* "seriously", *jānan* "whole-heartedly", etc. The syntactic behaviour of certain simple adverbs, however, varies according to the constructions where they occur. For instance, *piš*, *pas*, *birun*, *bālā*, *pāin* used in combination with verbs of movement function as adverbs of space (*bālā raft* or *raft bālā* "he went up" in modern colloquial; used in noun phrase they appear as attributives (*olāq-e bālā* "the upper room, mansard", *šab-e piš* "the previous night"); used in adverb phrases, they behave as nouns (called "adverb-substantifs" by Lazard 1957, 84 = 1992, 90; for a different view see Telegdi 1961, 187-9) displaying nearly all the properties nouns have though to varying degrees. That is, they may occur with or without prepositions, with certain determiners (e.g. demonstrative pronouns) and plural markers indicating "approximation" (cf. Telegdi 1961, 189; Lazard 1992, 65). They also occur in *idāfa* constructions, but they never appear with articles (see *bālā* "the upper part, top, height" in the examples *dar bālā-ye* "above, over s.th.", *bālā-ye kuh* "at the top of the mountain", etc. or *hamin aknun* "just now", *ba'd-hā* "later" or more complex phrases such as *az enruz be-fardā* "from today till tomorrow", cf. Telegdi 1961, 187-9). Actually, a large group of nouns may also occur in such adverb phrases either with or without prepositions (e.g. (*dar*) *pošt-e divār* "behind the wall", *be manzel [raft]* *manzel* "he went home" (colloquial), see prepositional phrases). Similarly, most of the adjectives may function as adverbials (of manner in most cases, called "adjectifs-adverbies" by Lazard 1957, 79 = 1992, 90, e.g. *tond* "quick, quickly"). For various ways of intensifying or concretising the meanings of adverbial expressions, see *tanhā* "alone", *ham* "also, even", *niz* "also", *hattā* "even", *bāz-ham* "still, yet", etc. (see Lazard 1992, 90-5).

The manifold behaviour of certain adverbs might be explained by their historical development: e.g. *bālā* and *pāin* were originally nouns, but they became adverbs while preserving some features of their former class-membership. By contrast, some old adverbs (*bar*, *dar*, *foru*, *farā*) became fixed in preverbal position used formally as verbal prefixes (and not as adverbs) and formed a single lexical item with the verb while abandoning their independent meaning as adverbs (e.g. MP *abar āmadan* > Class. P. *bar āmadan* "to rise [sun]" > Mod. P. *bar āmadan* "to cope, rise [dough]"). Note that some of them became obsolete already in the classical language and were substituted by "new" adverbs, e.g. *foru* by *pāin* "down" or *dar* by *tu* "in"; others merged into one single word (see the modern homophones of various origins, e.g. Class. Persian *andar* > *dar* "in" (adv.) and *dar* "door" (noun) in classical phrases such as *dar āmadan* "to come in" and (*ba-*)*dar āmadan* "to come out" > Mod. Pers. *dar āmadan* "to come out"—for substitution, see Class. Persian *bar āmadan* → Mod. Pers. *bālā raftan* "to rise, go up").

In addition, in the course of time certain adverbs had partly or wholly lost their ancient meaning, e.g. *piš* or *pas* were local-temporal adverbs in Classical Persian, but they have only temporal reference in Modern Persian, or *bar* in *bar āsoftan* = *āsoftan* "flare up, agitate" (see also the modern continuation of the old homophones: MP *abar* > Cl. Pers. *bar* "up, on" and MP *war* > Cl. Pers. *bar* "breast" [noun] > Mod.

P. (*az*) *bar(-e)* "over, upon, on [prep.]"). For more details of these highly heterogeneous, sometimes obscure groups of words called adverbs or sometimes particles, see Telegdi 1955; idem, 1961.

5. Prepositions or prepositional phrases

There are only a few true prepositions in Persian such as *be* "to, at, in, with", etc., *dar* "in, into (lit. era.)", *bar* "on, to", *az* "from, since", *bā* "with", *bi* "without", *tā* "until", *joz* "except", *čun/čon* "as, like". They can precede the noun (*dar olāq* "in the room"), the noun phrase (*dar olāq-e bozorg* "in the big room") or the co-ordinated nouns (*dar olāq va āšpazkhāne* "in the room and the kitchen"). These prepositions are never followed by *idāfa*.

In addition, there are various types of "compound" prepositions: e.g. adverbs followed by prepositions (*piš az* "before (of time)", *qabl az* "before", *pas az* "after"), nouns (or substantivised adverbs) with or without prepositions connected to another noun via *idāfa* (*dar pošt-e divār* "behind the wall", *az šaraf-e* "from the side of" *be-šaraf-e* "towards", *be tavassot-e* "by (the intervening of)" (*dar*) *tu-ye* "in(side)", *az zīr-e* "from under" etc., or adjectives followed by prepositions (*rāje' be* "concerning", etc.).

Both true prepositions and the connecting vowel of *idāfa* may be dropped in colloquial style (see Lazard 1992, 76-9).

There were some more prepositions in Classical Persian, but they became obsolete in post-classical Persian as early lexicographic sources indicate, e.g. *andar*, *foru*, *farā*, etc. Another characteristic of Classical Persian was the joint use of certain prepositions (*be*, *bar*) and certain postpositions (*bar*, (*an*)*dar*, *bāz*), e.g. *be Yaman dar* "in Y." (cf. Lazard 1963, 399-421; Kh.Kh. Rahbar, *Dastūr-i zabān-i fārsi. Kitāb-i hurūf-i idāfa wa rabt*, Tehran 1367/1988, 69-396).

6. Numerals

The cardinal numerals between 1 and 20 (*yek* "1", *do* "2", *se* "3", etc.), all tens (*si* "30", *čehel* "40", *pan-jāh* "50", etc.), hundreds (*šad* "100", *devist* "200", *sišad* "300", etc.) and thousand (*hezār*) are single words. The other numbers consist of either two or three or more words connected by *o* "and" (e.g. *bist-o yek* "21", *hezār-o yek* "1001", *do hezār-o bist-o yek* "2021", etc.). Nouns following the cardinal numerals are normally in singular (*do ketāb* "two books"). Characteristic of Persian is the use of so-called "numeratives" words, a certain type of classifiers, between the numerals and the head noun. The most used "numeratives" are *našar*, *tan*, *tā*, *dast*, etc. (*do našar dānešju* "two (persons) students", *do tā ketāb* "two (pieces) books"). Ordinals are derived from cardinals with the suffixes *-om* or *-omin* (*čāhār-om* or *čāhār-omin* "fourth"). If they consist of more than one member they are attached to the last member, e.g. [*yek hezār-o panjāh-o hašt*]-*om* "1058". The two series of ordinal numerals (*panj-om* or *panj-omin* "fifth") display different syntactic and semantic characteristics. The first type used as an attributive follows the head noun with *idāfa* (*ketāb-e panjom* "the fifth book") but the second precedes it (*panjomīn ketāb*). For their differing semantic values, see Lazard 1992, 101. The first cardinal numerals have a variety of forms (*yekom* / *avval* / *noḵost* "first", *dovvom* / *deyyom* "second", *seyvom* / *seyyom* "third"). For various numerical expressions, see Lazard 1992, 102-5.

7. Pronouns: personal, possessive, reflexive, reciprocal, demonstrative, interrogative and indefinite

Personal and some other pronouns can be expressed in two different ways: by stressed independent words or by clitic morphemes. The members of the two sets can substitute each other in certain, but not in all



positions. The choice of clitic pronouns is heavily dependent on stylistic factors.

Stressed personal pronouns have the distinction of number (singular and plural), person (1st, 2nd and 3rd), and gender with a strictly limited force (animate and inanimate in the 3rd person): *man* "I", *to* "you", *u*, *vey* (lit.) or *ân* (denoting inanimate things in most cases) "he/she/it", *mâ* "we", *šomâ* "you", *išân* or *ânâ* "they". There is a variety of forms and meanings in polite or colloquial usage. For instance, characteristic of modern colloquial is the occurrence of plural forms with a singular value or the forms *mâ-hâ* "we, us", *šomâ-hâ* "you". *Išân* (coll. *išun*) is often used as a polite equivalent of the third person singular pronoun. Similarly, in polite speech, the first or second person pronouns in singular may be substituted by various forms, e.g. *bande* "servant", in *jâneb* "this side" (lit.), *janâb-e 'âli/âli janâb* "Your Excellency" (see further details, incl. concordance, below, in 8. *Syntax*).

Personal pronouns, as usual, share the functions of nouns, but not all of them. For instance, they may be preceded by prepositions, e.g. *bâ mâ* "with us", or postponed by object markers, e.g. *mâ-râ* "us (acc.)" (but see *man-râ* > *mâ-râ* "me (acc.)"). Having determining function they are used with *idāfa* (*ketâb-e mâ* "our book") acting as a quasi-possessive pronoun. But in this function pronouns do not exhibit exactly the same syntax as nouns or adjectives when they act as modifiers. For instance, they do not allow any further extension of the noun phrase, but they terminate the chain of noun(s) and adjective(s) (cf. *ketâb-e bozorg-e mâ* "our big books", *ketâb-e pedar-e mâ* "the book of my father" or *ketâb-e bozorg-e mâ* "the book of my grandfather").

Clitic pronouns are: *-am*, *-at/-et* (coll.), *-aš/-eš* (coll.) in the singular and *-emân*, *-etân*, *-ešân* in the plural. As a matter of fact, these clitic morphemes are personal suffixes used in two differing functions: if they are attached to the noun phrase acting as determiner they refer to the possessor as a kind of "determinative possessives" or, if they are used as complements in verbal phrases they refer to the direct or indirect object, rarely (and redundantly) the subject. These clitics, although their phonological shapes and allophones are the same in both functions, differ as for their modification or complementation: clitics used in determinative functions appear to be suffix-morphemes and the word so produced has a complex morpheme structure (*ketâb-aš* = *ketâb-e u* "his book") which can take the object marker (*ketâb-aš-râ* "his book (acc.)"). In the second case, where clitics are used to denote complements of verbs or verbal phrases, the verb and its complement appear to be rather a syntactic construction that cannot be extended (*dâdam-aš* [= *u-râ dâdam*] "I saw him", *dâdam-aš* [= *be-u dâdam*] "I gave him (s.th.)" or *nist-eš* [= *u nist*] "he is out (coll.)"). This construction itself is rather unique in that it can be expressive of both the predicate and the object or (more rarely) the subject (cf. É. Jeremias, *Some grammatical problems of early New Persian syntax*, in *Proceedings of the Second European Conference of Iranian Studies*, ed. Fragner et alii, Rome 1995, 325-34.)

Other more peripheral functions (partitive, anaphoric, emphatic or pleonastic) of these clitic pronouns (especially the form *-eš*) are very common in informal registers (see more details in Lazard 1992, 109-16). Certain constructions, e.g. if prepositions are followed by such clitics (*až-eš* = *až u* "from him") or they are attached to the non-verbal part of compound verbs (*dust-et dâram* = *dust dâram to-râ* "I love you"), occur hardly ever in formal style. The use of pronominal

clitics in earlier periods of Persian was not exactly the same as in Modern Persian. Its occurrence as possessive affix is an innovation of New Persian shared by most of the West Iranian languages. The possessive affixes rigidly attached to the correlative words must have been fully developed in earliest prose. There is, however, a significant difference in frequency in comparison with modern usage. They are used less frequently and in most cases with a limited set of words (e.g. *pedar*, *mâdar*, *pesar*, *khodâ*).

On the other hand, their use as verbal complement continues an old tradition, which itself has not however remained unchanged. In old texts their place was not rigidly fixed; they appeared in various positions in the sentence, although a tendency can be seen to attach them to verbs or to the nominal part of verbal phrases. In some rare examples they appeared after words already extended by other grammatical morphemes (e.g. Class. Pers. *par-ē-š* "one of his feather(s)", cf. Jeremias 1995, 328). This very archaic usage disappeared later.

Reflexive pronouns are *khod*, *khištan* "oneself" and *khiš* "his, her". The first two are pronouns used in formal language having no distinction of number or person, but they can be constructed with prepositions, followed by the object suffix *-râ* or used as a determinative possessive word with *idāfa* (*bâ khod*, *khod-râ*, *pedar-e khod*). In colloquial language they are always used with determinative possessive affixes (*khod-am*, *khod-et*, *khod-eš*, etc.). *Khiš* is an adjective acting as determiner (*mâdar-e khiš-râ dust dârad* "she loves her mother") and in this function it may be regarded as a formal equivalent of *khod* and *khištan*. In Classical Persian *khiš* (< early Class. Pers. *khēš*) was also used as pronoun beside *khod* and *khištan* (cf. Lazard 1963, 230).

Reciprocal pronouns are *yekdigar*, *hamdigar* "each other, one another" with the same distinctions as the reflexive pronouns obtain (*yekdigar-râ dust dârand* "they love each other"). See also the independent use of *ham* (*bâ ham* "together"), which is not to be confused with the particle *ham* "also, even" or the copulative conjunction *ham... va ham* "and... and".

Demonstrative pronouns distinguish singular and plural and can be simple (*in* "this" and *in-hâ* "these"), *ân* "that" and *ân-hâ* "those") or compounded with the particle *ham* "same, very" (*hamin* "this same one", *hamân* "that same one") or *ēn-*, *ēn-* < *ēn* (*ēnin*, *ēnin*, *hamēnin* "like this", etc.). Simple demonstratives precede the noun and remain invariable in the plural if they are used as determiners (*in zan* "this woman", *in zan-ân* "these women").

Interrogative pronouns are: *ke/kî* (coll.) "who", *kehâ/kî(h)â* (coll.) (pl.), *čē/čî* (coll.) "what", *čehâ/čihâ* (coll.) (pl.), *kodâm(hâ)* "which one(s)". The latter two pronouns can be used as adjectives as well. *Čand/čandom* "how much/many" shares the syntax with cardinals: it precedes the noun in singular (*čand ruz* "how many days"), but its other form follows it with *idāfa* (*ruz-e čandom*). Interrogative pronouns can act as determiners with definitive or indefinite references, but their syntax is still to be investigated.

Indefinite pronouns and determiners: There is a relatively small number of simple indefinite pronouns which can be compounded with various nominal morphemes, like *kas*, *šakhs* "person", *čiz* "thing", *jâ* "place", *qadr* "quantity" or the pronoun *kodâm* "which (one)" to produce a large set of expressions acting as determiners and fulfilling various syntactic functions. Occasionally they can be followed by the indefinite *-i*, but the syntax of its use is not wholly explored (*hič kas* or *hič kas-i*



“no one”, *hič čiz* “nothing”, *hič vaqt* (determinative functions combined with the definite article *-i* or *yek*). Semantically they appear to belong to various classes (universal, assertive, negative, etc.) like *hame* “all”, *bā’izi* “some”, *kasi* “somebody”, *hič kasi* (in interrogative or negative sentence) or *har kasi* (in affirmative sentence) “anybody”, similarly “*čizi*” “something”, *hič čiz(i)* or *har čiz(i)* “anything”, *hič yek*, *hič kodām* “neither”, etc. For further details, see Lazard 1992, 124-9.

8. Syntax

The simple sentence consists of a subject and a predicate. The predicate, which occurs at the end of the sentence in most cases, can be a (conjugated) verb, a noun, a pronoun, an adjective or a prepositional phrase acting in predicative function followed by various forms of the verbal copula. The subject, however, can be omitted and in this case the predicate alone constitutes a sentence of minimal size (e.g. *raftand* “[they] went away”). Characteristic of Persian are the various types of sentences constructed with so-called “impersonal” verbs or verb phrases, e.g. *monken ast* “it is possible”, *eyb na-dārad* “it does not matter”, etc. In another common type of simple sentences the logical subject is expressed by the clitic pronoun attached to the predicative adjective, e.g. *sard-am ast* “I am cold”. The concord (or agreement) between the subject and the predicate is normally simple: a singular subject requires a singular object. But there are exceptions, mainly due to semantic or stylistic factors: if the subject is a collective noun or a noun designating inanimate things, the predicate is in singular; in elevated style, honorific addresses are used with predicate in plural, e.g. *somā guftid* “you (sing.) told”, *āqā* (sing.) *nistand* (pl.) “the master is not at home” (for more details see above, 2, and Lazard 1992, 178-82; Mu’in, *Noun. Singular and plural*, Tehran 1369/1991).

The two major constituents of the simple sentence can be further extended by direct or indirect objects and adverbial phrases (for the details of their use, see previous sections). General characteristics of the behaviour of the constituents in the smaller or larger units of the sentence are mobility and optionality even though the constituents show these features in varying degrees. This means that grammatical exponents can be easily omitted and the word order is rather flexible. Normally, the predicate is at the end of the sentence and the subject is at the beginning followed by the object (SOV). Other complements come either before or after the object, but temporal expressions often occur at the initial position (e.g. *šabā ketāb mi-khānd* “in the evenings he used to read a book”). Generally, objects or space and time expressions move comparatively freely and their syntactic features vary considerably (see the unstable use of grammatical morphemes like the object suffix *-rā* or the dropping of prepositions in less formal styles in above, 4; cf. also Lazard 1992, 183-212). Interrogative sentences have the same word order as affirmative ones differing only in intonation.

Juxtaposed units (phrases or clauses) are coordinated by *va* (or by the clitic *-o* in special cases), *ham ... (va) ham* “and, also” (*-ham* also used as a clitic, e.g. *somā-ham goftid* “you also told ...”), *na ... na* “neither ... nor”, *yā* “or”, *khāh ... khāh* “either ... or” and *vali(kan)*, *ammā* “but, however”. Subordinate clauses of different types (object, subject, casual, temporal, etc.) are connected by the conjunction *ke* in most cases, esp. in informal styles, e.g. *goft ke pesar-āš āmad* “he said that his son arrived”. Normally this conjunction simply indicates subordination. The most common conjunctions (consisting of one or more words) that introduce subordinate clauses are: *tā*, *tā barā-ye*

in ke “that, until that”, etc. (object, final temporal, etc.), *čun*, *čon*, *čun ke*, *zirā (ke)* “when, as, because”, etc. (temporal, casual) and the conditional subordinator *agar* “if” (in negation *magar inke* “unless”). There is a relatively wide freedom in selecting the mood of the verb of subordinate clauses: it can be either in indicative or in subjunctive depending on the speaker’s choice of modality. Tense, mode and aspect features of the predicate in conditional clauses are more (but not wholly) fixed: the selection of the verb form in the main (or “matrix”) clause and in the conditional clause is directly connected with fulfilment of a real condition or a hypothetical one with present or past reference. See some examples by Šādiqi: *agar Hušang kār konad, movaffaq mi-šavad* “if H. works, he succeeds”; *agar Hušang bi-yāyad bā u be gardeš mi-ravam* (or *khāham raft*) “if H. should come, I (will) go walk with him”; *agar diruz barf nemi-bārid, havā sard nemišod* “if yesterday the snow had not fallen (or there had not been snow), the weather would not have become cold”, etc. (see more examples in his *Dastūr*, 103-6). Relative clauses are constructed in a special way: due to the lack of relative pronouns such clauses are introduced by the conjunction *ke* and the head noun can be (optionally) repeated in the clause by a pronoun: *yek mard vāred šod ke man u-rā nemi-šenākhtam* “a man entered whom (ke u-rā) I did not know”. In restrictive relative clauses constructed with a definite head noun the antecedent is supplied by the morpheme *-i*, e.g. *mard-i ke āmad* “the man who came” (see Lazard 1992, 229-36). Spoken style is developing special syntactic and semantic characteristics of subordinate clauses (see A. Nadjafi, *Kārburd-i “ki” dar fārsi-i guftārī*, in *Nāma-i Farhangistān*, i [1374/1995], 7-19).

This short enumeration of the semantic and syntactical properties of simple and complex sentences does not cover all the possibilities that occur in Modern Persian (see more details in Lazard 1992, 218-57, and for earlier usage, idem 1963, 455-92; Bahār, *Sabk-šināsi*, *passim*). This field of Persian grammar, however, has remained unexplored.

V. Word formation and vocabulary

1. There are various ways of word formation in Persian such as transposition, derivation by suffixation or prefixation and composition, some cases of which have been already treated in the morphology of the verb, noun and prepositional phrase. Transposition is one of the most common and productive processes which makes new words without adding any morphological marker, e.g. adjectives from nouns or vice versa, or adverbs from adjectives (e.g. *khāb* “sleeping” in *khāb-i* “are you sleeping?”, *šolūq* “tumult” → “tumultuous”, *tond* “quick, quickly”, etc. See more examples above, in iii. IV. 2. *Nouns and noun phrases, Generalities*). Similarly, certain verbal stems or conjugated forms can be used as nouns (e.g. *kharid* [stem II = simple past tense, 3rd person, sing.] “he purchased, purchase”, *ma-gu* [prohib., 2nd person, sing.] “do not say, top secret”; see also more complex compound forms like composition made of the stems (II+I) of the same verb (*goft-o gu* “conversation”) or the stems (II+II) of different verbs (*āmad-o raft* “intercourse, familiarity = lit. coming and going”), etc.

Word formation via derivation displays a large set of suffixes, some of which are still productive, whilst certain others are stylistically coloured (e.g. colloquial, obsolete or archaic). The most common suffixes of nominal derivations are: *-i* (or *-gi* after final *-e*) which creates abstract (rarely concrete) nouns from adjectives and nouns (*bozorg* “big, great” → *bozorgi* “bigness, greatness”, *mard* “man” → *mardi* “manliness”, *bande*



“servant” → *bandegi* “servitude”, *širin* “sweet” → *širini* “sweetness, sweets” [cf. pl. *širini-jāf*]; another -i forms adjectives from nouns (*īrān* “Iran” → *īrāni* “Iranian”); -ak forms diminutives from nouns (*dokhtar* “girl” → *dokhtarak* “little girl”). The next series of derivations forming nouns and adjectives (-či, -če, -bān, -dān, -estān, -in, -mand, -var, -vār, -nāk) has various levels of productivity in Modern Persian (*ma’dan-či* “miner”, *kitāb-če* “booklet”, *bāgh-bān* “gardener”, *qalam-dān* “pen-holder”, *nārenj-estān* “orangery”, *pašm-in* “woollen”, *arzeš-mand* “valuable”, *nām-var* “famous”, *omid-vār* “hopeful”, *nam-nāk* “humid”, etc.). Another group of nouns is derived from verbal stems (I or II) by the suffixes -eš, -āk, -ār (*raftan*, *row-* “to go” → *raveš* “method”, *khordan*, *khōr-* “to eat” → *khōrāk* “nourishment”, *raftan*, *rav-* “to go” → *raftār* “behaviour”, etc.). For other sorts of derivations hy suffixation which are not productive anymore, see causative forms in verbal morphology (*šenākhtan*, *šenās-* “to recognise” → *šenāsān-/šenāsān(i)d-* “to make known”, etc.).

The most common types of derivation by prefixation are: *nā-* (*nā-pāk* “impure”, *nā-mard* “[a] coward”, *nā-māder* “step-mother”), *ham-* (*ham-vašan* “compatriot”), and *por-* (*por-harf* “loquacious”).

Composition is a frequently used process of word formation in Persian. The principal types of compound words, according to the syntactic and semantic relations between their two constituents and according to the word class produced by the composition, are: “determinative” (endocentric) compounds made up of two nominal parts (*kār* “work” + *khāne* “house” → *kārkhāne* “work-shop, factory”); “possessive” (exocentric) compound (*fārsi* “Persian” + *zabān* “language” → *fārsizabān* “Persian-speaking, i.e. a person whose language is Persian”); a noun followed by a verbal stem (I), whose relation is equivalent to a verb and an object or a verb and another verbal complement and the compound so produced can have an active (or passive or locative, etc.) meaning, e.g. *ātaš* “fire” + *parastidan/parast-* “to adore” → *ātašparast* “fire-worshipper”, *dast* “hand” + *neveštan/nevis-* “to write” → *dastnevis* “hand-written, manuscript (lit. written by hand)”; a noun followed by a verbal stem (II) forms a compound with passive or intransitive meaning, e.g. *khāne* “house” + *zādan/zāy-*, *zād-* “to be born” → *khānezād* “born at home”. These compounds represent only a few of the possible types. In certain cases, however, one cannot judge with certainty whether they represent phonological sequences held together by stress and intonation, or whether they have become lexicalized compositions (see Lazard 1992, 261-91). Their exact nature and status, however, are still to be scrutinised although much has been done in this field (see the discussion of the types *deltang* “heart-tight(ened)” and *tangdel* “tight-heart(ed)” in Telegdi, *Zur Unterscheidung von Substantiv und Adjektiv im Neupersischen*, 325-36).

A particular type of verbal expression is represented by two large groups, called “verbs with preverbs” and “verbal phrases” (or “compound verbs”, Fr. “locutions verbales”), whose use appears to be one of the main characteristics of Persian vocabulary since earliest times. The two sets present different types of lexical items with regard to their syntactic and semantic properties. The first group also consists of at least two subgroups which are very similar to each other, but only on the surface; they display two different types depending on their inner semantic structure: the first subgroup represents an ancient procedure of verbal composition, where verbs are preceded by true “living” adverbs of place (e.g. *piš* “before”, *pas* “after”,

birun “outside”, *bālā* “up”, *pā’in* (*pāyin*) “down”) as in *bālā raftan* “to go up”, *pā’in āmadan* “to come down”, *birun bordan* “to take out”. The meaning of such a phrase is made up of the meaning of the two constituents.

In the other subgroup, the first member is also an adverb of place, but in this kind of verbal phrase the adverb ceases to behave as an adverb (losing its original adverbial meaning), and the sequence acquires a new, secondary meaning, e.g. *farā-gereftan* “to learn”, *foru-raftan* “to plunge” (very formal), *bar-gaštan* “to return” (neg. *bar na-gašt*), *dar-yāftan* “perceive, understand” (note that *bar* and *dar* are formally identical to the prepositions *bar*, *dar*). In Classical Persian, this type of new verb formation was a living procedure, but over the course of time these verbs with preverbs have acquired a secondary meaning, e.g. *bar-āmadan* (“to overcome, result, rise (dough)”), and their original meaning began to be expressed by a new phrase, e.g. “to come up” > *bālā raftan* (see details in Telegdi, *Beiträge zur historischen Grammatik des Neupersischen. I. Über die Partikelkomposition im Neupersischen*, 67-183).

The most developed system of enlarging verbal vocabulary was, however, the formation of “compound” verbs. This heterogeneous group, including sometimes very peculiar verbal constructions, consisted of two, sometimes more words in addition to the “base” verb. The most common type is formed with verbs of exclusively Persian origin such as *kardan* “to do”, *zadan* “to strike, cut”, *dādan* “to give”, *dāstan* “to have” following a nominal form of Arabic origin in most cases (noun, adjective, etc.), e.g. *harf zadan* “to speak”, *dust dāstan* “to love”, *bidār kardan* “to waken”, *bidār sodan* “to wake up”, etc. Even though this type of compound verb constitutes a semantically independent lexical item in the dictionary, whose components are not inflected separately, sometimes their sequence is broken up and the non-verbal parts follow the syntactic behaviour of their original word class, e.g. *harf-i zad* “he spoke (s.th.)”, *birun-eš kard* (informal) = *u-rā birun kard* “[he] expelled him”. Therefore sometimes the question whether they should be regarded as free constructions, syntactic phrases or lexicalised items, is difficult to answer (see for more details, Lazard 1989, 285-87; idem 1992, 291-301).

2. Loan words in Persian

New Persian in the past millennium has absorbed a large amount of foreign words. During its first centuries these loans were borrowed from various north-western and eastern Iranian dialects in most cases (see above, i. *General introduction*). Despite this relatively large group of loans (e.g. Parthian, Sogdian, etc.; see the citations of Henning, Lentz, Sundermann in the *General introduction*) which were taken over either via cultural channels or from substrata, the most effective and influential lenders were the Arabs. The infiltration of Arabic loans began in the earliest formative period (8th-9th centuries) of the Islamic period, increased heavily in the 10th-12th centuries and has continued until quite recently. Its linguistic influence is most clearly detectable in the lexicon, and somewhat less so in morphology. Loan words from Arabic constitute more than 50% of the contemporary Persian vocabulary, but in elevated styles it may exceed even 80% (Pisowicz, 19). Among these loans, for instance, words with the feminine ending (*tā’ marbūṭa*), the largest class of Arabic borrowings in Persian, make up about 7% (see J.R. Perry, *Form and meaning in Persian vocabulary*, Costa Mesa 1991). Their quantity, however, varies according to media, literary genres and linguistic styles. The majority of these words, including



also broken plurals or genitive structures, appear as lexical borrowings. That is, these loans, though their Arabic morphological structures are clear, have not usually become integrated into the morphology of Persian except in some rare cases, but have mostly remained part of the vocabulary, signalling a highly elevated style in the majority of cases. This means that, apart from some rare examples, the Arabic grammatical structures, e.g. the Arabic plural or nouns supplied with Arabic feminine ending *-e* (*malek-e* "queen", *hamšir-e* "sister"), or a feminine adjectival form governed by a broken plural, which are present in these loans, do not represent creative morphological categories in Persian. They do not generally function in order to create Persian structures analogically even though they occur sporadically in highly elevated style (see above, IV. 2.). Arabic lexemes, and especially participles used in Persian context, show some modification of various degrees in orthography, pronunciation and meaning. See Meier 1981, *passim*; Dī. Matīnī, *Tahawwul-i talaffuz-i kalimāt-i fārsī*, in *Madjalla-i dānīshkada-i adabiyāt-i Mashhad* (1350/1971), 249-83; Ali-Ashraf Sadeghi, *L'influence de l'arabe sur le système phonologique du persan*, 145-52; Pisowicz, *passim* (esp. 67). See more details on general and specific problems of borrowings in Lazard, *Les emprunts arabes dans la prose persane du X^e au XII^e siècle: aperçu statistique*, in *Revue de l'École nationale des langues orientales*, ii (1965), 53-67; Telegdi, *Remarque sur les emprunts arabes en persan*, in *Acta Iranica*, ii (1974), 337-45; Peysikov, *Leksikologiya sovremennogo persidskogo yazika*, Moscow 1975; W. Skalmowski, *Ein Beitrag zur Statistik der arabischen Lehnwörter im Persischen*, in *Folia Orientalia*, iii (1961), 171-5; Kh. Farshīdard, *Arabī dar fārsī*, '1367/1988; M.D. Moīnfar, *Le vocabulaire arabe dans le livre des Rois de Firdausī*, Wiesbaden 1970. For borrowings other than Arabic, see G. Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*, i-iv, Wiesbaden 1963-75, and M.A. Jazayery, *Western influence in contemporary Persian: a general view*, in *BSOAS*, xxix (1966), 79-96; Windfuhr (incl. Arabic) 1979, 155-8 (for earlier literature, see Horn, in *GIPh*, i, 2, 2-9; Jensen, 4-5 and Bahār, *Sabk-shīnāsī*, *passim*).

Persian, as the culturally dominant language in the area, has influenced considerably both the narrower and larger surrounding territories. This influence has been exercised both by literature and through everyday communication. There is some information on the influence made upon Ottoman Turkish, but only scanty information concerning such languages as Urdu or Hindi (see Hardev Bahri, *Persian influence on Hindi*, Allahabad 1960, cf. Windfuhr 1979, 219; and see further the general bibliographies on linguistics and languages).

iv. History of grammar writing: Western-type and indigenous

1. Studies on Persian in Europe.

The first grammatical descriptions of Persian appeared from the 18th century onwards in Europe, although there were scattered references on Persian in the previous centuries as well (the oldest such source is the Persian part of the *Codex Cumanicus*, see D. Monchi-Zadeh, *Das Persische im Codex Cumanicus*, Uppsala 1969; A. Bodrogligeti, *The Persian vocabulary of the Codex Cumanicus*, Budapest 1971; P. Orsatti, *Prodromi degli studi europei sul persiano nel Rinascimento*, in *Italia ed Europa nella linguistica del Rinascimento*, ed. M. Tavoni, Ferrara 1996, ii, 551-67). These first descriptions written by missionaries, theologians, scholars or people of practical orientation (e.g. Ludovicus de Dieu [1628], John Greaves [1649], Ignazio di Gesù [1661]) were meagre collections of paradigms in most

cases. Sometimes they offered some (not always reliable) hints about the spoken variety, but their subject of "linguistic" description was the written (literary or formal) language (cf. P. Orsatti, *Grammatica e lessicografia Persiana nell'opera di P. Ignazio di Gesù*, in *RSO*, lv (1981), 55-85; Jeremiás, *Grammatical rule and standard in the first Persian grammars written in Latin (XVIIth century)*, in Tavoni (ed.), *op. cit.*, ii, 569-80; eadem, *The impact of Semitic linguistics on the first Persian grammars written in Europe*, in *Irano-Judaica*, iv, ed. Shaul Shaked and Ammon Netzer, Jerusalem 1990, 159-71). However, the latest grammar of this century by J.B. Podesta (1691) stands pre-eminent in terms of quality and quantity (cf. Jeremiás, *The knowledge of Persian and a scholarly approach to the language: a Persian grammar by J.B. Podesta, 1691, Wien*, in *AO*, xlviii [1995], 71-86). On the famous "*Gazophylacium*", an early lexicographic work containing also a meagre description of Persian, see M. Bastiaensen, *La Persia Safavide vista da un lessicografo europeo. Presentazione del*, in *RSO*, xlviii (1973-4), 175-203. The earliest really good description written in a modern language was made by the famous Sir William Jones (see G.H. Cannon, *Sir William Jones's Persian linguistics*, in *JAOS*, lxxviii [1958], 262-73; Jeremiás, *The Persian grammar of Sir William Jones*, in *History of Linguistics*, ed. D. Cram et al., Amsterdam 1999, 277-88). The 19th century saw a proliferation of Persian grammars written in various languages of Europe (see C. Salemann – V. Shukovski 1888, 106-9; Windfuhr, *passim*, and below, *Bibl.*).

2. Persian grammars by indigenous authors.

The earliest Persian sources offering data on linguistic thinking came from "scientific" works such as those on prosody, metrics or philosophy (logic), e.g. Shams-i Kāys's *al-Mu'djam fi ma'āyir ash'ār al-'adajam*, Ibn Sīnā's *Dānīshnāma*, Naṣīr al-Dīn Tūsī's *Kitāb Asās al-iktibās* or Sharīf Dīrdjānī's logical works (see Jeremiás, *Arabic influence on Persian linguistics*, in *History of the language sciences*, ed. S. Aurox et al., i, section IX. *The establishment of Arabic linguistics*, ch. 49, Berlin 2000, 329-34; eadem, *Rābi'a in the classical Persian literary tradition: the impact of Arabic logic on Persian*, in *JSAI*, xxvii [2002], 550-74). After some abortive beginnings, the earliest description of Persian was written by Kemāl Pāshā-zāda or Ibn Kemāl Pāshā in the early 16th century in Arabic (see Brunschvig, *Kemāl Pāshāzāde et le persan*; Jeremiás, *Kemāl-pāshāzāda as a linguist*, in *Irano-Turkic cultural contacts in the 11th-17th centuries*, ed. Jeremiás, Budapest [2002] 2003, 79-110). In addition to lexicographic sources which contained chapters on issues of linguistic interest (see above *BQ*, *FDJ*, *FR*), one of the first Persian compilations based on such sources appeared in Tabriz by Irāwānī (see Jeremiás, *Tradition and innovation in the native grammatical literature of Persian*, in *Histoire, Épistémologie, Langage* (Paris), xv [1993], 51-68). On the history of Persian, see Khānlari, *Tārīkh-i zabān-i fārsī*, Tehran, and on the history of writing grammar in Iran, see Dī. Humā'ī, *Dastūr-i zabān-i fārsī*, in *Lughatnāma-i Dihkhudā, Muḥaddima*, Tehran 1337/1958, 110-47; Ī. Afshār, *Kitābshīnāsī-i dastūr-i zabān-i fārsī*, in *Farhang-i Irānzamīn*, ii (1954), 19-45; M.B. Sanī'ī, *Sayrī dar dastūr-i zabān-i fārsī*, Tehran 1371/1992. On lexicography, see Kāmūs. 2. Persian Lexicography; S. Nafīsī et alii, *Farhang-hā-i fārsī*, in *Lughatnāma-i Dihkhudā, Muḥaddima*, 178-378.

Bibliography: Valuable grammatical studies on certain stages of the history of the language are numerous, but for some other fields research has only just begun. A concise descriptive grammar or a detailed and reliable description of the language history is still missing. In addition to the



references given above, for a general orientation, see Lazard, *Persian and Tajik*, in *CTL*, vi, The Hague-Paris 1970, 64-96 (bibl. from 1950 until 1968 at 77-96); Ehsan Yar-Shater, *Iran and Afghanistan*, in *ibid.*, 669-89; Windfuhr 1979; *CLI*, ed. Schmitt, 1989. For the best bibliographical journal for Iranian studies, see *Abstracta Iranica*, supplement to *Studia Iranica* published by L'Institut Français de Recherche en Iran, Paris-Tehran. In Iran there is an increasing number of general and specific bibliography and periodicals, e.g. M. Gulbun, *Kitābshināsi-i zabān u khatt*, Tehran 2536; Afshār, *Zabānshināsi*, in *Fihrist-i makālāt-i fārsi*, iv, Tehran 1369/1990; see also the studies published in *Madjalla-i zabānshināsi* (Iran University Press).

(ÉVA M. JEREMIÁS)

VIII. ART AND ARCHITECTURE (a) Art.

The arts of Iran will be analysed according to five broad periods; the first stretches from the Islamic conquest to the rise of the Saldjūkids in the mid-11th century, a period characterised by the lingering effects of Sāsānid rule, and strong cultural, artistic and economic ties between Iran and 'Irāk. The second, which encompasses the next two centuries when Iran was ruled by the Saldjūkids and their successors, is characterised by an expansion in the quality and quantity of goods manufactured in the cities of Iran. The third, which stretches from the consolidation of Mongol conquests in the mid-13th century to the rise of the Šafawids in the early 16th century, is dominated by the artistic patronage of various courts. The fourth period coincides with Šafawid rule (1501-1722); their contribution was to unify Iran under a single government which facilitated a diffusion of court culture to a broader spectrum of the population. Some members of the dynasty also fostered a more commercial focus in the works of art produced within the court itself. The concluding phase of traditional Iranian art lasted from the fall of the Šafawids in 1722 to the end of the Qājārs in 1925. During this time, Iran was subjected to new pressures that brought it into ever closer contact with other regions such as India and Europe. Some aspects of artistic culture suffered from external competition but others were reinvigorated, particularly court portraiture and the commercial production of carpets. The weaving, sale and collecting of carpets involved a wider spectrum of Iran's population than had earlier phases of artistic production and patronage.

1. The Sāsānid heritage and the beginnings of Islamic art 650-1050

The abrupt demise of the Sāsānid Empire in the mid-7th century A.D. helped to shape artistic development of Iran under Islam. The hasty departure of the Sāsānid court from the royal palace at Ctesiphon allowed the conquering Muslim armies to witness the sumptuous surroundings in which those rulers had lived. Sāsānid defeats between 637 and 642 led the Muslim victors to acquire gold and silver vessels, bejewelled crowns and ornaments, silken garments ornamented with gems and precious metals and a jewel-encrusted carpet. The actual booty was distributed among the troops and soon disappeared from view, but its description in literary accounts helped to preserve an association of the Sāsānids with an opulent court culture and in turn, generated later emulations. The court regalia or ceremonials of some Muslim rulers such as the Ziyārids [q.v.] and Būyids [see БУЯВИДЫ] appear to have reflected Sāsānid tra-

ditions. The Islamic conquest's rapidity and the fact that it was not accompanied by large-scale destruction probably helped to maintain continuity of production among textile-, glass- and metalworkers in most regions of Iran. Popularised versions of Sāsānid court culture survived in aristocratic circles, particularly in the Caspian region. This broader tradition is evident in the continuity between the pre-Islamic and Islamic periods in the shape and decoration of objects used for festivals and feasts. These include ewers, boat-shaped drinking vessels and zoomorphic containers (A.S. Melikian-Chirvani, *Le rhyton selon les sources persanes*, in *St. Ir.*, xi [1982], 263-92; idem, *From the royal boat to the beggar's bowl*, in *Islamic Art*, iv [1990-1], 3-112).

The most public form of Sāsānid art, their rock-cut reliefs, were largely ignored in the Islamic era until the advent of the Qājār dynasty in the late 18th century when they began to serve as models for reliefs portraying those rulers (see below, 5). Nevertheless, images depicting Sāsānid rulers in characteristic poses continued to be replicated in several media. Literary references mention the post-Sāsānid use of textiles bearing the likenesses of these monarchs, and depictions of "Bahrām Gūr at the hunt" appear on both metalwork and ceramic vessels of Islamic date (Maria Vittoria Fontana, *La Leggenda di Bahrām Gūr Āzāda*, Naples 1986). Memories of Sāsānid life were also transmitted through texts such as the *Shāh-nāma* of Firdawsi [q.v.] completed in 404/1010, describing the accomplishments of Iran's pre-Islamic rulers. Its themes were popularised through wall-paintings and eventually by illustrated copies.

In Iran there appears also to have been a substantial continuity in textile production between the pre-Islamic and Islamic era. The ties between a ruler and the textiles produced in his territory codified in the *tirāz* [q.v.] system continued from the Sāsānid to Islamic periods, although there was a shift from the figural designs that included portraits of the rulers themselves in the pre-Islamic period to inscriptions giving the titles and epithets of Muslim rulers. The production of figural textiles did not, however, end with the Sāsānids. Some silks ornamented with roundels containing birds or animals that survive in European collections, or have been discovered through archaeology, appear to postdate the Islamic conquest. Included among them are fabrics showing a composite creature that combines the legs and head of a feline with the wings and tail of a bird. One of these, made into a man's *khafīān* and now preserved in the Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg, appears to date from the 10th century (Anna Jeroussalinskaja, *Soieries sassanides*, in *Splendeur des Sassanides*, Brussels 1993, 113-26, figs. 127-8). Melikian-Chirvani has identified this type of textile with a silk fabric known as *parand* that is associated with Khūzistān in Persian sources (Parand and Parniyān identified, in *Bull. of the Asia Institute*, N.S., v [1991], 175-9). Older textile practices may also have lingered along the southern coast of the Caspian, an area noted for both its conservatism and its production of silk fabrics. These included green silk brocades known as *tabarī* after their place of production, Tabaristān. They were highly valued as carpets and may have had both figural ornament and Arabic inscriptions (R.B. Serjeant, *Islamic textiles. Materials for a history up to the Mongol conquest*, Beirut 1972, 74-80).

Iran's integration into the wider Islamic polity ensured that major changes also occurred in other artistic media such as calligraphy, bookmaking and ceramics. In all three cases, Iranian developments mirror those in 'Irāk at the centre of the 'Abbāsīd



caliphate. The rise of local lines of rulers such as the Būyids of central Iran or the Sāmānids of *Khurāsān* and Transoxania (*Mā warā' al-nahr* [q.v.]) probably encouraged artistic production in their provincial capitals, but surviving examples testify more to the pervasive impact of 'Irākī culture than to the strength of any independent cultural developments. This is particularly true of the arts associated with Būyid patronage. The theory that the Būyid dynasty represented an "Iranian" phase in the history of Islamic Iran, popularised in the 1940s and 1950s, was followed by the "discovery" of silks, metalwork, and even a manuscript, the *Andarz-nāma*, all attributed to Būyid patronage. Today much of this corpus of "Būyid" art has been identified as of modern origin (Sheila S. Blair, J.M. Bloom, and Anne E. Wardwell, *Reevaluating the date of the "Būyid" silks by epigraphic and radiocarbon analysis*, in *Ars Orientalis*, xxii [1992], 1-42). There are, nevertheless, objects produced during the period and region of Būyid domination such as a gold jug bearing the titles of Abū Maṣṣūr Bakhtiyār (r. 967-78), a *Qur'ān* copied at Iṣfahān in 972, and an early copy of 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Ṣūfī's *Ṣuwar al-kawākib al-thābīla* ("Book of constellations") dated to 400/1009-10, in Oxford, all of which have a solid claim to authenticity (E. Wellesz, *An early al-Ṣūfī manuscript in Oxford*, in *Ars Orientalis*, iii [1959], 1-26).

The artistic currents manifested in *Khurāsān* during the 9th, 10th and early 11th centuries, and broadly associated with the Sāmānids [q.v.], combine local traditions linked to the region's pre-Islamic past with innovations deriving largely from 'Irāk. The high quality of locally produced ceramics, metalwork and glass, known primarily through excavation, underscores the region's economic and cultural vitality. Glass excavated at Nishāpūr exhibits close parallels to specimens found in 'Irāk (J. Kröger, *Nishapur. Glass of the early Islamic period*, New York 1995). The collection of twenty glass objects excavated at the Famen Temple in Shaanxi province, China, that were buried before 874, is a notable case of objects with parallels among finds from Iran and 'Irāk (An Jiyao, *Dated Islamic glass in China*, in *Bull. of the Asia Institute*, N.S. v [1991], 123-37).

Ceramics excavated at Nishāpūr and other Sāmānid centres such as Samarkand, are notable for their varied technique, shape and decoration. Some vessels emulate types popular in 'Irāk which in turn reflect Chinese prototypes, whereas others exhibit local techniques, shapes and decoration. The most original, produced from the mid-9th to early 11th centuries, consist of plates, dishes and jugs embellished in slip-painting with both Arabic inscriptions, generally aphorisms, and patterns reflective of the local metalwork tradition. These handsome vessels with their well-written texts on a stark white ground often bear a striking resemblance to manuscript pages (C.K. Wilkinson, *Nishapur. Pottery of the early Islamic period*, New York [1973?]; *Terres secrètes de Samarcande. Céramiques du VII^e au XIII^e siècle*, Paris 1992). Although no dated manuscripts of this period appear to have survived, the Sāmānid ruler Maṣṣūr b. Nuḥ I (r. 961-76) initiated the translation of two major works in Arabic composed by Abū Dja'far al-Ṭabarī [q.v.]: his chronicle of early Islamic history, a task assigned to Abū 'Alī al-Bal'amī [see BAL'AMĪ, 2], and his *Qur'ānic* commentary. The latter's abridged translation into Persian, accomplished by a group of religious scholars, must have been produced in bilingual manuscripts. Later examples of *Qur'āns* with interlinear translations and Persian commentaries produced in *Khurāsān* during the 11th and

12th centuries suggest that local calligraphers favoured variants of the "Abbāsīd" scripts used in contemporary 'Irāk (F. Richard, *Splendeurs persanes*, Paris 1997, 33-8).

2. Iranian art under the Saldjūqids and their successors 1050-1220

The gradual westward expansion of the Saldjūqids (r. 1040-1194 [q.v.]) during the 11th century allowed them to unify the eastern and western sections of Iran and to create a more homogeneous culture over the region as a whole. Paradoxically, even though these Turks were of tribal nomadic origin, the principal artistic consequences of their dominion appeared in Iran's urban centres. The Saldjūqids ruled from a series of cities including Nishāpūr, Rayy, Iṣfahān, Hamadān, Kirmān and Marw, but their zone of influence was also extended by alliances with other rulers including the *Kh*ārazm Shāhs and the *Gh*aznawids. In addition to the absence of a single administrative centre, the fissiparous character of the Saldjūkid state stemmed from their tradition of dividing their domain among various family members, including minor princes who ruled with the assistance of a guardian or *atabeg* [see ATABAK]. After the dynasty's decline in the mid-12th century, effective power passed to a number of local rulers who had previously been Saldjūkid tributaries or *atabegs* for various princes. Despite this political fragmentation, crafts flourished in towns from Harāt and Nishāpūr in the east to Kāshān, Iṣfahān and Tabriz in the west.

Members of the Saldjūkid dynasty are known principally as patrons of architecture (see (b), below), but the relative stability and prosperity associated with their rule was also a stimulus to the development of the portable arts. Metalwork and ceramic objects produced between the mid-11th and mid-13th centuries are noted for their innovative decorative techniques and their excellent craftsmanship. The strong foundations of this period's artistic culture also allowed it to survive for several decades after the demise of the Saldjūkid dynasty itself. Dated and inscribed objects suggest that several crafts, including metalworking and ceramics, reached a peak of quality in the first two decades of the 13th century just prior to the devastation brought about by the Mongol conquests of the 1220s (R. Ettinghausen, *The flowering of Seljuq art*, in *Metropolitan Museum Journal*, iii [1970], 113-31; R. Hillenbrand (ed.), *The art of the Saljuqs in Iran and Anatolia*, Costa Mesa 1994).

The practice of inlaying objects of brass or bronze with copper, silver and gold was developed with particular skill in eastern Iran and *Khurāsān*. During the 12th century this technique was associated with the city of Harāt, where some of the finest pieces are known to have been made, including a bath-bucket known as the "Bobrinsky Bucket" dated to 1186 and now in the Hermitage Museum. Objects given this distinctive and painstaking form of embellishment include ewers, bowls and trays intended for use in celebrations and implements such as pen cases and inkwells that were part of the paraphernalia of government officials. This technique was also practised by craftsmen in the western sections of Iran, and by the first quarter of the 13th century it had spread to the city of Mawṣil in 'Irāk. Melikian-Chirvani has suggested that the pieces made in western Iran drew their inspiration from the *Khurāsānian* tradition, but it is unclear whether such connections would have been established through trade or because of the migration of craftsmen from east to west (*Metalwork from the Iranian world, 8th-18th centuries*, London 1982, 23-54, 136-42).



Although utilitarian ceramics continued to be produced in many places, the most ambitious objects are associated with the workshops of the central Iranian town of Kāshān. This centre was well endowed with the raw materials needed for the production of a new type of body based on the use of crushed quartz and other forms of silicon which could be shaped to an unparalleled thinness and even to create white bodies that were translucent. Although the ultimate inspiration for these changes is thought to have derived from a desire to imitate the thin and translucent bodies of Chinese porcelain, the Kāshān potters embellished their wares with painting executed in several different techniques (Ettinghausen, *Evidence for the identification of Kashan pottery*, in *Ars Islamica*, iii [1936], 44-75).

The best-known decorative mode employed by the Kāshān potters is that of over-glaze painting in metal oxides and other pigments. The resulting "lustre-painting" [see KHAZAF] gave the objects a metallic sheen and brilliance. This technique had been applied to ceramics already in 9th-century 'Irāk and in Egypt during the 10th and 11th centuries. Its use at Kāshān appears to date from the late 12th century, and the technical secrets involved in its production may well have been carried there by emigré craftsmen fleeing the collapse of Fātimid rule in Egypt. Whatever the source from which this knowledge was obtained, the potters of Kāshān made this technique their own, applying it both to vessels destined for household use and to tiles used in the embellishment of architecture. They also employed other decorative techniques such as the use of moulded ornament or painting in under- and over-glaze colours. The most laborious of these techniques known as "seven-colour ware" could be executed with great finesse and allowed the ceramics to bear designs of increasing intricacy. Notable examples decorated in this technique include cups which narrate heroic tales or a large platter that depicts the siege of a fortress (O. Watson, *Persian lustre ware*, London 1985; Marianna S. Simpson, *The narrative structure of a medieval Iranian beaker*, in *Ars Orientalis*, xii [1981], 15-24; J. Soustiel, *La céramique islamique*, Freiburg 1985, 77-105).

The 11th and 12th centuries also witnessed the expansion of manuscript production in Iran; proportioned scripts developed in 'Irāk during the late 10th century and 11th century were adopted by calligraphers working in Iran (D. James, *The master scribes*, London 1992, 22-57). The most elaborate decoration occurs in Qur'ān manuscripts, such as the one copied and illuminated at Hamadān in 1164; but similar embellishments appear in a few secular manuscripts, and some illustrated books were produced in Iran and Saldjūkid Anatolia (Ettinghausen, *Manuscript illumination*, in *Survey of Persian art*, 1937-54; Melikian-Chirvani, *Le roman de Varg et Goliāh*, in *Arts asiatiques*, xxii [1970]).

3. Iranian art of the Mongol and Tīmūrid periods

The initial devastation of the Mongol invasion of Central Asia and Iran (1218-23) was followed by a second, less destructive wave of conquests in the 1250s which brought the remainder of Iran under Mongol control. Although skilled craftsmen were usually exempted from the general slaughter that ensued when a city or town resisted Mongol forces, the population and artistic productivity of the most devastated regions, such as Khurāsān, plummeted and would not recover until the 15th century. By way of contrast, the cities and towns of western and southern Iran including Kāshān, Tabriz and Shīrāz not only escaped destruction but even provided the catalyst

for a revival of artistic production in the later 13th and 14th centuries. Two major changes helped to transform the arts: increased connections between Iran and East Asia, especially China, and the growing importance of the princely courts as loci of artistic consumption and even at times of its production. This gave Iran's rulers a greater role in shaping its artistic traditions than they had previously exercised.

The first of the arts to revive may have been ceramics, led by the production of lustre-painted tiles and vessels at Kāshān. An important group of such tiles was produced to embellish a palace constructed by Abaka Khān (r. 1265-82) at Takht-i Sulaymān in north-west Iran (R. Naumann, *Die Ruinen von Tacht-e Suleiman und Zendan-e Suleiman*, Berlin 1977). Here for the first time vegetal and animal themes of Chinese origin such as lotus and prunus blossoms, many-clawed dragons and birds with extravagant plumage became part of the repertoire of Iranian craftsmen. Many of these same elements are also prominent in the luxurious silk textiles embellished with gold and produced under Mongol patronage in various sections of their domain, some of which have recently come to light among objects taken from Tibet. Even before their arrival in the Near East, the Mongols had demonstrated that they placed a high value on textiles, particularly those of silk brocaded with gold, and took pains to ensure their access to a steady supply. Those measures included seizing skilled weavers and moving them from one region to another to establish workshops where they would produce textiles for their Mongol masters (M. Rossabi, *The Silk trade*, in J.C.Y. Watt and Ann Wardwell (eds.), *When silk was gold*, New York 1997, 14-19). Although it is difficult to link surviving fabrics with any specific production centre, textiles depicted in Persian manuscripts of the late 13th and early 14th centuries demonstrate that textiles designs of Far Eastern origin were in use there as well.

The history of Shīrāz shows a different aspect of this era. Its rulers, the Salghurids [q.v.], forged an alliance with the Ilkhānid Mongols which ensured the city's survival, and local traditions helped to shape its artistic production. A long-standing association of the nearby monumental ruins of Persepolis with a mythical past, in which deeds of the Biblical ruler Solomon and the Iranian hero Djamshīd were interwoven, provided the basis for a distinctive local titulature used by the city's Islamic rulers who declared themselves to be "heirs to the Kingdom of Solomon". These titles appear in a group of brass vessels inlaid with silver produced in Shīrāz during the 14th century. Although Khurāsānī typologies of shape and decoration from the pre-Mongol era appear in some of them, other metalwork from Fārs displays complex faceted, fluted and imbricated shapes. The new emphasis on figural compositions in their decoration is akin to those used in illustrated manuscripts of the period (Melikian-Chirvani, *Metalwork from the Iranian world*, 136-230).

Ghazān Khān's acceptance of Islam in 1295 helped to integrate the traditional arts of Islamic Iran with the new cultural modes of the Mongol period. This is evident in two main areas—the creation of sumptuous, large-scale Qur'ānic manuscripts and the preparation of illustrated copies of Persian texts. Ghazān's interests included medicine and various scientific disciplines, and he commissioned the translation of Ibn Bukhtīshū's *Manāfi' al-hayawān* into Persian. An illustrated copy of it dated to either 1297 or 1299, now in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York, was probably prepared for him (Barbara Schmitz, *Islamic and*



Indian manuscripts and paintings in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York 1997, 9-23). Ghazān also ordered his vizier Rashīd al-Dīn to compile a history of the Turks and Mongols, a project that during the reign of Ghazān's brother and successor, Öldjeitü (r. 1316-35) was expanded to encompass the history of the rest of Eurasia. Some copies of the resulting text, the *Djāmī al-tawārīkh* ("Compendium of chronicles"), were illustrated. The earliest and most important of these, now divided between the Edinburgh University Library and the Khalili Collection, London, was completed in 1314, probably for presentation to Öldjeitü (Sheila S. Blair, *A Compendium of chronicles*, London 1995, 16-31). As befits the text's wide-ranging sources, its illustrations show the impact of the several pictorial traditions available in Mongol Iran, including illustrations executed in Byzantine, Nestorian and Armenian workshops, Chinese cartography, Chinese printing, as well as earlier Persian paintings.

The gradual assimilation of the Mongols to Islamic culture was also marked by the creation of large-scale richly illuminated copies of the Kur'ān. The most impressive, executed by the period's leading calligraphers and embellished with full-page illuminations, were commissioned by Öldjeitü, most probably for the religious complex at Sultāniyya which became his tomb. Copies were prepared for him simultaneously in three cities: one was made in Baghdād, another in Mawṣil, and the third in Hamadān. All shared with the manuscripts of Rashīd al-Dīn's history an unusually large size, measuring 50 × 37 cm, and all were adorned with extensive gilded ornamentation (D. James, *Qurans of the Mamluks*, New York 1988, 92-126). A number of impressive Kur'ān manuscripts were also produced at Shīrāz for local dignitaries, including female patrons such as Tāshī Khātūn, the mother of Abū Ishāq Indjū (r. 1343-57), and his sister Fārs Malik Khātūn. Their manuscripts combine well-executed gold calligraphy in 'Irākī modes with a local style of illumination (*ibid.*, 162-73; James, *The master scribes*, London 1992, 122-35).

The Mongol period also marks the beginning of the creation of illustrated copies of Firdawsī's *Shāh-nāma*, a text often regarded as historical and a source of edification for rulers. Copies produced between the late 13th and mid-14th centuries exhibit diverse features, suggesting that they were commissioned by a variety of patrons. Some, although lavishly illustrated, are compact in size, whereas others are on the scale of large Kur'ān manuscripts. One such large copy has been linked to the reign of the last important Mongol ruler, Abū Sa'īd (r. 1316-35), and may have been commissioned either by him or by his vizier, Rashīd al-Dīn's son Ghiyāth al-Dīn Muḥammad (O. Grabar and Sheila Blair, *Epic images and contemporary history: the illustration of the Great Mongol Shahnama*, Chicago 1980).

The death of Abū Sa'īd in 1335, without an heir, set the stage for conflicts between rival Mongol factions for control of his domain. The most influential among these factions for artistic development were the Jalāyirids [*q.v.*]. They seized the region of Tabrīz as well as much of 'Irāk including Baghdād, and embraced manuscript patronage with particular enthusiasm. Shaykh Uways (r. 1356-74) [see UWAYS. 1] and his son Sulṭān Aḥmad (r. 1382-1410) gave painting and manuscript production a high priority within their courts. The Muzaffarids [*q.v.*], who ruled Kirmān, Shīrāz, Yazd and Isfahān, continued to patronise the metalworkers and the Kur'ānic calligraphers of Fārs, and also commissioned illustrated copies of impor-

tant Persian texts, including Firdawsī's *Shāh-nāma* and Nizāmī's *Khamsa*. The concern of these dynasties with artistic patronage was emulated by the Timūrid and Turkman dynasties that followed them.

Timūr's (r. 1370-1405) own relentless and destructive military campaigns left little time for cultivation of the arts, other than architecture which he apparently viewed as a tangible embodiment of his power, but many of his descendants made artistic patronage an integral part of their life. This activity came naturally to them, for it reflected an integration of craft production into the physical fabric of court life, a process which had begun with the mobile camps of the Mongols. In the course of the 15th century, Timūr's feuding descendants gradually lost control over the territory which he had painstakingly assembled, but along the way they embraced the idea that a princely court should be a catalyst for connoisseurship in the visual arts. Craftsmen connected with Timūrid courts produced a variety of goods ranging from the accoutrements of nomadic prestige (tents, decorated saddles, embroidered silks, and jade drinking vessels) to manuscripts so lavishly ornamented that some were even written on gold-embellished paper and bound in jewelled covers.

The list of Timūrid patrons of the book stretches from the incorrigibly rebellious Iskandar b. 'Umar Shaykh to Shāh Rukh and his sons Bāysonghor and Ibrāhīm Sulṭān, who were both noted calligraphers who had their own book-producing workshops. This process reached a climax with the last major Timūrid ruler, Sulṭān Ḥusayn Bayqara (1470-1506). His court at Harāt, enriched by the intellectual power of 'Alī Shīr Nawā'i, included the talented calligrapher Sulṭān 'Alī Mashhadī and the painter Bihzād [*q.v.*], whose fame later reached legendary proportions. It is a fitting expression of the interlocking realms of personal experience and aesthetic pleasure at Timūrid courts that the patrons themselves were often portrayed in their own manuscripts either directly in a frontispiece, or indirectly in the guise of participants in a literary narrative (T.W. Lentz and G. Lowry, *Timur and the princely vision*, Washington, D.C. 1989).

Despite the relatively short duration and intrinsic fragility of Timūrid control over Iran, the dynasty's legacy of combining patronage of the arts with other more obvious forms of royal prestige was also adopted by several of their rivals among the Kara Koyunlu and Ak Koyunlu dynasties, notably Pīr Budāk Kara Koyunlu and Ya'kūb Ak Koyunlu. Relatively few works of art associated with these patrons are extant, but those manuscripts that have survived are notable for their intricate blue and gold illumination and expressionistic style of painting. Both of these features continued to be popular under the Ṣafawids.

It is generally believed that during the 15th century patterns and decorative schemes created by court workshops were first used in the design of textiles and carpets. Although literary references to carpets indicate that they were produced in Iran from the Sāsānid period onward, those descriptions are inadequate for reconstructing either their technical characteristics or their appearance. It seems that in Iran the production of knotted pile carpets only became common after the influx of Turkish nomads that began in the 11th century. Depictions of carpets in Persian manuscripts of the 14th and 15th centuries suggest that most had a central zone occupied by small-scale repetitive motifs similar to those used in Anatolian carpets of that period. During the 15th century, some carpets depicted in Timūrid paintings have designs focused



on a central medallion that may be round, oval or star-shaped. Often the carpet's corners contain quarter-medallions while the remainder of its field is filled with vegetal ornament usually in the form of spiraling vines with a variety of blossoms placed along them at intervals (Amy Briggs, *Timurid carpets. I*, in *Ars Islamica*, vii [1940], *II*, in *ibid.*, xi-xii [1946]). These painted carpets resemble the finest extant 16th-century carpets as well as designs used in manuscript illumination and book bindings [see also BISĀT, in Suppl.].

4. Iranian art of the *Ṣafawid* period

The *Ṣafawid* creation of a kingdom whose boundaries resemble those of the modern Iranian state served to encourage a more homogenous artistic tradition within the region as a whole, a process also furthered by two of the dynasty's most influential rulers, Shāh Tahmāsp I (r. 1524-76) and Shāh 'Abbās I (r. 1587-1629). Shāh Tahmāsp's approach to the arts is an extension of the cultural attitudes which characterised late Tīmūrid Harāt in the period of Sulṭān Husayn Baykara, a connection that is understandable since Tahmāsp spent much of his youth in that city. The prince showed an aptitude for painting as well as calligraphy, so that when he returned to Tabriz to ascend the throne, he gave a great importance to the book arts. During the first decades of his reign, the royal workshop was engaged in the production of manuscripts, particularly copies of the classics of Persian literature. The most important manuscript associated with his patronage is a copy of Firdawsī's *Shāh-nāma* which is almost a picture album, for its 759 folios contain 258 illustrations and most of these occupy almost the entire surface of a page. As might be expected from a project of this size, it gives evidence of having been executed by numerous painters and the paintings show a range of styles and quality. By and large, the most impressive paintings are those situated in the manuscript's earliest sections where some of them continue trends originating in Tīmūrid Harāt while others echo features of western Iranian art under the Turkmans. The most elaborate compositions depict complex architectural structures the divisions of which are used to separate an event into narrative components (M.B. Dickson and S.C. Welch, *The Houghton Shahnama*, 2 vols., Cambridge, Mass. 1981). The impact of court etiquette and activities on the illustrative programs of a manuscript is particularly striking in the case of a manuscript of Nizāmī's *Khamsa* also prepared for Shāh Tahmāsp and now in the British Library (Welch, *Persian painting*, New York 1976, 70-97).

Tahmāsp I's enthusiasm for manuscript patronage was echoed by other members of the dynasty, notably his brothers Sām Mīrzā and Bahrām Mīrzā as well as his nephew Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Mīrzā. The last-named devoted considerable time and energy to artistic pursuits and employed a substantial number of calligraphers, painters and illuminators. A copy of Djāmī's *Haft awrang* produced for him between 1556 and 1565, and now in the Freer Gallery of Art, shows the manner in which an illustrated manuscript could become a "world unto itself". Every folio provides a feast for the eye, contrasting finely executed calligraphy with colourful gold-decorated borders, while its paintings draw the viewer into a self-contained universe inhabited by people of various ages and social stations (Marianna S. Simpson, *Sultan Ibrahim Mirza's Haft awrang*, New Haven 1997).

During the *Ṣafawid* era, the popularity of illustrated manuscripts spread beyond the confines of the court, and they were produced also in non-royal workshops

for a widening circle of patrons. Workshops in the city of Shīrāz were particularly active in the book-trade. During the 16th century, in addition to the ever-popular poems by Firdawsī and Nizāmī, texts by several writers active in the late Tīmūrid period continued to be both widely copied and frequently illustrated, including the poetry of Djāmī, Hāfī and the prose of Husayn Gawzargāhī (F. Richard, *Splendeurs persanes*, Paris 1997, 157-204). By the early 17th century, however, the attention of artists and collectors had shifted to single-page paintings, especially portraits, which were often gathered in *murakkā's* [q.v.] (albums) (Sheila R. Canby, *The rebellious reformer*, London 1996).

The *Ṣafawid* court was also involved in the production of various other kinds of artifacts, particularly silk textiles embellished with gold and silver and carpets with complex patterns which echo the intricate designs of book illumination or even of book illustration. Annually on the occasion of Nawrūz [q.v.], following a well-established Islamic practice, *Ṣafawid* rulers were expected to provide their courtiers and retainers with garments appropriate to their status and position. Some garments worn by the ruler and his close associates were made of silk woven or embroidered in intricate patterns and embellished with gold and silver; used textiles were routinely destroyed in order to recover the metal which they contained. *Ṣafawid* rulers sent luxury textiles as diplomatic gifts to their rivals, the Ottomans and the Mughals. Historical accounts confirm that several towns in Iran produced luxury textiles and rugs, including Kāshān, Yazd, Kirmān and Iṣfahān, although it is difficult to link surviving examples with any particular centre (Carol Bier (ed.), *Woven from the soul, spun from the heart*, Washington, D.C. 1987; May Beattie, *The carpets of Central Persia*, Westerham 1976).

The few surviving rugs from 16th-century Iran follow designs created by professionally trained designers or painters. Some have elaborate figural and landscape compositions, whereas others are noted for their multi-level designs of vegetal scrolls. Shāh Tahmāsp I is known to have taken a personal interest in the production of carpets, and Shāh 'Abbās I is even said to have practised the weaver's craft. During his reign, weavers worked in the grounds of the royal palace at Iṣfahān, although production of luxury textiles and rugs also continued in other centres. The intricate time-consuming designs and lavish use of silver and gold that characterise *Ṣafawid* court carpets and textiles preserved in shrines or sent as diplomatic gifts suggest that court production was viewed as an index of royal prestige, rather than as a commercial venture (M. Aga Oghlu, *Safawid rugs and textiles*, New York 1941; Bier and Bencard, *The Persian velvets at Rosenborg*, Copenhagen 1995; F. Spuhler et al., *Denmark's coronation carpets*, Copenhagen 1987).

5. Iranian art from 1722 to 1925: the *Afshārid*, *Zand* and *Kādjār* periods

Although the period from the effective end of the *Ṣafawid* dynasty in 1722 to the emergence of the *Kādjārs* in 1794 was marked by chronic political instability, artistic patronage still continued on an intermittent basis largely echoing trends of the late 17th century. Lacquerwork (actually varnished watercolour paintings, usually on a papier-mâché surface), which had earlier been used for bookbindings, was also used for pen-boxes, mirror cases and caskets. A few paintings and luxury textiles can be linked to Nādir Shāh (r. 1736-47), and his seizure of Mughal treasures during his invasion of India provided Iran's rulers with



jewels later used with great effect by the Kādījārs in their court regalia. Karīm Khān Zand's reign (1751-79) is notable for a stress on large-scale figure paintings on canvas that were used to embellish buildings, a practice expanded under the Kādījārs. It was that dynasty's second ruler, Fath 'Alī Shāh, who made the most concerted and skillful use of pictorial imagery as an adjunct to state policy. He revived the use of rock-cut reliefs for heroic images of himself and of his court and similar compositions were also used on portable objects such as lacquerwork bookbindings or mirror cases. Enthusiasm for large-scale figural painting was not limited to the Kādījār court. Itinerant story-tellers used portable picture scrolls (sometimes identified as "Coffee-house paintings") as an adjunct to the recitation of stories and to performances of the passion play or *lā'ziya* [q.v.] (see Layla S. Diba and Maryam Ekhtian (eds.), *Royal Persian paintings. The Qajar epoch 1785-1925*, Brooklyn 1999).

The second half of the 19th century witnessed a decline in most local crafts due to the competition created by imports from Europe and India. One exception was the production of carpets, which were much in demand both within Iran and abroad. The old system of court production was replaced by commercial workshops that drew on the skill of many segments of Iran's population. Large-scale enterprises, situated in major urban centres such as Isfahān, produced standardised carpets to the specifications of a mostly foreign clientele. Smaller production centres, situated in villages, the homes of private citizens or even in nomadic encampments, created more varied wares which often combined traditional schemes with idiosyncratic embellishments. This broadly based "folk-art" provided a kind of democratisation of Iran's artistic tradition that carried it into the 20th century (A.C. Edwards, *The Persian carpet*, 1953).

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(PRISCILLA SOUCEK)

(b) Architecture.

The buildings erected in Iran during the Islamic period are some of the finest constructed anywhere in the Muslim lands. They are noteworthy for their sophisticated vaulting systems and their sublime use of coloured decoration on both interior and exterior. Both traits may have been encouraged by the materials available for construction. Although large supplies of wood grow near the Caspian Sea and good stone for masonry is found in Fārs and Ādharbāyḏjān, brick is the predominant building material in most of the region. Already in pre-Islamic times, builders in Iran had devised ways of roofing their structures with domes supported on squinches, arches thrown over the corner of a room. Builders in Islamic times maintained the tripartite elevation of wall, squinch and vault, but divided the zone of transition into increasingly smaller and more elaborate segments, culminating in the *muqarnas* [q.v.]. At the same time, they carved and painted the stucco covering interior sur-

faces and developed several methods of glazing tiles in a full range of colours, so that brick surfaces covered with brilliantly coloured tiles became a hallmark of Iranian Islamic architecture.

The following discussion surveys the development of these trends in Iranian Islamic architecture in five chronological periods. Within each period, a short assessment precedes discussions of the major building types and of form, materials and decoration. The article considers Iran in the broadest sense, comprising the plateau between the Tigris and Oxus rivers, and occasionally includes sites beyond these confines, such as Baghdad or Samarkand. Naturally, more buildings and more types of buildings survive from the later period, making it possible to sketch a fuller picture from the extant record. By contrast, relatively few buildings survive from earlier times, and the evidence for early Islamic architecture in Iran has to be pieced together from widely scattered remains and snippets of information gleaned from texts.

1. Before 900

Virtually nothing is known about buildings from the period of Umayyad rule when the Islamic capitals were in Syria, but, as befits Iran's position as one of the most important provinces in the 'Abbāsīd empire, most of the buildings erected there in the 3rd/9th century reflect the forms and styles used in the capital province in 'Irāk. Compared to 'Irāk, contemporary buildings in Iran are generally smaller, but show a wider variety of materials, including rubble and mortar, fired brick, mud brick (particularly in northeast Iran and the adjacent regions of Central Asia) and wood. Many are decorated with the styles of carved stucco development at the 'Abbāsīd capital of Sāmarrā' [q.v.].

The most important building type known from early Islamic times in Iran is the congregational mosque. Congregational mosques built in Iran resemble those constructed elsewhere in the 'Abbāsīd domains, for virtually all of them are (or were) large buildings with a central courtyard surrounded by porticos or arcades and a large covered prayer hall on the *qibla* side (in Iran, the southwest). The prayer hall was a hypostyle room, in which the roof was supported on a multitude of single supports, either piers or columns. The best standing example of a hypostyle congregational mosque is the one known as the Tārī Khāna, erected at Dāmghān in the 3rd/9th century. The remains of others have been excavated at several sites, including Sūsā in Khuzistān in southwestern Iran and at Sīrāf on the Persian Gulf (dateable A.D. 815-25), but the largest and most important of these hypostyle congregational mosques was the one erected at Isfahān. Founded ca. 771, it was expanded under the 'Abbāsīd caliph al-Mu'taṣim (r. 218-27/833-42) and served as the basis for the present Friday Mosque (Masjdīd-i Djum'a) in the city.

In addition to the hypostyle congregational mosque, there were other types of small mosques. One type had an attached courtyard leading to a rectangular prayer hall (measuring between 5 and 10 m on a side) divided by one or more transverse arcades, with a projecting *mihrāb* [q.v.] in a rectangular salient. At least ten examples were excavated in the residential quarters at Sīrāf, and some may date as early as the 3rd/9th century. Another type of small mosque is a square covered with nine domes. The one that survives at Balkh is about four times the area of the small mosques at Sīrāf (measuring ca. 20 m to a side) and was elaborately decorated on the interior with extravagantly carved stucco.



The same forms and decoration were used on a smaller scale in domestic architecture. Vaulted and domed houses excavated at Marw (now in Turkmenistan) were decorated with Sāmarrā'-style stucco. Houses excavated at Nishāpūr also had stucco dados elaborately carved in a similar style (several are now on display in the National Museum in Tehran and the Metropolitan Museum in New York).

Caravanserais [see *KHĀN*] erected along the major trade routes across Iran and Central Asia also reflect the plans of those found elsewhere in the 'Abbāsīd lands. Three mud-brick forts erected at Darzīn in Kirmān province, for example, are square buildings (25 m on a side) with round buttresses and tunnel-vaulted chambers.

2. 900-1250

This was the most creative period in Iranian architecture, and all of the distinctive features of Iranian Islamic architecture—the use of fine-quality baked brick as the primary material of construction and decoration, the development of glazed tile as an important medium of both interior and exterior decoration, the four-*iwān* plan, mausolea, minarets, the tripartite elevation of dome chambers, the subdivision of the squinch into increasingly smaller units and the *muqarnas*—appear for the first time during this period. Most of these features are commonly associated with the patronage of the Saldjūk dynasty (432-590/1040-1194), whose territories stretched from Central Asia to 'Irāk, but many were introduced earlier and were not limited to the Saldjūk domains.

New congregational mosques were built to suit the need of the growing Muslim community. Those erected in the 4th/10th century, as at Nā'īn and Ardistān, continued to use the hypostyle plan, but the major feature of this period was the development of a new plan having a courtyard surrounded by arcades linking four *iwāns*, high vaulted rooms open to the court at one end. The transformation from the hypostyle to the four-*iwān* plan is best seen in the mosque at 'Iṣfahān, an early capital of the Saldjūk domains. In 485/1086-7, the twenty-four columns in front of the *mihrāb* were replaced with a free-standing domed pavilion supported on giant polylobed piers. Then, later, probably in the early 6th/12th century, four *iwāns* were added around the court. This combination of four *iwāns* plus dome chamber was soon repeated in congregational mosques in nearby towns such as Ardistān, whose hypostyle mosque was revamped between 553 and 555 (1158-60).

Despite the occasional use of other types of congregational mosque, the four-*iwān* plan became the standard for congregational mosques erected all over Iran from this period onwards. Scholars have long debated why this change occurred. Although the reasons are not entirely clear, it may have been simple practicality and utility. This plan had already been used in many pre-Islamic buildings in 'Irāk and Iran, ranging from the Parthian palace at Ashur (1st century A.D.) to Sāsānīd houses at Ctesiphon (6th century A.D.). It provided a suitable setting of monumentality, without any rigid princely or cultic associations.

From the 6th/12th century the four-*iwān* plan also became standard for many other types of buildings. To judge from later examples, this plan may have been used for *madrasas*, which began to proliferate at this time. This plan was also used for caravanserais, such as Ribā'i-*Shāraf*, built in 508/1114-15 by the Saldjūk vizier *Shāraf* al-Dīn Kummī on the old route north from Nishāpūr to Marw. Building civil structures was considered an act of piety and a sign of

sovereignty, and many local rulers embellished their domains in this way. The Kurdish prince Badr b. Ḥasanawayh (r. 370-404/980-1013), for example, erected a series of bridges along the pilgrimage route near *Khurramābād*; Kākūyid *amīr*s added iron gates to the mud-brick walls around the city of Yazd in 432/1040-1, as did the *Shaddādīd amīr* *Shāwūr* I b. Faḍl at Gandja in 455/1063.

From the 5th/11th century onwards, minarets began to proliferate throughout Iran. Most are tapering brick cylinders about 30 m tall, decorated with horizontal bands of elaborate brick patterns and elegant inscriptions. In earlier 'Abbāsīd times, minarets had been attached to congregational mosques and normally set opposite the *mihrāb*. In this period they were erected by a broader spectrum of people, including viziers, judges and private individuals, and sometimes set as isolated, free-standing constructions. Their proliferation may also indicate a revolution in technique which made these tall baked-brick towers resilient to earthquakes.

The monumental tomb [see *KUBBA*; *TURBA*] was another major type of building erected in this period. Tomb towers were popular along the Caspian littoral, as exemplified by the *Gunbad-i Kābūs* (397/1006-7), the earliest and also the most spectacular example to survive. The classic example of the domed tomb is the mausoleum of the Sāmānīds at *Bukhārā* (310s/920s), but its exquisite form and decoration in carved plaster and baked brick bespeak a long tradition. The domed tomb became the most popular type. Three fine examples were erected at Marāgha in the 6th/12th century, but the largest and most splendid is the one built at Marw for the Saldjūk sultan *Sandjar* (r. 511-52/1118-57).

Larger tomb complexes also developed during the period. Some, such as those at *Mashhad* or *Kumm*, surrounded the graves of *Shī'ī imāms*. They were underwritten not only by wealthy *Shī'īs* but also by government officials seeking to garner the support of heterodox segments of the local population. Other complexes grew up around the graves of such learned figures as al-*Hakīm al-Tirmidhī* or such mystics as Abū Yazīd al-Bisṭāmī [*q.v.*]. These shrine complexes were often agglomerative, and the specific stages of construction can only be revealed by detailed archaeological investigations, usually impossible because of the sacred nature of the sites.

Texts mention large palaces and elaborate houses for the upper classes in the Būyīd capitals at *Baghdād* and *Shīrāz* and the Saldjūk capitals at *'Iṣfahān*, *Baghdād* and *Marw*. Excavations have revealed only tantalising fragments from minor sites, such as limestone panels from the palace of the Ḥasanawayhids at *Sarmadī* in southwest Iran or carved stucco panels from *Tirmidh* on the Oxus. Contemporary houses excavated at *Nishāpūr* were lavishly decorated with painted stucco.

Domes were elaborated and articulated during this period. In order to lighten the domical mass, both physically and visually, builders developed the double dome, in which two shells of slightly varied profile are connected by intermittent ties. Nizām al-Mulk's *Siyāsat-nāma* (ed. H. Darke, Tehran 1340/1962, 211, tr. idem, London 1978, 167) mentions that one of the 4th/10th-century tombs of the Būyīds at Rayy already had such a double dome (*ba du pūshish*), and extant examples survive from the end of the 5th/11th century (e.g. the tomb at *Kharrakān* dated 486/1093-4). Ribs were used to facilitate construction in a land where wood was unavailable for centring. As the dome



was built, the ribs were bonded into the construction and often exploited for decorative effect. The inventiveness Iranian builders displayed in the manipulation of domed spaces is clear from the Friday Mosque at Isfahān, where over two hundred examples cover the individual bays, although the exact chronology of the vaults has not been established and it is still unclear what percentage can be assigned to this period.

Dome chambers typically show a tripartite elevation, with the dome supported on an octagonal zone of transition, in which four squinches alternate with four blind arches, in turn supported on four walls arranged in a square. In more elaborate examples, builders inserted an intermediary sixteen-sided zone or squinch net between the dome and the octagonal zone. In a single example, the north dome at Isfahān, the parts are aligned vertically. In all other cases, the three parts are distinguished visually.

In addition to vaults, builders also manipulated arches. *Mihrābs* from this period, the earliest to survive in the region, consist of concentric niches within rectangular frames, as at the 4th/10th-century congregational mosque at Nā'īn. Builders also developed the *pīshṭāk* [q.v.], an arched opening surrounded by a free-standing rectangular frame. The ruined building at Sarwistān, which Bier has recently re-attributed to the early Islamic period, had a *pīshṭāk* in the middle of the façade, and by the 4th/10th century builders used this form in Iranian mosques and mausoleums (e.g. the Arab-Ata mausoleum at Tim in the Zarafshān Valley dated 367/977). The *pīshṭāk* soon became one of the most distinctive features of Iranian architecture, used in a variety of building types including caravanserais (e.g. Ribāt-i Malik, rebuilt in 471/1078-9, and Ribāt-i Sharaf) and mausolea (e.g. Uzgand and Sarakhs, 5th-6th/11th-12th centuries).

Builders in this period also displayed their inventiveness by varying the shape of the arch, from round to keel-shaped, trilobed and polylobed, and by combining squinches of different shape in the same building. Five different types of squinch, for example, are used at Ribāt-i Sharaf. By further subdividing the squinch, builders seem to have developed the *muqarnas*, tiers of niche-like elements that project out from the row below. Already at the Gunbad-i Qābūs, a few tiers of *muqarnas* decorate the half-vault over the door, and *muqarnas* corbels were used to support the cornices of tomb towers, as at the Gunbad-i 'Alī (448/1056-7) in Abarqūh or the balconies of minarets, as at Bisṭām (514/1120-1). *Muqarnas* was clearly used to provide a visual transition, but its structural role remains to be documented.

During this period, fine baked brick was the pre-eminent material for the construction of important buildings, while mud brick, pisé and stone were used for subsidiary structures or in specific areas. By the 6th/12th century, a standard baked brick measuring ca. 25 × 25 × 5 cm had replaced the large rectangular bricks used in the early period and the smaller bricks associated with Buyid buildings in the Isfahān region. Bricks were laid in a variety of flush or basket bonds, from common and double bond to diaper patterns, or in combinations of recessed and projecting bricks.

Builders also exploited the spaces between the bricks for decorative effect. Builders in northeastern Iran often laid bricks in double bond so that the vertical joints created a pattern of light and shade across the wall. Builders sometimes filled the joints with plaster endplugs, which were stamped or carved with geometric, floral or epigraphic patterns, or with pieces

of glazed tile, which contrasted with the matte, reddish or yellowish brick. Holes in the brickwork on the earlier tomb tower erected at Kharraḳān in 460/1067-8 were probably filled with these glazed pieces, and small fragments are still preserved in the dome chamber in the congregational mosque at Gulpāyagān erected under the Saldjūk Muhammad b. Malikshāh (r. 498-511/1105-18 [q.v.]). From the 6th/12th century onwards, builders commonly set out glazed bricks which spelled out sacred words and phrases in the technique known as *bannā'ī* "builder's [technique]".

Builders or decorators (the distinction is unclear in this period) also realised the potential of other methods for adding colour to their brick buildings. The most labour-intensive and therefore the most expensive method was to cut the glazed tiles into small pieces to form geometric designs, strapwork or inscriptions. The most common glaze was light or turquoise blue, easy to prepare from copper. The tomb chamber at Naṭanz (389/998-9) has small pieces of glazed tile inset in the plaster decoration. The minaret at Sīn (526/1132) has a complete inscription made up of pieces of glazed tile. Two tombs at Marāgha, the Gunbad-i Surkh (542/1147-8) and the Gunbad-i Kābūd (593/1196-7), have elaborate strapwork patterns. One monument erected shortly before the Mongol invasions, the *madrasa* at Zawzan (616/1219), displays two additional colours of glazed tile, white and dark blue.

From ca. 1200, builders also decorated the interior of buildings with expensive lustre tiles. At major shrines such as Kumm and Mashhad, hundreds of individual tiles, some specially made to fit the site, were used to cover the cenotaphs, *mihrābs* and walls of the tomb chambers. These tile revetments were signed by the most famous potters of the day, Muhammad b. Abī Tāhir and Abū Zayd, both members of prominent lustre-potting families from Kāshān, home to this speciality. As the city of Kāshān, located near important mines, had a monopoly on tile production, the term *kāshī* [q.v.] came to refer to glazed tile.

Similarly, builders often painted the stucco coating interior surfaces. Traces of red, blue and green paint are often visible on *mihrābs*, and walls were sometimes painted to imitate brick bonding patterns. Other subjects include geometric and vegetal ornament as well as figures, animals, and birds. The increased use of colour and the growing taste for covering up wall surfaces foreshadow later developments, but at this time structure and decoration were kept in balance.

3. 1250-1500

This period marked the triumph of coloured decoration. Builders elaborated the technique of tile mosaic so that it covered the entire surface. They also expanded the palette to a full range of seven colours (dark and light blue, white, black, yellow and green, in addition to unglazed brick). They added other techniques of tile decoration, including *cuerda seca* and *lāḍīwardīna*, overglaze painting. This period also saw an increase in the height, verticality and size of buildings, and the enormous complexes ordered by Mongol and Tīmūrid rulers attest the wealth available in this period of trans-Asian trade. Individual buildings were often incorporated into complexes, which combined a mosque, *madrasa*, *khānqāh* and other service buildings around a tomb, either for the founder (as in Öldjeitü's tomb at Sulṭāniyya [q.v.] or Tīmūr's tomb, the Gūr-i Mīr at Samarkand) or for a Sūfī saint (as at Naṭanz, Bisṭām and Gāzur Gāh outside Herat).

Congregational mosques followed the standard



four-*iwān* plan. The one built at Warāmīn in the 1320s exemplifies Ilkhānid work, but the most impressive is the elephantine one erected by Tīmūr in his new capital at Samarkand. Known as the Mosque of Bibi Khānum, after Tīmūr's favourite wife, it measures a gargantuan 100 × 125 m. Wherever space was available, as in these two examples, these congregational mosques had regular exteriors, but whenever they had to be shoehorned into the space available in a city, as in the one that Tīmūr's daughter-in-law Gawharshād added to the shrine of the Imām al-Riḍā in Mashhad in 821/1418-19, the exterior was irregular. As before, these mosques focus on the courtyard, and the one at Mashhad is truly magnificent, with dazzling tile mosaic and underglaze- and overglaze-painted tiles.

Madrasas of the period are even more homogeneous than mosques and have a similar plan of a court surrounded by two stories of students' cells connecting four *iwāns*, as at the Madrasa Imāmī (755/1354) at Iṣfahān or the one built at Khargird in 846-8/1442-5 by the architect Kawām al-Dīn Shīrāzī, the first Iranian architect whose career and style can be delineated. The *madrasas* built by Shāh Rūkh's son Ulugh Beg in Bukhārā and on the Rīgistān in Samarkand (both 820-3/1417-21) are variations on the same theme.

A similar plan was also used for rural caravanserais, often erected along major trade routes as part of the flourishing overland trade. Caravanserais were also built within cities. One of the few urban commercial buildings to survive is the Khān al-Mirdjān (or Khān al-Urtma) in Baghdād (758/1359); its sophisticated transverse-vaulted roofing system, which allows light to flood the interior, shows that the patron, the governor of Baghdād for the Djalāyirids, considered the caravanserai as important as the other parts of his complex.

Both the tomb tower and the domed square chamber continued to be used for funerary monuments. Mausolea built for lesser figures, such as descendants of the *Imāms* or minor princes or princesses, were relatively small, free-standing buildings (e.g. the Imāmzāda Dja'far at Iṣfahān, 725/1325). The most striking examples, notable for their fine tile decoration, are found in the necropolis outside of Samarkand known as the Shāh-i Zinda, where many domed structures lining the street leading to the principal shrine were built for female members of Tīmūr's family. Since some orthodox scholars condemned the building of mausolea, the cenotaph was sometimes set in the open air in front of an *iwān*. Several Tīmūrid examples of this arrangement, which has been called a *hazīra*, are found at Gāzur Gāh, Tūrbat-i Shaykhī Djam and Tayyabād.

Richer patrons, mainly sultans and their chief ministers, built larger tombs as part of elaborate funerary complexes. The best example to survive from the Ilkhānid period is the mausoleum of the Khān Öldjeitü at Sulṭāniyya, but the foundations established by Ghazān Khān and his vizier Rashīd al-Dīn at Tabriz were equally large. Large complexes were also built around the tombs of Šūfī saints. A few honoured contemporary *shaykhs*, such as the complex built at Naṭanz in the opening decade of the 8th/14th century for the Suhrawardī *shaykh* 'Abd al-Ṣamad (d. 699/1299-1300), but more commonly they honoured saints long since dead, as at the complex of Abū Yazīd Bisṭāmī, which underwent major restoration at the same time. These complexes, like mosques, had regular exteriors whenever space allowed, as at the gigantic shrine that Tīmūr erected on the steppe for Aḥmad Yasawī [q.v.]

at Turkistān (799-801/1397-99) and the one that Shāh Rūkh erected for 'Abd Allāh Anṣārī [q.v.] at Gāzur Gāh (829-32/1425-29).

A few palaces were permanent constructions. Ca. 1275, the Ilkhān Abaqa, for example, constructed a summer residence at Saṭūriḳ (now Takht-i Sulaymān [q.v.]) on the foundations of the Sāsānid sanctuary of Shīz. The quality and abundance of the architectural décor, particularly the marble carvings and the lustre and *lādjwardina* tiles, show that the Mongol ruler spared no expense. Both the site, which has been identified as the place where the Sāsānid emperors had been crowned, and the decoration, including lustre tiles with quotations and scenes illustrating themes from the *Shāh-nāma*, may have been chosen for their association with pre-Islamic Iranian kingship. The ruins of the Aḳ Sarāy, Tīmūr's palace at Shahr-i Sabz (781-98/1379-96) show the same concerns for size and fine tile decoration.

More often, however, the Mongols lived in elaborate tents [see KHAYMA. iv]. Ghazān's summer palace, for example, was said to have been a tent of golden tissue which took two years to make, and the Spanish ambassador Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo described the even more sumptuous pavilions inhabited by Tīmūr. These tents were often set in gardens, and the Tīmūrids constructed several canals outside Harāt to water their extensive suburban estates set in gardens with such evocative names as the Bāgh-i Djahān-ārā "(World-adorning garden)". Observatories are the most notable civil structures to survive from this period. The one ordered by Hülegü in 758/1258 for the celebrated astronomer Naṣīr al-Dīn Tūsī [q.v.] on a hill north of his capital at Marāgha served as the model for the one that Ulugh Beg built at Samarkand in 823/1420 for Ghiyāth al-Dīn Kāshī [q.v.].

Builders in this period shifted their attention from structure to space, developing new and inventive ways of covering both square and rectangular areas. The solid walls of earlier buildings were pierced with openings and bays, and several types of transverse vaulting were developed to admit light and air. Experiments with transverse vaulting over rectangular spaces in the 8th/14th century led to the development of squinch-net vaulting in the 9th/15th. Builders transformed the traditional square room into a cruciform chamber with broad niches on the sides. Both the recesses and the central square are spanned with four broad arches. The intersection of these eight arches creates a smaller square which supports the traditional arrangement of four squinches, an octagon, a sixteen-sided zone and the dome. The interstices between the ribs and squinches are filled with faceted and painted plaster, hence the name "squinch net". This new system has many advantages: the vault itself is significantly smaller than the square room it covers; it is relatively light in weight; and the loads are concentrated on points rather than walls, as in Gothic architecture, so that the walls can be opened up with windows or filled with staircases and subsidiary rooms.

Builders also altered the proportions used in this period, making rooms taller, arches more pointed and minarets more attenuated. Typical of the new verticality and refinement of form are the monumental portals with soaring double minarets preserved in Iṣfahān, Yazd and Abarkūh. Many of these soaring vaults are decorated with plaster *muqarnas* shells that are suspended from the outer shell by ropes. Those used at Naṭanz in the early 8th/14th century are relatively simple, but the ones erected a century later at Turkeṣtān are of unparalleled complexity.



Decoration, too, became more complex. Entire wall surfaces were often covered with *bannāʾī*, thereby enveloping the building in a web of pious phrases. Tile mosaic became more common, with floral and curved designs replacing the angular ones used earlier. Interior plaster surfaces were often covered with intricate moulded and painted designs, often derived from book painting and thereby suggesting the existence of a central design studio in this period.

4. 1500-1800

The buildings erected during this period are some of the most alluring and attractive in all Iranian architecture, and for many viewers, their glittering web of glazed tile, soaring portals, bulbous domes, and slender minarets epitomise the essential qualities of Persian architecture. In part, their fame is a matter of survival, for a large and impressive ensemble of buildings is easily accessible in Isfahān [q.v.], the third capital of the Ṣafawids, and Shīrāz [q.v.], capital of the Ṣafawid regent Muḥammad Karīm Khān Zand (r. 1164-93/1751-79). In part, the attractiveness of this architecture is due to its open and easy design, with simple compositions based on addition and symmetry. These buildings show little structural or formal innovation, for builders needed to build and decorate vast structures in the shortest time; hence colourful tile revetments sometimes conceal structural banality. The greatest strength lies in the planning and execution of large urban ensembles, in which a variety of commercial, religious and political functions are integrated in harmonious compositions. This was also the period when builders, like contemporary painters, developed an interest in the history of their art, be it the Tīmūrid tradition of dynastic architecture in Khurāsān or the local building traditions of Isfahān and Shīrāz.

In general, buildings, especially religious ones, use the same type of plans found in earlier periods. The four-*iwān* plan, for example, continued to be standard for congregational mosques, as in the splendid one, now called the Masjdīd-i Imām, that Shāh ʿAbbās (r. 995-1038/1587-1629) ordered for his new capital at Isfahān. The same plan was also used for *madrasas* and *khāngāhs*. So, too, the domed tomb remained popular. The tomb of Khʿādja Rābiʿ at Mashhad (1030/1620) is a domed octagon, whereas that for Tahmāsp's father Shaykh Djabrāʾīl, in the village of Kalkhurān near Ardabil, is a square surmounted by a tall bulbous dome recalling Tīmūrid tombs of Central Asia.

In comparison with earlier times, much more civil architecture survives from this period, particularly from the reign of Shāh ʿAbbās, who saw architecture as a means of enhancing his economic policies. An extensive system of *kanāts* [q.v.], subterranean aqueducts directly linked to aquifers, were dug to supply new settlements. Bridges were set up along important roads, as in the superb examples over the Zāyanda Rūd [q.v.] at Isfahān. Different types of buildings for collecting and storing water were developed, such as the water storage tank (Pers. *āb-anbār*), usually a large domed cistern ventilated by means of pipes (Pers. *bādgīr* [q.v. in Suppl.]). To make and store ice, builders developed ingenious mud-brick structures (Pers. *yakhčāl*), often decorated with inventive brickwork. ʿAbbās also encouraged the construction of thousands of pigeon towers (Pers. *burdj-i kabūtār*) on the fertile plain around Isfahān so that he could heavily tax the guano harvest. Similarly, the city of Bukhārā, one of the Shaybānīd capitals in Central Asia, was dotted with caravanserais (Pers. *tim*) and domed markets (Pers. *chāhār-sū*).

These many buildings were often integrated into fine ensembles centred around a large *maydān* [q.v.] or public square. In Isfahān, ʿAbbās had four new buildings strategically and symbolically positioned around the *maydān*: the bazaar entrance on the north faced the congregational mosque, and a small mosque known as the Masjdīd-i Shaykh Luṭf Allāh on the east faced the ʿAlī Kapu, the entrance to the palace precinct. Between 1596 and 1606, ʿAbbās's governor Gandj ʿAlī Khān laid out a similar complex in the provincial capital of Kirmān, with a bath, caravanserai, mint, water tower, mosque and other public buildings connected by a continuous portico around a large rectangular *maydān* (100 × 50 m). Many of these urban developments continued under Muḥammad Karīm Khān Zand at Shīrāz, who glorified his capital with broad avenues and more than 25 public buildings. As in Isfahān and Kirmān, the most important structures, including the citadel or *arg*, the congregational mosque known as the Masjdīd-i Wakīl (begun in 1766), a public bath and a vaulted bazaar, were grouped around a *maydān*.

This was also the period when the major shrine complexes in Iran took on their definitive shape. To mark their claims of sovereignty and establish their legitimacy, the Ṣafawids expanded and rebuilt the family shrine at Ardabil, making it one of the largest in the country, matched only by the shrine around the tomb of the eighth Imām al-Riḍā at Mashhad. Both shrines received substantial endowments, not only property and chattels but also precious objects, particularly books. ʿAbbās also endowed a staggering 1,162 pieces of Chinese porcelain to the shrine at Ardabil, and had a new building, the Čini-Khāna, built to house it. Other shrines developed for Šūfī *shaykhs*. One of the most picturesque is that for Shaykh Niʿmat Allāh Walī at Māhān outside Kirmān, whose sequence of courtyards and richly-carpeted and splendidly-vaulted halls evokes the wealth and authority accorded these brotherhoods in Ṣafawid Iran.

Town planning and building on such a wide scale necessitated the employment of dozens of architects and master-builders assisted by calligraphers, tile-makers, plasterers, woodworkers and painters. The workforce, especially at the top, was highly mobile and dominated by the Isfahān school, which attracted the finest talent from throughout the Ṣafawid domains. The vast scale of architecture during this period led builders to standardise exteriors but to experiment with structure. They perfected the system of ribbed vaults developed during the 9th/15th century by empirical study of the strength of materials. For example, large rooms were spanned by ribbed arches with forked bases which distributed the weight on to piers concealed within the walls. These structural experiments have only been revealed during the course of restoration, as in the upper two floors of the ʿAlī Kapu palace at Isfahān. New forms include the *tālār*, the pillared hall known from Achamaenid times and adopted during this period for audience halls.

Flat walls were often decorated with paintings of varied subjects. Some illustrate current events, such as the series of embassies and battles depicted on the walls of the Čihil Sutūn palace at Isfahān. Others evoked classic Persian themes, such as the romance of Khusrāw and Shīrīn. A few, such as the murals in the Imāmzāda Shāh Zayd in Isfahān, depict religious scenes, and some others, such as a group of oil paintings, depict foreigners. In many cases, these wall paintings seem to be the work of the same artists who illustrated manuscripts and single-page paintings.



5. 1800 to the present day

Architecture in this period can be seen as a struggle between tradition and innovation. Under the Kādījārs [q.v.], new Europeanising features were grafted on to traditional ones. Thus congregational mosques, erected at Qazvin, Zandjān, Simnān and Tehran, followed the now-classic plan of an open court with two or four *iwāns*, but interior façades were articulated with such new features as kiosks, windcatchers or clocktowers. The increasing acceptance of European architecture, especially under Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh (r. 1264-1313/1848-96 [q.v.]), is especially clear in secular architecture, exemplified by several palaces in and near Tehran, such as the Gulistān Palace and the Kaṣr-i Kādījār. Traditional forms such as the *tālār* are combined with such European elements as tall windows, engaged pilasters and grand staircases. The mixture of traditions is also evident in the decoration, in which tile mosaic, underglaze-painted tiles and mosaic mirror-work mingle with floral, figural and landscape scenes in the Victorian style.

These experiments with European modernism continued in the 20th century under the Pahlawīs, as the best architects linked an appreciation of traditional values with such modern requirements as waste disposal. Nader Ardalan's Centre for Management Studies in Tehran (1972) followed the form of a traditional *madrasa* and used local construction methods and labour (see further on modern buildings in the capital, **TEHRĀN**. I. 3(b), (c)). Similarly, the enormous tomb constructed at Rayy for Āyatullāh Khumaynī [q.v. in Suppl.] in 1989 used the traditional form of domed tomb surrounded by minarets, although it was executed using relatively inexpensive materials and techniques of industrial construction.

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(SHEILA S. BLAIR and J.M. BLOOM)

IRIČ, also ERIČ, ERAČ, on modern maps Erachh, a small town of north-central India, situated on the south bank of the Betwā river, 65 km/40 miles northeast of Jhansi and 100 km/62 miles southeast of Gwalior (lat. 25° 47' N., long. 79° 9' E.). It is now in the Jhansi District in the extreme southwest of Uttar Pradesh Province of the Indian Union.

Although now within a region largely Hindu, the area round Irič is rich in Indo-Muslim remains and monuments. It was in Muslim hands by 709/1309, when the Khaldjī commander Malik Kafūr [q.v.] stayed at Irič, then renamed Sultānpūr, en route southwards for Warangal [q.v.]. The Djamī Masjīd there was built by Ghāzī Diyā' al-Dīn in 815/1412 during the time of the last Tughlukid Maḥmūd Shāh II, and was added to in the time of Awrangzib. There is also a fort and five gates to the town. Under the Mughals, it was the centre of a *sarkār* in the *sūba* of Agra, but by the mid-18th century was under Marāthā control until the region passed to the British.

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(C.E. BOSWORTH)

IRTISH, conventionally Irtysh, a river of Siberia and the main left-bank affluent of the Ob [q.v.]. It rises from glaciers on the southern slopes of the Altai mountains near the modern frontier of the Mongolian Republic and Chinese Turkestan or Sinkiang [q.v.] through the Zaysan lake into the Kazakhstan Republic, then out of it into the Omsk oblast of the Russian Federation and joins the Ob at Khanty Mansiysk, its complete course being 3,720 km/2,312 miles, the greater part of it navigable.

The Irtish is mentioned, as *ärtis*, in the Orkhon inscriptions (Kültégin E37; Bilgä Kagan E27), where it is stated that the Kaghan's armies crossed the Altai and then the Irtish, and attacked the Türgesh on its farther (i.e. western) side (cf. Barthold, *Zwölf Vorlesungen*, 46, 112). But the history of the Irtish basin in early Islamic times is very obscure; none of its peoples can have become Muslim before the post-Mongol, later mediaeval period. A geography like the *Hudūd al-'ālam* mentions the Artush (r.t.s.) as located between the Oghuz and Kimäk tribes, but the author was clearly describing a river further west (possibly the Yayık [q.v.], which rises in the Urals and flows into the

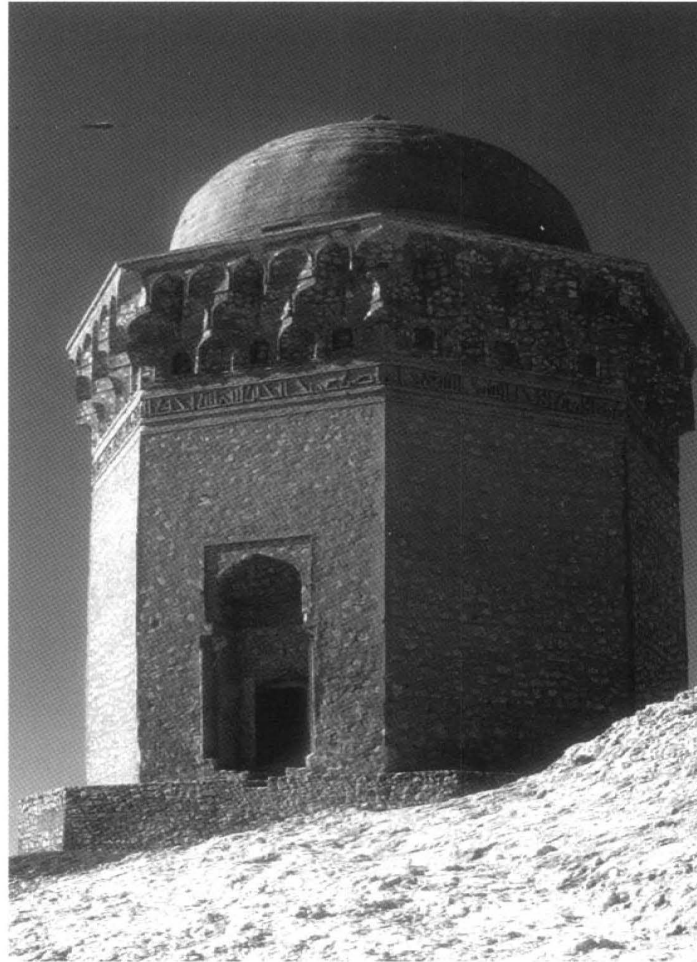


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IRAN

PLATE XLVII



Abarkūh, Gunbad-i 'Alī, 448/1056-7.

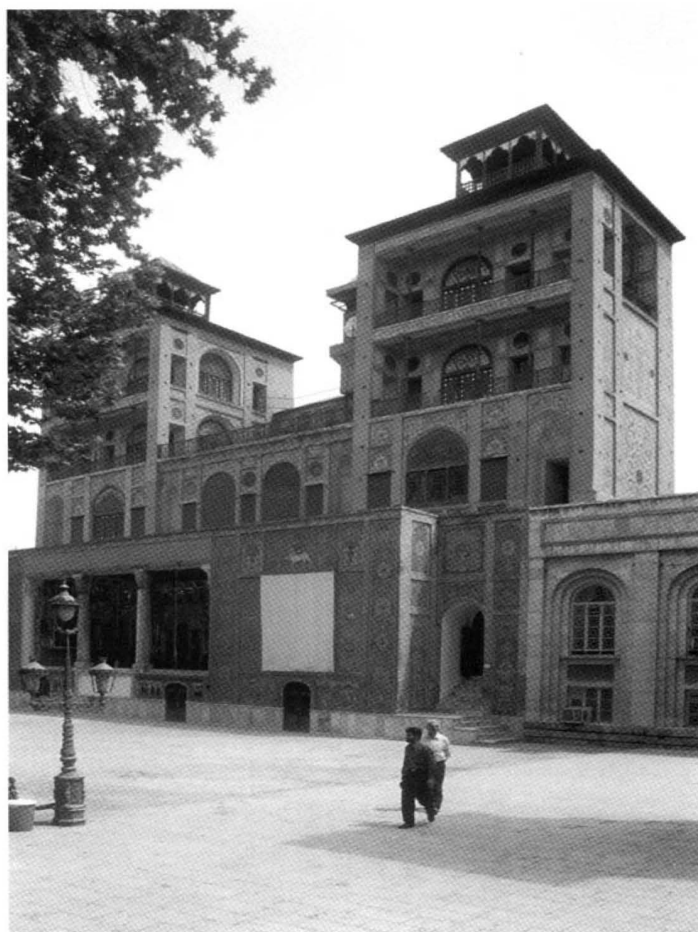
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PLATE XLVIII

IRAN



Tehran, Gulistān Palace, Shams al-ʿImāra, completed 1282-84/1865-67, view from the rear.

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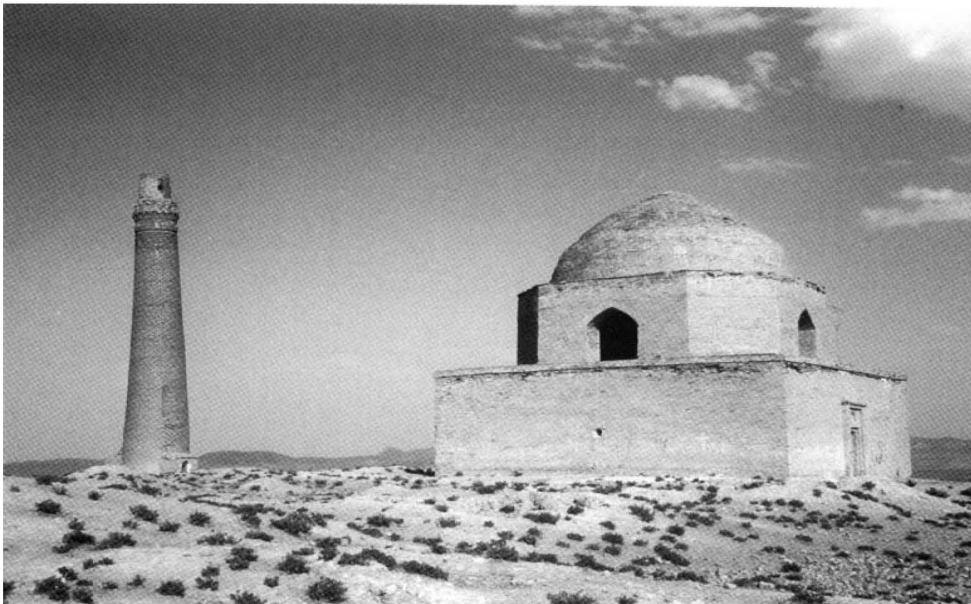
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IRAN

PLATE XLIX



Isfahān, Masjid-i Imām, formerly the Masjid-i Shāh, begun 1020/1611, courtyard.



Sangbast, tomb and adjacent minaret, probably 6th/12th century.

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PLATE L

IRAN



Dāmghān, Congregational Mosque, known as the “Tārī-Khāna,” 3rd/9th century, courtyard looking toward prayer hall (vaults restored 20th century).



Nāyin, Congregational Mosque, 4th/10th century, court façade showing brickwork added during the Būyid period.

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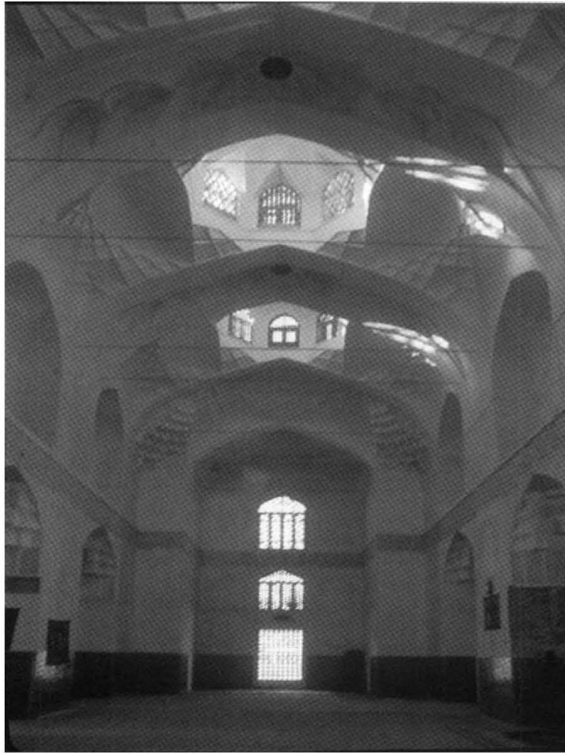


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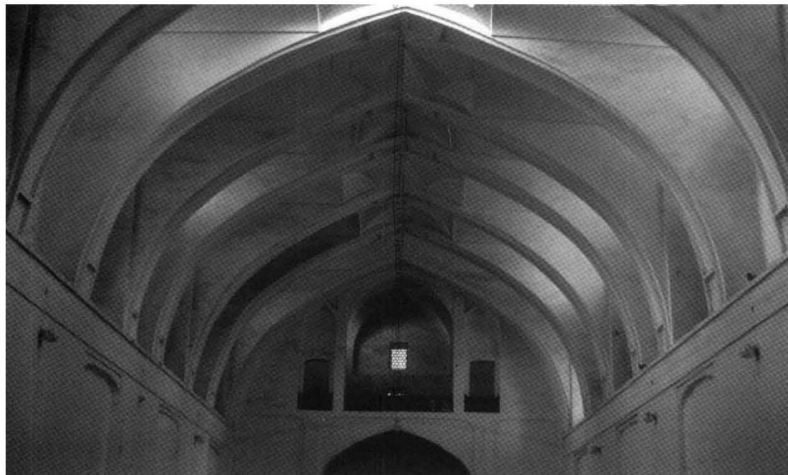
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IRAN

PLATE LI



Māhān, Shrine of Ni'mat Allāh, vaulted hall adjacent to the tomb, early 11th/17th century.



Yazd, Congregational Mosque, west prayer hall, late 8th/14th century.

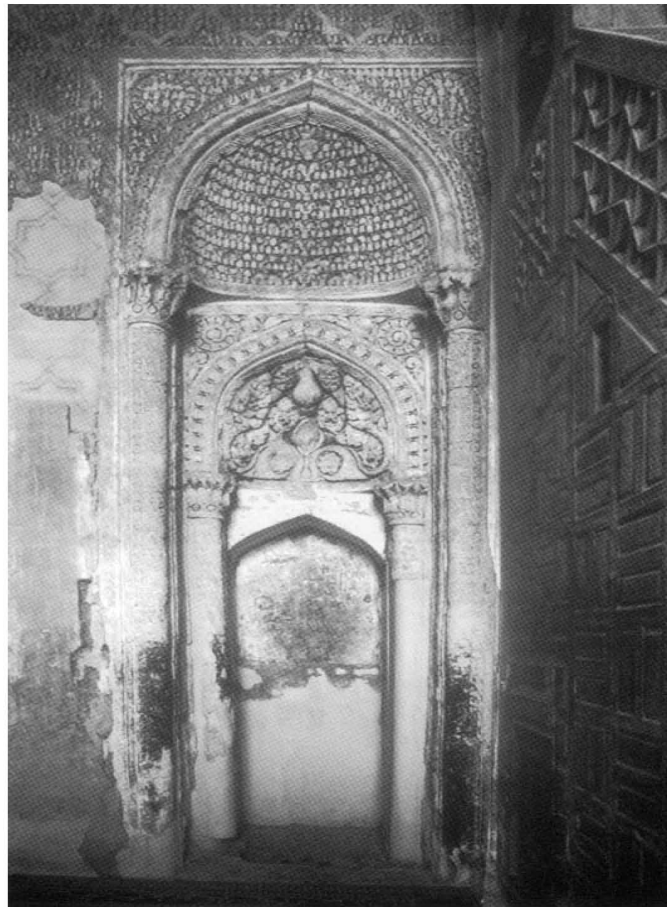
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PLATE LII

IRAN



Nāyin, Congregational Mosque, 4th/10th century, stucco *mihrāb*.

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Caspian), since he says that it emptied into the lower Volga (tr. Minorsky, 75, §6.42, comm. 215). Maḥmūd al-Kāshgharī mentions the *Ertish suvī* as a river in the Yemāk/Yemāk steppes which flows, so he says, after receiving many tributaries, into a lake; this error would appear to stem from the same source as the *Hudūd al-‘ālam*, since the Arctic Ocean, the *Bahr al-Zuhmāl* of Arabic travellers, can hardly be meant (*Diwān lughāt al-turk*, tr. Atalay, i, 97, tr. Dankoff and Kelly, i, 129). The Islamic geographers seem to locate the Kimāk [q.v.] roughly between the (true) Irtysh and the Ob, and Gardīzī writes of the trade route which led northwards from Transoxania to the land of the Kimāk, on the Irtysh (cf. Barthold, *op. cit.*, 112-13; but the lower course of the river, beyond the Kimāk, must have been the home of Ugrian peoples, the ancestors of the peoples found there in the 16th century, the Ostyaks or Khanty). During these later mediaeval times, the former lands of the now-vanished Kimāk, were apparently occupied by the Tatars (perhaps including aboriginal Ugrians now Turkicised) and, to their south, the Kazakhs occupied this region (see J. Forsyth, *A history of the peoples of Siberia, Russia's North Asian colony 1581-1990*, Cambridge 1992, 10-16, 21-7).

It was on the banks of the Irtysh that Čingiz Khān in 1208 defeated the remnants of his Mongolised Turkish rivals, the Nayman tribe; he halted in the summer of 1219 on the banks of the Irtysh before his troops appeared in Transoxania; and towards the end of Čingiz Khān's life, his son Djoči established his *ordo* on the river (Barthold, *Turkestan*¹, 361, 392-3, 403, 450; idem, *Zwölf Vorlesungen*, 165, 180). The Great Khān Ögedey was buried, when he died in 639/1241, on a mountain in Mongolia near the headwaters of the Irtysh (Rashīd al-Dīn, in Barthold, *Turkestan*¹, 473). Islam may have appeared amongst Turkish nomadic tribes in the region when the Blue (or White) Horde came to control its southern and western fringes. In 792/1390 Timūr despatched from Tashkent an army against a Khān called Kamar al-Dīn, and this marched north from the Issik-Kul [q.v.], crossed the Ili and reached the Irtysh (Sharaf al-Dīn Yazdī, *Zafar-nāma*, Bibliotheca Indica, i, 495); and at the end of the 15th century, the Khānate of Sibir [q.v.] moved its centre to Sibir or Kaskhik or Isker near the confluence of the Irtysh and its tributary the Tobol. The overwhelming of the Khānate of Sibir in the 1590s [see KUČUM KHĀN], however, brought the greater part of the course of the Irtysh under Russian control.

Bibliography: Given in the article; and see OB and SIBIR. (C.E. BOSWORTH)

ISFĪDJĀB, a town and an extensive district of mediaeval Islamic Central Asia, identifiable with the later Islamic town of Sayram. Popular etymologising saw in the name the Persian component *sipīd*, *ispīd* "white". It lay on the Aris river, a right-bank affluent of the Sīr Daryā [q.v.], 14 km/8 miles to the east of the later town of Chimkent (lat. 42° 16' N., long. 69° 05' E.); Chimkent itself, now in the southernmost part of the Kazakhstan Republic, is mentioned in the historical sources from Timūrid times onwards, e.g. in Sharaf al-Dīn 'Alī Yazdī.

Isfīdjāb apparently had a pre-Islamic history, though nothing is known of this; it may have had a local Iranian ruler, as did the adjacent regions of Ilāk [q.v. in Suppl.] and Ustrūshāna [q.v.]. The incursions into Transoxania of Kutayba b. Muslim [q.v.] are said to have reached as far as Shāsh and Isfīdjāb, but it appears more firmly in history with a report that, in 225/840, the Sāmānid governor of Samarqand Nūh

b. Asad subdued it and built a wall round its vineyards and cultivated lands (presumably as protection against raids by the steppe Turks) (al-Balādhurī, *Futūh*, 422; al-Sam'ānī, *Ansāb*, ed. Haydarābād, vii, 26). Being on the northernmost edge of the Islamic lands in Central Asia, Isfīdjāb was very much a frontier town, the resort of *ghāzīs* and other fighters for the faith, who congregated in *ribāts* [q.v.] fortified against the infidel Oghuz and Kimāk Turks, and numbered by al-Mukaddasī, 273, with palpable exaggeration, at 1,700. Many of these *ribāts* were built and financed by the people of the Transoxanian towns well behind the frontier, and manned by them in relays; *ribāts* of the men of Nakhshab, Bukhārā and Samarqand are mentioned, and another *ribāṭ* was that financed by the Sāmānid commander Karatigin al-Isfīdjābī, with Karatigin and his son Manšūr buried nearby (al-Mukaddasī, *loc. cit.*; Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Beirut, viii, 492). That this Karatigin—obviously a Turk—was the local ruler of Isfīdjāb in the early 4th/10th century, as Barthold assumed, is by no means sure. At all events, because of its role as a vital frontier post (*thaghr djalīl wa-dār al-djihad*) it was, unusually for Transoxania, exempt from taxation, and the local ruler paid only a token tribute and forwarded presents to the Sāmānid *amīr* in Bukhārā (Ibn Hawkal, 510, tr. 488; al-Mukaddasī, 340; cf. Barthold, *Turkestan*¹, 175-6, 211-12, and idem, *A history of the Turkman people*, in *Four studies on the history of Central Asia*, iii, 77-8).

The geographers describe it at this time as thoroughly well defended, with a citadel (ruinous, however, in Ibn Hawkal's time) and walls round the *shahristān* and *rabad* respectively. As a place where the products of the steppes could be exchanged for those of the settled lands, its markets were flourishing, and al-Mukaddasī mentions in particular the *sūk al-karābīs*, that of the cotton merchants, the rents from whose shops were a charitable *wakf* that yielded 7,000 dirhams a month (Ibn Hawkal, 510, tr. 487-8; al-Mukaddasī, 273; cf. Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 483-4, and Barthold, *Turkestan*¹, 175-6).

We do not know what ultimately happened to the local rulers of Isfīdjāb, but in 382/992 the Karākhānid ruler of Balāsāghūn, Bughra Khān Hārūn or Hasan, occupied the town as he advanced into the Sāmānid dominions, and it is mentioned that a certain Abū Manšūr Muhammad b. Ḥasan al-Isfīdjābī rebelled against Sāmānid authority in the very last days of the dynasty (387/997) and summoned help from the Karākhānid Ilig Nasr.

In the early 7th/13th century, the inhabitants of Isfīdjāb, together with those of Shāsh, Farghāna and Kāsān, were removed by the Kh'arazm Shāh 'Alā' al-Dīn Muhammad and the land laid waste because he was unable to protect them from the destructive raids of the Mongol Küčlūg [q.v.] (Yāqūt, *Buldān*, ed. Beirut, i, 179; Ibn al-Athīr, xii, 271; Barthold, *Turkestan*¹, 368-9). The second disaster which Isfīdjāb suffered, according to Yāqūt, *loc. cit.*, was devastation by the Mongols of Čingiz Khān.

It is around this time that the name Sayram begins to replace Isfīdjāb, although already in the later 5th/11th century, Maḥmūd al-Kāshgharī, *Diwān lughāt al-turk*, tr. Atalay, iii, 176, tr. Dankoff and Kelly, ii, 241, equated Sayram/Saryam with the older Isfīdjāb. As such, Sayram figures in the history of the western part of what became, from the 8th/14th century onwards, Moghōlīstān [q.v.], e.g. in the history of the later Čaghataids as recounted by Mīrzā Muhammad Haydar Khān. Thus it is recorded that 'Isā Bughā Khān devastated Sayram, Turkistān and Tashkent in



855/1451, and later in the century, Sayram was governed by Yūnus Khān, the maternal grandfather of Bābur [q.v.]. The Čaġhatayid Maṣūr Khān led an expedition against the Kirghiz [see KIRĠIZ] in 928/1522 because these Turks had been ravaging the lands from Sayram to Farġhāna (*Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, tr. Elias and Ross, 79, 358). Thereafter, Sayram passed substantially under the control of the nomadic kingdom of the Qazāk. In 1723 Sayram, Turkistān and Tashkent passed under the control of the Kalmuks [see KALMUK] and remained within their vast nomadic empire until the destruction of this by the Chinese in 1758. Thereafter, the region reverted to Qazāk rule, and then, in the first half of the 19th century, passed under Russian control; see KIRĠIZ.

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(C.E. BOSWORTH)

ISFIZĀRĪ, Mu'īn al-Dīn Muḥammad Zam'ī, epistolary stylist and historian in Timūrid Khurāsān whose birth and death dates are unknown but who flourished in the second half of the 8th/14th century.

From what he says in his own works, he arrived in Harāt, probably from Isfīzār in what is now western Afġhānistān, in 873/1468-9, and was employed as a *munshī* at the court of Sultan Ḥusayn Baykara [see ḤUSAYN at Vol. III, 603a] under the patronage of the vizier Qiwām al-Dīn Nizām al-Mulk (d. 903/1497-8). Isfīzārī is most famous as the author of a history and compendium of information on the city of Harāt, its topography and its *fadā'il*, the *Rawḍāt al-djannāt fī awṣāf madīnat Harāt*, dedicated to Ḥusayn Baykara, begun in Muḥarram 897/November 1491 and completed two years later at the end of 899/autumn 1494. Noteworthy here is his use of earlier, lost sources, such as a history of the Kart or Kurt dynasty of Harāt by one Rabi'ī Buṣḥandjī. The history was edited by Sayyid Muḥammad Kāzīm Imām, 2 vols., Tehran 1338-9/1959-60, also by Muḥammad Ishāk, Calcutta 1380/1961 (*non vidi*); description and analysis of contents by Barbier de Meynard in *J*, 5th ser., vol. xvi (July-Dec. 1860), xvii (Jan.-June 1861), xx (July-Dec. 1862). Isfīzārī's *Risāla-yi Kawānīn*, an epistle in praise of Harāt and its ruler, is also extant, as is also an *inshā'* collection of his.

Bibliography: See also Browne, *LHP*, iii, 420-1; Storey, i, 355-6, 1296, iii, 256-7; Storey-Bregel, ii, 1045-8; Rypka et alii, *Hist. of Iranian literature*, 434, 447.

(C.E. BOSWORTH)

ISHKĀSHIM, a small settlement in the modern Afġhān province, and the mediaeval Islamic region, of Badakhshān [q.v.].

It lies in lat. 36° 43' N., long. 71° 34' E., and should not be confused with Ishkāmish, further westwards in the Kunduz or Kaṭaghān district of Badakhshān. The historic Ishkāshim is on the left or southern bank of the Pandj or upper Oxus river (only in Soviet times did a smaller settlement on the other side of the river become the chief-lieu of the so-called Ishkāshim tuman or district of the Gorno-Badakhshān Autonomous Region within the Tadjik SSR; cf. BADAQHSIĀN at Vol. I, 853b), and is at present connected with the provincial capital of the [Afġhān] wilāyat of Badakhshān, Faydābād, by a road across the Sardāb pass. When Soviet Russia invaded Afġhānistān, the Russian army in the early 1980s constructed a bridge across the Oxus at Ishkāshim for transporting troops and matériel. Ishkāshim has in fact played a part in history because of its position along the only winter route between Badakhshān and the trans-Oxus regions of Shughnān and Wakḥān [q.v.]; and it was here that the British traveller John Wood crossed

the ice-covered river in 1837 (*A journey to the source of the River Oxus*, 2nd ed. London 1872, 204-6).

The place existed in early Islam, and the *Hudūd al-'ālam*, tr. Minorsky, 121, makes Sikāshim the chief-lieu of Wakḥān and the residence of its *malik*; the people comprised at that time (late 4th/10th century) both Muslims and infidels (*gabrakān*, ? Zoroastrians). Many of the local people, on both sides of the Pandj here, are Ismā'īlīs, locally known as Mawlā'īs (see F. Daftary, *The Ismā'īlīs: their history and doctrines*, Cambridge 1990, 544). The people of villages in the vicinity of Ishkāmish, also in one place on the right bank of the Pandj, perhaps totalling in all some 2,000, speak a distinctive Eastern Iranian language of the so-called "Pamir group", Ishkāshimī (see the *Bibl.* to BADAQHSIĀN, and also J.R. Payne, in R. Schmitt (ed.), *Compendium linguarum iranicarum*, Wiesbaden 1989, 417-44).

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(C.E. BOSWORTH)

'ISHKĪ, MUHAMMAD RIDĀ MİRZĀDA, modernist poet, playwright, journalist and fervent Iranian nationalist (b. 5 June 1894, d. 3 June 1924 = 12 Tīr ASH 1303).

'Ishkī's life is shrouded in legend because of his ultra-patriotic pronouncements in his writings and speeches, his unconventional and often militant ideas in politics and literature, and above all, his tragic death at the early age of thirty from an assassin's bullet. He received his elementary education in his native Hamadān, attending the Ulfat and Ālyāns (Alliance) high schools, in the latter of which he learned French and was introduced to Western civilisation. His knowledge of French helped him to gain employment as a translator/interpreter for a merchant in Hamadān. However, before finishing school, he travelled around the provinces and towns, his eyes being thereby opened to the dismal social and economic conditions of his country and countrymen. At the beginning of the First World War, 'Ishkī was back in Hamadān, where in ca. 1915 he started his career as a journalist by publishing *Nāma-yi 'Ishkī*; from the start, he was an *engagé* journalist with leftist leanings. As Iran became a theatre of war with the movement of foreign armies, 'Ishkī joined a group of expatriates and settled for several years in Istanbul. It seems that even before he left, 'Ishkī was a Turcophile and was interested in the activities of the reformist and nationalist group of the Young Turks. According to some writers, while in Istanbul he attended the *Dār al-Funūn* for courses in science and philosophy.

'Ishkī's poetic gift now suddenly blossomed. This took place whilst travelling in Mesopotamia, in the midst of the ruins of the Sāsānid royal palace at Ctesiphon. The remains of the palace, with its huge *iwān*, triggered off a poetic rapture in 'Ishkī, and he composed *Rastākhīz-i shahriyārān-i Irān* ("The resurrection of Iranian kings"). It became the first opera in the Persian language, and was first staged in Isfahān on 'Ishkī's return to his homeland, to the tumultuous reception of the audience. 'Ishkī himself sang the part of the poet. This one-act opera play is a mixture of realism and fantasy, and is full of patriotic pathos, with *dramatis personae* including the poet ('Ishkī); Khusrāw-dukht (the Sāsānid princess); Darius the Great; Cyrus the Great; Anūshīrwān; Khusrāw Parwīz and his wife Shīrīn; and the prophet Zoroaster. The



purpose of this opera was to juxtapose the glories of the ancient Iran with that of the land of ‘Ishkī’s own day; the ancient kings accuse contemporary Iranians of having no energy and will and of leaving the country in a state of apathy and lethargy. ‘Ishkī’s second poem inspired by the Sāsānid ruins was *Kafan-i syāh* (“The black shroud”). This is an epic poem 427 verses long, composed in the *musammat* form set in the time of Khusrāw and Shīrīn, and what was meant to be a romantic epic turned out to be a powerful social commentary and criticism.

‘Ishkī’s criticism of the Iranian polity was carried to its height upon his return to Iran from his self-imposed exile in Istanbul after the end of the War. He wrote his vehement opposition to the 1919 Anglo-Iranian treaty in a form of a patriotic *qaṣīda*, *Mukhālīf-at bā Karārād-i Irān wa Inḡlīs* (“Opposition to the Iran-England treaty”), in which he ridiculed the Prime Minister Wuthūk al-Dawla [q.v.] as well as the passivity of his compatriots, and this resulted in his being sent to prison. In 1920, he published a new journal *Kam-i bistum* (“The twentieth century”). His poetry and prose now became more and more inflammatory as he demanded radical reforms from the government, the Russian Bolshevik Revolution of October 1917 having had a clear impact on his ideas; in 1922, on the occasion of the Iranian New Year, he composed a poem *‘Id-i kārgarān* (“Festival of the Workers”). In his poetry, as in his journalism, he focused unrelentingly on Iran’s national and social problems. In his satirical works, ‘Ishkī came to use an increasingly malicious language, full of invectives, against members of the government as well as against deputies in the Majlis, and he rapidly moved to the extreme position of vigilantism, calling for an annual bloodbath in order to cleanse Iran of corruption. In 1924, he participated in a nationwide canvass for an ideal model (archetype) of each field of endeavour to which prominent thinkers were invited to write and publish. Answering that call, he wrote his revolutionary narrative poem *Siḥ tāblā-yi idiyāl* (“Three ideal tableaux”). Ahmad Karimi-Hakkak has written that this work was ‘Ishkī’s “solitary attempt to break through the constraints of poetic diction and to liberalize the concept of rhyme and meter . . .”. Since, however, ‘Ishkī ends his poem advocating a bloodbath “to cleanse the country of all traitors”, Karimi-Hakkak adds that “*The Three Tableaux* must ultimately be seen as an angry young man’s frustrated outburst against the political situation in Iran during the last years of Qajar rule.” ‘Ishkī’s next angry outburst turned out to be fatal. It was the time when Riḍā Khān [see RIḌĀ KHĀN] was preparing to become the first President of the Iranian Republic, and ‘Ishkī strongly opposed this idea for two reasons, being afraid that the president, Riḍā Khān, would establish a military dictatorship, and also that Iranians were not yet ready for a republican democratic polity. He opted therefore for the continuation of the Kādjār dynasty. A few days after the publication of his attack on Riḍā Khān, ‘Ishkī was assassinated in Tehran.

‘Ishkī’s contribution to Persian literature, journalism and political thought has yet to be fully examined and described, but there is no doubt that, had he lived longer, he would have been regarded as the writer who laid the foundation of modern Persian letters.

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(P. CHELKOWSKI)

ISHKODRA, the Turkish form of the name of the town of Shkodër/Shkodra (Slavonic, Skadar) in the north of modern Albania.

The town is situated at an altitude of 16 m/52 feet near the banks of the lake of the same name, at the confluence of an arm of the Drin, the Buna/Bojana and the Kiri, and is dominated by the fortress of Rozafa and by Mt. Tarabosh. This ancient urban centre was founded in the 4th century B.C., in the Illyrian period, around the acropolis. It was successively dominated by the Romans (in 168 B.C.), Byzantines, Serbs (from 1043), Byzantines again, Serbs again, Ottomans (1393) and Venetians (from 1396). It became definitively Ottoman after two sieges (1474 and 1478-9). After the departure of the greater part of its population in accordance with the Ottoman-Venetian peace treaty, Ishkodra (equally called Isken-deriyye or Skutari) became the centre of a *sandjak* of the same name and was gradually repopulated and Islamised. The tax registers show that, in addition to the troops of the garrison and their families, there were in 1485 27 Muslim and 70 Christian hearths, in 1528 119 and 43 respectively, and in 1570-1 217 and 27 respectively.

The town owed its importance, right up to the early 20th century, to its politico-administrative role and also to its geo-strategic position, directly connecting it with the Adriatic Sea (some 20 km/12 miles away by water) and the Italian ports, plus its situation on important trade routes (northwards to Montenegro, eastwards to the centre of the Balkan peninsula (Ishkodra-Prizren road) and southwards to the plains of the Albanian coastland. As the centre of a frontier *sandjak* (comprising the modern regions of Montenegro and northern Albania), Ishkodra enjoyed its greatest period of florescence from the mid-18th century onwards, when the office of *sandjak-bey* passed into the hands of a local *ayān* family, that of Bushatli. There they succeeded at the head of the town and *sandjak*, which last they tried to enlarge: Mehmed Pasha, then his three sons Mustafa Pasha, Kara Mahmūd Pasha [q.v.] and Ibrahim Pasha, and, finally, Mustafa’s grandson, also Mustafa Pasha [q.v.], who was in the end subdued by the Porte in 1831. In 1862 Ishkodra became the centre of an *evālet* with just one *sandjak*, then from 1875 it was the capital of the smallest Ottoman *wilāyet*, with two *sandjaks*, those of Ishkodra and Drač [q.v.] (Durrës). Being on the frontier with Montenegro, the province retained a special character (*müstethnā*) until the Young Turk revolution. Reforms were never completely introduced. The *wālī* was also the military commander. The Muslim population did not perform military service but went out on campaigns in *bayraks* (there being 15 in the town). No population census was made. The Muslims and Christians of the adjacent mountain areas freely bore arms.

During the last century of Ottoman occupation, the town expanded towards the north. Because of epidemics, flood problems (the Drin changed its course in 1865) and earthquakes (notably in 1905), the old quarters within and around the fortress (Alibey, Tabak, Ayazma, etc.) were abandoned for new ones (Parutsa,



Rus, Perash, etc.). According to the *sāhnāme* of 1310/1892-3, Ishkodra had at this time 12 Muslim quarters and 2 Christian ones, with a population of ca. 40,000 (almost all Albanians), two-thirds of these being Muslims and the rest Roman Catholic Christians. Some of the Muslims were *muhājīrūn* from Bosnia-Herzegovina and Montenegro [see *MUHĀJIR*. 2]. There was also a small community of Orthodox Christians (ca. 600 persons, Slavs and Vlachs) and a quarter of Muslim gypsies. Towards the end of the 19th century, the bazaar [see *sūq*], which stretched between the fortress and the new town, and trade in general, lost their importance relative to that of Rumelia because of the development of Salonica and the construction of the Salonica-Mitrovica railway line.

The cultural and social development of Ishkodra was the product of oriental, western and local influences which met there. The importance of Islamic culture is attested by the rate of Islamisation, the existence of mosques (almost 30, without much architectural significance except for the "Leaden Mosque" in the Tabak quarter, south of the citadel), the presence of dervish *tekkes* (the Bektāshīs are said to have been expelled at the opening of the 19th century by Muṣṭafā Pasha; the Rifā'iyya and Tidjāniyya [q.v.] appeared there at the beginning of the 20th century) and the foundation of *medreses*. Though remote from the great centres of Islamic culture, Ishkodra produced poets writing in the oriental tongues (notably, members of the Bushatli family and numerous 'ulamā' who enjoyed great authority in the town. "Catholic-Italian" culture was brought by merchants and by missionary orders (Franciscans and also Jesuits from the second half of the 19th century onwards). The consuls of France, Britain, Russia, Greece and, above all, Austria-Hungary and Italy (who oversaw educational establishments) had an important influence; some of them, like A. Degrand and Th. Ippen, have left writings on the town and its region. As for local influences, these were the result of the weight of villagers of the plain and, above all, the mountain people (Malisos), mostly Christian and living according to customary law (*kānūn*) in the surrounding regions (in 1856 the Ottoman authorities installed a Commission for the Mountains (*Ḍjibāl Komisyonu*) at Ishkodra). At the end of the 19th to the beginning of the 20th centuries there began to develop an Albanian literary culture under the impulse of certain members of the religious orders and the stimulus of the Austro-Hungarian and Italian consuls.

Ottoman domination ended in 1913 after a long siege by Montenegrin forces. After various occupations, the town and its region became part of the new Albanian state in 1919-20. Although it was the most important urban centre of the new state, Shkodër was not chosen as the capital, to the great chagrin of its people, because of its eccentric position on the Montenegrin border. Its development was adversely affected by this. It had only 28,500 people in 1942 and 71,000 in 1985. In this post-Ottoman period, the town has remained both the centre of Albanian Catholicism and of traditional Islam. Its 'ulamā' have been raised as opponents of the reforms introduced when the Islamic community was restructured in the new state. On the other hand, it was at Shkodër that, in November 1990, the first church and first mosque were re-opened after 23 years of the prohibition of all forms of religious activity by the Communist authorities who had seized power in 1944. Since then, several mosques have been restored or built. One of them, opened in the mid-1990s, is one of the biggest

mosques in the Balkans. A *medrese* has opened and an Islamic centre supported by an organisation based on Birmingham is active. Hence Shkodër is today one of the most important centres of Islam in Albania.

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ISHTĪKHĀN, *ISHTIKHAN*, a town and district of mediaeval Islamic Transoxania. It lay seven *farsakhs* north of Samarkand and was administratively separate from it. There were many arable fields, irrigated by a canal taken off the Zarafshan river [q.v.]. In the 4th/10th century, the town had a citadel, a *shahristān* and a *rabad* or suburb; a village of the same name exists on the site today.

When the Arabs took over Samarkand in the second quarter of the 8th century A.D., the *Ikhshīds* of Sogdīa transferred their capital to *Ishtikhān*. In the 3rd/9th century the district furnished a body of troops for the 'Abbāsīd army, distinguished as *al-Ishktikhāniyya* in al-Tabarī, iii, 1362, and at Baghdād these were allotted, with other troops from the Iranian and Central Asia East, a special quarter, whilst at Samarrā' they were allotted land grants (*katā'ir*) (al-Ya'kūbī, *Buldān*, 248, 262-3, tr. Wiet, 30, 55). The revenue of the market in the town of *Ishtikhān* was granted to the 'Abbāsīd general 'Udjayf b. 'Anbasa [q.v.], confiscated by the caliph al-Mu'tasim on 'Udjayf's fall in 223/838, and subsequently granted to Muḥammad b. Ṭāhir b. 'Abd Allāh.

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(C.E. BOSWORTH)

AL-IS'IRDĪ, NŪR AL-DĪN IBN RUSTUM, Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-'Azīz, 7th/13th century



Syrian poet. Born in 619/1222 in Is'ird or Si'ird [q.v.] in Southeastern Anatolia, which he sentimentally remembers in his *Dīwān*, he lived in Baghdad and visited Egypt, but most of his adult life was, it seems, spent in Damascus (and al-Šālihiyya). There the *kādi* Šadr al-Dīn Ibn Sanī al-Dawla (590-658/1194-1260), for whom al-Is'irdī expressed biting contempt, appointed him one of the official witnesses (attorneys) doing business under the famous clock of the great mosque. He won the favour of al-Malik al-Nāṣir Šalāh al-Dīn Yūsuf, ruler of Aleppo (since 634) and of Damascus (since 648) until his sad end in 658/1260, who made him his boon-companion. He was in contact with many of the litterateurs and other important men of his time, such as Dījāl al-Dīn Ibn Yaḡhmūr (599-663/1203-64) and the ambassador Naḡīm al-Dīn al-Bādarā'ī (594-655/1198-1257). At the end of his short life, he suffered loss of vision. He died in 656/1258.

His *Dīwān* is so far known to be preserved only in ms. Escorial ar. 472 (with the title-page bound into ms. ar. 399), incomplete at the end. In addition to the many poems addressed to al-Malik al-Nāṣir on a large variety of personal and public events, it includes poems addressed to, among others, the caliphs al-Mustansir and al-Musta'sim, and al-Malik al-Mu'azzam, as well as fellow-poets, *dūbays*, *ghazals*, riddles, and the like, as one would expect in a *dīwān* of the period. Wine-drinking plays throughout its customary large role. The *Dīwān* offers valuable sidelights on the political and cultural history of Syria and Egypt immediately before the coming of the Mongols. Another work, apparently lost, *Sulāfat al-zar(a)djūn fī 'l-khalā'a wa 'l-muḡjūn*, dealt, as the title indicates, with lewd verses of his own composition, and also by others. Most of the verses quoted by the biographers, including the *Rangstreit* poem of wine and *hashīsh* (cf. F. Rosenthal, *The Herb*, Leiden 1971, 6, 163-6), may well go back to this work, as only a couple of them can be traced in the extant manuscript of the *Dīwān*. The same applies to additional verses quoted by al-Safadī in *al-Ghayth al-musadīqam fī sharḥ Lāmiyyat al-'adīm*.

Al-Is'irdī represents the lighthearted side characteristic of Syrian secular life and culture before "the end of the days of joy in Damascus" (Ibn al-Šukā'ī, ed. J. Sublet, 168, tr. 196) which came with al-Malik al-Nāṣir's downfall and the Mongol invasion. Little as we know about him, it seems clear that he, in common with numerous contemporaries, combined serious activity with a great zest for life and provided and enjoyed an atmosphere in which, despite all the political turmoil of the age, ease and elegance flourished as they were scarcely ever to do afterwards.

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ISKĀF, ISKĀFĪ (A., pl. *asākifa*), "shoemaker", the tradesman who in pre-modern Islamic times produced ordinary shoes (*khuff*, pl. *khūf*), nailed boots used by the common people (*lālaka*, pl. *lawālik*) and also *shamushkāt* (sing. *shamushk*), a type of boots of Coptic Arab origin (cf. al-Subkī, *Tabakāt al-shāfi'iyya*, Cairo 1966, 360). The shoemakers' use of leather gave rise

to a proverbial expression *bayt al-iskāf* "the shoemaker's house" which looked like a "house of hides" because of the pieces of leather everywhere. Like other trades, shoemakers were subject to the practices of the *hisba* [q.v.], enjoined to use good quality materials and to deliver goods on time.

The *asākifa*, like other artisan groups concerned with leather-working, such as the sandal-maker (*ḥadhḥā*) and maker of leather bags (*kharrāz*), had a low social status because their work was regarded as unclean, and until modern times they worked hard for low wages; the proverb *al-iskāfī ḥāfī wa 'l-ḥā'ik 'uryān* "the shoemaker goes barefoot and the weaver is naked" expresses this succinctly. Often they worked on the street or at a street corner because of their inability to rent a shop. 'Abbāsīd Baghdad did, however, have a *darb al-asākifa*, a special lane for them to ply their trade. In Ottoman Istanbul, the shoemakers had their own guild like the tanners and other workers with leather, such as saddlers and cobblers.

Shoemakers often died in indigency. Al-Rāghib al-Isfahānī describes a shoemaker's legacy: "Maḡnūn was asked, 'What do you say about an *iskāf* who dies, leaving behind his mother and sister?' He replied, 'His inheritance (*mīrāth*) belongs to the dogs and his [funeral] expenses are borne by the tanners (*dabbāghūn*); there remains nothing for his mother and sister except throwing dust and tearing their clothes (sc. in despair and anguish)'. There is little evidence of social mobility amongst shoemakers in pre-modern Islamic society, although there were in the 'Abbāsīd era secretaries and traditionists bearing the *nisba* of al-Iskāfī [q.v.] and see the works of al-Sam'ānī and Ibn al-Athīr given in the *Bibl.*, s.v.); whether the *nisba* relates to their own past or, more probably, to an ancestor who had plied this trade, is unclear.

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ISKĀN (A.), lit. "coming into a peaceful state, settlement, the allocation of living quarters or space", hence in modern usage, "sedentarisation" as a stage after a migratory or nomadic existence.

Unlike *badw* [q.v.], "desert, people of the desert", and *ḥaḡar* "settled lands, people of the settled lands", *iskān* is not a concept often used in the Arabian peninsula and its fringes. In the recent past, the Bedouin of northern Arabia, when talking about the town of Shaykh Miskīn in the Hawrān [q.v.], ostensibly connected the term *miskīn* with the root *s-k-n* (when it is, in fact, derived from a quite separate, ancient Semitic usage, see *MISKĪN*); these townspeople were said to be descendants of people who had been unable to cope with the rigours of Bedouin lifestyle and had therefore settled.

In fact, equating *iskān* with "sedentarisation" places an undue emphasis on a "nomad-settler" dichotomy, when town or village and countryside were generally enmeshed in multiple relationships. Hence in what follows, some separation of contexts is attempted in an otherwise generalised discussion.



The Arabian peninsula and its ancillaries include a great diversity of physical environments, habitats and natural resources. Urban and rural settlements differ, not only from each other but also between themselves, and over time. Movement patterns are similarly diverse and shift through time. Factors affecting settlement and nomadism over the region can be discussed in general terms only, with regional and historical examples indicated in the bibliographical references. Settling and settlement take place in economic and political—often administrative—contexts; religious reasons have been important at some times and places. The economic context changes from the traditional period when animals were an essential source of energy and the more recent one, starting about the 1850s or 1860s, and involving modern sources of energy culminating with oil from regional oilfields [see NAFT. 3] and electricity grids. In traditional political economies, governments or rulers got wealth from taxation, tribute and booty, most of which ultimately depended on localised agricultural production; modern nation states get wealth from oil, directly or indirectly, and participation in the global political economy.

Environmental factors necessitate some seasonal mobility in most modes of livelihood, agricultural, commercial, and administrative as well as pastoral. In most social groups, households were and are the productive and consuming units, which may or may not have all members present. They drew and draw resources from various directions, drawing on two or more components from herding, agriculture, commerce and services. Towns and countrysides continue to be enmeshed through a variety of networks which may change over time but have features that continue.

Iskân as “settling” has been a decision made by households and families throughout millennia all over the Arab world. For some groups, at some times and in some places, the settling was permanent; for others, it was temporary. The reasons for settling (and its reverse) by individual households and families are usually economic and social, but sometimes political. When households provided their own shelter and needs, moving or settling were not so different. The ability to defend household persons and property, which gives honour [see ʿIRĀD], could be achieved as a settled person and as a nomad. Changing from nomadic to settled status, and vice-versa, was managed through existing and long-standing networks and a variety of contracts or agreements, and some settling by households in the present continues to function in this manner.

With larger groups, “settlement” is more a response to significantly changing political, religious or economic events; governments may also decide on a policy of settlement to resolve perceived problems, while fiscal policies may encourage or discourage settlement. Whereas individual households decide all the time to settle or to be nomadic, decisions by groups of households to settle or by governments to settle nomads are more episodic. A well-known historical example of a government settling nomads as a policy is that of the early Islamic state, which recruited nomadic tribesmen into the armies as *mukātila* and settled them in garrison towns (Donner 1981, 264-7; Kennedy 1986, 62-9) as a method of control, these troops to be financed by booty and tribute. Islam regards nomadic life as incompatible with a truly Muslim way of life [see TAʿARRUB]. A more recent example of government policy of settling nomads was the Ottoman empire’s *Tanzimât* [q.v.] reforms of the mid-19th century, which put legal, military and fiscal pressure on

pastoralists to settle and grow grain in Syria, Transjordan and ʿIrāk in order to replace supplies from the former Ottoman lands in the Crimea and the Balkans. Between 1908 and 1914, ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz Ibn Suʿūd planted settlements of *Ikhwān* [q.v.] among tribes unwilling to give their allegiance to him, and so extended his influence (Musil 1928, 283), although he was later unable to control *Ikhwān* forces. During the 1920s to the 1940s, the Mandate governments [see MANDATES] together with the new Suʿūdī kingdom, required tribal sections to follow the government in whose territory each section had its summer water sources. As pastoral livelihood become untenable for many, these summer water points became the bases for settlements, first as storage depots and then as villages. All modern nation states of the region, with the exception of Oman/ʿUmān, apart from its Dhofar/Zufār region (Chatty 1996, 9, 188-9), regard settlement of nomads as a means of imposing or encouraging incorporation into the state and identity as citizens. States with potentially rich agricultural areas like ʿIrāk and Syria initially left the settlement of nomads to market forces, changes in land laws and the provision of hydraulic schemes. Later, their more revolutionary governments saw tribalism and nomadism as primitive survivals to be eradicated by social engineering. Saudi Arabia set up agricultural schemes in the 1960s to settle nomads and established the National Guard to provide employment for tribesmen after a long series of drought years in the 1940s and 1950s (H.H. Hamza 1982; W. and Fidelity Lancaster 1986, 1993). Later, state provision of water, electricity, health and education services, and subsidies for agriculture and housing, distributed oil wealth to rural areas (W. Lancaster 1997, 139-50, 166-80; ʿA.-R. al-Sudairi 1995). The UAE urged settlement in government-sponsored housing schemes and employment as a way of forming a modern society. Oman, after 1970, provided services to all citizens without requiring settlement.

Living quarters may be allocated by an individual family with the agreement of the heads of other families of the place, by a *shaykh* or headman, or by a government agent, depending on the nature of the living place. Tent sites of nomad encampments arrange themselves along lines of closeness and distance of members; links through women influence the siting of particular tents. Women’s relationships similarly affect those who live in small villages and in house groups throughout the peninsula. Some recent settlements developed by state governments attempted to break up traditional residence patterns and to form new bonds of citizenship. Large hydraulic and agricultural developments in Syria had, along with economic objectives, the political aim of generating a “new class of socialist peasants”. Between the late 1950s and early 1960s, rural people from more than a hundred villages wanting to acquire land poured into one development (Françoise Metral, 1984). The agricultural reform service scattered populations with shared common origins, settling individual families in housing along roads and canals. Twenty years later, these housing groups had not become communities; many households have rebuilt extended family structures inside a homogenous village, others have left the area and rent out their land. UAE government housing was allocated on strictly patrilineal lines, ignoring traditional practices of having neighbours who are closest through links through women.

Settlement by tribal groups occurred in the recent past as a result of government changes in the land



law and of changing market forces. From the 1860s in 'Irāk, Syria and what is now Jordan, as the value of transit trade and desert products declined, many nomadic and semi-nomadic groups moved to agriculture, or else to sheep-herding rather than camel herding. From the 1930s, there were mass movements from the 'Irākī countryside to towns and cities, caused by debt among agricultural workers, repressive land laws and the uncertainties of agricultural production (H. Batatu 1978, 35). In Syria, after the Second World War, nomads, especially camel herders, had to adapt fast to the fully mechanised cultivation of grain and cotton (J. Hannoyer 1980, 294); later, more grazing lands were lost to irrigated vegetable and fruit growing for export to the oil states of Saudi Arabia and the Gulf.

Scholars frequently discuss settlement in terms of "the frontier of settlement" and make a positive correlation between strong government, commercial agriculture and settlement. It used to be assumed that from near the end of the 'Abbāsīd period, settlement declined in rural areas but increased in cities, and nomadism took over countryside until the process was reversed from the middle of the 19th century onwards. Archaeological and historical research has shown that settlement continued, with fluctuations, in the countryside of Syria, Jordan and 'Irāk, although it appears that there was an urban demographic decline from the 15th century to the late 18th century (Beaumont, etc. 1988, 212-13). In the Arabian peninsula itself, the "frontier of settlement" thesis was not developed. It seems that there was here more rural settlement than had been previously thought; and that there was movement between settlement and nomadism, with some settlements disappearing and others being founded. The general thesis linking strong government, commercial agriculture and settlement is not wholly consistent with actual historical examples, since it ignores particular events and local circumstances along with governments' sources of revenue; what is meant by commercial agriculture; access to land, sources of labour and the established social processes utilising these; the service provision of pastoralism; distribution of goods by means other than an obvious market; and the nature of the household and multi-resource livelihoods. Such social practices negate ideas of settlement and nomadism as being absolutes.

At the present, the proportion of nomads to settled people in the states of the Arab Middle East has declined as compared with 150 years ago. Percentages are difficult, but for 'Irāk, nomadic tribes were estimated at 35% in 1870, 17% in 1905, and 5% in 1947 (Samira Haj, quoting Hasan 1997, 157); for Saudi Arabia, about 40% of the population were nomadic in the 1950s, 11% in 1970, and under 5% now (Eickelman 1998, 74). The basic reason for this massive change is that the bases of nomadic livelihoods (herding, together with processing and trading dairy and animal products, supplying services like transport and protection; or crafts and animal products for groups like the Ṣulayb [*q.v.*], have all become less viable. Profitable herding has been made more difficult by the imposition of state borders, involving the loss of seasonal grazing areas and markets, and by the loss of grazing land to government agencies and non-governmental organisations. The demand for animals for riding, carrying and draught in agriculture has virtually gone; states have taken over protection and mediation services in rural areas; entry to participation in administrative and security agencies of government now comes from education, which

usually means residence in a village or town, at least during term time. Since modern states need educated people, they provide schools in centres, together with health services and administrative functions throughout their territories. Oil-rich states encourage settlement by grants or by building housing with all modern services, and they provide schools and clinics. Throughout the whole region, many former herding tribespeople are employed by the state in security forces and other official employment; they or other members of their households may have irrigated land for vegetable or fruit cultivation, and/or sheep for meat or dairy products. Camels continue to be herded for milk, meat and racing in Saudi Arabia, the Gulf states and Oman.

Some authorities see a breakdown of traditional nomadic social structures arising out of settlement and its associated education and employment. Others consider that these structures come from tribal, rather than nomadic as such, customary social practice, and that these structures are resilient and adaptive.

Thus the fact that the terms "settled" and "nomadic" are of limited value has been indicated by some scholars (e.g. J.C. Wilkinson 1977, 189; Soraya Altorki and D.P. Cole 1989, 81; W. and Fidelity Lancaster 1999, 54-61), who regard them as simplistic. Linking "settled" and "nomadic" to the conceptual identities of *badw* and *ḥaḍar* is, according to these authorities, unsatisfactory, since here the crucial determinant is the ability to get one's living and security by one's own efforts and networks, rather than by accepting government employment and provision. Of course, there are many who do both at the same time, and are in fact "settled" and "nomadic". Movement is now important to households in order to link employment and traditionally-owned resources in the countryside.

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(W. and FIDELITY LANCASTER)

ISKANDAR KHĀN B. DĪJĀNĪ BEG, ruler in Transoxania, from his capital Bukhārā, of the Turco-Mongol Shībānīd [q.v.] or Abu'l-Khayrīd dynasty, ruled 968-91/1561-83. Iskandar was in fact a weak and ineffective ruler. Real power was in the hands of his son 'Abd Allāh, who had shown his ability against rival families in Transoxania as early as 958/1551 and who became the greatest of the Shībānīds; after his father's death he was to reign unchallenged for a further sixteen years [see 'ABD ALLĀH B. ISKANDAR]. For the course of events in these decades, see SHĪBĀNĪDS and R.D. McChesney, *Elr art. Central Asia. vi. In the 10th-12th/16th/18th centuries*.

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ISKĀT (A.), a legal term meaning "relinquishment", specifically of a right (*ḥaqq*). In general, four conditions must be met to make the relinquishment of a right valid: (a) that the right should exist at the time it is relinquished (e.g. the right to collect a debt to be incurred in the future may not be relinquished); (b) that the right relinquished does not concern *milḥ al-'ayn* (i.e. the ownership of the substance of a thing, whether movable or immovable, is not subject to relinquishment, but only to transfer, *naql*); (c) that the interest of the person entitled to the right should be absolute and not limited by other interests (e.g. it cannot be an interest such as that of a trustee in a *wakf* property); and (d) that the relinquishment of the right does not involve an illegal result.

Iskāṭ may be of two kinds: *iskāṭ mahḍ* (true relinquishment) and *iskāṭ ḡhayr mahḍ* (quasi-relinquishment). The first kind includes divorce (*talāq*), manumission of a slave (*'itlāq*) and the relinquishment of the right of pre-emption (*shuf'a*). In the latter case, short clauses of relinquishment of the right of pre-emption are often added to deeds of sale of houses (e.g. *ḥad askaṭnā shuf'atanā min dhālik*), neighbours of the vendor in Islamic law having the right of pre-emption [see SHUF'A].

The term *iskāṭ ḡhayr mahḍ* includes legal transactions such as acquittance of debt (*ibrā' an al-dayn*), which is not regarded as a pure relinquishment since it partakes of the nature of a donation (*tabarru'*).

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(R.Y. EBIED and M.J.L. YOUNG)

ISLĀH.

v. CENTRAL ASIA

Central Asia (here basically understood in the sense of the pre-modern Mā warā' al-Nahr [q.v.]), notwithstanding its regional peculiarities, historically is to be regarded as an integral part of the Islamic world. Hence, in one way or another, its Muslim community—at least until the Russian "October Revolution" of 1917—was influenced by and/or contributed to reformist trends and movements current in other Muslim regions, in particular, those of Russia, Ottoman Turkey, the Arab world and also India. Basic features of the religious discourse on *islāh* in the 18th-20th centuries, as described in the previous sections of this article (see Vol. IV) are to be found in Central Asia as well. But, because of the impact of roughly seven decades of Soviet rule, our knowledge about the specific nature of *islāh* in Central Asia, and about its various supporters, actual developments, exchange of ideas, etc., is still rather poor in comparison to that about other regions. The inaccessibility of relevant sources during the Soviet period, as well as the application of Marxist-Leninist concepts of history, have led to a somewhat eclectic picture.

As a result of the prolonged Soviet impact, reformism in Central Asia appears predominantly as a class-based (bourgeois), nation-cultural, and finally political (nationalist) movement among Muslim intellectuals emerging around the turn of the 19th to the 20th centuries, and considerably gaining strength after 1905-7 when censorship in the Russian empire was loosened and the press could function more freely [see DĪJĀDĪDA. iv]. This reform movement was the so-called Dījadīdism [see DĪJĀDĪD], but the usual self-designations of its representatives were different, e.g. *islāhātīkī'āh* ("reformer"), *tarakkīpārwar* ("progressive"), *munawwīr* ("enlightener"), *yāsh* or *djāwān* ("young"). It figures as a historically more or less isolated phenomenon, directly inspired by an identical movement which started somewhat earlier among Russia's Muslims. A key role in these endeavours, in the first place directed to renewing the Muslim educational system, disseminating Western-type knowledge, and fighting harmful social conditions and customs, falls to the well-known Crimean Tatar modernist Ismā'īl Gasprālī [q.v.] and the influential newspaper *Terdjūmān* founded by him in 1883. The reformist or modernist efforts of the Dījadīds, at least to a certain extent, are characterised according to the Soviet jargon as "progressive", in sharp contrast to a more or less obscure stereotype of "reactionary" Qadīmīs.

Even though such views of developments in *islāh* in Central Asia cannot, of course, be called entirely wrong, they nevertheless neglect some important traits of this phenomenon that are essential to an appropriate understanding of it. This lack of coherence is especially revealed by recent research, and concerns in particular the questions of: (a) indigenous roots and precursors of the so-called Dījadīdism; (b) interrelations with other Muslim and non-Muslim regions, with their influence on the background of individual thinkers; and (c) fundamentals, causes, contents and the course of the debate with traditionalist 'ulamā', labelled by the modernists as Qadīmīs.

Far from our having comprehensive answers to these and related questions, some salient hints will have to suffice. Besides the oft-repeated statement that the Central Asia of the Khānates (Bukhārā, Khīwa and Khokand [q.v.]) in the 18th-19th centuries represented a bulwark of intellectual stagnation, obscurantism and religious dogmatism, it must be noted

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that such eminent precursors of reformism and modernism in the Volga-Ural region as ‘Abd al-Naṣīr al-Kūrṣāwī (1776-1812) and Shihāb al-Dīn al-Mardjānī (1818-89) both finished their studies in Bukhārā, Central Asia’s most famous centre of Muslim learning. A decisive role in their taking up positions against *taqlid* and favouring *ijtihād* was played by Bukhārān *mudarrisūn* who were affiliated with the influential Naqshbandiyya (Muḍjaddidiyya) [*q.v.*, and see AHMAD SIRHINDĪ, its founder, who based his teachings rigorously on the Qur’ān and Sunna]. In this respect, it is worth mentioning that Central Asia, and particularly Bukhārā, was not an isolated region but was connected through extensive trade relations with China, India, Russia, and also Western Siberia where, besides Tatars, *bukhārīk* played a major role in spreading Islam and building up Muslim institutions, thereby in some cases showing reformist approaches at a comparatively early date. “Critical erudition” also can be found in 19th-century Bukhārā itself, among what might be called the teachers’ generation of its later modernists (the Young Bukhārāns, emerging around the end of the first decade of the 20th century), such as Ahmad Maḥdūm Dānīsh (1827-97) [see ĀZĀDĪ, in Suppl.] who subsequently, under Soviet auspices, was praised as a [Tādjīk] “enlightener” (al-Kūrṣāwī and al-Mardjānī were removed from their Islamic context in a similar way); Mīrzā ‘Abd al-‘Azīm Sāmī (ca. 1835-1914?) who served as a *munshī* of the *amīr* Muzaḥḥār (1860-85) and ‘Abd al-Aḥad (1885-1910); Dāmullā Muḥammad Ikrām(ā) (1847-1925) who was appointed in 1913 one of the twelve official Bukhārān *mufīs*; Muḥammad Sharīfdjān Maḥdūm, named Ṣadr-i Dīyā’ (1867-1932), from a well-known *kādī* family, himself being appointed 1917 for three months *kādī-yi kalān*, the highest judicial officer in Bukhārā. All of them, except Ṣadr-i Dīyā’, shared the characteristic of having stayed for some time abroad, either by travelling to Russia or by performing the *Ḥaǧǧ*.

To be sure, all this does not mean that Bukhārā in the 18th-19th centuries was a stronghold of *islāh*. On the contrary, al-Kūrṣāwī, for example, already met with sharp opposition and even condemnation by the overwhelming majority of Bukhārān ‘*ulamā*’, including the then ruling *amīr* Ḥaydar (1800-26), when he, in regard to the question of the divine attributes [see ŠIFA, 2], opposed the generally accepted doctrine that God possesses either seven or eight *ṣifāt* by arguing that the only way to formulate a qualification of God is His own word, the Qur’ān, in which the *ṣifāt* are not at all limited to a definite number of seven or eight. Leaving aside that kind of subtle debates, it can be stated at least that Bukhārā was in constant exchange with the outside world, and to some extent participated in current Islamic developments, thereby providing certain prerequisites for a more evident manifestation of reformist endeavours that was to happen only at the beginning of the 20th century, then taking shape in *Ḍjādīdism*, current amongst Russia’s Muslims. The main impetus to *Ḍjādīdism*, the followers of which—beyond the basically regressive concept of *islāh*—also believed in Western ideas of progress, thus came from outside. But in Central Asia it met with an already existing specific spiritual basis of genuine *islāh*, namely, a critical attitude towards traditional ways of rule, social life and religious learning which, as their critics saw it, were incompatible with “true” Islamic principles.

Unlike the Muslims of the Volga-Ural region, who already for centuries had stood up against Russia’s rule and various policies of Russification, Central Asia

had to face the challenges of colonial rule only from the second half of the 19th century, when it was conquered by Russia (abolishing the Khānate of Khokand finally in 1876, and reducing Bukhārā in 1868 and Khīwa in 1873 to protectorates). At that time Russia’s Muslim communities had for about one hundred years received a slightly more favourable administrative status through the institutions of a *muftiyyat* in Ufa (1782) and the “Spiritual Assembly” in Orenburg (1788), allowing them a certain self-determination which was channelled particularly into strengthening and developing the *Shari’a* and their own educational system (the *maktab* and *madrasa*). Within this framework, and by meeting the growing challenge of Western modernity, it soon happened that reformist and/or modernist trends gained ground. It also seems quite natural that they aimed at improvement according to “modern” requirements in fields like education, which had become fundamental to Muslim self-assertion. Given such a partly common goal of reformist and traditionalist forces on the one hand, and limited resources on the other hand—the Muslim educational system in Russia was not state-sponsored—conflict, beyond the level of the later, overemphasised purely ideological controversies between *Ḍjādīds* and *Kādimīs*, was inevitable.

Though Central Asia played no visible role in this process in Russia which finally led to *Ḍjādīdism*, Central Asia had at least mediated the first reformist impulses in Russia which, roughly 200 years later, were re-imported in the form of developed concepts of Muslim modernism. These concepts met with a situation in Central Asia in which indigenous society and its traditional institutions had to cope with the serious setback of Russian conquest and rule. Hence, in addition to the existing traces of a “critical erudition” mentioned above, we find in the urban centres of Russian Turkistān and of the protectorates of Bukhārā and Khīwa, evidently from around the turn of the 20th century, small local circles of Muslim modernists who were in touch with one another and had a loose network of contacts with kindred spirits stretching as far as Russia, the Caucasus, Turkey, Egypt, the Hijāz and India. The more or less simultaneous introduction of a Western infrastructure, involving railways, postal services and telegraph, increased mobility and enhanced communication.

The majority of outstanding Central Asian modernists, although of different social origins, belonged to the younger generation and had gone through a traditional *maktab* and *madrasa* education. Some had a Russian education, and finally, a considerable number of them had fruitful experience of the outside Muslim world. Another group of supporters of modernism, at least in Bukhārā, was made up of traders and entrepreneurs. Their business interests led them to welcome efforts towards reform oriented towards interpretations of Western standards of knowledge and civilization. At the same time, endeavours of this kind were combined with a more or less conscious harking back to the fundamentals of the “true”, early Islam. This synthesis of both following the dictates of the Qur’ān and “keeping up with the times” in practice mainly resulted in activities to disseminate knowledge (the press, publications, textbooks, founding of charitable societies (*djām’iyyat-i khayriyya*) and *uṣūl-i ḍjādīd* (“new-method”) *maktab*s), and to criticise “backward” administrative institutions (e.g. the judiciary, *avkāf*) and social conditions (e.g. features of popular religion, certain activities of *Ṣūfī* brotherhoods, lavish festivities and moral decline—the latter, by the way, was a field



in which the Dîadîds largely shared the opinion of the Kadîmîs).

These general characteristics are mirrored in the basic biographical data of distinguished Central Asian modernists (their backgrounds and their entire work are, for the most part, not yet sufficiently studied), such as: (1) Sayyid Ahmad Siddîkî, named 'Adjîzî (Samarkand, 1864-1927, *madrasa* education, published the first textbook for "new method" *maktabs* [*Ustâd-i aevval*, Tashkent 1901], ca. 1901-3 *Hadîdî* and residence in the Hidjâz, Egypt and Russia; then founding "new method" *maktabs*, writing textbooks and contributing to modernist press); (2) Maḥmūd Kh^hādja Bihbūdî (Samarkand, 1875-1919, *madrasa* education, 1900 *Hadîdî*, 1903-4 stay in Cairo, Istanbul, Ufa and Kazan; then founding a "new method" *maktab*, acting as *muftî*, publisher, editor of the newspapers *Samarkand* [1913-4] and *A'ina* [1914-5], writer of textbooks, theatrical plays); (3) 'Abd Allāh Awlānî (Tashkent, 1878-1934, *madrasa* education, editor of newspapers *Shuhrat* [1907], *Asiyya* [1908] and *Turân* [1917], founder of "new method" *maktabs* [1908, 1912], charitable society [1909], writer [textbooks, anthology, theatrical plays], organising [1913] a theatre group); (4) Munawwar Kārî 'Abd al-Rashîd Khān (Tashkent, 1878-1931[?], editor of newspapers *Khūshîd* [1906], *Sadā-yi Turkistân* [1914] and *Nadîât* [1917], published textbooks); and (5) 'Abd al-Ra'ûf Fîrât [q.v.] (Bukhārā, 1886-1938[?], *madrasa* education, 1904 *Hadîdî*, ca. 1910-14 studying in Istanbul, the starting point of his career as an important writer and as theorist of Central Asian modernism).

Within the Central Asian context, the activities of these and other adherents of modernism represented a remarkable phenomenon that to some extent challenged traditional society and colonial rule. But these modernists were few in number and, beyond shared basic ideas and goals, they seem to have formed a rather disparate movement of limited success. They lagged behind the modernist debate in other parts of the Muslim world. Their influence did not apparently reach beyond the borders of Central Asia, and even in their homeland they had no firm socio-political grounding. When finally, in the course of the Russian Revolutions of 1917, some of the Central Asian modernists entered the political stage (striving for an autonomy of Turkistân within a Russian federation, or for an implementation of reforms in Bukhārā), they were quickly swept away and successively absorbed by various more firmly-based social and political forces and realities (ranging from Soviet power to the armed resistance of the Basmaçîs [q.v.]).

Bibliography: In addition to the *Bibls.* of the articles mentioned in the text, see of more recent special studies, D.R. Brower and E.J. Lazzerini (eds.), *Russia's Orient. Imperial borderlands and peoples, 1700-1917*, Bloomington, Ind. 1997; S.A. Dudoignon, D. Is'haqov and R. Möhämätshin (eds.), *L'Islam de Russie. Conscience communautaire et autonomie politique chez les Tatars de la Volga et de l'Oural, depuis le XIII^e siècle*, Paris 1997; M. Kemper, *Sufis und Gelehrte in Tatarien und Baschkirien, 1789-1889. Der islamische Diskurs unter russischer Herrschaft*, Berlin 1998; A. Khalid, *The politics of Muslim cultural reform. Jadidism in Tsarist Central Asia*, Berkeley 1998; A. von Kügelgen et alii (eds.), *Muslim culture in Russia and Central Asia from the 18th to the early 20th centuries*, i ff., Berlin 1996; *Le réformisme musulman en Asie Centrale. Du «premier renouveau» à la soviétisation, 1788-1937*, Paris 1996 (= *Cahiers du Monde Russe*, xxxvii/1-2 [Jan.-June 1996]). (R. EISENER)

İSMÂ'İL HAKKÎ BALTA DJİOĞHLU (1886-1978), Turkish sociologist, educator and author. He was born in Istanbul in 1886, the son of a government official, İbrāhîm Edhem, and Hamîde. He finished his *Wefâ İlâdîsi* in 1903, and continued his education in the Department of Natural Science in the *Dâr ul-fünûn*, graduating in 1908. During the same year, he started his career as a teacher of calligraphy in the *Dâr ul-mu'allimîn-i ibtidâ'iyye* and was sent to Europe in 1910 by the Ministry of Education to do research in pedagogy and handicrafts. After his return to Turkey in 1911, İsmâ'il Hakkî lectured on handicrafts, calligraphy, aesthetics, pedagogy and psychology in several schools and worked in certain administrative posts whereby he initiated various reforms combating the traditional methods of education. He was elected Dean of the Faculty of Letters in the *Dâr ul-fünûn* on several occasions between 1921-4 and was President of the school in 1923, resigning in 1927. He was removed from his position as a lecturer at the *Dâr ul-fünûn* with its closure on 31 July 1933. Between 1941-2, İsmâ'il Hakkî worked as a professor of pedagogy in the Language and History-Geography Faculty of Ankara University. He was elected to the Parliament as the Afyon representative of the Halk Partisi in 1942 and the Kırşehir representative in 1946. From 1950 until his death in 1978, he continued his career as an author and publisher.

Besides publishing *Yeni Adam*, a journal mainly devoted to pedagogy and culture, he wrote many books and articles for various newspapers and journals such as *İkdam*, *Yeni Fikir*, *Akşam* and *Ulus* throughout his life. In his works, he mostly concentrated on sociological and pedagogical issues, but also showed an interest in writing plays.

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İSMÂ'İL HAKKÎ b. İbrāhîm b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb, **MANÂSTİRLİ** (1846-1912), Ottoman religious scholar and preacher. Born and raised in Manâstir in present-day Macedonia, he went to Istanbul as a young man, took *medrese* courses and taught at the Fatih Mosque. In 1874 he became preacher (*wā'iz*) at the Dolmabahçe Mosque and then at the Aya Sofya, where he drew large crowds. He began his teaching career as professor of Arabic at the *Askerî Rüşdiyye* in Eyüb, and in 1884 became teacher of jurisprudence in the *Hukûk Mektebi*, where he remained until he became a senator (*â'yân a'dâsî*) after the 1908 revolution. He taught courses on religious matters at various institutions (*Mühendishâne*, *Mülkiye*, *Dârülfünûn*, *Askerî Tîbbiyye*) and was also professor of exegesis at the recently founded Preachers' Seminary (*medreset ul-wā'izîn*). On 5 December 1912 (25 *Dhu'l-Hidjja* 1330), still a senator, he died at his waterfront resi-



dence in Anadoluhisâr and was buried in the cemetery next to the Fatih Mosque.

In addition to Turkish, he knew Arabic, Persian and Bulgarian. His writings include a translation of, and commentary on, *al-Kašida al-nūniyya* on the Islamic creed by Khidr Beg [q.v.]; *Beyināt-i Ahmedîyye* (Istanbul 1329/1911), an annotated translation of *al-Risāla al-Hamidiyya fî ḥaḳīkat al-dīyāna al-islāmiyya wa-ḥaḳḳiyyat al-risāla al-Muhammadiyya* by Husayn b. Muḥammad al-Djāsir or al-Djāsir al-Tarābulusī (d. 1327/1909, the teacher of Rashīd Riḍā [q.v.], cf. Brockelmann, S II, 776, S III, 321); and *Hakk ve ḥaḳīkat*, a critique of Reinhart Dozy's *Essai sur l'histoire de l'Islamisme* (traduit du hollandais par Victor Chauvin, Leiden and Paris 1879; originally published as *Het Islamisme*, Haarlem 1863), translated by 'Abdullāh Djewdet. For his other works, see *Bibl.*; he also contributed numerous articles to journals and newspapers.

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İSMÂ'İL PAŞA BAĖHDÂDLİ, İSMÂ'İL B. MUHAMMAD AMİN B. MİR SALİM AL-BÂBÂNİ AL-BAĖHDÂDLİ, in modern Turkish orthography, Bağdath İsmail Paşa (1839-1920), Ottoman army officer and author of two important bio-bibliographical reference works.

He was born in BaĖhdād, in a family originating from Bābān, near Sulaymāniyya in 'Irāk, hence his other *nisba* (variant: Bābān-zāde). In 1908, after the Young Turk Revolution, he became a general (*nūr luvā*) in the gendarmerie (*djandarma dā'iresi*). On his death in 1920 he was buried in Bakırköy near Istanbul. The most extensive notice on his life and work is by Hulûsi Kılıç, in *Türkiye diyanet vakti islām ansiklopedisi*, iv (1991), 447-8 (with portrait and a specimen of handwriting, and with further references, mostly to Turkish sources). A short mention is given by Khayr al-Dīn al-Ziriklî, *al-A'lām*, 'Beirut 1979, 326.

The two works whereby İsmâ'il al-BaĖhdādî is still remembered today are:

1. *Idāh al-maknūn fî 'l-dhayl 'alā Kaşif al-zunūn 'an asāmī al-kutub wa 'l-funūn*. This work, written mostly in Arabic, was posthumously edited by Muḥammad Sharaf al-Dīn Yaltkāyā (Şerefettin Yaltkaya) and Rif'at Bilka al-Kiliş (Kilisli Rifat Bilge) and published in two volumes (Istanbul 1945-7, with a portrait in vol. i, several times reprinted) on the basis of the author's copy, which is now kept in the library of the Head Office of the Yapı ve Kredi Bankası in Istanbul. It is written in Arabic and is in fact an annotated list of titles of works, put in alphabetical order, just like its great example, the *Kaşif al-zunūn*, by the author's famous predecessor Muṣṭafā b. 'Abd Allāh Ḥādjidjī Khalifa, Kātib Čelebî (d. 1067/1657 [q.v.]). The author's description of the books contain the title, the name and life span of the author, or the year of composition, reference to a printed version (if any), and occasionally the opening words of the text as well. If that latter feature is available, it shows that the author must have had a copy of the text at hand.

If a text is a commentary (*şarḥ*), reference is made to its *matn*. There are numerous references to Persian and Turkish works as well, and the *Idāh al-maknūn* is useful in this respect as well. Its main use is for Arabic bibliography, however, which includes the extensive Arabic literature produced by non-Arabs. His work is in more than one respect a supplement to the *Kaşif al-zunūn*. It not only bridges the time gap of two-and-a-half centuries between the previous work and the supplement, but it also adds to the bibliographical material which was not known or available to Ḥādjidjī Khalifa. Although the bibliographical entries are not very extensive, the sheer size of the work, with its more than 10,000 titles, makes it an indispensable, and as yet unsurpassed, bibliographical tool for the literature of the late classical and early modern period. Its inclusion of Persian and Turkish works is witness to the scope of the literary interests of the Ottoman élite.

2. *Hadiyyat al-'arīfîn. Asmā' al-mu'allifîn wa-âṭṭār al-musanṣifîn*. This is the monumental biographical counterpart to the previous work. It is a list of approximately 9,000 authors of in all some 50,000 works (vol. i, which ranges from *alif* to *lām*, mentions 5,398 authors and ca. 25,000 works). It was edited by Kilisli Rifat Bilge and İbnülemin Mahmud Kemal İnal (vol. i, Istanbul 1951) and İbnülemin Mahmud Kemal İnal and Avni Aktuç (vol. ii, Istanbul 1955). It has been reprinted several times in BaĖhdād and Tehran. Nail Bayraktar has published a register of the *şuhras* mentioned in the *Hadiyyat al-'arīfîn* (*Hadiyyetü 'l-'arīfîn, esmāü 'l-muallifîn ve âsârü 'l-musanṣifîn şöhrlet indeksi*, Istanbul 1990). The work is arranged by *ism* of the author, followed by the patronyms and other name elements, with personal details, notably the year of demise, and it then provides the reader with the titles of the books composed by these authors.

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(J.J. WITKAM)

İSMET İNÖNÜ (Ottoman form, 'İşmet), b. 1884, died 1973, Turkish military commander and statesman, who served on three occasions as Prime Minister in the Turkish Republic (October 1923-November 1924; March 1925-November 1937; and November 1961-February 1965) and once as President (1938-50). He played an important part in the Turkish War of Independence (1919-12), made significant contributions to the institutional framework of the new Turkish Republican state, initiated multi-party politics in 1945, acted as champion of the procedural rules of democracy as well as of secularism, and had a critical role in the relatively speedy return to civilian politics following the military interventions of 1960-1 and 1971-3.

The son of a lawyer in İzmir, 'İşmet made a career in the Ottoman army, and during the First World War served on the staff of Ahmed 'İzzet Paşa in Yemen, commanded the Fourth Army in Syria in 1916, and at the time of the armistice of 30 November 1918 was Under-Secretary for War in Istanbul. 'İşmet Paşa, as he had become, was in 1920 elected to the last Ottoman Parliament as member for Edirne, but soon afterwards joined the cause of Muṣṭafā Kemāl (the later Atatürk [q.v.]) in resisting the Allied occupation of Anatolia, and when the Greeks invaded western Anatolia, he became chief of the General Staff of the Nationalist army and repelled the invaders at the two battles of İnönü to the west of Eskişehir (January and April 1921), from which engagements he later took his European-type surname.

When the Grand National Assembly met in Ankara

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in 1922, İsmet became Foreign Minister, and represented Turkey at the Lausanne peace conference, strongly opposing Britain and France and gaining most of what Mustafa Kemal wanted in the final Treaty of Lausanne of 24 July 1923. When the Turkish Republic was proclaimed on 29 October 1923, İsmet became Atatürk's Prime Minister, remaining in power thus for nearly fourteen years. On Atatürk's death on 10 November 1938, he became President and permanent chairman of the ruling Republican People's Party [see CÜMHURİYET KHALK FIRKASI].

During this period, when westernising reforms were being imposed from above on Turkish society, and when in the 1920s there were rebellions in southeastern Turkey by traditionalist elements, İnönü adopted a rather authoritarian position, but then, in the 1939-45 period, he became much more flexible. He had a large measure of self-confidence in himself and in the future for Turkey. He believed that, together with Atatürk, a threatened resurgence of conservative Islam could be dealt with, when in 1930 many elements of the population seemed to sympathise with the Free Republican Party (*Serbest Cumhuriyet Fırkası* [see HIZB. ii] of Ali Fethi Okyar [q.v.]), mistakenly perceiving that party as a religiously-oriented one. Similarly, during the 1939-45 years he oversaw the eventual transition to a multi-party political system. Under his skillful leadership, Turkey remained neutral in the Second World War, but the country became strained internally and there were pressures from the victorious Western powers for a more democratic political régime. İnönü was now led towards the formation of a multi-party system, and in the reaction against the RPP's authoritarian rule, the Democrat Party [see DEMOKRAT PARTİ], triumphed in the 1950 elections, entailing İnönü's replacement as President by Celal Bayar. He now became for a decade the leader of the opposition and defender of democracy in the increasingly authoritarian climate of Adnan Menderes' [q.v.] premiership in the late 1950s. After the military intervention of 1960, he formed three coalition governments between 1961 and 1965. However, the RPP suffered heavy defeats in the 1965 and 1969 elections, and İnönü was criticised by Kemalist and socialist elements within his party for the compromises he had made with his coalition partners and with conservative elements; but when he declared the ideology of the RPP as "left of centre", this led in 1967 to the secession of centrist elements in his party to form the Reliance Party (*Güven Partisi*). In 1972 he was replaced as RPP leader by the leader of its leftist faction, Bülent Ecevit, and he died in the following year.

İnönü was a pragmatist, always open to new experiences and ready to learn. He came to conceive of democracy as an exchange of views among the patriotic and knowledgeable sections of the population in order to discover the best public policies, and he thought that these last should be based on valued ideas and not on particularist interests. In this respect, he was an elitist. For him, the state as an entity representing the general interest had priority over a democracy perceived as responsiveness to the preferences of the people at large. Yet this elitism was tempered by a genuine belief in the common sense of the people and a belief in their potential for self-improvement. He did not identify harmony with unanimity, and regarded politics as ideally an adversarial process, since this produced exchanges of ideas and evolved good policies. He remains, therefore, a somewhat enigmatic figure.

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(METİN HEPER)

İSTANBUL.

VIII. MONUMENTS

The first and most important of the Ottoman monuments of İstanbul is Saint Sophia. The only church to be transformed into a mosque immediately after the conquest of the city (others followed later, mostly in the reign of Bayezid II), it remained symbolically the model of imperial religious architecture. From the reign of Selim II onwards, it became a place of burial reserved exclusively for the Ottoman royal family and was restored on numerous occasions between 1572-3 and 1847-9.

Ottoman building activity dates from 1458, when Mehmed II built the mosque of Eyyüb and decided to construct his own imperial complex (Fâtih) at the square of the Holy Apostles, and the Topkapı Palace on the site of the ancient acropolis of Byzantium. This plan, added to other decisions taken in the course of the same reign—building of the *bezistân* (1456), of the first palace on the site of the Theodosian forum (1453-5), of the barracks of the Janissaries (Eski odalar), of the saddlers' market (Sarrâdj Khâne, 1475), the markets of the major and the minor Karamân (after 1467)—led to the formation of a monumental axis which, while initially retracing the route of the Byzantine Mesus (Dîwân Yolu) from Saint Sophia to the Old Palace, from this point follows a northerly direction, across the complex of Fâtih and extending as far as the Adrianople Gate (Edirne Kapısı).

This activity also corresponded with the choice of architects of non-Muslim origin, apparently in contrast to what is known of the builders of the first

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period of Ottoman architecture, that of Bursa and of Edirne. This practice could also be linked with the policy of recruiting from among all the peoples of the Empire and even beyond, implemented broadly by Mehmed II in almost all sectors of public life, but also with the search for new stylistic and technical solutions. This appears to have been the case in choice of Sinān the Elder ('Atîk), a freedman of Byzantine origin, supposed to have built the Fâtîh mosque on the model of Saint Sophia. This was also the time of the introduction into Ottoman architecture of the demi-cupola, as is mentioned in a passage from Tursun Beg (*Ta'rikh-i Abu 'l-Fath*, fol. 58), who applauds the outstripping of Saint Sophia, and another from the Anonymous Giese (99), who de-nounces the latter as sacrilege, inviting comparison with the imperial Byzantine model.

Parallel with the founding of these imperial edifices, Mehmed II encouraged his entourage to follow his example. This injunction was implemented to varying degrees: individuals such as Mahmūd Pasha or Khāṣṣ Murād Pasha, of Byzantine origin and graduates of the Palace school, built some important mosques, their architecture, paradoxically, mirroring that of the first Ottoman mosques of Bursa; others like Gedik Ahmed Pasha [see AHMAD PASHA GEDIK] or Ishāk Pasha, contented themselves with constructing secondary buildings in the capital and established their major projects in the towns of Anatolia.

The accession of Bāyezīd II in 1481 marks a halt in monumental construction in Istanbul.

The sovereign initially built mosques and large religious complexes at Tokat, at Amasya and at Edirne, while other leading figures of the regime confined themselves to converting the churches of the capital into mosques. Seventeen of them are known to have been adapted for Muslim worship, as opposed to four during the reign of Mehmed II. The only monumental project completed during the last twenty years of the 15th century was the mosque built by Dāwūd Pasha (1485). It conforms to the model inaugurated by Bāyezīd II in the provinces, with a single cupola resting on a cube. With a diameter in excess of 18 m, this remains the largest cupola of all the vizieral mosques of the capital.

Deciding, at the opening of the 16th century (in 1500-4), to build a religious complex in the capital, Bāyezīd II borrowed the system of roofing of Saint Sophia, with two demi-cupolas flanking the central cupola, but also followed the model of the mosques of Bursa in adding *tāb-khāne* (lodgings for dervishes) on both sides of the prayer hall. The complex was built on land reclaimed in its entirety from the Old Palace and situated at the strategic point where the Dīwān Yolu joins the Great Bazaar and Usun Çarshī, the Makros Embolos of the Byzantines, linking the central axis of the city to the port. As is the case with the Fâtîh mosque, this axis traverses the complex passing between the mosque and the *medrese*, thus accentuating its role as a triumphal thoroughfare. Other dignitaries of the period were to follow this example: thus 'Atîk 'Alî Pasha built a complex on both sides of the Dīwān Yolu (1506) on the site of the forum of Constantine, around the Burnt Column (Djemberli Tash).

The great earthquake of 1509, followed by the unrest in the latter part of Bāyezīd's reign, resulted in another interruption in the monumental construction of the capital. Similarly, Selīm I (1512-20) and his administration, too occupied in waging war, left no architectural vestiges, and it was Süleymān I who,

on his accession in 1520, built a mosque in memory of his father. It was situated in a place chosen more for the view that it offers of the Golden Horn, overlooking the Greek quarter of Fener, than for its centrality, but the effect of monumental edifices on the panorama of the city, for purposes of seeing and being seen, seems henceforward to have been a decisive factor; it was to find its most absolute expression with the Süleymāniyye. The mosque known as that of Sultan Selim (1522) is also the last imperial edifice to reprise the model of a single cupola resting on a cube; it is inspired directly by that of Bāyezīd II at Edirne.

This monument to filial piety apart, the first two decades of the reign of Süleymān I (1520-66) were niggardly in monumental constructions of religious character. On the contrary, the sovereign and his entourage were competing in the construction of palaces. Süleymān renovated the Topkapı Palace and built a palace on the hippodrome for his Grand Vizier İbrāhīm Pasha [q.v.]. Monumental building activity was resumed with the appointment of Sinān to the post of chief architect in 1538 and was to continue without intermission during the half-century of his activity [see SINĀN].

The sovereign gave the signal for the start of this activity in 1539, ordering the construction of a complex for his wife Khürrem Sultāne [see KHURREM], built on the site known as 'Awret Bāzārī (women's market), in the vicinity of the column of Arcadius. It consists of a mosque, progressively complemented by an *'imāret* and a hospital (*dār-ül-şifā*). It is probable that Süleymān subsequently decided, on his return from the Hungarian campaign in 1541, to begin a monumental assemblage situated on the triumphal axis, on the site of the Janissaries' barracks (Eski odalar) which he intended to appropriate. On the death of the prince Mehmed, in 1543, this mosque was dedicated to him, and the complex probably remained incomplete since it was situated exclusively on the northern part of the axis, the barracks situated to the south being retained. In this mosque, his first monumental project, Sinān took to the very limit the process in which Ottoman architecture had been engaged since 1453, proposing a system of roofing in perfect symmetry, with four demi-cupolas. But after the peace treaty concluded in 1547 with the Emperor Charles V, Süleymān decided to commission a new imperial complex, returning to the model of Saint Sophia and also attempting to attain its dimensions. This was to be the Süleymāniyye (1550-7), overlooking the Golden Horn and likewise built on land reclaimed from the Old Palace, competing with its rival for prominence in the vista of Istanbul. Similarly, the totality of religious and social institutions which surrounded it stole primacy from the Fâtîh complex, since henceforward the *medrese* of the Süleymāniyye constituted the highest level of religious education in the Ottoman empire.

Members of the Ottoman royal family and their entourage shared in this construction frenzy. Mihr-i Māh Sultāne [q.v.], daughter of Süleymān and Khürrem, had her first complex, consisting of a mosque, a *medrese* and a caravanserai, built at the quay of Üsküdar, on the Asiatic bank, the place where the Bosphorus was crossed (1548). Twenty years later Sinān completed, again on behalf of Mihr-i Māh, a mosque with a courtyard *medrese* at Edirne kapı, at the point where the triumphal axis joins the land wall. In experimenting with the cupola on pendentives, which frees interior space entirely, Sinān here definitively



outstripped the model of Saint Sophia, achieving the absolute unity and disengagement of interior space, more in accordance with the Muslim tradition.

The Grand Vizier Rüstem Pasha (in office 1544-53, 1555-61 [q.v.]), husband of Mihr-i Mäh, chose for his buildings the most densely populated areas of the city and found himself obliged, no doubt for this reason, to disperse them. He built a *khān* (ca. 1550) at *Ghalaṭa* [q.v., in Suppl.] on the site of the former Genoese cathedral dedicated to Saint Michael, a *medrese* with octagonal courtyard enclosed within a square, situated below the mosque of Maḥmūd Pasha (1550) and a mosque facing the *ḥammām* of Taḥt al-ka'a, completed after his death in 1562. This mosque, built on the site of that of 'Atṭār *Khalīl*, the most ancient attested in the city (1457), had interior surfaces entirely covered with magnificent ceramics from Iznik, used here on a massive scale for the first time. Sinān Pasha, brother of Rüstem, Grand Admiral of the Ottoman fleet (1550-4), built in his turn a mosque with a courtyard *medrese* at *Beshiktāsh*, embarkation-point of the fleet.

Kara Ahmed Pasha, Grand Vizier 1553-5, drew up shortly before his execution in the latter year a *wakfiyye* in which he gave instructions for the construction of a mosque with the sums bequeathed. His steward, Ferrukh Ketkhudā, undertook the search for a site and acquired a piece of land close to the land walls inside the gate of Topkapı, where in 1560 Sinān completed a mosque with a courtyard *medrese*.

While the successors of Süleymān, Selīm II (1566-74 [q.v.]) and Murād III (1574-95 [q.v.]) built their mosques respectively at Edirne and at Maghnisa, Istanbul continued to be endowed with monumental constructions under the long vizierate of Şokollu Mehmed Pasha (1565-79 [q.v.]), benefiting from the energy of Sinān's workforce. Şokollu's first project in the capital was a funeral monument, built in 1568-9 at Eyyüb. This consisted of a mausoleum accompanied by a *medrese*, a combination which became standard from the end of the century onward, contributing to the transformation of the suburb of Eyyüb into a necropolis for the military and religious dignitaries of the empire. Şokollu subsequently built below the hippodrome, near the docks used by galleys (*Qadırgha*), a complex situated in proximity to his palace. This consisted of a mosque with courtyard *medrese*, completed in 1572, to which a *zāwiya* was added. Another mosque was built by the same Grand Vizier in 1577-8, outside the walls of *Ghalaṭa*, beside the Arsenal, to commemorate his service at the head of the Admiralty (1546-50). Piyale Pasha [q.v.], High Admiral 1554-68, commissioned from Sinān a mosque situated behind the arsenal, in an area populated by sailors and workers in the naval dockyards. For this building, completed in 1572, where solemn prayers were to be offered before the departure of the fleet, Sinān reverted to the hypostyle model with six cupolas, combined with open-air spaces for prayer capable of accommodating entire ships crews. It was without doubt the same problem of capacity which induced the architect to adopt for the mosque of the High Admiral Kılıdji 'Alī Pasha (1571-87 [see 'ULÜDİ 'ALİ]), built in 1581 at Topkhāne, a revival of the model of Saint Sophia with lateral galleries.

In the mid-1570s, Nūr Bānū Sultāne [q.v.], mother of Murād III, undertook the construction of an important complex above Üsküdar [q.v.], a transit depot for caravans arriving from Anatolia. A caravanserai and a *zāwiya* enclosed a mosque and courtyard, with a *medrese* lower down. The whole was completed in 1583.

In the meantime, Sinān also constructed a little architectural jewel for Şhemsī Pasha, on the banks of the Bosphorus at Üsküdar (1581), as well as a mosque accompanied by two *medreses* on different levels for Zāl Maḥmūd Pasha at Eyyüb (1580-81). Finally, among the last works of this architect, completed by his successor Dāwūd Agha, attention should be drawn to the mosque of Mesīh Mehmed Pasha [q.v.] (1586) at Kara Gümrük and that of Nishāndji Mehmed Pasha (1588) on the main axis between Fātiḥ and Edirne Kapi.

To complete the monumental landscape of Istanbul and its environs, also worth mentioning is the system of water supply completed between 1554 and 1563, comprising four monumental aqueducts upstream of the Golden Horn, as well as the bridge of Büyük Çekmece on the Edirne road.

The death of Sinān, in 1588, also coincided with the beginning of the exhaustion of the financial resources of the empire, embroiled in a protracted war against Persia and, before long, against Austria. Prestige constructions were to become more modest and their functions modified. A surfeit of mosques was to be succeeded by complexes composed of a mausoleum and a *medrese*, the latter accommodating a large number of rural immigrants drawn by the functions of religious education and the judiciary—virtually the only professions open to persons of Muslim birth.

In 1593-4 Djerrāh Mehmed Pasha built the last vizieral mosque to be completed before the 18th century. The density of the city seems not to have permitted monumental constructions without costly expropriations. Thus in order to build her own mosque, on her acquisition of the title of queen-mother with the accession of her son Meḥmed III in 1595, Şafiyye Sultāne [q.v.] made inroads on the Jewish quarters of the city's port. Hampered by the death of the architect Dāwūd Agha in 1598, by technical problems arising from the digging of foundations at a site close to the water, and by the death of Meḥmed III in 1603, relegating Şafiyye Sultāne to the Old Palace, construction remained incomplete and was only to be resumed sixty years later by Khadīdji Turkhān Sultāne, the mother of Meḥmed IV, being completed in 1663 (Wālide *Djāmi'*).

The new sultan, Ahmed I (1603-17 [q.v.]), was the first since Süleymān to undertake the construction of an imperial complex. The latter, situated above the hippodrome, necessitated a massive expropriation of the vizieral residences which were situated there. The manner in which the buildings of the complex are dispersed is testimony to the difficulties of expropriation. The complex of the Blue Mosque, the name given to the mosque of Ahmed I on account of its extensive decoration in ceramics of this colour, marks the end of the first period of monumental edifices of Istanbul.

Ghaḍanfer Agha, senior eunuch of the palace, introduced into the capital the combination of a *medrese*, a mausoleum and a fountain. The latter, built in 1590-1 at the foot of the aqueduct of Valens (Bozdoghān keneri) rapidly started a trend. These more modest combinations were more easily integrated into the dense urban fabric and contributed to the vitality of the principal axes of the city. Thus the combinations of this type built by Sinān Pasha (1592-3), Kuyudju Murād Pasha (1610), Köprülü Mehmed Pasha (1660-1 [see KÖPRÜLÜ]), Merzifonlu Kara Mustafa Pasha (1681-90 [see KARA MUŞTAFĀ PASHA]), Amdja-zāde Hüseyin Pasha (1700-1) and Dāmād Ibrāhīm Pasha (1719-20 [q.v.]) were situated on the triumphal axis of the city, while that of Ekmekdjī-zadē Ahmed Pasha



(before 1618) was located on the street joining this axis to Wefā and beyond to the Golden Horn. A more complete complex, also containing a *zāwiya*, was that of Bayram Paşa (1634-5) situated in the vicinity of the complex of Khürrem Sultāne.

These combinations were virtually the sole markers of the 17th century, when new imperial constructions—with the exception of the completion of the Wālide mosque and the small mosque built by Kösem Sultāne on the heights of Üsküdar—were non-existent. The return of the sultans to Istanbul after a period of residence at Edirne, with the accession of Ahmed III in 1703, marked the start of a new phase of architectural activity, responding to new needs and new styles. The needs resulted from the development of the city, where density of population led to increasingly frequent fires and epidemics. These induced the prosperous classes to take refuge in the periphery, such as the Eyyüb, the northern shore and the Bosphorus, where new residences were to be constructed, soon to be followed by new mosques. At the same time, the need to protect collections of precious manuscripts from fire required the construction of libraries as independent buildings, while the shortage of water resulting from overpopulation led to new projects of water provision, including monumental fountains. These secular buildings, less hampered by the weight of tradition, also gave opportunities for new stylistic experiments, often described as Ottoman baroque art, first coming to prominence in the “Tulip Period” (1718-30) [see LĀLE DEVRI].

The fountains and the *sebil* (places for the distribution of water, see SABİL) regularly accompanied combinations of a *medrese* and a mausoleum, but it was to them that the first stylistic innovations were applied. These were already perceptible in the *sebil* of Amdjāzade Hüseyin Paşa, at the turn of the 18th century and were developed in that of Dāmād Ibrāhīm Paşa twenty years later. In another arrangement, where *sebil* and fountain became the principal elements in a small complex also containing a mausoleum, as well as a school no longer in existence, built at Dolma Baghçe by Hādjīr Mehmed Emīn Agha (1741), the baroque elements attained their fullest expression. The *sebil* or fountain was also to be found in association with a primary school (*şihyān mektebi*) situated on the upper level (fountain school of Re’is ül-Kuttāb İsmā’īl Efendi at Karaköy [1742] and *sebil* school of Redjā’ī Mehmed Efendi at Wefā [1775]), but this combination, frequently encountered in Ottoman Cairo, remained exceptional in Istanbul.

The monumental fountain standing alone in a covered space was first seen at the very end of the Tulip Period, the first five known examples being virtually contemporaneous. Dāmād Ibrāhīm Paşa, responsible for the drawing of water from Üsküdar, built the first of these four-faced monumental fountains beside the harbour of this suburb in 1728-9. The same year, Ahmed III built the monumental fountain before the main entrance of the Topkapı Palace. His successor, Mahmūd I (1730-54) undertook the conveyance of water from the northern shore of the Golden Horn (waters of Taḳsīm) and three other monumental fountains were built in 1732-3 on this network: that of Topḳhāne by the sovereign himself, that of ‘Azap Kapı (in front of the Arsenal) by the queen-mother Şālīha Sultāne and that of Ka’ba Taṣh by the Grand Vizier Hekīm-oghlu ‘Alī Paşa [see ‘ALĪ PAŞA HAKİM-OGHLU].

The first independent library was built by Köprülü Fāḍil Ahmed Paşa as an extension of the familial complex on the Diwān Yolu (before 1676), and Şehid

‘Alī Paşa also built a free-standing library behind the mosque of Şhāh-zāde in 1715. This type of building nevertheless acquired a monumental nature—while retaining modest dimensions—with the library built in 1719-20 by Ahmed III in the third courtyard of the Topkapı Palace. New architectural experiments were evident in that of ‘Atif Efendi at Wefā (1741) and were to be most fully expressed in the library of the Nūr-u ‘Oṭhmāniyye complex (1755). Among later buildings, those of Rāghīb Paşa (1762) at Lāleli and of Dāmād-zāde Mehmed Murād Efendi—known as Murād Mollā—(1775) at Çarshamba are worth mentioning.

A new type of building linked with projects for the provision of water consisted of dams, reservoirs placed in the Belgrade forest to the north-west of the city, a happy combination of utility and ornament. The oldest, a straight wall supported by four buttresses, is known by the name of the Dark Dam (Karanlık Bend); dating from 1620 it was located on the network set up by Sinān. The Topluzu Bend, built in 1750 on the network of Taḳsīm, introduced cut-off corners, more resistant to the pressure of water. By way of the Aywad Bendi (1765) and the Wālide Bend (1797), progress was made towards the vaulted dam, realised in 1839 with the dam of Mahmūd II.

The 18th century also marked a renewal in the construction of religious buildings, but the first phase was slow and hesitant. The mosque built by Ahmed III for his mother Emetüllāh Gülnüş Sultāne at Üsküdar (1708-10)—a place apparently reserved for the wives of the imperial family—revived the models of the 16th century, albeit with some adjustments to the lines of the *sebil* typical of the Tulip Period. Similarly, it was again the *sebil*, as well as the school placed above the entry-gate, rather than the mosque, which represented innovation in the monumental complex built by Hekīm-oghlu ‘Alī Paşa in 1734-5. This makes even more surprising the full-scale renewal of architectural motifs in the Nūr-u ‘Oṭhmāniyye complex, begun in 1748 by Mahmūd I and completed in 1755 under ‘Oṭhmān III. Even though the daring solutions, such as the horseshoe-shaped courtyard, were not to be repeated in subsequent centuries, the Nūr-u ‘Oṭhmāniyye marked a new phase in imperial building activity which was not to be discredited for as long as the empire lasted.

Muṣṭafā III (1757-74) built no fewer than three imperial mosques: that of Ayazma at Üsküdar, named after his mother, in 1758-61, that of Lāleli in 1760-3, and that of Fātiḥ, rebuilt in 1766-71 after the earthquake of 1765. His successor, ‘Abd ül-Ḥamīd I (1774-89) dedicated to the memory of his mother Rabī’a Sultāne the mosque of Beylerbey on the Asiatic shore of the Bosphorus, and to the memory of his wife Hümeşhāh Kadın that of Emirgān on the European shore. He also built near the port his own funeral monument, consisting of a *medrese*, an *imāret*, a *sebil* and a mausoleum. In this complex, constructed in stages between 1775 and 1789, what is observed is the transition from baroque in the *sebil* to Ottoman neo-classicism in the mausoleum.

The reign of Selīm III (1789-1807 [q.v.]) marked the zenith of a flamboyant baroque which was expressed essentially through funeral monuments: the complex composed of an *imāret*, a *sebil* and a mausoleum of the queen-mother Mihr-i Şhāh Sultāne, built at Eyyüb in 1792-5, and the mausoleum was accompanied by a school and a *sebil* of the sovereign’s sister Şhāh Sultāne, also at Eyyüb (1800). The tendency continued beyond the reign with the mausoleum and *sebil* of Nakshidil Sultāne built by Mahmūd



II in memory of his mother in the cemetery of Fâtûh in 1818. Finally, baroque and rococo decoration, abundantly present in those parts of the Topkapı Palace dating from the second half of the 18th century, also infiltrated the *zâwiya*, but it was only in the mosque-*zâwiya* of Küçük Efendi, completed in 1825, that the oval form of the plan supplemented the decorative effects. Selim III also built in 1802-5 a mosque in the proximity of the barracks designed to accommodate the new army which was to replace that of the Janissaries. Built in the centre of a chequer-shaped plot, it perpetuated the model of the Nûr-u 'Othmâniyye while developing in the form of an annexe the imperial pavilion which seems henceforward to have corresponded to new formal functions, the sovereign receiving dignitaries here after the Friday prayer.

During the reign of Mahmûd II (1808-39), baroque was maintained but attempts were made to adopt a more imperial style. This was manifested particularly in imperial edifices: a pavilion of ceremonies (Alâ-y köşkü) in the angle of the wall of the Topkapı Palace (1810), a school of Dîjewri Kalfa on the Dîwân Yolu (1819) and, above all, the sovereign's mausoleum on the same axis (1839). However, in the second half of his reign the ascendancy of the Balyan family imprinted on monumental Ottoman architecture a style that, despite its boundless eclecticism, remained deeply original in its capacity for syntheses and infinitely varied interpretations of the historical forms of Ottoman architecture.

The first work that can be attributed with confidence to the Balyans is the Nuşratiyye mosque, situated in the quarter of Topkhâne, to the north of the Golden Horn, whither architectural activity was progressively transferred. Thus the mosque of Khırkayî Sherif, built in 1851 to accommodate the mantle of the Prophet, and that of Pertew Niyâl Sultâne, built in 1869-72 at the crossroads of Ak Sarây, could be considered the last *intra-muros* religious monuments of the city.

The activity of the Balyans was manifested essentially through the imperial palaces built on the shores of the Bosphorus: Dolma Baghçe (1846-55), Küçük Su (1856), Beylerbey (1863-65), and Cîrâghân (1864-72), as well as the pavilion of İhlamur (1855) in the valley of the same name. The mosques erected during this period beside the Bosphorus (Dolma Baghçe, 1855, Ortaköy, 1853), or in the vicinity (Medîdiyye, 1848), belonged to same aesthetic movement, with interiors reminiscent of ballrooms. The first buildings of the palace of Yıldız on the heights of the Bosphorus and the mosque built close by (1877) are the last manifestations of this architecture.

New functions resulting from the reforms of the *Tanzîmât* (1839 onwards [q.v.]) entailed new architectural forms most often undertaken by foreign or Levantine architects. The Swiss brothers Gaspard and Giuseppe Fossati, sent from St. Petersburg to build the new Russian embassy, also worked for the Ottoman administration; Alexandre Vallaur, son of a French émigré, constructed a number of public buildings, from the Archeological Museum, in neo-classical style (1891-1907), to the office of the Ottoman National Debt (1897) and that of the Ottoman Bank (1890-2). Finally, the Italian Raimondo d'Aronco was invited by 'Abd ül-Hamîd II to become the quasi-official architect of the reign, constructing the last buildings of the palace of Yıldız, and introducing the Viennese Secessionist style to the Ottoman capital with the astonishing mausoleum of Şeykh Zâfir at Beshiktâş. The Young Turk revolution of 1908 put an end to the activity of these architects, and a national style was imposed.

The latter is manifested in modern buildings such as the main Post Office or the office building built for the benefit of *wakfs* (the fourth Wâkîf Khân) as much as it is in mosques seeking classical inspiration from the 16th century (mosque of Bebek, 1913).

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ISTILHÂK (اِ), the verbal noun of Form X of the verb *lahika* "to reach, catch up with," having the meaning of "to try to reach, attach, adopt, affiliate s.o. to s.th." (see *WbKAS*, letter lām, 330). In early Islamic history, it was especially used for the attempt in 44/665 of the Umayyad caliph Mu'awiya I [q.v.] to attach the very able official Ziyād b. Abihi [q.v.] to his own, ruling clan of Umayya. Ziyād was of dubious parentage, his mother Sumayya being apparently a slave, and Mu'awiya aimed at linking Ziyād to his own family as the putative son of his own father, Abū Sufyān [q.v.]. For details of this *istilhāk* process, see ZİYÂD B. ABİHI, with full references.

(Ed.)

ITHM (اِثْم), a term of Islamic theology meaning "sin", used in *Qur'ān*, II, 216/219, V, 32/29, XLIX, 12, amongst various other terms denoting sin and sinfulness in varying degrees, such as *dhamb*, pl. *dhunūb*, used in *Qur'ān*, III, 129/135 and *passim*. For a discussion of the concept of sin and its consequences, see *KHATĪA*.

İTİŞÂM AL-DÎN B. ŞEH. TÂDJ AL-DÎN, ŞHAYKH, a resident of Tâdjpur, in the Nadiya district of Bengal, who went to England on a diplomatic mission in 1180/1769 and wrote an account of his journey in his *Shigarf-nāma-yi wilāyat* or *Wilāyat-nāma*. İtîşâm al-Dîn began his official career as a *munshî* in the service of Mîr Dja'far [see *DJA'FAR*, MÎR]. During the time of Mîr Kâsım [q.v.] he joined the service of Major Yorke. In 1177/1763 he fought on the British side against Mîr Kâsım. He served General Carnac (1765-6) for a short period and later entered the service of the Mughal Shāh 'Ālam. In 1180/1769 he went to England with Captain Archibald Swinton bringing a letter (copy available in the Library of Royal Asiatic Society, no. 134; W. Morley, 128) from Shāh 'Ālam to George III. Munîr al-Dawla, who, according to Sarkar (*Full of the Mughal empire*, ii, 402), was a devoted partisan of the British at Shāh 'Ālam's court, insisted on paying İtîşâm al-Dîn 2,000 rupees towards his expenses. In this letter, Shāh 'Ālam sought British help in conducting him to Dihlî and placing him on the Mughal throne. İtîşâm al-Dîn returned from England in 1189/1775. In 1189/1775 he helped the East India Company's negotiations with the Marāthās [q.v.].

The *Shigarf-nāma* is one of the earliest accounts of a journey to England written by an Indian. In about 86 chapters he gave his impressions about the various aspects of English society—religious life, clubs, the judicial system, public schools, sports, etc. He also visited Oxford University and the Bodleian Library. He describes London and its principal buildings, as also agricultural methods and farming. Some autobiographical references are also given. It appears that his relations with Swinton did not remain cordial to the last ('Alîgarh ms. fols. 100-5).

For mss. of the *Shigarf-nāma*, see Storey, i, 1143; also 'Alîgarh, Habîb gandj Collection 35.7. An abridged Hindūstānī version of it was made by Munshî Shamshîr Khān and was published by J.E. Alexander with an English translation, London 1827.

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(K.A. NIZAMI)

İYÂS B. KABİŞA AL-TĀ'Ī, a pre-Islamic individual who played a certain role in the relations between Arabs and Persians, but whose biography is not absolutely clear. According to Ibn al-Kalbî-Caskel (*Gamharat an-nasab*, Tab. 252, and ii, 361), his genealogy appears to be as follows: İyās b. Kabîşa b. Abî 'Ufr/'Afrā b. al-Nu'mān b. Hayya b. Sa'na b. al-Hārith b. al-Huwayrith b. Rab'ā b. Mālik b. Safr b. Hīn' b. 'Amr b. al-Ghawth b. Tayyī' (thus his *nisba* is to be amended in the article *DHĪ KĀR*).

This Arab chieftain succeeded in gaining the favour of Khusrāw Aparwîz (Kisrā Abarwîz), who apparently entrusted to him some months before the accession of al-Nu'mān III b. al-Mundhir [q.v.], the administration of al-Hīra (al-Tabarī, i, 1017). It is difficult to establish exactly in which period the king granted him as a life possession 30 villages on the banks of the Euphrates and appointed him administrator of the region of 'Ayn Tamr, since the traditions are inconsistent. It is possible that Khusrāw rewarded him in this way for services rendered when he was attacked and forced to flee by the usurper Vahrām Čūbīn (Bahrām [q.v.] Dūbīn). Al-Nu'mān III [q.v.], the king of al-Hīra at this time, did not come to the aid of his suzerain, although a certain Tā'ī had given him

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his horse to enable him to escape at a time when he was in a perilous situation on the banks of the Nahrawān. According to some (e.g. al-Tabarī, i, 1029), the hero of this story is Iyās; for others (Levi della Vida, *Liures des Chevaux*, Leiden 1928, 32; al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, ii, 216-7 = § 636), it was his nephew, Hassān b. Hamzala al-Ta'ī, who gave the king his horse, al-Dubayl, and subsequently received as a land grant the *ṭassūdj* of Khutarmiyā. The chronicles mention a victory won by Iyās over the Byzantines near Saṭīdamā, but the most important event of his life was his appointment to succeed al-Nu'mān III after the Emperor of Persia had taken his revenge by putting the latter to death. Although the date of this appointment is hard to establish, it may be located between A.D. 602 and 604/5; Khusrāw Aparwīz appointed to serve at his court a Persian official whose title of Nakhwīrāghān appears in various forms in the Arabic sources (cf. A. Christensen, *Sassanides*², 452). According to the same sources, Iyās governed al-Hīra for nine years, and it was in the eighth year of his reign that the prophetic mission of Muḥammad began. He died probably in the year A.D. 611 or 612.

It was during the period when he governed al-Hīra that there took place the famous battle of Dhū Kār [q.v.], in which he participated as leader of the Arab warriors; the Arabo-Persian troops were defeated, but Iyās was spared drastic punishment and retained his responsibilities. He was, essentially, the last Arab "king" of al-Hīra since the town was subsequently placed in the hands of exclusively Persian officials until the Islamic conquest. Finally, the sources consider him a talented poet, but very few of his verses have been preserved (see, however, Abkāryūs, 46-9).

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(CH. PELLAT)

İZMİD, modern form İZMİR, a town of north-western Turkey, lying at the head of the Gulf of Izmit (Izmit Körfezi) in lat. 40° 47' N., long. 29° 55' E.

It is the classical Nicomedia, named after Nicomedes I of Bithynia, who in 264 B.C. founded it as his new capital. The Roman emperor Diocletian made it in the late 3rd century A.D. his capital in the east; it was there that he abdicated in 305 (see W. Ruge, art. *Nikomedeia*, in *PW*, xvii/1, cols. 468-92). The spelling Nikumidiyya appears in such Arabic geographers as Ibn Khurradādhbih and al-Idrīsī, and subsequently, forms like Iznukumid and Iznikmid are found in Islamic sources.

It was captured from the Byzantines by the Saldjūks when they swept through Asia Minor under Sulaymān b. Kutulmish (d. 479/1086 [q.v.]) towards the end of the 5th/11th century. Sulaymān made his capital at nearby Nicaea [see İZNIK], but shortly after his death Nicomedia was recaptured by Alexius I Comnenus, and apart from the brief period when the Latin emperors of Constantinople held the town (1204-7), it remained in Byzantine hands until captured after a long siege by the Ottomans under Orkhan. The dates for this vary in the Greek and Turkish sources, the former placing this in 1338; at all events, it must have been soon after the fall of Nicaea in 731/1331

(cf. Pitcher, *An historical geography of the Ottoman empire*, 38). In 1402 the Turkish town was sacked by a group of Timūr's troops. In Ottoman times Izmid, in the *sandjak* of Kocja-eli [q.v.], became especially important as a naval arsenal, reportedly founded by the Köprülü, and for building small merchant vessels using timber supplied by the extensive forests of the vicinity.

In the earliest register so far known, an *idmāl* dated 937/1530, the settlement is on record as one of the five towns (*nefs*) of the province. As it is mentioned first in the list, it must have been the residence of the local governor. The town contained 589 men of tax-paying age, 86 of whom were exempted from certain dues. Of the remainder, 351 were heads of households and 152 were bachelors. These figures indicate a settlement of about 2,000-2,500 inhabitants. In the *kaḏā*, there were two *medreses* and two children's schools, as well as two Friday mosques, in addition to five public baths (Ahmet Özkılınç *et alii* (eds.), *438 numaralı muhasebe-i vilâyet-i Anadolu defteri (937/1530), dizin ve tıpkıbasım*, Devlet Arşivleri Genel Müdürlüğü 1994, ii, 65-6).

In 962-3/1555, Hans Dernschwam saw a fortress on a hill with a new mosque, which supposedly had been built in place of a previous church. A sizeable part of the town also was located on this hill. At the time of Dernschwam's passage, the classical ruins were being quarried for stone. This was sawn locally into the sizes required by Istanbul builders, presumably for use in the construction of the Süleymāniyye, then in progress (*Tagebuch einer Reise nach Konstantinopel und Kleinasien (1553/55)*, ed. F. Babinger, Munich and Leipzig 1923, 153-4). The area's abundant water resources also served for the operation of mills grinding flour for the consumption of Istanbul, including the Janissary bakeries. Due to its functional link with the capital, Izmid formed an exception to the rule that towns were to feed themselves from the product of their own *kaḏās*. For the hinterland was heavily forested rather than agricultural, with high-quality pine trees suitable for ships' masts abundant. As late as the second half of the 11th/17th century, the French ambassador was permitted to export a certain number for the use of the French navy (R. Mantran, *Istanbul dans la seconde moitié du XVII^e siècle. Essai d'histoire institutionnelle, économique et sociale*, Paris and Istanbul 1962, 445).

The only surviving register enumerating individual taxpayers (*mufaṣṣal*) and covering Izmid dates from 1034/1624-5. At this time, the town consisted of 29 fully-fledged town quarters or, in some cases, recent accretions to older urban wards. The total tax-paying population numbered 849; no data on bachelors being available, our estimate of total population cannot be very precise, but probably the number of inhabitants had about doubled since 937/1530. One of the quarters was named for the local Friday mosque. Since another urban ward was called Djum'a, it is likely that the town possessed two structures suitable for Friday prayers; possibly one of these was the Süleymān Paṣha mosque which, according to a rescript dated 1171/1758, was recorded in the official registers of the time but has not been located in the surviving *tahrirs* (Ahmet Kal'a *et alii* (eds.), *Istanbul ahkâm defterleri İstanbul vakıf tarihi*, Istanbul 1998, i, 238). Near the port there was a Christian quarter; this may well have grown in later years, as in 1165/1752 the town boasted a *metropolid*, albeit one who resided in Istanbul (*ibid.*, i, 338-9). During this same period, the town also possessed some Jewish residents (*ibid.*, i, 164). As



the non-Muslim quarter is described as lying “under the town”, we may assume that most of the Muslim wards lay on the hill, as they had done in Dershawm’s time (Ankara Tapu ve Kadastro Genel Müdürlüğü, Kuyudu Kadime, no. 49, fol. 12b).

Ewliyā Celebi visited Iznikmid about 1050/1640, describing the ruined fortress, which in his opinion had been destroyed by Sultan ‘Othmān to prevent its use by the Byzantine nobles with whom this ruler was at war. Among the notable buildings, Ewliyā mentioned a mosque built by Pertew Paşa on the seashore, a work of Mīm‘ār Sinān, along with a public bath and *kerwānsarāy* by the same vizier. A garden palace with an extensive park had been built for Murād IV. The town contained 23 quarters, three of which were inhabited by Christians while one was settled by Jews. There was no *bedestān*, normally the hall-mark of a major commercial centre, but the extensive depots located near the port seem to have served similar purposes. Timber merchants formed a significant part of the urban élite *Seyahatnamesi, Topkapı Sarayı Bağdat 304 yazmasının transkripsyonu dizini*, Istanbul 1999, 39-40).

In the 12th/18th century, woodworking crafts, such as the manufacture of combs and spoons, appear to have been of some significance. However, the Iznikmid craftsmen did not supply themselves with wood directly from the forest villages, but purchased it in Istanbul. Yet there must have been economic opportunities available in the town itself, as toward the end of the century, Izmīd supposedly held 30,000 people. A.D. Mordtmann Senr., who saw the town shortly after the end of the Crimean War, claims that it was inhabited by 2,000 Turkish, 1,000 Armenian and 200 Greek families, which means that he estimated a population size of about 15,000 (*Anatolien, Skizzen und Reisebriefe aus Kleinasien (1850-1859)*, ed. Babinger, Hanover 1925, 282-3). According to Mordtmann, a small salt pan, already mentioned by Ewliyā, was in operation, the local harbour was still of some importance and the arsenal was, at the time, building a warship for the Ottoman navy. Further development of the town was, however, impeded by the prevalence of malaria. In the closing years of the 19th century, Izmīd formed the centre of the *mütesarrıflık* of the same name (V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d’Asie*, Paris 1890-4, iv, 301-400). Urban growth had probably been promoted by the railroad linking Istanbul to Ankara, and the town’s population now amounted to about 25,000, living in 5,857 houses and purchasing their daily needs in 1,140 shops. Stone quarries and a sawmill were still active: two state-owned factories had been established, making fezzes and woollen cloth for uniforms; another such factory, producing fine silk fabrics and located in Hereke, administratively was situated in the *wilāyet* of Istanbul but geographically much closer to Izmīd. In the immediate vicinity, the townlet of Armach (Cuinet’s spelling) was inhabited by Armenians who in 1019-20/1611 had immigrated from Iran. Housing a seminary for Gregorian priests, this locality specialised in silk cultivation.

However, Izmit’s transformation into a major industrial centre has come under the Republic, and especially, after the Second World War, with the town benefiting from its easy access to Istanbul. Until 1970, a state-owned paper mill opened in 1936 produced practically all the paper used in Turkey (art. *Kocaeli*, in *Türk ansiklopedisi*, Istanbul 1982-3, vii, 5037). Since the 1960s, car tyres, petrochemicals and liquid petrol gas (the major fuel for cooking in Turkey) have been developed there, and since there is now an autoroute

along the northern shore of the Gulf of Izmit, the area between Izmit and Istanbul is becoming the major coherent industrial area of Turkey. Izmit itself is now a city of over 300,000 which attracts migrants; its factory workers, now organised, were major participants in the labour unrest of summer 1970. It suffered badly from the 1999 earthquake, when amongst many others, buildings of the recently-established provincial university were destroyed. Yet despite this industrialisation, away from the coastline, some of the area’s agricultural potential remains, including the cherries of Yarımcı, known to Ewliyā Celebi, and also tobacco, sunflowers and sugar beet.

Bibliography: In addition to references in the article, see J.B. Mordtmann’s *El*¹ art. s.v.; Cuinet, *op. cit.*, iv, 357 ff.; Naval Intelligence Division, Admiralty Handbooks, *Turkey*, London 1942-3, ii, 555 and index. (SURAIYA FAROQHI)

IZMİR, the Turkish form of the ancient Greek name SMYRNA, one of the great mercantile cities of the Eastern Mediterranean. It lies in western Anatolia at the head of the Gulf of Izmir, and the pre-modern city lay mainly on the small delta plain of the Kızılçullu (ancient Melas) river.

Izmir has a history going back five millennia, archaeological excavations having revealed the earliest level of occupation as contemporary with the first city of Troy at the beginning of the Bronze Age (ca. 3,000 B.C.). Greek settlement is indicated from ca. 1,000 B.C., and Herodotus says that the city was founded by Aeolians but then seized by Ionians. It became a fine city, possibly re-founded by Alexander the Great in 334 B.C. Under the Romans it was the centre of a civil diocese of the province of Asia, and was one of the early seats of Christianity. In Byzantine times it continued as a metropolitan see and was the capital of the naval theme of Samos.

With the invasions of Turkmens across Anatolia towards the end of the 11th century, the Turkish chief Çağa/Tzachas established himself at Smyrna in 1081 and from there raided the Aegean islands. But after the Turks were driven out of Nicaea in 1097 [see IZMİD, in Suppl.], Smyrna reverted to Byzantine rule in 1098. It was over two centuries before it passed under Turkish control again, when it was conquered by the Aydınoğulları [see AYDINOĞULLU] (716-17/1317: Kādife Kal‘e; 729-30/1329: Aṣḥaghī Kal‘e) (Tuncer Baykara, *Izmir şehri ve tarihi*, Bornova-Izmir 1974, 28; for slightly variant dates, see Irène Mélikoff-Sayar, *Le destān d’Umur Pacha*, Paris 1954, 40). On his visit in ca. 731/1331, Ibn Baṭṭūṭa found a largely ruinous place, whose upper fortress was held by the Aydınoğulları and which possessed at least one *zāwiye* (*Rihla*, ii, 310-12, tr. Gibb, ii, 445-7). The city was captured by the Knights of Rhodes on 28 October 1344, although the Aydınoğulları and later the Ottomans held on to the citadel or upper fortress. The Knights were finally expelled by Tīmūr in 804-5/1402, when he took the lower fortress, and the Aydınoğulları briefly reinstated.

However, in 817/1414-15, Izmir became an Ottoman possession, after the last Aydınoğlu to rule, Džüneyd, known as Izmīr-oghlu, had been defeated by Sultan Meḥmed I (Himmet Akın, *Aydınoğulları tarihi hakkında bir araştırma*, Ankara 1968, 80; for a later date of the final Ottoman conquest, namely 828-9/1425, see D. Goffman, *Izmir. From village to colonial port city*, in Ethem Eldem, Goffman and B. Masters, *The Ottoman city between East and West*, Cambridge 1999, 86). As the new governor, an Islamised son of the former Bulghar Tsar Shishman, was appointed, but



the first extant *tahrir* describing the town only dates from 935/1528-9 (physical damage to earlier registers accounts for this absence: Başbakanlık Arşivi, Istanbul, Tapu Tahrir no. 148).

In the 9th-10th/15th-16th centuries, Izmir was a small settlement; in 937/1530, 304 adult males, both tax-paying and tax-exempt, were on record; 42 of these were Christians (İsmet Binark *et alii* (eds.), 166 *numaralı muhasebe-i vilâyet-i Anadolu (937/1530)*, Ankara 1995, 392). There were no more than five urban wards, one of them situated in the immediate vicinity of the port, rather active in spite of the town's small size. By 983/1575-6, Izmir had grown to house 492 taxpayers in eight urban wards; in addition, a group of former Izmirliis had settled in the nearby village of Boynuzekisi, but continued to pay their taxes with the town's population (Tapu ve Kadastro Genel Müdürlüğü, Ankara, Kuyudu Kadime no. 167, fols. 3b ff.). One of the port's major functions was the supply of Istanbul with grain, raisins, cotton and other agricultural products (Zeki Arıkan, *A Mediterranean port. Izmir in the 15th and 16th centuries*, in *Three ages of Izmir, palimpsest of cultures*, ed. Enis Batur, tr. Virginia T. Saçoğlu, Istanbul 1993, 59-70).

But Izmir's remarkable growth really begins in the later 10th/16th century, when the cotton, cotton yarn and other products of the region began to attract French, English, Dutch and Venetian traders. Izmir thus took over the role of mediaeval Ayatholugh (Ephesus, Altıluğu), which was losing its commercial significance due to the silting up of its port (D. Goffman, *Izmir and the Levantine world, 1550-1650* (Seattle and London 1990). At first illegal, the exportation of cotton was legalised in 1033/1623 (Suraiya Faroqhi, *Towns and townsmen of Ottoman Anatolia*, Cambridge 1984, 136-7). In the 11th/17th century Izmir and the surrounding region were settled by numerous migrants from other provinces, including Jews from Salonika who fled the mounting exactions and diminishing rewards of the Macedonian woollen industry (Goffman, *op. cit.*, 97-102). Toward the century's end, J.-B. Tavernier estimated the population at about 90,000 (*Les six voyages en Turquie & en Perse*, ed. St. Yérasimos, Paris 1981, i, 138; for a general overview of the descriptions of Izmir by 17th-century Europeans, see Sonia Anderson, *An English consul in Turkey*, Oxford 1989, 1-18). Turks formed the vast majority (about 60,000), while there were also 15,000 Greeks, 8,000 Armenians and 6,000 to 7,000 Jews. A major earthquake destroyed the city in 1099/1688, with the heaviest damage in the seaside quarter, but it was soon rebuilt (N.N. Ambraseys and C.F. Finkel, *The seismicity of Turkey and adjacent areas: a historical review 1500-1800*, Istanbul 1995, 90-1). To a large extent, the exportation of Persian raw silk to Europe passed through Izmir; thus this port had entered into a successful competition with the much older mart of Aleppo (Necmi Ülker, *The emergence of Izmir as a Mediterranean commercial center for French and English interests, 1698-1740*, in *Internat. Jnal. of Turkish Studies*, 1 [1987], 1-37). However the regular passage of caravans through a plague-infested mountain area on the Ottoman-Persian border meant that the city was exposed to contagion not only through ships' crews and cargoes, but also on account of overland trade (D. Panzac, *La peste à Smyrne*, in *Annales E.S.C.* [1973], 1071-93).

In the early 18th century, Persian silk was less frequently seen in Izmir, as wars accompanying the decay of the Şafawids impeded cultivation; moreover, English traders gained access to alternative sources in Bengal and China. While English merchants, specialised in

the commercialisation of silk, largely gave up trading in the Levant, French merchants, in particular, continued their activities. At the beginning of the 17th century, Izmir and Iskenderun constituted the major exporting centres as far as the Marseilles trade was concerned, while at the century's end, Iskenderun had fallen far behind, and Izmir uncontestedly handled the vast majority of French exports (Elena Frangakis-Syrett, *The commerce of Smyrna in the eighteenth century (1700-1820)*, Athens 1992, 257-9). In certain years, over 45% of all Ottoman goods shipped to Marseilles passed through Izmir. Exports included mohair yarn from Ankara, silk, cotton, both spun and raw, and wool. Among imports, the only manufactured item were Languedoc woollen fabrics, produced exclusively for the Ottoman market (Cl. Marquié, *L'industrie textile carcassonnaise au XVIII^e siècle . . .*, Carcassonne 1993). In addition, Izmir imported coffee from the Caribbean, sugar and indigo.

Of the numerous public buildings of Ottoman Izmir, very little survives. Ewliyâ Çelebi, who visited the town in 1081-2/1671 and admired the relief of a female face at the entrance to the seaside fortress, praises the Büyüklüoğlu Dîjami'i, later destroyed in the earthquake of 1099/1688, and also mentions the Fâ'ik Paşa Dîjami'i, one of the oldest mosques in town (*Seyâhatnâmesi*, Istanbul 1935, ix, 88-100). His descriptions in part reflect the data collected by the officials who, in 1068/1657-8, put together a *tahrir* under the orders of a certain İsmâ'il Paşa (for further information on this document, see Faroqhi, *Towns*, 276). At different times in Izmir's history, 25 *medreses* were active (Münir Aktepe, *Ottoman medreses in Izmir*, in *Three ages of Izmir*, 85-99). Ewliyâ also mentioned the multitude of *khâns* (Aktepe, *Izmir hanları ve çarşıları hakkında ön bilgi*, in *Tarih Dergisi*, xxv [1971], 105-54; W. Müller-Wiener, *Der Bazar von Izmir*, in *Mitteilungen der Fränkischen Geographischen Gesellschaft*, xxvii-xxviii, [1980-1], 420-54). In the late 18th and early 19th centuries, certain Izmir buildings were decorated with elaborate reliefs, featuring slightly stylised views of local mosques and other buildings. The popularity of this decoration may indicate the donors' pride in the prosperity of their city (Ayda Arel, *Image architecturale et image urbaine dans une série de bas-reliefs ottomans de la région égéenne*, in *Turcica*, xviii [1986], 83-118).

An active trade resulted in the residence of foreign consuls, the English historian Paul Rycout officiating as Charles II's representative between 1077-8/1667 and 1089/1678 (Anderson, *An English consul, passim*). By contrast, the Ottoman central administration was merely represented by the *kādî* and the tax farmers collecting customs and other dues. Unlike in many other Ottoman commercial centres, foreign traders were not obliged to reside in the *khâns* but could inhabit houses by the seashore, many of them with landing stages of their own. Houses for rent, known as *frenk khâne*, were built by Ottoman notables as an investment and sometimes passed on to pious foundations. Thus the seaside quarter became known as the "street of the Franks". The latter also were permitted their own churches, the French worshipping at St. Polycarpe, whose parish registers survive from the 18th century onwards (Marie Carmen Smyrnelis, *Colonies européennes et communautés ethnico-confessionnelles à Smyrne: coexistence et réseaux de sociabilité*, in *Vivre dans l'Empire ottoman*, ed. F. Georgeon and P. Dumont, Paris 1997, 173, 194). Entertainments might take on a semi-public character, with plays performed in the French consulate even in the 11th/17th century, while a hundred years later, the Jewish community also staged



plays (Eftal Sevinçli, *Theater in İzmir*, in *Three ages of İzmir*, 370). Officially speaking, neither French nor English merchants were expected to bring their wives, much less marry local Christian women, for this would have made them subjects of the Sultan; sojourn in the Ottoman Empire was expected to be a temporary affair. In practice, certain French and English families lived in the city for generations, and marriages of Frenchmen to Roman Catholics of Greek or Armenian background were common enough.

Ewliya Çelebi vaunted the enormous revenues which the *kādî* of İzmir enjoyed in his own time, partly due to regular emoluments and partly due to the presents which he could expect (ix, 89). But in the 18th century, the major Ottoman presence in the area was not the *kādî*s but a family of tax farmers and dues collectors acting for absentee governors and known as the *Kara 'Othmānoghulları*. The economic power of these personages derived from the fact that they marketed the cotton and other agricultural produce they collected from local peasants to foreign exporters (G. Veinstein, "Ayân" de la région d'Izmir et le commerce du Levant (deuxième moitié du XVIII^e siècle), in *ROMM*, xx [1975], 131-46; for a contrary position, emphasising the role of the family as actual landholders, see Yuzo Nagata, *Tarihte ayânlar, Karaosmanoğulları üzerinde bir inceleme*, Ankara 1997, 89-142). Political power and status allowed the *Kara 'Othmānoghulları* to drive hard bargains, so that peasants also entrusted them with the goods they wished to sell on their own behalf. Socio-political status also was documented by the numerous pious foundations this family established in the region, for which the two *khan*s constructed in İzmir by different *Kara 'Othmānoghulları* were meant to produce revenue (İnci Kuyulu, *Kara Osman-oglu ailesine ait mimari eserler*, Ankara 1992, with extensive bibl.).

In the 19th century, İzmir continued to function as a city specialising in foreign trade. However with the Ottoman Empire's increasing integration into a transcontinental economy dominated by Europe, the character of this trade changed, while its volume continuously expanded. Grain, sesame, figs, raisins (at the end of the century by far the single most valuable crop), the tanning agents sumach and valonia, and opium, all arrived in the depots of İzmir's "gentlemen traders", many but not all of them non-Muslims. Ottoman merchants operated as middlemen, dependent on exporting European merchants (Halit Ziya Uşaklıgil, citing a passage from *Kırk yıl*, 5 vols., İstanbul 1936, cited in English tr. in C. Issawi, *The economic history of Turkey 1800-1914*, Chicago and London, 1980, 72-3; V. Cuinet, *La Turquie d'Asie*, Paris 1892-4, iii, 362 ff.).

İzmir's role as a centre of export trade encouraged investment in the construction of railroads; thus one of the first Anatolian railways linked İzmir to Turgutlu, then known as Kasaba, and another line connected Aydın and İzmir. However, the orientation of these railways according to the needs of import and export merchants limited their overall economic usefulness (Orhan Kurmuş, *İmperyalizmin Türkiye'ye gelişi*, İstanbul 1974). Between 1867 and 1875, the port of İzmir was modernised, with quays and a breakwater constructed (Mübahat Kütükoğlu, *İzmir rıhtımının inşaatı ve işletme imtiyazı*, in *Tarih Dergisi*, xxxii [1979], 495-558). A few industrial enterprises served the preparation of agricultural goods for export. While most of the olive, sesame and other vegetable oils were still pressed in old-style mills, there were a few ventures, undertaken by members of the Ottoman minorities but also by the occasional Englishman, to found modern-style fac-

tories (Abdullah Martal, *Değişim sürecinde İzmir'de sanayileşme, 19. yüzyıl*, İzmir 1999, 144-5). In the import sector, textiles assumed a greater importance after about 1840. At that time, the output of English cotton factories began to flood the İzmir market, unimpeded by any protective duty since the Anglo-Ottoman commercial treaty fixed custom dues at a low level and prohibited monopolies (Martal, *Sanayileşme*, 123-5). This did not, however, prevent the emergence of a flourishing textile industry specialising in home furnishings (Cuinet, iii, 429).

Moreover, rising standards of living among the European middle classes, as well as the stylistic preferences of the Victorian age, led to an increased demand for carpets. What had previously been a luxury trade expanded to cater for mass markets which around 1900, came to include the more affluent sectors of the working class. While these carpets were manufactured in small towns of the Aegean region, notably Uşak [see 'UŞAK], they became known as Smyrna rugs in Europe, not only because they came out through the city's port but also because the merchants organising this venture, British traders occupying a prominent position, were frequently based in İzmir (D. Quataert, *Machine breaking and the changing carpet industry of western Anatolia 1860-1908*, repr. in *Workers, peasants and economic change in the Ottoman Empire 1730-1914*, İstanbul 1993, 117-36).

Trade and an active public administration had by the end of the 19th century stimulated urban growth, the population of İzmir proper reaching the 200,000 mark. About 89,000 were Muslim Turks and 59,000 Orthodox Greeks, while over 36,000 inhabitants carried foreign passports (Cuinet, iii, 440; for further statistical information, largely culled from the *sālnāmes*, see the anonymous art. *İzmir*, in *Yurt ansiklopedisi, Türkiye il il, dünü, bugünü, yarını*, 4271-87). Steamboat lines and a tram assured intra-urban communication and, in 1905, electricity was introduced. The city became an educational centre, with nine state schools on the secondary level. For the Greeks, there was the "Evangelical School" famed for its high level of instruction, in addition to numerous foreign, especially French educational establishments.

İzmir was not directly affected during World War I, although many young men were drafted into the army or into labour battalions. But in 1919, with the Ottoman Empire defeated and İstanbul occupied by the Allies, the Greek government, with the backing of the British Prime Minister Lloyd George, landed troops in İzmir and occupied the city until 1922, when the invaders were driven out by the Nationalist army under the command of Mustafa Kemal [Atatürk]. Both the Greek occupation and the later withdrawal of the Greek forces were accompanied by large-scale flight from İzmir, which in September 1922 was moreover destroyed by a major conflagration (M.L. Smith, *Ionian vision, Greece in Asia Minor 1919-1922*, rev. ed. London 1998). The exchange of populations decided upon in the Treaty of Lausanne (1923) involved the exodus of the remaining Greek population, whose places were taken by Turks who had been forced to vacate Greek territory.

In the 1960s, İzmir began to add new functions to its traditional role as an export-import centre serving an agricultural hinterland. Small-scale industry developed, and in automotive transportation, numerous minute undercapitalised entrepreneurs were also active. As in all large Turkish cities, migration from rural areas led to the hasty construction of shantytown housing and the emergence of a large "informal



sector" (Mübeccel Kıray, *Örgütlemeyen kent, İzmir'de iş hayatının yapısı*, Ankara 1972). By 1980, İzmir had developed into a city of over half a million inhabitants, surrounded by highly urbanised suburbs. Apart from the beginnings of an investment goods industry, factories processing tobacco, olives and fruits continue to be a local specialty, and tourism also plays an important role in the urban economy. With two universities, the city also has become one of the educational centres of Turkey.

Bibliography: Given in the article. See also J.H. Mordtmann, *El'* art. s.v. (SURAIYA FAROQHI) 'İZZET HÖLÖ (AL-) 'ĀBID, Aḥmad b. Muḥyī 'l-Dīn Abu 'l-Hawl b. 'Umar b. 'Abd al-Qādir, popularly known as 'ARAB 'İZZET Pasha (1272-1343/1855-1924), late Ottoman statesman and close counselor of Sultan 'Abd al-Ḥamid II [q.v.].

Born in Damascus (hence his nickname "Arab") as the son of a wealthy local notable, Hölö Pashā, he was educated in his hometown and in Beirut and became proficient in Turkish and French. Counted among the reformers, he edited a weekly in Arabic and Turkish, named *Dimashk*. Moving to Istanbul, he eventually joined the ranks of the chamberlains (*kurenā*) of 'Abd al-Ḥamid and then became a Second Secretary (*ikindji kاتب*) of the *Mabeyn* [q.v.]. He gained great in-

fluence at court and was finally appointed Vizier. In May 1900 he was made head of the supervisory committee for the Hıdjāz Railway [q.v.]. From gifts of the Sultan and from kickbacks paid to him by foreign companies he acquired great wealth, and became the object of public outrage. The then famous satirist Shā'ir Eshref (1847-1912), in a lampoon against 'Abd al-Ḥamid, wrote:

*Besmele gūsh eyleyen şeytān gibi,
Korkuyursun "höt" dese bir edinebi.*

*Pādshāham öyle alçaksın ki sen
'İzzet-i nefsin 'Arab 'İzzet gibi!*

Like Satan, when he hears the *bismillāh*,
you panic, if a foreigner says "hum".

My Lord, you are so lowly that your soul's nobility is like unto 'Arab 'İzzet.

At the outbreak of the 1908 revolution he fled to London and thenceforward lived outside his own country, mainly in England, Switzerland and France. He died in Egypt, where he had gone for medical treatment, and was buried in Damascus.

Bibliography: İbrahim Alâettin Gövsa, *Türk meşhurları ansiklopedisi*, İstanbul n.d. [ca. 1940], 198; Zirikli, *A'lām*³, i, 163; H. Yücebaş, *Şair Eşref bütün şiirleri ve 80 yıllık hatıraları*, İstanbul 1978, 5.

(Ed.)

J

JAMIA MILLIA ISLAMIA (AL-DJĀMĪ'A AL-MILLIYYA AL-ISLĀMIYYA), a Muslim University, formerly in British India and now in the Indian Union.

In September 1920, the Indian National Congress adopted the non-cooperation resolution against the British government. The Jamia Millia Islamia (National Muslim University) was the "lusty child of the non-cooperation days", according to Jawaharlal Nehru, independent India's first Prime Minister 1947-64.

Mawlānā Mahmūd Hasan (1851-1920), the *ālīm* at the *Dār-al-'ulūm* in Deoband, performed the opening ceremony on 29 October 1920. The Jamia's principal architects were the Oxford-educated Mawlānā Muḥammad 'Alī (1878-1931), the pan-Islamic leader Dr. Mukhtār Aḥmad Anṣārī (1880-1936), an Edinburgh-trained medical doctor, and Ḥakīm Adjmal Khān (1863-1927), a leading practitioner of the *unani* system of education and one of Dihli's well-known citizens. Among its prominent vice-chancellors have been Dr. Zākir Ḥusayn (1879-1969) and Muḥammad Muḥjib (1902-85).

In its nascent stages, the Jamia's *raison d'être* was to keep Muslim education free from government aid and control and to evolve a philosophy of education that would be in keeping with national characteristics and in consonance with the Islamic spirit. The founders believed that communal peace and religious understanding were the fruits of true education. Consequently, they devised a curriculum to end religious discord between all faiths, to familiarise youth with their own cultural heritage without rejecting what was true and useful in the culture of others, and to evolve an organic thesis of traditional and modern education. The first *Amīr-i Djāmī'a* (Chancellor), Ḥakīm Adjmal Khān, expected students to know each other's

culture: "The firm foundation of a united Indian nationhood depends on this mutual understanding."

M.K. Gandhi, the main inspiration behind the founding of the Jamia, hoped that this institution would interpret Muslim culture in a manner consonant with truth and the requirements of a people diverse in culture. He hoped that it would produce good Muslims who would be men of refinement and character, living according to the highest moral standards and serving the people with devotion and sincerity.

In 1935, Halide Edib Hanum, the Turkish author [see KHĀLIDE EDİB], lectured at the Jamia. According to her, the institution's chief objective was to create a harmonious nationhood, and she observed that, in its aim, if not always in its procedure, it was nearer to the Gandhian movement than any other Muslim institution she had come across in India. In 1943, W.C. Smith, the historian of Islam, commented that the Jamia "has been constantly growing, ever refurbishing its methods, and branching out from time to time to meet new needs. . . . Its education has aimed at being, and has been, progressive, Indian, and Muslim."

The pursuit of such ideals ran into rough weather owing to paucity of funds, and yet dedicated teachers kept the Jamia going under adverse circumstances. They did not have money, and worked amidst and through poverty. They did not even have the shelter of houses, so they taught under the open sky. Yet they cheerfully faced the hard trials in an atmosphere of enthusiasm and optimism. Zākir Ḥusayn, vice-chancellor from 1926 to 1948, remembered those years of deprivation as "days of joy".

In the 1930s, the All-India Muslim League staked its political claims as the sole spokesman of the Muslim community. Muḥammad Muḥjib, the historian at Jamia,



told Muḥammad Iḳbāl (1876-1938 [q.v.]), the poet of Indian Islam, that his plea for a Muslim state in north-western India was opposed to their cherished ideal that Muslims live and work with non-Muslims in order to realise common ideals of citizenship. In March 1940, Muḥammad ‘Alī Dīnāh (1876-1948 [q.v.]) put forward the “two-nation” theory to legitimise his demand for a Muslim homeland. Unlike the university at Aligarh, which turned into an “arsenal of Muslim India”, the “two-nation” theory found no supporters in the Jamia *birādārī* (fraternity).

An institution with a nationalist record could not escape the fury of the angry mobs that rioted in independent India’s capital after the country’s Partition. The Jamia’s property was looted and destroyed. But it lived through this experience to provide the healing touch and was, in the opinion of Gandhi, “like an oasis in the Sahara”.

The university, in search of moral and political support after independence in August 1947, could have

turned into a quasi-religious or quasi-communal institution, but this did not happen, and the Jamia’s historic character has remained unchanged. “I look on this,” claimed Mudjīb, “as a secular school.”

In the mid-1920s, the total enrolment of the schools and colleges was about eighty, with 25 to 30 teachers. Today, the Jamia is a central university, administered by an act of Parliament. Over 5,600 students receive education and training in social, physical and natural sciences, humanities, education, law, engineering and mass communication. From a few thousand rupees in the 1930s, its maintenance budget, in 2000-1, is approximately 36.11 crores.

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(MUSHIRUL HASAN)

K

KĀBĀDŪ, MAḤMŪD B. MUḤAMMAD b. Muḥammad b. ‘Umar (1230-88/1815-71), poet, man of letters and religious figure, and one of the precursors of reform in Tunisia.

After having learnt the Qur’ān, Arabic language and the rudiments of *fiqh*, he left the *kuttāb* or Qur’ān school and plunged into individual readings of the mystics, and especially, the writings of Ibn al-‘Arabī [q.v.]. Under this influence, he spent his youthful life as a dervish. At the age of 18, his wanderings took him as far as Libya, where at Misrāṭa he met a famed Ṣūfī master, the *shaykh* Muḥammad Zāfir al-Madanī (d. 1854). In this *shaykh*’s company, he regained his desire for study. Three years later, he left him with the license, *ijāza* [q.v.], to transmit his teachings. On his return to Tunis, he attended the lectures of several *shaykhs* of the Zaytūna [q.v.], including Muḥammad Bayram al-Thālith, Aḥmad b. Ṭāhir al-Luṭayyif and Muḥammad b. Mulūka. At the same time, he taught the Zaytūna students abridgements of grammar, logic and rhetoric. One of his masters recommended him to the minister Sulaymān Kāhiya as a tutor for his sons. The minister’s death in 1838 led him into exile for a second time, and he went to Istanbul and remained there till 1842. According to Ibn Abī Diyāf, who met him at the time of a mission to the Sublime Porte and who led him to return to Tunis, he spent these years in study and teaching, as he had done at the Zaytūna. One of his biographers, Zayn al-‘Ābidīn al-Sanūsī, states that he followed courses in mathematics at the Military College in Istanbul.

Back in Tunis, Kābādū was appointed professor at the Military Polytechnic School of Bardo, the first Tunisian to teach thus in this institution, whose director and teachers had been till then exclusively Europeans. During the years spent there (1842-55), he played a decisive role in the education of an élite, which was to be a spearhead of the reforms achieved between 1840 and 1875. Amongst his students, who also became his friends and protectors, was the great statesman and reformer Kḥayr al-Dīn (d. 1889 [q.v.]),

author of the celebrated *Aḳwām al-masālik fī ma’rifat aḥwāl al-mamālik*, and the general Husayn (d. 1887), one of the authors of the *‘ahd al-amān* or Fundamental Pact, who functioned as, *inter alia*, minister of education and public works. His teaching at the Bardo School involved only Arabic language and literature, but he encouraged his best students to translate from French into Arabic manuals and scientific works that he thought necessary for the formation of an élite to guide the country along the path of reform and modernisation. He checked and corrected the Arabic versions of certain works and wrote prefaces for others.

As soon as he demitted his duties at the School, Kābādū was appointed to the Zaytūna, on the recommendation of the Ḥanafī *muftī* Bayram al-Rabī‘, as a teaching *shaykh* of the first class, retaining this position till the year of his death in 1871, combining it with the offices of *kādī* of the Bardo and then that of *Mālikī muftī* (from 1868 onwards). These positions enabled him to retain his influence and even to enlarge his audience. Whilst teaching rhetoric and logic, he stimulated the formation of circles at the Zaytūna in which he introduced subjects relevant for the various disciplines. At the Bardo School, he encouraged students who had a scientific and technical education to take an interest in the literature and history of Arab Muslim civilisation. At the Zaytūna, he led students seeking a traditional education towards the modern sciences and the study of other civilisations, thus contributing to the forming of a generation of Zaytūna graduates open to the spirit of reforms which brought a religious legitimisation to the movement for modernisation by the Bardo-trained élite he had himself taught. His most notable disciples at the Zaytūna were the *shaykh* Sālim Būḥādījīb (1828-1924) and Bayram al-Kḥāmīs (1839-89). The first of these was hailed by Muḥammad ‘Abduh [q.v.] as one of the minds most open to the reform he and al-Afghānī preached; he later became *Mālikī muftī* and then *shaykh al-islām*, a post previously reserved for

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Hanafīs, and president of the Consultative Council. The second held various offices with the reformist ministers before going into exile, after Khayr al-Dīn's fall, at Istanbul and then Cairo, where he instigated a reformist newspaper, *al-Flām*, and a reform movement.

If Muḥammad Kābādū is considered as a precursor of reform in Tunisia, this stems mainly from his role in the education of a political and religious élite to which he remained close and which put into action the reform of institutions in 19th-century Tunisia. At the Bardo School, as at the Zaytūna, he inculcated those reformist ideas which had begun to be known within the Muslim world at the end of the 18th century. This spirit, which Kābādū defended in his writings and in his official duties, rested on the will to reconcile the Arab-Islamic heritage with the ideas and knowledge that had brought about progress in Europe.

Not all of his work has come down to us, and what he wrote before 1842 is essentially lost. Even of his later works, at least a commentary on the poems of al-Mutanabbī is lost. His extant work is available in three editions: by M. al-Sanūsī (1877); by the Tunisian Publishing Society (1972); and by the University professor Amor Ben Salem, based on scholarly research, and published by the CERES at Tunis (1984). His oeuvre contains a section on poetry (= Ben Salem's first vol.), which is more important than the prose works (= the second vol., with various annexes). His poetry reflects the different stages of his career. His political ideas are especially to be found in his eulogies of the three Beys whom he knew between 1842 and 1871, and of the viziers and influential figures of the same period, as also in his poems hailing such events as the promulgation of the Fundamental Pact in 1846 and the Constitution of 1861, the publication of Khayr al-Dīn's book, etc. His closeness to the ruling powers explains the limits of his reformist policies, as seen in certain poems, like those where he hails the suspension of the reforms after the rebellion of 'Alī b. Ghidhāhum [see *IBN GHIDHĀHUM*, in Suppl.] in 1864. His religious feeling is reflected in his invocations, addresses to saints and poems composed to glorify the great Sūfī leaders, the Prophet and his descendants, to which his own shari'ian origins attached him. Filled with classical culture, he was interested in the various forms of the Arabic poetic tradition, and his style and the forms adopted by him show a respect for classical canons of literature. These characteristics surface also in his non-poetic works, within which rhymed prose is dominant. This part of his work includes his letters, the editorials of the first 25 numbers of the *Journal Officiel*, his articles within that journal, the preface of the Arabic translation of Jommier's book on war, an epilogue to the Official Press of Tunisia's edition of the *Muwaṭṭa'*, a panegyric addressed to Khayr al-Dīn's book and the prefaces to his poems.

Kābādū's life and work have attracted much attention from those who consider him as a precursor of reform in Tunisia; the most complete and the most rigorously scholarly edition of his work remains that of Ben Salem.

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(M.CH. FERJANI)

KABBĀNĪ, NIZĀR TAWFĪK (1923-98), the most widely read and, with over 18,000 lines of verse, the most prolific 20th-century Arabic poet, an important innovator of form and content.

Kabbānī became a diplomat in 1945 after finishing his law studies in his native Damascus, but he left the service in 1966 so as to devote himself to full-time writing in Beirut, where he started his own publishing house (Dār Manshūrāt Nizār Kabbānī) in 1967. He died in London, where, after a short spell in Geneva, he had spent his last years. He was laid to rest in Damascus.

Kabbānī's highly poetical and persuasive language is eminently accessible and has been described as a "third language", neither lexicographically classical nor educated vernacular. His departure from classical norms is, in the poet's own words, a deliberate attack on the haughty history of Arabic rhetoric. Still, many of his poems are in a traditional Khalīfian metre with monorhyme and a fixed line-length (but often printed in a modern lay-out). However, more than a fifth of his poems (196 out of a total of 863) are non-metrical. In between are many poems in the tradition of *shī'r ḥurr* (lit. "free poetry") with varied rhymes and variable line-length (brought about by the fact that the constituent metrical foot—or *tafīla*—is repeated a different number of times in different lines). An early example of this, already in his first *diwān* *Kālat liya 'l-samrā'* (1944), is the poem *Indjāf*.

Kabbānī's linguistic rebellion operates within a wider militant vision that defies a stagnant, underdeveloped and inhuman Arab society with its taboos on sexuality, religion and political power. This disposition is artistically expressed in hundreds of love poems, and some 140 overtly political poems. His "Notes on the book of the defeat" (*Hawāmish 'alā daftār al-naksa*), "the angriest poem in contemporary Arabic" (S. Jayyusi), which appeared in the aftermath of the June 1967 defeat, ushered in a new stage, as underlined in the poet's own words "Ah my country! You have transformed me/from a poet of love and yearning/to a poet writing with a knife." Through the unity of his poetic vision, however, love and politics in Kabbānī are not compartmentalised. Much of his love poetry can in fact be read as political, and the political poems resonate with his love poetry.

His detractors tend to read his love poetry as a narcissistic Don Juanesque catalogue of amorous exploits and accuse the poet of superficiality. His social and political criticism has been read as sadistic nest fouling, and his writings have been banned more than once. Yet his poetry is popular with the masses and is memorised by millions, to which the sung versions



of some twenty poems by singers such as Umm Kulthūm [q.v.], Fayrūz, 'Abd al-Halīm Hafiz (d. 1977), Mādjida al-Rūmī (b. 1957), Kāzim al-Sāhir, Nadjāt al-Saghira and others have also contributed.

His prose works include statements on poetry, and the autobiographical *Kiṣṣatī ma'a 'l-shi'r* (1973) and *Min awrāki 'l-maḡhūla: sirā dhātīya thāniya* (2000; not seen).

Kabbānī's contacts with Spain (with a professional stay at the Syrian embassy from 1963 till 1966) have contributed to a focus on Andalusian themes, and several poems have been translated into Spanish, notably three volumes by P. Martínez Montávez: *Poemas amorosos árabes*, Madrid 1965, 1988; *Poemas políticos*, Madrid 1975; *Tú, amor*, Madrid 1987. An Italian collection *Poesie*, tr. by G. Canova et al., was published in Rome 1976. Volumes in English are *Arabian love poems*, tr. by B. Frangieh and C.R. Brown, Colorado Springs 1992, with the original texts in the poet's own hand, and *On entering the sea: the erotic and other poetry of Nizār Qabbānī*, tr. by L. Jayyusi et al., New York 1996, with an introduction by Salma K. Jayyusi. Several translated poems are included in surveys of modern Arabic poetry.

Bibliography: 1. Works. The collected works (including poetry, prose and interviews) have been published in nine volumes, Beirut 1997. They lack a common name, and are entitled *al-d'māl al-shi'rīyya al-kāmila* (vols. i, ii, iv, v and ix); *al-d'māl al-siyāsiyya al-kāmila* (vols. iii and vi); and *al-d'māl al-nathriyya al-kāmila* (vols. vii and viii) [earlier editions in eight volumes]. Indexes of titles, first lines, metres and vocabulary are in Burhān Bukhārī, *Mudkhal ilā 'l-mawṣū'a al-shāmīya li-'l-shi'r Nizār Qabbānī*, [Kuwayt] Dār Su'ād al-Ṣabāḥ 1999.

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KABĪR, North Indian mystic and poet (d. ca. 1448). Although Kabīr is regarded as one of the most influential saint-poets of mediaeval Northern India, there is very little authentic information concerning his life. We can reliably state that he was born in Benares to a family of low-caste Muslim weavers called *ḡulāhās*, probably in the opening years of the 9th/15th century. Beyond this, various hagiographies of Kabīr, depending on the authors' sectarian affiliation, make competing claims that he was a Muslim Ṣūfī, a Hindu with liberal Vaiṣṇava leanings or a champion of Hindu-Muslim unity who rejected institutionalised forms of both Islam and Hinduism. Kabīr's fame is based on the numerous couplets (*dohās*) and songs (*padas*) attributed to him and called *Kabīrānīs*, or "words of Kabīr". Written in a caustic

colloquial style in a mediaeval Hindi dialect and sung in folk melodies, these compositions have been an integral part of oral religious literature in North India, being recited by Muslims and Hindus alike. Selections of Kabīr's verses have been incorporated into the *Ādī granth*, the scripture of the Sikh community, as well as the *Pāñcāvānī*, the hymnal of the Dādūpanthī sect. The Kabīr Panthīs, "the followers of the path of Kabīr", have a compilation of his poetry called the *Bijāk*. Since Kabīr's verses, like most mediaeval Indian devotional poetry, were initially transmitted orally and recorded in writing only later, there are serious doubts concerning the authenticity of much of the corpus attributed to him.

Kabīr, who was influenced by various religious currents including forms of Ṣūfism and tantric yoga expounded by the Nāth yogis, is regarded as the pioneer poet of the *sant* movement that swept across North India in the 15th century. The *sants*, or poet-saints, were participants in a grass-roots religious reformation that rejected the worship of multiple deities in favour of an esoteric form of religious practice whose goal was union with the one attributeless (*nirguṇa*) God. They also questioned the efficacy of religious rituals and validity of scriptural authority. Expressing themselves in vernacular poems, the *sants* conceived of the human-divine relationship in terms of *viraha*, or yearning, longing love. Union with the Divine could be attained by anyone, regardless of caste, through meditation on the divine name and with the guidance of a *guru*. In poems attributed to him, Kabīr is particularly harsh in his attacks on the representatives of institutionalised religion, the Hindu *brāhmin* and the Muslim *mullā* or *kāḍī*, whose bookish learning and rituals he considered entirely useless in the spiritual quest. After his death, some of Kabīr's disciples organised themselves into a sect, the Kabīr Panth. Notwithstanding Kabīr's anti-institutional and anti-ritualistic stance, at the sect's central monastery in Benares, both monks and lay people engage in a ritualised recitation of Kabīr's poems and make offerings to an image of their master.

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(ALI S. ASANI)

KABĪRA (A., pl. *kabā'ir*), a term of Islamic theology meaning "grave [sin]", occurring in *Qur'ān*, II, 42/39, 138/143 and *passim*. It was the stimulus for much discussion amongst theologians and sectaries like the *Khāridjites* [q.v.] on what constituted a grave sin and how committing one affected a man's salvation. For a discussion, see *KHATĪT'A*.

AL-ḲABĲ

History.

1. For the early Islamic period up to the Mongol and Tīmūrid periods, see Vol. III, 343-50.

2. The period 1500-1800.

Compared to previous and later epochs, these three centuries are among the least studied periods in the history of the Caucasus. The main reason for that lies not in the unavailability of sources but rather in their inaccessibility until the recent past. The Russian



archives, the most used ones, are far from having been fully scrutinised. In the Ottoman archives, only the surface has been scratched, chiefly due to the efforts of French scholars (A. Bennigsen, Ch. Lemerrier-Quelquejay, G. Veinstein *et al.*). The rich local collections, or rather those that have survived wars, deportations, confiscation and deliberate destruction, have only begun to be intensively collected, catalogued and studied in the 1980s, mainly by Dāghistānī scholars (A. Shikhsaidov, Kh. Omarov, G. Orazaev *et al.*). Their works, published mainly locally, are not easily obtainable, however. The result is that most of the information available on this period is from the viewpoint of the neighbouring Great Powers (above all, Russia) competing for mastery over the Caucasus.

Yet even the scant information at our disposal points to the importance of the internal processes that occurred during these three centuries. To start with, this seems to be the time when the Northern Caucasus was converted to Islam. In the 16th and 17th centuries, the Adighe peoples (known collectively as Čerkes [*q.v.*]) and the Kabartay [see KABARAS] of the north-western and central Caucasus respectively, were Islamised by the Crimean Tatars and the Ottomans. In the east, the Islamisation of Dāghistān, as well as of the Ġhumiks [see ĠUMUK] in the foothills to the north had been completed around the 16th century, to be followed by that of the Čečens [*q.v.*] (the Islamisation of the Čečens would be completed only in the first half of the 19th century). Contrary to the established view, Islam seems to have spread among the Ġhumiks from the "Golden Horde" rather than from Dāghistān; and it was they, not the Dāghistānīs, who started to Islamise the Čečens. This is hinted at by the fact that these two peoples adhere to the Hanafī *madhhab*, while the Dāghistānīs belong to the Shāfi'ī one.

This difference in *madhhab* notwithstanding, Dāghistān, a major centre of Islamic scholarship since the 5th/11th century, supplied religious leadership to the north-eastern Caucasus well into the 20th century. This meant *inter alia* that, in this area, the main literary language had remained Arabic, which facilitated ties with the major Shāfi'ī centre of Zabīd in the Yemen (I. Yu. Kračkovskij, *Dagestan i Iemen*, in *Izbrannije sočineniya*, Moscow and Leningrad 1960, vi, 574-84). Nevertheless, the daily life of the Muslims in Dāghistān, as all over the Northern Caucasus, continued to be regulated by the local 'āda (pronounced 'adāt) rather than by the Shari'a (pronounced shari'āt). On some occasions the local 'ādawāt were written down, usually in the local idiom (for an example in Russian tr., see Kh.-M.O. Khashaev (ed.), *Kodeks ummu-khanna avarskogo (spravedlivogo)*, Moscow 1948). A serious attempt to enforce the Shari'a and eradicate 'āda would be made only in the 19th century.

Another major process was that of forming a new social structure in parts of the north-eastern Caucasus. The Adighe and the Kabartay seem to have retained their stratified order, dividing society into nobles and commoners. The Čečens, on the other hand, seem to have forced out the nobility in the 16th century and established a society based on the equality of free men. Each community/clan was run by a council, *khel*, of its elders and pan-Čečen matters were discussed and decided in the *mehk khel* "the council of the land". In the eastern and northern parts of Dāghistān, all the principalities known from previous periods continued to exist, their rulers bearing different titles: the *Shamkhāl* of Targhī, the 'Usmī (pronounced 'usmī) of Kārakytāk, the *Ma'sūm* of Tabarsarān, the

Sultān of Ilişū and the *Khāns* of Ġhāzī Ġhumuk, Mekhtulī and Avaristān. The extent of their control, territory and influence depended on the personal qualities, power and charisma of each individual ruler. To this period belong, however, the first testimonies available to us concerning *djama'as* (pronounced *djama'āt*) in the inner and western parts of Dāghistān, independent of the principalities to the east and north (and thus dubbed by Russian sources "free communities", *vol'nie obshchestva*).

The *djama'a*, a community of several villages, usually confined within natural boundaries, was the basic political, social and economic unit in the country. It had most probably existed in previous times as well. Each *djama'a* was headed by an elected *kādī*, who chaired the council of the elders. The most vital matters, however, were decided by a general assembly of the *djama'a*. All men, whether noble, *uzdens* (free men) or *djanaks* (descendants of noble fathers and common mothers) were equal members of the *djama'a*. The principalities were, in fact, a confederation of *djama'as*, each deciding whether to accept a ruler's authority. The free *djama'as* did not recognise any outside authority over them, though on some occasions they formed permanent loose confederations. The most prominent of these was the confederation of 'Akūsha (known also as Darghī) which headed the alliance that defeated the troops of the Persian ruler Nādir Shāh Afshār [*q.v.*].

The external affairs of the Caucasus have attracted relatively much more interest from scholars. The Caucasus was part of the last major realignment of Great Powers in the Muslim World, sc. that of the first two decades of the 16th century. In fact it became the main battle ground between two of them, the Sunni Ottomans and Shī'ī Safawids. After three Ottoman (1534-6, 1548-9 and 1554-5) and one Safawid (1552) major campaigns, the peace of Amasya (1555) divided Trans-Caucasia between the two. Ottoman overlordship was recognised over the western part of Georgia (i.e. the kingdom of Imeret'ī and its "vassal" principalities of Guri, Svanet'ī and Abkhazia), while Safawid overlordship was recognised over its eastern parts (the kingdoms of K'artl'ī and Kakhet'ī), and present-day Armenia (Erivān and Nakhjdjivān), Ādhar-bāydjān (Shīrvān, annexed in 1536) and the southernmost corner of Dāghistān (Derbend, annexed in 1509). This line of division would remain in force throughout the period with two notable exceptions (1578-1602 and 1723-35), when the Ottomans took advantage on the first occasion of internal struggles within the Safawid house, and on the second occasion, of the disintegration of Safawid power temporarily to seize control over the entire Caucasus.

North of the main mountain range, the Sunni Muslims habitually recognised the Ottoman Sultan's authority. This, however, was far from constituting even a shadowy Ottoman rule. In the west and centre, the Ottomans exercised a very limited, indirect and ineffective control over the Čerkes and Kabartay, mainly via the Crimean Khāns. In the east, in the various polities of Dāghistān (remote, cut off and claimed by the Safawids and their successors), the Ottomans usually enjoyed nothing more substantial than sympathy. Nevertheless, their Sunni identity added to the obstinate resistance by some Dāghistānī polities to the *rawāfid*, i.e. the Shī'ī Persians. Several fragments on the margins of manuscripts testifying of such acts of resistance in different places and times were published by Shikhsaidov in 1991 (in Russian tr., in A.A. Isaev (ed.), *Rukopisnaya i pečatnaya kniga v Dagestane*,



Makhačkala 1991, 128-9). On many occasions the mountain dwellers managed to beat the invading armies, the most resounding defeat being that dealt in 1744 to Nādir Shāh's troops by the joint forces of the confederation of 'Akūsha and other *djama'as*. The futility of the attempts to conquer the mountains gave rise to a Persian proverb to the effect that "when Allāh wants to punish a Shāh, He inculcates into his head the idea of campaigning in Dāghistān."

The collapse of Nādir Shāh's empire after his assassination in 1747 was not followed by any Ottoman attempts to seize the area. This granted the kings of eastern Georgia half a century of freedom, and allowed for *de facto* independent khānates to be established in Derbend, Kubbāh, Bākū, Shekkī, Shīrvān, Gandja, Karābāgh, Erivān, Nakhḍjivān and Tālīsh. The resulting vacuum on their southern borders permitted different Dāghistānī communities and rulers to expand and raid the lowlands, mainly into eastern Georgia. The boldest raids were carried out by 'Umar (pronounced 'Umma), Khān of Avaristān (1774-1801). Once the Kādījārs started to bring together the lands of the Safawids, they turned towards the Caucasus. In 1795, after the local rulers had ignored a series of demands to acknowledge his suzerainty, Āghā Khān Muḥammad, the founder of the dynasty, led a campaign into Trans-Caucasia, which culminated in the sack of Tiflīs. However, the Kādījārs' attempts to reincorporate the Caucasus into their empire met a new obstacle in the shape of Imperial Russia.

Muscovite Russia had shown interest in the affairs of the Caucasus already in the second half of the 16th century. Having seized control over the entire Itil (Volga) basin by conquering the khānates of Kāzān and Astrakhān [q.v.] (1552 and 1556, respectively), Tsar Ivan IV ("the Terrible") tried immediately to expand south into the Caucasus. For that purpose he pursued three goals: (1) the settlement of Cossacks on the Terek river; (2) alliances with local chiefs in the area, the most important of which was his marriage in 1561 to the daughter of a Kabartay prince; and (3) an attempt to help his coreligionists, the kings of Georgia, who had appealed for help to the new Orthodox power in the north. The Ottomans, though unsuccessful in capturing Astrakhān (1569), were nevertheless strong enough to thwart the attempts by Ivan as well as by his two successors Feodor (in 1594) and Boris Godunov (in 1604).

Weakened by the "time of troubles" of the early 17th century, Russia was deterred for more than a century and a half by the might of both the Ottomans and the Safawids from any initiatives in that direction. Nevertheless, additional Cossacks settled on the Terek and were incorporated by Peter I ("the Great") into a continuous line of defence facing the eastern Caucasus. It was he also who ventured a campaign to the south. In 1722, following the Afghān invasion of Persia he marched with an army and navy along the western and southern shores of the Caspian as far as Astarābād. Yet he did not dare to challenge the Ottomans by advancing inland beyond the littoral, and the campaign achieved nothing tangible. Only Catherine II ("the Great") successfully resumed Russia's advance southwards with a double-pronged policy.

In the Northern Caucasus, the erection of the fortress of Mozdok (1763) was the immediate cause of the 1768-74 war with the Ottomans and of a fourteen-year long struggle with the Kabartay. Following the peace of Küçük Kaynarča [q.v.], Cossacks were settled opposite the western Caucasus and a con-

tinuous line of defence established, to be known in the 19th century as "the Caucasian Line". These events were the trigger for the ten-year long resistance (1785-94) led by Maṣṣūr Ushurma [q.v.], a Čečen who assumed the title *al-Imām al-Manṣūr*, and called on all the Muslims of the Caucasus to return to the *Shar'ā* and to unite against Russian encroachment. In this he provided a foretaste of the events of the 19th century.

At the same time, Catherine re-established Russian ties with the king of K'artl'o-Kakhet'i (i.e. Georgia; see AL-KURDJ) and during the war of 1768-74, a Russian force crossed for the first time the Caucasus range and then operated against the Ottomans in Georgia. In 1783 the treaty of Georgievsk made K'artl'o-Kakhet'i a Russian protectorate. A Russian force was stationed in Tiflīs and a paved road, "the Georgian military highway", was cut across the mountain range. However, the Russian force was soon withdrawn (1784), which left K'artl'o-Kakhet'i exposed to the Kādījārs while the king, confident in Russian protection, provoked the 1795 sack of Tiflīs by his refusal to accept Āghā Khān Muḥammad's overlordship. The Emperor Paul, Catherine's son and successor, was averse from involvement in the affairs of the Caucasus. Yet in 1799 he found himself obliged to protect K'artl'o-Kakhet'i against the threats of Fath 'Alī Shāh, Āghā Khān Muḥammad's successor. Finally, on his deathbed, Giorgi XII, the last king of K'artl'o-Kakhet'i, asked the Russian Emperor to take his kingdom under the Tsar's protection. On 30 December 1800 N.S., Paul issued a manifesto incorporating K'artl'i and Kakhet'i into the Russian Empire.

Alexander I, Paul's son and successor, confirmed his father's decision on 24 September 1801 N.S. Unlike Paul, Alexander used the annexation of K'artl'i and Kakhet'i as the first step in Russia's expansion into and beyond the Caucasus. Thus began the sixty-five years' long struggle to conquer the Caucasus, known in Russian historiography as "the Caucasian War", one that would drastically alter the political, religious, economic, social, ethnic and demographic composition of the Caucasus.

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3. The period 1800 to the present day.

a. Introduction

Any attempt to furnish a coherent and objective overview of the history of the Caucasus in the modern period is hampered by the scarcity of local sources and by the inherent biases of the historical accounts generated by its colonisers, the Ottomans, Persians and Russians, who, for more than a century, were vying with one another for sovereignty over this strategically important area. The same goes for European historiography of the region, which was likewise shaped by political agendas of the European states and their colonial designs. This is especially true of the works of 19th-century British writers, both lay and academic, who viewed Russia as its principal colonial rival in the East. Following the Russian Communist Revolution of 1917, Russian colonial prejudices and stereotypes were superseded by Marxist axioms of class struggle and of the five historical socio-economic formations and modes of production specific to each of them. After World War II, these axioms were further aggravated by the ideological clichés of the Cold War epoch. From the 1920s until the disintegration of the Soviet Union in 1991, the area remained practically inaccessible to Western researchers. Most, therefore, had to rely on Soviet studies of the area, which were shaped by the official Marxist views of history. With the fall of the Soviet régime, a large body of historiography has emerged produced by scholars of Caucasian background. Coloured by a wide spectrum of nationalist agendas, this new historiography offers drastic revisions of the Russian and Soviet conceptions of Caucasian history, and especially of the Russo-Caucasian wars of 1829-64. The present account will focus primarily on the historical evolution of the mountaineer communities of the northern Caucasus (Kabarda, Dāghistān, Čečnyā, Ingushetia, Circassia and Abkhāzia) with predominantly Muslim populations. Historical events in the Christian areas of the Caucasus (Georgia, Armenia and the Christian areas of Ossetia [see **AL-KURDJ**; **ARMĪNIYA**; **OSSETES**]) will be touched upon briefly only in so far as they are relevant to the history of their Muslim neighbours (for developments in Transcaucasia, see **ĀDHARBĀYDĀN**; **SHĪRWĀN**; **GANDJA**).

b. Russian expansion and Persian withdrawal

In the late 18th and early 19th centuries, three major outside powers vied for control of the Caucasus: the Ottomans, who maintained (largely nominal) control of the northwestern coast of the Black Sea (Circassia [see **ÇERKES**]), parts of present-day Georgia

adjacent to the Black Sea and the western regions of Transcaucasia; Persia, which exercised sovereignty (often only nominal) over several khānates in Ādharbāydjān, Dāghistān and the eastern areas of Transcaucasia; and Russia. The first decades of the 19th century witnessed a steady Russian military expansion into the Caucasus regions formerly controlled by Russia's Muslim imperial rivals. A large part of present-day Georgia, the kingdom of Kartli-Kakheti, recognised the sovereignty of the Russian Empire in 1801, when its last independent ruler, George XII, handed the reins of government over to the Russians in the face of an impending Persian invasion. Soon afterwards, the Russian military authorities of the Caucasus began the construction of the Georgian Military Highway between the city of Vladikavkaz (presently the capital of the Autonomous Republic of North Ossetia) and Tiflis [q.v.] (presently Tbilisi, the capital of the Republic of Georgia). This ambitious project was intended to consolidate Russia's hold on her new dependencies in the Central Caucasus. In December 1802, the Russians convened a meeting of the rulers of the mountaineer communities and principalities of the northeastern Caucasus at the Russian fortress of Georgievsk. During the meeting, the rulers agreed to sign a treaty granting Russia a special status in Dāghistān and adjacent lands. Some rulers, including the powerful khān of Avaristān, recognised Russian tutelage over their lands and pledged to join forces with Russia in the event of a Persian invasion of their lands. Between 1804 and 1813, the khānates of Gandja, Bākū, Qarābāgh, Shīrwān, Darband [q.v.] parts of Abkhāzia [see **ABKHĀZ**], the principalities of Imereti and Akhalkhalaki, as well as several Muslim communities of Dāghistān, came under Russian rule. The intermittent hostilities between the Russian Caucasian Corps and Persian forces throughout 1804-13 were, as a rule, favourable in outcome to the Russians. Russian victories can be attributed at least in part to the dynastic struggles within the Persian ruling élite, which weakened its ability to resist Russian encroachments on Persia's former dependencies in the region.

Russian claims to its new domains in the Caucasus and Transcaucasia were formalised by the Gulistan Treaty of 1813. This document decisively redrew the map of the Caucasus in favour of the Russian Empire. In 1826, the Persian army led by the Qājār Crown Prince 'Abbās Mīrzā [q.v.] invaded Qarābāgh in an attempt to regain control of Persia's former dependencies in the central Caucasus and Transcaucasia. Despite initial successes, the Persian advance was eventually repelled by the Russian army under the command of Ivan Paskievič, who led the Russians to victory over 'Abbās Mīrzā's forces at the battle of Gandja (Elizavetpol) in September 1826. In 1828, after two years of hostilities in which the Russians scored one victory after the other, Persia was forced to sign the humiliating treaty of Turkomānčāy [see **TÜRKMENÇAY** (i)]. This document all but eliminated Persia's influence in the northern Caucasus by denying it any direct contact with its potential Muslim allies in Dāghistān. On the Ottoman front, in 1828-9, Russian troops penetrated as far as Erzurum [q.v.] and Adjaria (Adjāristān) and blockaded the strategic Black Sea ports of Poti and Anapa [q.v.]. The Russian military successes drastically reduced the Ottoman Empire's ability to exercise its influence over the Circassian (Adyghe [see **ÇERKES**]) tribes of the northwestern Caucasus, which even at the height of Ottoman power were Ottoman vassals in name only. Under the treaty of Adrianople (Edirne [q.v.]) of 1829, the Ottomans



had to cede to Russia many of their former territories along the Black Sea coast. These territorial losses deprived the Ottomans of direct access to Circassia.

c. *Ermolov and the consolidation of Russian power*

Much of the credit for Russia's success in the Caucasus goes to the talented general Alexei Ermolov (Yermolov). His military genius and diplomatic acumen helped the Russian Caucasian Corps to defeat the Persians and to bring most of their former dependencies in the Caucasus under Russian rule. Appointed by Tsar Alexander I as the military governor of the Caucasus in 1816, Ermolov consistently implemented what many Russian and Western historians view as "policies of terror" toward the mountaineer communities and local principalities. His brutal treatment of his Caucasian adversaries was deliberately aimed at breaking their will to resist Russia's rule and to cow them into submission. Granted full authority over the area by the Tsar (in the Russian sources of the age, Ermolov was often referred to as the "proconsul of the Caucasus"; his own personal memoirs of the Caucasus campaigns seem to have been consciously patterned on Caesar's *Commentaries on the Gallic Wars*, reflecting his desire to emulate his illustrious predecessor), Ermolov ruled over Russia's new colonies with an iron fist, sparing neither his new subjects, nor his own troops, nor even the Russian irregulars, known as "Cossacks". Parallel to his often merciless "pacification" of Caucasian tribes and principalities, Ermolov embarked on a series of ambitious administrative and military reforms that sought to consolidate Russian colonial authority over the region and encourage immigration of Russian settlers (Cossacks) to the area. In some regions (e.g. Kabarda), Ermolov also implemented a sweeping judicial reform. Thus in 1822 he replaced the local *Shari'a* and *'adāt* jurisdiction with civil courts staffed by Russian colonial officials. This measure undermined the positions of the local aristocracy and sparked several riots that had to be suppressed, with its usual brutality, by the Russian Caucasian Corps.

Controlling this vast and rugged area with just 49,000 troops (of which only 40,000 maintained at least some semblance of military readiness) proved to be a great challenge to Ermolov and his chiefs of staff. Their responses to the tremendous difficulties faced by the Russian colonial enterprise amounted to sustained social engineering, such as the forced resettlement of some tribes (Ossetes and Noghay Tatars [q.v.]), the brutal "pacification" of "hostile" mountaineer communities, and the imposition of corvée services on others, e.g. the Čečens [q.v.]. These measures disrupted the customs and lifestyles of the mountaineers, who retaliated by attacking Russian forts and settlements and carrying off prisoners and booty. Another source of resentment against the Russian military administration was its attempt to eliminate the widespread slave trade in the northern Caucasus. For many centuries this business had been an important source of income for many local tribes, which sold captives to Ottoman merchants. The captives were then re-sold in Ottoman slave markets. Initially, Russian efforts to eradicate the slave trade bore only limited results. It took the Russians several decades of thorough policing and enforcement of their anti-slavery edicts finally to put an end to this practice.

The mountaineers responded to Russia's interference in their traditional occupations with armed uprisings. They were brutally put down by the Russian Caucasian Corps. The rebels' villages and fields were burned to the ground. The "hostile" populations were

chased into the inhospitable mountains. Such punitive campaigns, however, had only a limited impact, since the villages were easily rebuilt once Russian troops had left the area. At the same time, this brutal repression against a people unaccustomed to foreign rule bred and sustained hatred towards the Russian administration among the mountaineers. Ermolov soon realised the inadequacy of his policy, and embarked on military and administrative measures aimed at consolidating Russian presence in the region. The new policy consisted in the construction of fortified defence lines. They were formed by Russian fortresses and forts connected by networks of roads. Cut through the virgin forests of Čečnyā, the roads were meant to separate "pacified" tribes and villages from those which continued to resist Russian rule. In the process, the "hostile" communities were pushed ever deeper into the barren mountains, where they faced hardship and starvation.

Throughout Ermolov's tenure as military governor of the Caucasus, mountaineer resistance (1816-27) in the eastern and central parts of the region remained spontaneous, unorganised and localised. Sporadic insurrections against Russian rule were easily suppressed by the better-equipped and disciplined Russian troops, which made good use of their superior firepower. Despite their personal bravery and intimate knowledge of the terrain, the mountaineer levies of Dāghistān, Kabarda, Čečnyā and Ingushetia were unable to defeat the Russians due to a lack of co-ordination and organisation. The local ruling élites were usually unable to provide leadership, since they had been either bribed by the Russians or torn by internal strife. In other cases (e.g. in Čečnyā and some "democratic" Čerkes (Adyghe) tribes of the north-western Caucasus), the mountaineer élite had not yet been formed. Such "democratic" mountaineer societies posed an especially severe problem for the Russian authorities, which preferred to deal with local nobility rather than entire communities. Furthermore, Ermolov's cunning implementation of "divide and rule" policies led to the decimation of many ruling families, who tried to resist Russian rule, especially in Dāghistān. Some historians of the Caucasus even argue that Ermolov, steeped in the idea of "progress" and "civilisation", viewed the local rulers as brutal and ignorant despots, who were inherently incapable of embracing Russia's "civilising mission" in the Caucasus. He therefore considered them irrelevant and dispensable.

Whether intentional or not, Ermolov's policies seem to have led to the considerable weakening and discrediting of the local élites, which may explain why most of the leaders of the mountaineer resistance to Russian rule in 1829-59 came from relatively humble backgrounds and relied for the most part on free peasant communities for their support. Be this as it may, it is obvious that Ermolov's rule permanently upset the earlier balance of power in the region. His draconian measures set the mountaineer resistance movement on its feet on an unprecedented scale. The movement derived its vitality from the idea of equality of all Muslims before the Divine Law and their duty to actively resist "infidel" Russian rule. Since the majority of the subjugated tribes and communities of the northern and central Caucasus professed Islam, it was only natural that resistance to Russian domination took the form of *djihad*, which, in the local tradition, is usually referred to as *ghazawāt*.

d. *The Caucasian ghazawāt and its leaders*

As with many contemporary Muslim movements, the leaders of Caucasian resistance often began their



careers by preaching a strict adherence to the *Shari'a* and fighting against such widespread "vices" as wine drinking, smoking, lax observance of Islamic rituals, dancing, singing and the free mingling of the sexes. Simultaneously, these self-appointed enforcers of the *Shari'a* often sought to reduce the sphere of, if not to eradicate completely, the application of the customary law (*ʿādāt*), which usually favoured local élites. Such measures appealed to the poorer strata of the mountaineer population, who hoped that the rule of the *Shari'a* would improve their lot and reduce their dependence on the nobles. Once the reputation of the religious leader as an uncompromising enforcer and advocate of the *Shari'a* had become firmly established, he could use his popularity to rally his followers around a certain political cause. In the mountaineer communities, whose traditional values and lifestyle were threatened by Russian colonial advances, a call to a holy war against the infidel Russian enemy was likely to receive an enthusiastic response.

In any event, the careers of the Čečen *Shaykh* Maṣṣūr Ushurma [q.v.] and the three Dāghistānī *imāms* of the northern Caucasus [see *SHĀMIL*] unfolded according to this scenario. The extent of these leaders' affiliation with what the Russian writers of the age called *myuridizm*, namely, the Nakshbandiyya-Mudjaddidiyya-Khālidiyya Sūfī order (in the case of Ushurma there is no historical evidence of his association with any Sūfī *silsila*, while the three *imāms* were at least nominally Nakshbandī *shaykhs*) remains a moot point. However, many Russian and Western historians of the Caucasus continue to view *myuridizm*/Nakshbandī Sūfism as the principal vehicle and source of inspiration for the movements in question.

The events of the thirty-year war led by the three *imāms* of Dāghistān and Čečnyā, Ghāzī Muḥammad (Kāzī Mullā), Hamzat (Gamzat) Bek and Shāmil (Shamwīl) are discussed in the article *SHĀMIL* and will not be detailed here. The war cost both sides dearly in casualties and material resources. Russia's initial military strategy, imported from the European theatre of war, was geared to winning victories in pitched battles through an orderly movement and deployment of large military contingents. Much value was placed by the Russian military command on besieging and capturing enemy strongholds and headquarters. Such strategic assumptions proved to be ineffective or outright counterproductive in the Caucasus, where the Russian army faced a highly mobile and elusive opponent. The headquarters of the mountaineer levies could be easily moved from one village to another without impairing their ability to effectively fight the Russians through swift night raids, ambushes, diversionary tactics, misinformation and other forms of guerilla warfare. These tactics were honed to perfection in Dāghistān and Čečnyā under the talented leadership of the Imām Shāmil, who implemented it with remarkable success from 1834 to the late 1840s, when the Russians were finally compelled to reconsider their military doctrine. Nevertheless, in spite of repeated military setbacks, the Russian military command continued to cling stubbornly to the ineffective "one-blow" strategy for over ten years. Its flaws culminated in the disastrous expedition of 1845 against Shāmil's headquarters at Dargho (Darghiya, in present-day Čečnyā). Led by the newly-appointed viceroy of the Caucasus Prince Mikhail Vorontsov, the Russian expeditionary force lost almost 1,000 men killed (including three generals), almost 2,800 wounded, 179 missing in action, three guns and all its baggage, including the army war-chest.

Vorontsov realised his error and convinced Tsar Nicholas I to implement the siege strategy that was first introduced by Ermolov but had been abandoned by his successors following his removal from office in 1827. Efforts were made to strengthen existing fortifications, to build new ones and to connect them with a network of improved roads. These defence lines cut through Shāmil's domains in Dāghistān and Čečnyā, gradually reducing his sphere of influence and depriving him of provisions and manpower. This slow and less spectacular military strategy, which following Vorontsov's retirement in 1854 was continued by his successor, Prince Aleksandr Baryatinskiy, eventually bore fruit. Deprived of the resources to wage war against the superior Russian military machine and abandoned by the majority of his former followers, the third *imām* of the Caucasus surrendered to the Russians in the summer of 1859. The bloodiest episode of the Russo-Caucasian war came to an end, although armed resistance to Russian rule continued throughout the Caucasus for another decade.

e. Circassia and Muhammad Amīn

Shāmil's long resistance to Russian conquest had wide-ranging repercussions for the mountaineer communities and tribes throughout the Caucasus, including those areas that remained formally under Russian rule or were contested by the Russian and Ottoman empires, namely, Kabarda, Balkaria, Ossetia and the western Caucasus (Circassia, Abkhāzia, Guria, etc.). Thirty-seven Kabardian princes and nobles went over to Shāmil in 1846, following his raid into Kabarda. At the same time, the majority (around 200) remained loyal to the Russians and were richly rewarded by the Russian administration for their refusal to support Shāmil's movement. Throughout Shāmil's imāmate, the Transkuban region and Circassia (Adygheya) remained, for the most part, outside his direct influence. However, news about his military successes against the Russian forces periodically reinvigorated local resistance. In 1840 four major Russian fortresses along the coast of the Black Sea were captured and destroyed by Čerkes tribes. In 1842, Shāmil sent his emissary, Hādīdjī Muḥammad, to Circassia instructing him to spread *ghazawāt* among the Muslim populations of the western Caucasus. After Hādīdjī Muḥammad's death in 1845, he was succeeded by Shāmil's *nā'ib* (military governor) named Sulaymān Efendi. On Shāmil's instructions, he began to preach *ghazawāt* against the Russian garrisons stationed in the area and attempted to recruit several Čerkes (Adyghe) tribes to Shāmil's cause. However, Sulaymān Efendi soon fell out with Shāmil and defected to the Russians.

At the end of 1848, Shāmil appointed Muḥammad Amīn as his next *nā'ib* in Circassia. The new *nā'ib*, who was not familiar with local realities, soon became embroiled in a power struggle between the aristocracy and free squires (*yokolles*) of the Abadzekh, the largest Adyghe (Čerkes) tribe. After flirting for some time with the Abadzekh princes, Muḥammad Amīn eventually decided to throw in his lot with the peasants, promising them independence from their aristocratic masters and equality under the *Shari'a* law. His populist politics alienated the nobility, who turned to the Russians, hoping to retain their traditional privileges. Throughout the 1850s, Muḥammad Amīn was able to secure the loyalty of just one Adyghe tribe, the Abadzekhs. He later extended his rule to some other Adyghe (Čerkes) communities, such as the Natukhays and Shapsugs. Muḥammad Amīn modelled his administration of the nascent Čerkes (Adyghe) state on that of Shāmil's imāmate. The lands under his jurisdiction



were divided into a number of territorial units called *mahkama*. Each *mahkama* consisted of around 100 households. The administrative centre of the *mahkama* was located in a fortified Čerkes village (*aul*), which usually had a mosque, a court of law, a prison and a *madrasa*. The *mahkama* was ruled by a religious official (*mufti*) and a council of three Muslim judges (*kādīs*). Each Adyghe (Čerkes) household was to supply one mounted warrior (*murtazik*) for Muḥammad Amīn's military force. The *murtaziks* constituted the military foundation of Muḥammad Amīn's rule. In all, Muḥammad Amīn's state at its height consisted of four *mahkamas* among the Abadzekhs, one among the Shapsugs and two among the Natukhays.

f. *The Crimean War and its impact on the Caucasus*

The beginning of the Crimean War in 1853 galvanised the mountaineer resistance movement on both sides of the Main Caucasian Range. In the eastern and central Caucasus, Shāmil was preparing to invade Georgia, to cut the Russo-Georgian Military Highway and, finally, to effect a juncture with an invading Ottoman force at Tiflis. The capital of the Caucasus was expected to fall to the allied Muslim army within a few days. In the western Caucasus, Muḥammad Amīn and his Čerkes levies, supported by an Ottoman sea-borne expeditionary force, were bound to disrupt Russian communications and capture the lands of the Turkic-speaking Kāraçay [*q.v.*] on the northern slopes of the Main Caucasus Range. Muḥammad Amīn was then to march across Kabarda and Ossetia and to join Shāmil's forces there. In Guria (a part of present-day Georgia), which had been under Russian administrations since 1840, a large Ottoman force attacked the fortress of Shekvetili (St. Nicholas Port) on the Black Sea and wiped out its small garrison, which consisted of a Russian detachment and pro-Russian Gurid militia.

These developments awoke the Russian administration of the Caucasus to the possibility of a powerful military coalition between the invading Ottomans and their local supporters among the Adyghes. In response to the repeated pleas of his viceroy, Prince Vorontsov, Tsar Nicholas I agreed to send reinforcements to the Caucasus. In the hostilities that followed, the Ottomans' expeditionary force (the so-called Anatolian Corps) was defeated by the Russians in several pitched battles in the southern Caucasus. The Porte's plans suffered another major setback in the harbour of Sinop in November 1853, when a Russian naval force led by Admiral Nakhimov attacked and destroyed the Ottoman fleet that was to land at Sukhum-Kal'e in order to join forces with the Čerkes levies. In March 1854, a joint Anglo-French naval squadron sailed into the Black Sea. Its appearance forced the Russian military command to dismantle or to blow up a number of Russian fortresses along the Circassian coast (the so-called "Black Sea Defence Line"), including Anapa. Only those fortresses deemed able to withstand a prolonged siege from the sea were preserved and received fresh reinforcements.

These measures and the absence of a Russian naval presence in the Black Sea gave the Anglo-French fleet full control of sea communications off the Circassian coast. The allies tried to establish direct ties with Shāmil and Muḥammad Amīn in order to better co-ordinate their military operations in the Caucasian theatre of war. While the Anglo-French emissaries failed to reach Shāmil, they succeeded in securing Muḥammad Amīn's commitment to participate in joint Ottoman and Anglo-French operations against the Russians. The allied plans were upset in the summer

of 1854, when several Ottoman brigades were defeated by the Russian army in a series of bloody engagements. The Circassian tribes, which expected the Ottoman troops to help them in their unequal struggle against the Russians, were surprised to discover that their Ottoman allies were themselves in desperate need of assistance. These reversals may explain why Sefer (Safar)-bey (beg), an Adyghe prince of the Natukhay tribe, whom the Ottomans had appointed as governor of Sukhum-Kal'e with the rank of *pasha*, was unable to recruit enough Čerkes fighters to form a separate corps under his command. The Abkhāz, who had both Christian and Muslim princes, were divided, with the Christian part of the population favouring the Russians. The Ottoman cause was not helped by Shāmil's inactivity. Burdened by the internal problems of his imāmate and incapable of undertaking any large-scale military operations due to the lack of resources and growing war fatigue among his followers, he was unable or unwilling to respond to the Ottoman and Anglo-French pleas for a more aggressive strategy against the Russians.

The next year (1855) of the Crimean campaign did not bring any dramatic changes to the stalemate on the Caucasian front. Shāmil remained inactive, while neither Sefer-bey nor Muḥammad Amīn were able to convince the Čerkes chiefs to form a separate corps under Ottoman command. Their efforts were hampered by their personal rivalry and their dependence on mutually hostile social groups within the Čerkes (Adyghe) communities. While Sefer-bey, a Čerkes prince, represented the interests of the mountaineer aristocracy, Muḥammad Amīn relied on the free Čerkes peasantry, which was anxious to minimise its feudal obligations *vis-à-vis* the nobles. As a result, the two leaders often worked at cross-purposes. The Russian military successes in Transcaucasia, such as the capture of Kars and Bayazet, and the lack of a decisive allied victory in the Crimea, hampered the efforts of Ottoman military commanders in the western Caucasus. With the fall of Sevastopol in September 1855, Muḥammad Amīn attempted once again to form a Čerkes corps under his command, but to no avail. The Čerkes tribes were not ready to relinquish their independence and to join the Ottoman-led military coalition, whose ultimate goals they did not share. Besides, the plans of the European allies to mount a massive offensive against the Russian troops stationed in the Caucasus never materialised. Without the support from their European partners, the Ottomans proved unable to dislodge the Russian forces from the western Caucasus. At the same time, with no major victories to their credit, they were unable to convince their potential allies among the Čerkes tribes of the necessity to launch an all-out attack against the Russians. 'Umar ('Ömer) Paşa's initially successful campaign against a Russian force near Zugdidi (Georgia) in the autumn of 1855 failed to impress the Čerkes and Abkhāz enough to join his expeditionary force. In the end, the European powers' decision not to shift the centre of hostilities from the Crimean Peninsula to the western Caucasus, which would allow the Ottomans to make decisive advances in that area, worked to Russia's advantage. Despite the loss of its naval power in the Black Sea, Russia retained her overall strategic superiority in the region, which eventually enabled her to bring it firmly under control.

g. *The end of the Crimean War and the collapse of mountaineer resistance*

The allied plans to invade the Caucasus were shelved when the warring parties began peace negotiations



and signed a peace treaty in Paris during the winter of 1856. The results of the Crimean War, although by no means favourable to the Russians, failed to reverse Russia's inexorable expansion in the Caucasus and to put an end to her domination over the areas already conquered by Russian troops. If anything, it confirmed for many mountaineer leaders the futility of resistance against Russian rule. If Russia was able to withstand the attack of the greatest European and Muslim powers of the age, how could their small levies have any hope of defeating her on their own? It is even more remarkable that, despite the growing war fatigue and despondency among his supporters and the overall devastation suffered by his realm, Shāmil was able to continue his struggle until August 1859, when he surrendered to the Russian forces at the village of Gunib in Dāghistān.

Following the collapse of Shāmil's movement, in November 1859, Muḥammad Amīn started negotiations with the Russian military command of the Kuban military district. He pledged allegiance to the Russian Empire, recognised its sovereignty over his lands, and was thus able to keep his position as the spiritual and political leader of the Abadzekh tribes. With the death of Sefer-bey at the end of 1859, Čerkes resistance to Russian rule was reduced to a few sporadic and unorganised uprisings among the largest Adyghe tribes—the Ubykhs [*q.v.*], Shapsugs and Abadzekhs, who tried to forge a military alliance, albeit unsuccessfully. Their attempts to stem the Russian advance lasted until 1864, which is considered by many historians to be the final year of the so-called Great Caucasian War (as we have seen, it is probably more appropriate to speak of a series of military conflicts of various intensities throughout the Caucasus). At the beginning of that year, a Russian expeditionary force conquered the town of Tuapse, one of the last Čerkes strongholds on the Black Sea. In the following months, the remaining sparks of resistance were extinguished by the Russian expeditionary corps directed from Ekaterinodar, the capital of the Kuban military district. The Russian military conquest of the Caucasus came to an end.

During and after the Crimean War, Čerkes rebellions against Russian rule were encouraged and assisted by outside powers, especially Britain and, to a lesser extent, France. The provisions of the Paris Peace Treaty seriously impaired Russia's ability to control the Black Sea coast. In the absence of a Russian naval force to patrol the coastal area (under the Paris Treaty, Russia was allowed to have only six corvettes in the entire Black Sea area), Britain and France gained free access to the Čerkes populations of the western Caucasus. Some elements within the British government accepted the advice of the British diplomat and Turkophile, David Urquhart, to assist the Čerkes in establishing an independent state that would serve as a buffer between the Ottoman lands and the Russian colonial possessions in the western Caucasus. To this end, the British and the French enlisted the help of Polish emigrants to England and France who had fled their country after the Russian crackdown against Poland's bid for independence in 1830. In addition, there were many Polish deserters from the Russian Army stationed in the Caucasus who had joined the Čerkes tribes to take an active part in anti-Russian resistance. Throughout the late 1850s and early 1860s, several Polish-led contingents of European volunteers equipped by England and France landed on the Circassian coast in an effort to encourage the local tribes to rise against the Russians. However, they

were not always welcomed by the Čerkes, who were wary of the motives of these self-appointed supporters of their independence. Moreover, the efforts of small foreign contingents were not enough to change the overall strategic situation in the Caucasian theatre of war, which was dominated by Russian military might. Faced with a lack of success and, consequently, a lack of support from the local populations, all foreign contingents gradually withdrew from the western Caucasus, leaving their Čerkes allies face-to-face with the Russian Empire.

h. *The tragedy of mass emigration*

In the early 1860s, the Russian administration of the Kuban military district (*oblast'*) embarked on a large-scale plan to resettle the Adyghe tribes. These measures were proposed and implemented by the military governor of the Kuban region, General Nikolai Yevdokimov (Evdokimov), who was intent on preventing the Adyghe from resuming their resistance to Russian rule by undermining their economic and geopolitical foundations. Unlike Dāghistān with its barren mountains, the Kuban area with its extraordinary fertile arable lands was quite suitable for resettlement with Russian and Ukrainian peasants, who were considered to be much more "reliable" than the warlike Čerkes tribes with their long history of anti-Russian warfare. According to Yevdokimov's plan, the "hostile" Čerkes tribes were to be resettled from the mountains into the plains of Transkuban to live under the watchful eye of the Russian military administration. The lands vacated by the Čerkes were given to Russian settlers, mostly Cossacks from Russia and Ukraine, in return for their military service along Russia's new borders. Another objective of Russian colonial policy was to bar the Čerkes from any contacts with the Ottomans or any hostile European powers by removing them from the coastal areas, which were still easily accessible from the sea. From 1861 to 1864, the Russian authorities established 111 new Cossack settlements (*stanitsas*) with a population of 142,333 families.

These measures triggered a massive exodus of the dislocated mountaineer populations to the Ottoman lands. Encouraged and presided over by a few murky and unscrupulous adventurers of dual loyalties (such as Mūsā Kundukhov, a Russian general of Kabardian origin with connections at the Ottoman court) and some members of the local Čerkes and Kabardian nobility anxious to preserve their influence over their former bondsmen, the emigration turned out to be a terrible tragedy for the mountaineer peoples. The emigrants, known as *muhādjirūn*, came from practically every North Caucasian community: Kabardians, Čečens, Ossetes, Natukhays, Abadzekhs, Shapsugs, Ubykhs, Bžedukhs, Abāzins, Karačāys, Abkhāz, Temirgoys, Noghay Tatars and a few others. During the winter and spring of 1864 alone, 257,068 individuals departed for Anatolia from seven Black Sea ports under Russian control. The refugees were motivated by a variety of factors, such as the dislocation and resentment produced by the Russian resettlement schemes and oppressive rule, hopes for a happy life under friendly Muslim rule in Anatolia (inspired in part by Ottoman propaganda), and the religious rulings issued by Muslim religious authorities, which proclaimed living under infidel rule to be a grave sin for any Muslim who had other options. Once the emigrants found themselves on board ships headed for Ottoman Turkey, they were readily preyed upon by Ottoman slave-traders and greedy crews who charged their passengers by the head and therefore packed as many of them as possible into each ship.



Cramped conditions combined with various infectious diseases took a heavy toll on the human cargo. The ships, usually commercial craft not intended for carrying passengers, quickly turned into abodes of death. According to some chilling eye-witness accounts, they left hundreds of dead bodies in their wake. The survivors found themselves at the mercy of Ottoman authorities at the ports of destination, which, for the most part, were totally unprepared for such a massive influx of refugees. The makeshift refugee camps at Trabzon (Tarabzun [q.v.]), Samsun (Sāmsūn [q.v.]) and other Ottoman ports became abodes of human suffering. Reduced to starvation, parents sold their sons and daughters into slavery, driving the price of a child to all-time lows (30 to 40 roubles for a 10- to 12-year-old). Unmarried young men had the option of joining the Ottoman army, but, the majority of refugees, especially the sick and the elderly, were doomed to a life of misery and starvation. Estimates of the scale of the emigration and the death rate among the refugees vary dramatically depending on the political and ethnic background of historians. Some sources cite as many as 15 million emigrants, others speak of half a million souls, of whom only one half survived the tragedy of mass resettlement. The latter figure appears to be more realistic, although the real scale of this human tragedy is yet to be determined through a careful examination of Russian and Ottoman archives.

The causes of the Caucasian *hidra* remain a matter of debate, which has grown especially intense since the fall of the Soviet Union. It is clear that the Russian authorities did little to prevent the mountaineers from leaving their lands. Thus the Russian governor of the Kuban *oblast'*, writing in 1889, said that he saw "no particular harm to the interest of the state in the desire of the natives (*tuzemtsy*) to leave the area. On the contrary, [he saw] much benefit in the removal from the area of this troublesome element." No wonder that the Russian authorities not only did not try to prevent the mountaineers from emigrating, but on many occasions paid their sea-fare. The Ottomans, too, had a vested interest in the emigration since they hoped to resettle the mountaineers along the Ottoman-Russian border and to use them as border-guards and a military force in case of future hostilities between the two empires. To these imperial interests one may add the sheer human depravity of Ottoman slave-traders and the concerns of the mountaineer élites, especially the Kabardian ones, over the potential loss of their serfs after the expected implementation of the Russian anti-bondage laws. The end result, however, is obvious to everyone. The fertile plains south of the Kuban river and the coastal areas along the Black Sea lost most of their indigenous population. The land was gradually resettled by Cossacks, Armenians, Greeks and peasants from central Russia and Ukraine. Between 1867 and 1897, the Russian and Ukrainian population of the Kuban and Stavropol' *oblast's* had grown by 230% and 155% respectively, leaving the local population in the minority. At the turn of the 20th century, in the Kuban *oblast'* Russians constituted more than 90% of the population. By contrast, the number of "natives" had fallen to a miniscule 5.4%. According to a modern Western researcher, "the lands of the Circassians and the Abkhāz, once overwhelmingly Muslim, had become overwhelmingly Christian" (J. McCarthy, *The fate of the Muslims*, apud P. Heinze, *Circassian resistance to Russia*, in M. Bennigsen-Broxup (ed.), *The North Caucasus barrier*, London 1992, 104).

Those mountaineers who remained were transferred to the Transkuban steppes and resettled amidst the Cossacks under constant Russian surveillance. As envisioned by Yevdokimov, the resettlement effectively undermined their ability to launch large-scale resistance movements against Russian rule. The decree of 9 March 1873, issued by the Russian administration of the Caucasus, strictly prohibited any contacts between the Russian subjects of Čerkes background and their relatives in the Ottoman Empire. The former Adyghe lands remained under Russian military administration until 1871, when the Russians felt safe enough to replace it with civil rule throughout the Kuban region and the Black Sea area, by now thoroughly Russified and practically cleansed of "hostile elements". Nevertheless, the Russian military authorities continued to play a major role in the everyday administration of the region. The movements of the Adyghe were thoroughly monitored and restricted by the Russian police and the Cossacks, effectively confining the mountaineers to their *auls*. The *auls* were administered by an elected or appointed headman (*starshina*), who had to be approved by the local Cossack chief (*ataman*). At the same time, during the Russo-Ottoman war of 1877-8, Russian imperial authorities were sufficiently confident of the mountaineers' loyalty to the Russian government to enlist them as irregulars to fight against the Ottoman armies in Bulgaria, Romania and even Transcaucasia. The Russian expeditionary force in the Balkans and the southern Caucasus also included many irregular cavalry units from the central and eastern Caucasus, namely, Kabardia, Dāghistān, Ingushetia, Ossetia, and Čečnyā. Many mountaineer fighters distinguished themselves in the battlefield and were decorated for their bravery by the award of Russian medals. At the same time, on the Caucasus front many Čerkes and Abkhāz emigrants and their descendants took an active part in the Ottoman offensive against the Black Sea ports of Batumi and Sukhumi (Sukhum-Kal'e). They were driven in part by the desire to avenge themselves on the Russian Empire for the suffering inflicted upon them by its oppressive rule. While the Ottoman forces were able to make some important gains in the area, in the end, the Russian successes in the Balkans determined the favourable outcome of the war for the Russian Empire, which was reflected in the Treaty of Berlin signed in the summer of 1878 (see further, MUHĀDJIR, 2.).

i. *The rise of Dhikrism in Čečnyā: Kunta Hādjdjī Kishiev, the man who preached peace*

In the late 1850s, not long before the fall of Shāmil's imāmate, Kunta Hādjdjī, a poor Kumuk [q.v.] peasant (some sources consider him to be a Čečen) of Ilskhān-Yurt, began to disseminate a new spiritual teaching among the war-weary Čečens and Ingush. Initially a follower of the Nakshbandī brotherhood, Kunta Hādjdjī is said to have been initiated into the Kādiriyya *ṭarīka* [q.v.] during his visit to Mecca on the *hādjdj* in the late 1850s. The exact circumstances of his initiation into this brotherhood are obscure. According to some of his followers, he received the teaching of the Kādiriyya directly from its founder, Shaykh 'Abd al-Kādir al-Djilānī [q.v.], who appeared to him in a dream. Contrary to the activist precepts of Shāmil's *myuridizm*, which preached a holy war against the Russians, Kunta Hādjdjī encouraged his followers to engage in acts of penitence (*tawba*) and individual self-purification through frugality, humility, abstention from worldly delights and withdrawal from this world. On the social plane, the new preacher



emphasised solicitude for the needs of one's neighbours, mutual assistance and the necessity to share one's wealth with the poor and needy. Kunta Hādjīdī also advocated peaceful co-existence with the Russians as long as they allowed the Čečens and Ingush the freedom to practice their religion and follow their customs.

As mentioned above, Kunta Hādjīdī's pacifistic message ran counter to Shāmil's ideology of armed resistance to Russian rule. Moreover, Shāmil also saw in Kunta Hādjīdī a rival in the struggle for the loyalties of the mountaineers, a struggle that Shāmil was already losing due to the growing war fatigue and despondency among his supporters in the face of Russian military superiority. Shāmil is said to have summoned the young preacher to his headquarters and subjected him to a close interrogation. Upon witnessing the vocal *dhikr* and dance that Kunta Hādjīdī performed in accordance with the precepts of the Kādirī brotherhood, Shāmil allegedly declared it contrary to Nakshbandī precepts and "orthodox" Islam. He then ordered the preacher of *zikrism* (a Russified version of the Arabic *dhikr* [q.v.]) to leave the territory of his imāmate to perform a second pilgrimage and to gain a better knowledge of the intricacies of Islamic law.

Kunta Hādjīdī reappeared in Čečnyā after the collapse of Shāmil's imāmate in either late 1861 or early 1862. With Shāmil no longer on the scene, his message received an eager hearing among the war-weary Čečens and Ingush. Accounts of Kunta Hādjīdī's sermons indicate that, in addition to pacifism, his teaching was tinged with millenarian expectations and a doomsday mentality. He called upon his audiences to prepare for the Day of Judgement by purifying their souls, renouncing the transient allures of this life and adhering strictly to the pious precepts of the Kādirī *ṭarīqa*. Articulated in a simple language easily understood by the ordinary Čečens and Ingush, Kunta's teaching soon acquired a broad popular following. Initiation into the new *ṭarīqa* was very simple. Kunta Hādjīdī or one of his lieutenants took the new member by the hand and asked him or her to acknowledge the spiritual authority of the *ustādh*, to repeat the *shahāda* [q.v.] one hundred times a day, and to participate in the ritual dance of the *ṭarīqa*. Kunta Hādjīdī's followers recognised him as their spiritual master (*ustādh*) and considered themselves his faithful disciples (*murīdūn*). Seeking to spread his teaching among the masses, Kunta Hādjīdī sent emissaries to various Čečen and Ingush communities.

In the course of time, Kunta Hādjīdī's movement acquired institutional dimensions and administrative structure. Following Shāmil's example, he appointed a number of his foremost followers as his *nā'ibs* in various areas of Čečnyā and Ingushetia. According to the Russian colonial authorities of the day, Kunta Hādjīdī divided Čečnyā into five (according to some sources eight) *niyābats* or *nā'ibships*. Each *nā'ib* had under his command several lieutenants (*wakīls*), who were entrusted with spreading the teaching of the new *ṭarīqa* among mountaineer communities. Kunta Hādjīdī's inner circle included his brother Mowsar (who was the *nā'ib* of the Avturkhān district), Myačik (the *nā'ib* of the area between Urus-Martān and Ačkhoi-Martān), Bamat-Girey Mitaev and Čim-Mīrzā Taurmurzaev. The latter two were to found their own branches of Kunta Hādjīdī's *ṭarīqa* after his arrest and exile. In all, Russian sources estimated the number of Kunta Hādjīdī's followers to be around 6,000 men and women. Most of them resided in the villages of Shali, Gekhi, Shaladjī, Urus-Martān and Avtury.

Russian sources claim that, despite its pacifistic message, some of Shāmil's former fighters among the Čečens came to see Kunta Hādjīdī's teaching as a new version of Shāmil's *ghazawāt* ideology. The Russian authorities, ever suspicious of any popular religious teaching that could mobilise the mountaineers for a certain political cause, encouraged renowned local scholars, such as 'Abd al-Kādir Khordaev and Muṣṭafā 'Abdullaev, to condemn *zikrism* as being contrary to the *Shari'a*. In particular, the scholars denounced Kunta Hādjīdī's loud *dhikr* techniques and musical instruments that induced ecstatic states in the participants. They also pointed out that Kunta Hādjīdī had no scholarly qualifications to substantiate his claims to the spiritual leadership of the Čečens and Ingush. Kunta Hādjīdī responded with his usual humility. He readily acknowledged the authority of his learned critics as interpreters of the outward aspects of the Islamic revelation. However, he presented himself as an exponent of its true essence, which was hidden from the majority of believers. Later accounts, circulated by Kunta Hādjīdī's supporters, ascribe to him a number of miracles that allegedly demonstrated the superiority of his spiritual teaching over the dry scholasticism of his detractors.

In early January 1863, after some hesitation, the Russian authorities decided to put an end to Kunta Hādjīdī's preaching. On the orders of the viceroy of the Caucasus, the Grand Duke Mikhail Romanov, Kunta Hādjīdī and fourteen of his closest followers and *wakīls*, including his brother Mowsar, were arrested and sent to the Russian city of Novočerkassk. Several months later, he was separated from his companions and exiled to the town of Ustyuzhno in the Novgorod province of northern Russia. There he spent the rest of his days in misery under police surveillance. Throughout his exile he balanced on the brink of starvation, as his daily six kopeks' allowance was barely enough to buy a piece of bread. The Russian authorities ignored his repeated requests for an increase in allowance; his letters with pleas for help addressed to his wife and family were intercepted by the Russian secret police and never reached their destination. In any event, by that time, his wife and other members of his family had already emigrated to Anatolia with thousands of other *muhājirūn*. Kunta Hādjīdī died around 1867, his health undermined by a life of deprivation.

Kunta Hādjīdī's arrest in early 1863 triggered a rebellion of his followers that became known as "The Battle of Daggers" (Rus. *kinžal'nyi boi*). On 18 January 1863, a group of 3,000 to 4,000 of Kunta Hādjīdī's followers, armed only with daggers, sabres and sticks, charged against a Russian detachment near the Čečen village of Shali. As they found themselves within the firing distance of the Russian troops, dancing and singing Kādirī litanies, they were mowed down by Russian fire. The "*dhikr* army" dispersed, leaving behind some 150 dead, including several women dressed as men. The site of the Battle of Daggers near Shali has become one of Čečnyā's most sacred places, along with the grave of Kunta Hādjīdī's mother at the village of Guni, in the Vedan district of Čečnyā. It is said that Kunta Hādjīdī's *nā'ib* Myačik-Mullā had persuaded the attackers that their *ustādh* would miraculously protect them from Russian bullets and cannon-fire. Following the massacre, the Russian administration arrested and exiled to Russia many members of the *dhikr* movement. Some of them managed to escape and became *abreks* (that is, bandits of honour, who vowed to fight the Russians to the death).



In May 1865, a Čeĉen shepherd of the *Kharaĉoi aul* named Taza Ekmirza(ĉv) proclaimed himself a new *imām* and attempted to raise the population of a mountainous part of Čeĉnya known as İĉkeriya. Taza claimed to have performed an ascension to heaven (*mir'ādī* [q.v.]), during which God himself had ordained him as the new *imām* of Čeĉnya in the presence of the Prophet and Shaykh Kunta Hāĉĉĉĉjī. Taza's claims were endorsed by a number of former followers of Kunta Hāĉĉĉĉjī, especially Myaĉik-Mullā. The Russian administration reacted strongly by sending three infantry detachments, led by Colonel Golovaĉev, against the rebels. Fearing Russian reprisals, the Čeĉen population of İĉkeriya seized Taza and his closest supporters and handed them over to the Russian command. Taza was convicted, sentenced to 12 years of hard labour and sent to Siberia. The spring of 1865 witnessed a massive exodus of the Muslim population, including many of Kunta Hāĉĉĉĉjī's former supporters, from Čeĉnya and Ingushetia to Ottoman Turkey. Scared by the rumours of impending forced resettlement and conversion to Christianity, some 23,000 Čeĉens boarded Ottoman ships bound for Anatolia. Of these, around 2,100 individuals later returned to the Caucasus, bringing with them stories of hardship and deprivation. These stories stemmed the tide of refugees, although some families continued to emigrate to the *Dār al-islām* in the decades leading up to the Russian Revolution of 1917.

j. *The Russo-Ottoman War of 1877-8 and beyond*

The *dhikr* movement, now effectively banned by the Russian authorities, was reduced to a semi-clandestine existence. To protect its leaders from Russian persecutions, the *turuk* claiming descent from Kunta Hāĉĉĉĉjī and his lieutenants grew extremely secretive and fractious. In 1877-8, some of their members took an active part in the rebellion of 'Alī-bek Hāĉĉĉĉjī Aldanov, during which, for the first time, the Kāĉĉĉĉs fought side by side with the members of the Nakshbandī *ṭarīqa* of Dāghistān led by Hāĉĉĉĉjī Muḥammad of Sogratl (Thughūr). His father, 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Thughūrī (d. 1882), also took an active part in the rebellion. A renowned scholar, 'Abd al-Raḥmān was considered to be the chief Nakshbandī *shaykh* of Dāghistān and Čeĉnya after the emigration to the Ottoman realm of Shāmil's spiritual preceptor, Djamāl al-Dīn al-Ghāzī Ghumuḳī. After the followers of Shaykh Muḥammad Hāĉĉĉĉjī proclaimed him *imām* of Dāghistān and Čeĉnya, he began to send his *nā'ibs* and *wakils* to various Dāghistānī communities, inviting them to fight the Russians in the name of "freedom and *Shar'ā*". The revolt was triggered in part by the Russian policy aimed at limiting drastically the jurisdiction of the *Shar'ā* and replacing it with the customary law (*ādāt* [q.v.]). This fact explains the large number of religious leaders among the rebels. Another important motive of the rebellion was Ottoman propaganda, which predicted an impending victory of the Ottoman army in the Caucasus and the Balkans. Some of the inflammatory flyers that circulated among the mountaineer communities were signed by Shāmil's second son, Ghāzī Muḥammad, now a general of the Ottoman army. The rebellion lasted for a whole year, until it was finally quashed by a Russian military force led by General Svistunov.

Following the suppression of 'Alī-bek Aldanov's movement, the abolition of Hāĉĉĉĉjī Muḥammad's imāmate and the execution of twenty-eight of its leaders by the Russian military administration, their surviving supporters went underground. The early 1880s witnessed the emergence of three principal branches

(known locally as *wirds*) of the Kāĉĉĉĉyia under the leadership of Bamat-Girey (Bamatgiri) Hāĉĉĉĉjī Mitaev and Ćim-Mirzā in Čeĉnya and of Baĉalḥāĉĉĉĉjī Belkhoroi(ĉv) in Ingushetia. Their influence on the mountaineer communities was of great concern for the Russian administration, which suspected the leadership of the new brotherhoods of trying to create an alternative power structure completely outside Russian control. Continual Russian surveillance and persecution turned the brotherhoods into secret societies, whose members often practiced endogamy and were suspicious of outsiders. This is especially true of the Baĉalḥāĉĉĉĉjī *wird*, which was characterised by particularly strict discipline and fear of outsiders. Each male member of this brotherhood carried a long dagger, which he did not hesitate to use to protect his honour or to retaliate against any attack on the honour of his *ustādh*. Each of the three *wirds* that emerged from the Kunta Hāĉĉĉĉjī movement practiced a distinctive type of *dhikr*. Thus the members of the Bamat-Girey *wird* are known for their high jumps (hence their Russian sobriquet, *pryguny* "jumpers"); the Baĉalḥāĉĉĉĉjī *dhikr* is distinguished by the intensive clapping of hands, while the Ćim-Mirzā brotherhood is characterised by the use of drums (hence their Russian name *barabanshĉiki* "drummers"). Many members of the *abrek* movement, including the famous Čeĉen "bandit of honour" Zelimkhān, were associated with one or the other *wird*. Consequently, Russian attempts to crack down on the *abreks* were often accompanied by persecutions against the Kunta Hāĉĉĉĉjī *wirds*. Thus in 1911, the *shaykhs* of the three Kunta Hāĉĉĉĉjī *wirds*, Bamat-Girey, Baĉalḥāĉĉĉĉjī and Ćim-Mirzā, together with their closest followers (thirty in all) were arrested and exiled to Kaluga.

These persecutions and the dire economic conditions in Čeĉnya and Ingushetia, which were suffering from chronic food shortages, triggered a new wave of emigration. In 1913 alone, some 1,000 Čeĉen families left their homeland for Anatolia in search of a better life. Paradoxically, similarly dire economic conditions in neighbouring Dāghistān did not prevent it from retaining its position as the major centre of Islamic learning and literacy in the northern Caucasus. In many areas of Dāghistān, even after the Russian conquest, Arabic remained the principal language of administration and correspondence among isolated mountaineer communities, whose multilingual inhabitants continued to use it as a *lingua franca* up until the late 1920s-early 1930s, when it was finally supplanted by Russian. Before the Russian Revolution there were, according to different estimates, from 800 to 2,000 Kur'anic schools in Dāghistān alone, enrolling around 40,000 students. At the beginning of the 20th century, Dāghistān boasted five printing presses, including the Mavraev Publishing House at Temīr-Khān-Shūrā (Makhaĉ-kaĉ'e [q.v.]), which specialised in Arabic books. It also produced books in major Dāghistānī languages: Avar, Darghin, Kumuk and Laĉ [q.v.]. In 1911 alone, it published 256 titles in these languages.

The strong position of Islamic learning in Dāghistān was recognised by the Russian administration, which prohibited Russian Orthodox missionaries from proselytising in the area, fearing popular unrest among the local Muslim population. Russian attempts to replace local religiously-based education with Russian schools had only limited success. The so-called "new method" gymnasia and technical schools in the urban centres of Dāghistān, Čeĉnya and Ossetia were dominated by non-native, Russian-speaking students and faculty. At the same time, the last decade of the 19th



century and first decade of the 20th century witnessed the steady growth of a small but active Russian-educated intelligentsia among the Caucasian ethnicities, which became an important vehicle in spreading Russian culture among their respective ethnic groups. Overall, however, the literacy level among the mountaineers remained relatively low throughout the Caucasus. The Russian census of 1897 shows Dāghistān to be in the lead with 9.2%, followed by Adygheya (7%), Karačay (4.6%), Kabarda (3.2%), and Balkariya (1.4%).

k. *The Caucasus on the eve of the Russian Revolution*

Following the discovery of commercial amounts of oil in some areas of Čečnyā in 1894, the region underwent a rapid economic and social transformation and by 1910 had become a major centre of oil production in the Caucasus, second only to Bākū. Radical changes in the social and economic landscape of the region were underway throughout the first decade of the 20th century, as Čečnyā and its neighbours were becoming increasingly integrated into the world economy. This process is attested by the emergence of a number of local companies with links to major European and Russian entrepreneurs and banks. They presided over many local projects, including the creation of the oil industry and attendant infrastructure in and around Grozny. Several newly-built railways linked central Russia to the major urban centres of the Caucasus—Ekaterinodar, Vladikavkaz, Novorossiisk (former Sudjuk-Kal'e), Stavropol' and Bākū. These cities soon became centres of anti-government agitation spearheaded by, for the most part, Russian revolutionary intelligentsia and Russian-speaking industrial and railway workers. While the majority of the mountaineers of the northwestern and central Caucasus did not benefit from these developments (in fact, due to widespread land speculation, many local peasants lost their already tiny lots of agricultural land and were forced to migrate to the rapidly-growing cities), some members of the Čerkes, Čečen and Ingush' elites, including some wealthy leaders of Šūfī *wirds*, profited from this economic boom. The growing economic inequality and abiding hostility between the Russian settlers (Cossacks) and the mountaineers fuelled rural unrest, especially in Čečnyā and Ossetia. As usual, the Russian administration resorted to the tactic of deportation and exile to Russia and Siberia of real or imaginary "troublemakers". Among those deported from Čečnyā and Ingushetia in the first decade of the 20th century were *shaykhs* of the Nakshbandiyya (e.g. 'Abd al-'Azīz Shaptukaev, also known as Dokku Shaykh and Deni Arsanov,) and *ustādh*s of the local Kādīrī *wirds*, Bāṭalḥādjdīr Belkhoroev, Bamatgirey-Ḥādjdīr and their closest followers. The Russian revolution of 1905-6 galvanised local resistance movements, which were driven in part by the forced Russification of the rural population and the growth of the number of Russian settlers and landlords. In line with Marxist principles, the Russian Communist agitators, who, for the most part, were based in the industrial centres of the region, attempted to reach out to the mountaineer masses and to rally them to their cause. However, these attempts met with limited success among the majority of mountaineers, who remained suspicious of the goals of the agitators, many of whom espoused atheism. As a result, the revolutionary movement in the Caucasus was for the most part confined to the urban centres with a substantial Russian population. Local disturbances continued throughout the first decade of the 20th century, despite severe repression. In 1914-15, the hardships and short-

ages of World War I triggered another wave of anti-government protests both in cities and the countryside. The military defeats of Russian armies on the Western front and the wartime requisitions instituted by the Russian administration resulted in acts of sabotage and mass desertions among mountaineer recruits.

l. *The Russian Revolution and civil war*

The victory of the democratic revolution in Russia in February 1917 instilled in the Caucasian nations a hope to finally rid themselves of the oppressive imperial rule. In the heady days after the revolution, mountaineer leaders saw their chance to secure independence from Russia. Throughout the Caucasus, there mushroomed numerous "civil committees" and "revolutionary councils", which represented a wide spectrum of political views from "Muslim Communism" of various shades to bourgeois liberalism and parliamentary democracy. At the same time, many mountaineer communities remained committed to the more traditional religious values and leaders. Thus a "congress of the Čečen people" that spontaneously assembled in Grozny in March 1917 demanded the reinstatement of the *Sharī'a* as the law of the land and the creation of the post of the chief *mufī* of the Terek *oblast'* with wide-ranging jurisdiction. Such demands were actively supported by local scholars, many of whom were leaders of the Caucasian Kādīrī *wirds* and the Nakshbandiyya, namely Sugaip-Mullā, 'Alī Mitaev, Deni Arsanov and 'Abd al-Wahhāb Ḥādjdīr Aksayskii. The spiritual authority and economic power (the individuals just mentioned were wealthy landowners and successful entrepreneurs) wielded by such traditional religious authorities made them indispensable for the new crop of local politicians, who represented the interests of the nascent mountaineer bourgeoisie. Thus the famous Čečen oil tycoon and politician 'Abd al-Madīd Čermoev was anxious to secure the support of the influential Šūfī *shaykhs* Yūsuf Ḥādjdīr and Deni Arsanov.

On 1 May 1917, the "First Congress of the Mountain Peoples" was convened at Vladikavkaz (North Ossetia). Presided over by the Balkar intellectual Basiyat Shakhnov, it lasted for ten days. Of its 400 participants many were authoritative religious scholars and Šūfī *shaykhs*, namely, Deni Arsanov and Sugaip-Mullā Gaysumov from Čečnyā, Uzun Ḥādjdīr and Nadīm al-Dīn Efendi Gotsinskii from Dāghistān, Ḥamzat Ḥādjdīr Urusov from Karačay, etc. The Congress called for the formation of the Union of the Mountain Peoples of the Caucasus, which, in turn, was supposed to be part of a larger political structure called the "All-Caucasus Muslim Union". The resolutions of the Congress included a demand for the establishment of the office of *Shaykh al-Islām* at the government of the Russian Federation, who would preside over a consultative council of six representatives of the three major schools of law on the territory of the former Russian Empire, namely, Shāfi'ī, Ḥanafī and Dja'farī (Shī'ī). Another resolution called for the creation of an "academy of *Sharī'a* sciences" at Vladikavkaz and the declaration of the *Sharī'a* as the only law of the land.

In June 1917, the famous Muslim scholar and Nakshbandī *shaykh* of Dāghistān, Uzun Ḥādjdīr, arrived in Čečnyā. He had already acquired a reputation there for piety and clairvoyance during his earlier sojourn at the Čečen village of Shatoi, whose inhabitants had given him shelter from the persecution of the Russian military police shortly before the Russian Revolution. At a meeting of the inhabitants of the Shatoi district, Uzun Ḥādjdīr declared Nadīm al-Dīn



Gotsinskii, a respected scholar of liberal leanings and son of a *nā'ib* of Imām Shāmīl, as *imām* of Čečnyā and Dāghistān. The *shaykh* confirmed his nomination by a display of his miraculous powers. According to some "eye-witness" accounts, he performed his prayer on his felt coat (*burka*) which he had spread in the middle of lake Eyzen-Am.

In September 1917, the Second Congress of the Mountain Peoples was assembled at Andy, on the border between Dāghistān and Čečnyā. It attracted some 20,000 participants from all over the Caucasus. In addition to traditional religious and political leaders and members of the nascent mountaineer bourgeoisie, the Congress was attended by representatives of leftist political parties, including the Bolsheviks, and a number of political emissaries from the Provisional Government of Russia. Another congress took place at Temir-Khān-Shūrā, in Dāghistān. Its participants ignored Uzun Hādjdī's appointment of Gotsinskii as *imām* of Dāghistān and Čečnyā. Instead, they bestowed upon him the title of chief *mufī*, which carried less political authority. This event upset Uzun Hādjdī, since it nullified his earlier appointment of Gotsinskii as *imām*. Upon hearing the news, Uzun Hādjdī withdrew from Temir-Khān-Shūrā together with some 10,000 of his supporters. Uzun Hādjdī's departure reflected his frustration with the growing influence of leftist, "socialist" groups on the events in Dāghistān and Čečnyā and their attempts to seize the initiative from the traditional mountaineer leadership and to use it to their advantage. Gotsinskii's authority was drastically reduced when a mass meeting of Dāghistānī villagers (apparently orchestrated by the opponents of Gotsinskii) named the Nakshbandī *shaykh* 'Alī Hādjdī of Akūsha—a village in the Dargin region of Dāghistān—as the second *mufī*.

Similar tensions between various tribal, ethnic and political factions, often working at cross-purposes, were in evidence in other areas of the northern Caucasus. Thus at a meeting of the Čečen National Council, the *murīds* of the Nakshbandī *shaykh* Deni Arsanov attacked and beat up the Council's chairman Aḥmad-Khān Mutushev. As a result, Arsanov became chairman "by default". The breakdown of centralised authority resulted in chaos and political assassinations, which had begun shortly after the February revolution of 1917 and which continued uninterrupted throughout the rest of the year.

Against this background, the long-standing animosity between the Russian and Ukrainian Cossacks and the Čečens burst into the open, leading to a tit-for-tat warfare between the two groups. Several Čečen and Cossack settlements were plundered and put to the torch. In the course of these hostilities, a Cossack detachment murdered *shaykh* Deni Arsanov, along with his 35 *murīds*, after he had attempted to broker a peace agreement between the warring parties. This tragic episode led to a further escalation of violence. In December 1917 the members of the Čečen National Council were forced to flee from Grozny, which had fallen into the hands of revolutionary workers and soldiers, most of whom were of Russian or Ukrainian backgrounds. This event led to the isolation of the capital from the rest of the country and the emergence of two parallel power structures, the Russian-dominated *Sovdeps* (councils of representatives of workers and soldiers) and the one which was controlled by traditional Čečen leaders, such as *shaykh* 'Alī Mitaev and the former chairman of the Čečen National Council, Aḥmad-Khān Mutushev, both of whom were affiliated with different branches of the Kunta Hādjdī

tarīka. Into this complex and near-chaotic political landscape came former officers of the "Wild Division" of the Tsarist army, who tried to form a political alliance with the traditional Čečen leaders against the Bolsheviks in Grozny.

The situation grew even further confused after the collapse in late October 1917 of the Provisional Government of Russia and the seizure of power in the Russian capital by the Bolsheviks and their radical political allies. In the Caucasus, the power vacuum created by the change of guard in St. Petersburg (Petrograd) was filled in the early months of 1918 by a series of short-lived "unions", "congresses" and "councils", which were usually organised by ethnicity. All these political bodies proved to be extremely fractious and incapable of reaching consensus on any given proposal or policy. Under the circumstances, leftist political parties, such as the Bolsheviks, Mensheviks, and Social Revolutionaries, which had been cemented by a strict party discipline and decades of struggle against the Russian imperial government, turned out to be the only viable alternative to the authority of the traditional religious leaders of mountaineer society. Steeped in the arts of political agitation and revolutionary demagoguery, the leftist parties soon gained the upper hand in the struggle to win over the masses. Their clear and catchy political slogans, promising social and ethnic equality and an equitable distribution of land, resonated with the aspirations of the impoverished Russian and mountaineer classes. To enhance their influence even further, in January 1918, a group of representatives of the leftist political parties of the northern Caucasus agreed to form the so-called "Socialist Bloc".

After a period of political jockeying, the Bolsheviks, led by Sergei Kirov, succeeded in wresting the leadership of the Bloc from their rivals, the Mensheviks and Socialist Revolutionaries. On 4 May 1918, the leaders of the Socialist Bloc declared the creation of the Terek Peoples' Republic, with its capital in Vladikavkaz. The new republic was to be part of the Russian Federation. It included Ossetia, Čečnyā, Ingushetia, Kabarda, Balkaria, and the lands of the Kumuks and Noghay Tatars. As Russia descended ever deeper into the chaos of civil war, many mountaineer leaders began to consider the possibility of creating an independent state. In the early months of 1918, a group of politicians led by Tapo Čermoev, Vassan-Girey Djabagi, Pshemakhō Kotsev and several other mountaineer leaders of a liberal slant, formed the so-called "Mountain Government" at Tiflis. On 11 May 1918, they declared an independent "Mountain Republic". The primary goal of the new state, as envisaged by its founders, was the immediate cessation of civil war on its territory and the construction of a new life on democratic principles.

This programme was, however, never implemented. Soon after the fall of the Bolshevik-dominated Terek Peoples' Republic, the country was occupied by the White Army of General Denikin. Since Denikin's political programme rested on the idea of the restoration of Russian imperial rule and revival of a "one and undivided Russia", he hurried to abolish the independent "Mountain Republic" and attacked its supporters in Kabarda and North Ossetia. When the White Army arrived in Čečnyā and Ingushetia, it unleashed a brutal punitive campaign against the local population, burning down dozens of villages and executing hundreds of their inhabitants. The protests of the Mountain Republic's leadership addressed to the Western powers, which had actively supported and



equipped Denikin, went unheeded. In the meantime, the Bolsheviks of the Terek Peoples' Republic went underground. Many Bolshevik ministers (commissars) found refuge in the remote mountains of İčkeriya (Čečnyā). From there, they directed a campaign of sabotage and agitation against the Whites. Their calls to resist the White Army and expel it from the country found an eager reception among the mountaineers, who had realised that Denikin's victory would lead to the restoration of the oppressive Russian imperial rule over their lands. Playing on such fears, the Bolsheviks made a pact with the local religious leaders, such as the Kādīrī *shaykh* 'Alī Mitaev and the Naqshbandī elder *shaykh* Sugaip-Mullā, who enjoyed wide support among the mountaineer masses. The Bolsheviks did not hesitate to promise their allies, in the case of victory, full political autonomy and freedom to practice their religion and to implement the rule of the *Shari'a*.

In June 1919, the popular Čečen revolutionary Aslanbek Sheripov and the Dāghistānī leader Uzun Hādjī agreed to form a unified front against the occupying White Army. In September, Uzun Hādjī proclaimed himself *imām* and military commander (*amīr*) of the "North Caucasus Emirate" with the capital at Vedenō (Vedan), the Čečen village that some 80 years earlier had served as a headquarters of Shāmil's imāmate. Simultaneously, Uzun Hādjī declared a "holy war" (*ghazawāh*) against the White legionnaires. Uzun Hādjī's headquarters became the recruitment point of mountaineer fighters from all over the northern Caucasus, especially Kabarda, Balkaria, Ingushetia, and Dāghistān. Many volunteer detachments were led by Sūfī *shaykhs*, who often arrived in Vedenō accompanied by their *murīds*. Some of them were given ministerial posts in the Emirate government. The leaders of this new state, which they classified as a "*Shari'a* monarchy" (Rus. *shariatskaya monarkhiya*), declared their primary aim to be full independence from Russia under the rule of the *Shari'a*. The territory of the Emirate was divided into seven provinces that were administered by Uzun Hādjī's *nā'ibs*. In addition, he sent his ambassadors to the neighbouring states, such as Ādharbāyījān, with which he maintained close ties throughout his political career.

Impressed by Uzun Hādjī's influence on the mountaineers of different ethnic and tribal backgrounds, the Bolsheviks endeavoured to secure his support in the struggle against their common enemy, the Whites. On 4 February 1920, the Bolsheviks formed a special "committee for the restoration of Soviet rule in the Northern Caucasus" under the chairmanship of Ordžonikidze with Kirov as his chief lieutenant. They succeeded in convincing the mountaineer leadership of the necessity to join forces against the White Army. From then on, the Caucasian Red Partisans and the Fifth Red Army led by the Bolshevik commander Nikolai Gikalo fought alongside the *murīds* of Uzun Hādjī and of other local *wirds*. Some members of the Ćim Mīrā *wird* of the Kunta Hādjī *tarikā* even decorated their sheepskin hats (*papakhas*) with red bands to demonstrate their solidarity with the Bolsheviks.

In March 1920, after having suffered a series of crushing defeats at the hands of the Muslim-Bolshevik coalition, the White Army abandoned the major cities of Čečnyā and Dāghistān and began to withdraw to the coast of the Caspian Sea. The city of Darband was liberated after a nineteen-day, street-by-street battle, giving the Whites no alternative but to put their entire army on ships and sail from the port of Petrovsk.

Their departure ushered in a new stage of the war, during which the former allies soon found themselves locked in a life-and-death struggle for control of the country they had just liberated. This, however, did not happen overnight, as the Soviets initially did not feel strong enough to turn against their Muslim comrades-in-arms. A cable from Vladimir Lenin addressed to the Bolshevik Revolutionary Committee (*revkom*) of Grozny instructed its members to respect the mountaineers' desire for religious and political autonomy and independence. This was, however, apparently only a temporary tactical manoeuvre that was to be supplanted by a more aggressive strategy on the part of the Bolshevik party leadership, which was determined to bring the entire Caucasus under communist rule.

m. *The anti-Soviet rebellion of 1920-1 in Upper Dāghistān*

The death of Uzun Hādjī in May 1920 did not lead to the dissolution of his Emirate. His functions as head of a theocratic state were taken up by a number of authoritative religious leaders, such as the Sūfī *shaykh* 'Alī Mitaev, who had about 10,000 followers in Čečnyā and Ingushetia. Like Uzun Hādjī, Mitaev maintained close relationships with Nadīm al-Dīn Gotsinskii, who was generally recognised as the new *imām* of Čečnyā and Dāghistān. However, for reasons that are not entirely clear, 'Alī Mitaev did not take an active part in Gotsinskii's bid for independence from Soviet Russia in the months that followed. Gotsinskii assembled under his command about 20,000 seasoned fighters, who were to become the core of his rebel army.

Throughout 1920, tensions were mounting between the former allies of the anti-White coalition in many parts of Dāghistān and Čečnyā. They were fuelled by the highhandedness of the Red Army's commanders and political commissars, who were ignorant of the customs, religious beliefs and social institutions of the local populations and tended to dismiss them as contrary to Communist ideology. Steeped in atheistic propaganda, they viewed the mountaineers' attachment to the Islamic religion as a "reactionary superstition" that had to be discouraged, if not uprooted altogether. The constant influx of fervent revolutionary propagandists and atheistic-minded political representatives (*upolnomočennye*) from Rostov and other cities of southern Russia added to the growing discontent with Soviet rule among the mountaineers and their leaders. The disaffected political groups established their base in the rugged mountainous areas of western Dāghistān, from where they attempted to orchestrate resistance to the Bolshevik authorities.

In August 1920, Nadīm al-Dīn Gotsinskii and Colonel Kaitmas 'Alīkhānov convened an assembly at the remote village of Gīdatl, during which 'Alīkhānov was proclaimed "war minister" of the newly formed "Shari'a Army of the Mountain Peoples". The uprising spread quickly among the mountaineers of Avaristān and the Andy range. The area's rugged terrain made it a natural fortress for the rebel army. In a matter of weeks, Soviet rule in Upper Dāghistān was effectively eliminated and replaced by authorities loyal to Imām Gotsinskii, including Sa'īd-bek (a great-grandson of Imām Shāmil, who had joined the rebellion at Gotsinskii's invitation), Colonel 'Alīkhānov, and a few traditional leaders affiliated with Sūfī *ṭuruk* and some former officers of the Tsarist army, including Colonel Dja'farov, who was appointed commander-in-chief of the rebel military forces. Food and supplies were provided by the local population, but each fighter had to have his own weapons. The army was divided into 100 strong infantry units, supported by



small cavalry detachments. Throughout the rebellion, the rebels suffered from shortages of weapons and ammunition and had to rely heavily on the supplies captured from the Red Army. This disadvantage was counterbalanced in part by the rebels' intimate knowledge of the local terrain and their mastery of the art of mountain warfare.

The Bolsheviks' initial reaction to the rebellion was ineffective and confused. Their detachments stationed in the area suffered heavy casualties and had to abandon their base at Botlikh, which was occupied by the rebel troops. In less than six weeks, most of Upper Dāghistān on the border with Čečnyā was cleansed of Red Army units and their local allies, the Red Partisans, and fell under the control of the rebels. The only Red Army units that still remained in Upper Dāghistān were trapped within their fortresses. To relieve them, during the first two weeks of October 1920, Red Army reinforcements were sent to Temūr-Khān-Shūrā from Ādharbāydzjān. Upon arrival, they were dispatched to the rebel-controlled areas with the orders to occupy the strategic village of Arakany (Harakān). As a 700-strong Red Army expeditionary force led by the head of the Dāghistān Čeka ("Committee for Struggle Against Counter-Revolution, Sabotage and Speculation") was approaching Arakany, on 30 October 1920, it was enticed into a narrow gorge by the rebel levies under the command of Shāykh Muḥammad of Balakhany and massacred to the last man.

Following this military disaster, which was a re-run of many similar ones suffered by the Imperial Russian army in the 19th century, the Bolshevik military command of the Caucasus began to prepare a massive military expedition into the mountains of Upper Dāghistān with the mission to crush the rebellion once and for all. The new Red Army force under the command of Todorskii was supported by the pro-Russian and pro-Bolshevik mountaineer fighters (Red Partisans), who had distinguished themselves in the struggle against the White Army of General Denikin. The Red Partisans took an active part in the ensuing hostilities and were instrumental in relieving the Red Army garrisons besieged at Khunzakh and Gunib. Intent on quelling the rebellion at any cost, the Red Army command continued to pour more reinforcements into Dāghistān. They were deployed against the rebel army at Ghimrāh (Gimry), Botlikh and Arakany, which counted some 3,500 fighters among its ranks. The Red Army detachments continued to suffer heavy casualties (almost 400 men) at the hands of the rebels throughout November 1920; during that month the Red Army garrisons were effectively reduced to holding their positions at Gunib and Khunzakh. Their occasional punitive forays into the mountains failed to suppress the rebels, instead arousing the hatred of the local population, which actively supported the rebels. The loss of the élite "First Model Revolutionary Discipline Rifle Regiment" near Botlikh in late November 1920 was a dramatic evidence of Red Army's inability to achieve its strategic objectives as well as the counterproductive nature of its scorched-earth policy against the civilian population. On the other hand, the reversals suffered by the Red Army infused the rebel forces with confidence, and gave them much-needed supplies and ammunition. In the end, the Red Army regiments led by Nađim al-Dīn Samurskii were forced to seek refuge in their last remaining strongholds at Gunib and Khunzakh. Their siege by the rebel army lasted for two months, during which the Red Army fighters suffered terrible

deprivations. At the end of 1920, the Red Army command made another attempt to quash the rebellion. Fresh Red Army divisions from Russia and Ādharbāydzjān were dispatched into the region with the orders to cut the rebels off from their supply base in Čečnyā, to punish the local population for their co-operation with the rebel force, and to surround and eliminate the enemy force. Valley after valley was occupied by the fresh Red Army troops and a renewed scorched-earth policy applied to the conquered villages, forcing the rebels to withdraw ever deeper into the barren mountains. Supported by armoured vehicles, the Red Army scored an important victory in early January 1921 at Khodzhal-Makhi. The remaining rebels, some 1,000 men, retreated to the *aul* of Gergebil, where they took their final stand against the superior Red Army force. In the course of the all-out advance that began on 7 January, the Red Army forces suffered heavy casualties, and were still unable to capture the well-fortified *aul* until 26 January 1921. In the course of the siege, the Red Army units lost a total of 877 men, with the rebels' casualties probably twice, if not more than that number. The remaining rebel forces evacuated the area around Gergebil and retreated to Arakany and Ghimrāh (Gimry). Arakany was captured by a Red Army unit on 14 February 1921 after a fierce hand-to-hand street battle, leaving most of Upper Dāghistān under Soviet control. Gimry, an almost impregnable mountain fortress and the birthplace of Shāmil, remained the last rebel stronghold. Due to its natural defences, it could only be forced to surrender by around-the-clock artillery fire. Within a week, 90% of the buildings in the *aul* were reduced to rubble. The rebels responded by lightning night raids against the artillery units positioned around the village.

After the capture of Gimry on 17 February 1921, its surviving defenders withdrew to western Dāghistān. The Soviet victory was due in part to the fall to the Soviets of the independent Georgian Republic in late February 1921, which left the rebel forces exposed to Red Army attacks from Georgian territory, now firmly under Soviet control. The last rebel detachment led by Colonel Dja'farov counted some 250 to 300 men, including a few surviving leaders of the rebellion, such as the "war minister" Colonel 'Alikhānov and Lieutenant Abakarov. They assembled at the *aul* of Gidat, the birthplace of their resistance movement, in April 1921. The *aul* fell in May after several days of fierce fighting. Some rebel commanders managed to escape, only to be hunted down, captured and executed by the Soviet interior troops within the next few years. Of the principal figures of the Dāghistān rebellion, only Sa'id-Bek, great-grandson of Imām Shāmil, was able to make his way to Turkey.

The war between the Soviets and their Muslim opponents was accompanied by atrocities on both sides. The bodies of the fallen Red Army combatants were routinely mutilated by the rebels in response to their indiscriminate violence against the population of the *auls* suspected of supporting the guerrillas. As a result of several years of hostilities, most of Dāghistān lay in ruins; it took more than a decade of strenuous effort to rebuild the country. The brutal suppression of Dāghistān's bid for independence left a legacy of mutual hatred between the local population and the Soviets. This hatred manifested itself in the series of small-scale uprisings that continued throughout the late 1920s and early 1930s.

n. "Class struggle" and Communist purges in Čečnyā and Ingushetia, 1920-38

In Čečnyā and Ingushetia, now firmly under Soviet



control, the Muslim population was in no position to participate actively in the Dāghistān rebellion, although some minor disturbances did take place on the border between Čečnyā and the rebel-controlled parts of Dāghistān. In Čečnyā, tensions between traditional leaders and pro-Communist elements came to the fore in the course of public debates over the future of the Autonomous Mountain Soviet Socialist Republic, which was proclaimed on 17 November 1920. It included the territories of present-day Čečnyā, Ingushetia, Ossetia, Kabarda, Balkaria and Karačay.

The government of the infant republic was dominated by revolutionary-minded intellectuals, who had supported the Bolsheviks from the early days of the February Revolution in Russia and were willing to co-operate with the Soviets in return for domestic autonomy. Under Lenin, the Russian political leadership was ready to accommodate their nationalist agendas and grant them independence *vis-à-vis* the Bolshevik régime in Moscow. The secularised revolutionary leaders of the Mountain Republic faced opposition from the more religiously-minded political factions, whom Bolshevik sources described as "supporters of the *Shari'a*" (*shariatists*). At issue was the role and scope of the *Shari'a* legislation in the life of the new state. The *shariatists* demanded the full and unconditional implementation of *Shari'a* legislation in all spheres of public life, whereas their leftist opponents sought to restrict it to the realm of private conviction and prohibit its public dissemination. The leftists eventually triumphed over the supporters of the *Shari'a* and declared Communist values and secular legislation to be the only law of the land. In August 1922, a decree issued by the Central Committee of the Soviet Mountain Republic officially abolished local *Shari'a* courts, although in Čečnyā and Ingushetia they remained active until 1926.

Gradually, the struggle against the *Shari'a* turned into a concerted political campaign against its learned exponents, the '*ulamā*'. Since, by virtue of their special status in mountaineer society Muslim scholars continued to dominate local councils (soviets) in the Čečen and Ingush countryside, in September 1921 the Communist Central Committee based in Grozny issued a decree replacing local Soviets with Bolshevik-dominated revolutionary committees (*revkoms*). The anti-clerical campaign unleashed by the Bolsheviks was aimed at reducing the influence of traditional Muslim leaders on the masses and at isolating them politically. Some Muslim scholars sought to retain their social roles by cooperating with the Soviets. Among them was the Šūfī *shaykh* 'Alī Mitaev. As the son of the renowned founder of the Bamatgirey *wird* (a branch of the Kunta Hājdjī *ṭarīqa*), Mitaev enjoyed wide popularity among the Čečens and Ingush. A veteran of the revolutionary war against the White Army, the Bolsheviks considered him reliable enough to appoint to the Revolutionary Committee of the Čečen *oblast'*. Once a month, he is said to have arrived at its meetings in Grozny accompanied by thirty mounted disciples (*murīds*), who patiently waited for him outside the Communist Party headquarters until the end of the meeting. 'Alī Mitaev's political agenda included the demand for an autonomous Mountain Republic under the rule of the *Shari'a*.

In 1924, the Bolshevik party, now headed by Stalin, embarked on a campaign to curtail national autonomies and subject them to the direct rule of the Central Committee of the Communist Party in Moscow. That year witnessed the dismantling of the Soviet Mountain Republic and the creation of a number of

regional autonomies, Karačay-Circassia, Kabarda-Balkaria, Adyghea, Čečnyā, Ingushetia and North Ossetia. This political manoeuvre was followed by a campaign to disarm the mountaineer communities, which was rightly seen by the mountaineers as a prelude to a new wave of repression. To forestall any possibility of rebellion, the communist security agency (OGPU, the forerunner of the KGB) accused many former members of the governing bodies of the Mountain Republic of disloyalty to the Communist party and of fomenting an armed rebellion against the Soviet authorities of Čečnyā and Ingushetia. Among those implicated in the "anti-party activities" was 'Alī Mitaev. He was enticed into a trap by OGPU operatives, arrested and executed in 1925. The OGPU also arrested the prominent Naḡshbandī elder and Islamic scholar Sugaip-Mullā Gaysumov. His life was spared, due in part to his old age and his active role in the struggle against the White Army. However, as with most members of the '*ulamā*' class, he was to be kept under close police surveillance.

From that time on, the OGPU pursued a relentless campaign to isolate and neutralise the Muslim "clergy" of Čečnyā, Ingushetia and Dāghistān as well as other autonomous republics of the northern Caucasus. Many prominent local scholars versed in Arabic and Islamic culture were arrested on trumped-up charges of conspiracy, espionage or membership in the parties and factions that had been condemned by the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party as "deviant" or "dangerous". Later on, in 1926, the local party cadre, including the President of the Central Executive Committee of Čečnyā, Taštemir Elderkhanov and his several aides, were accused of sympathising with the "reactionary clergy" and "bourgeois nationalists" and removed from their offices. They were replaced with Russian party apparatchiks, such as Ivanov and Černoglaz, whose wanton disrespect for local customs and beliefs and fervid implementation of anti-religious policies triggered several small-scale uprisings, which were brutally suppressed by the Soviet interior troops. Many participants of these movements, including those responsible for the assassination of Ivanov and Černoglaz, belonged to the local *wirds*, primarily those of Kunta Hājdjī and Baṭalḥājdjī. In a sense, the "*ṭarīkat* conspiracy" was an invention of Černoglaz, who expected to receive substantial awards and promotion from the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party for "unmasking" it. His assassination at the hands of Kunta Hājdjī *ṭarīka* members was an act of revenge for his dogged persecution of its leaders and ruthless implementation of anti-religious policies.

This act triggered a series of new persecutions against the members of the implicated *ṭuruk* and their leaders, whom the Soviet authorities viewed as the bastions of "religious fanaticism" and "reactionary ideology". In less than one month, the OGPU forces arrested 300 Čečens, Ingush and Dāghistānīs, including 39 religious leaders, and accused them of plotting an armed rebellion under "religious and nationalist banners". Simultaneously, the Soviet administration of the northern Caucasus sought to undermine the economic foundations of the '*ulamā*' class by confiscating local religious endowments and prohibiting the collection of the *zakāt* [q.v.]. These measures, combined with the introduction of the hated *kolkhozs* and crack-down on the *kulaks* (wealthy peasants) by the Soviet authorities, provoked a wave of local uprisings and unrest that continued throughout 1929-30. Some of the uprisings were led by the former Red Partisans,



such as Shita Istambulov and his brother Hasan of the village of Shali in Čečnyā. On 5 December 1936, the Čečen-Ingush Autonomous Region (*oblast'*) was "upgraded" to the status of an autonomous republic. This act was accompanied by another wave of reprisals against the so-called "anti-Soviet elements" of local societies. In the process, the NKVD (the Peoples' Commissariat of Internal Affairs) forces rounded up and imprisoned thousands of men and women. Most of the arrested were tried under Article 58 of the Soviet criminal code, which envisaged punishments by death and hard labour for such crimes as treason, espionage, fomenting an armed rebellion, sabotage, terrorism, anti-Soviet propaganda, etc. Hundreds of mountaineers were executed; others were sent to Siberia or concentration camps. Some Čečen and Ingush men escaped into the mountains, from where they launched revenge attacks against NKVD operatives and Communist Party functionaries. A decade of political purges left the Čečen and Ingush population demoralised and exhausted by the unequal struggle against the Soviet state and its giant apparatus of political repression. The ranks of the traditional religious leaders were decimated, while those who survived the horrors of Stalin's extermination campaigns were either forced underground or placed under the close surveillance of the Communist secret police.

o. World War II and the mass deportation

Against all odds, resistance to Soviet rule continued throughout the 1930s under the leadership of some members of the Soviet-educated intelligentsia, whose goal was to free their country of the Soviet yoke. Inspired by the Red Army reversals during the Finno-Soviet war of 1939-40, a former Čečen writer and party official, Hasan Israilov, started an armed insurrection in the remote mountain area of Galančoz, near Shatoi.

His movement received a new impetus after Nazi Germany began a large-scale military operation against the Soviets on the eastern front and in the Caucasus. In February 1942, when the German troops approached the Russian city of Taganrog, approximately 350 miles from the Čečen-Ingush Republic, another rebel group headed by Mairbek Sheripov joined Israilov's insurrection. To suppress it, the Soviet military command resorted to an indiscriminate bombing of Čečen villages in the areas under rebel control. In 1943-4, Stalin and his Politburo, accomplished what some Russian military rulers (General Ermolov) and radical politicians (Pavel Pestel, a leader of the "Decembrist" movement) had only dreamed of a century earlier—a massive expulsion of the "hostile" mountain population to Russia and Siberia with the intention of eradicating its resistance to Russian rule. In 1943, a Communist Party decree abolished the Čečen-Ingush Republic, along with the neighbouring republics of Karačay and Balkaria. The abolition was justified by the fact that the population of these republics had not only "co-operated" with the Nazis, but also "invited" them to conquer their lands and promised them full support. While the German troops had indeed occupied briefly the lands of the Karačays and Balkars, they had never set foot on Čečen-Ingush territory. In any event, it made absolutely no legal sense to hold entire nations responsible for the "co-operation" with Germany of some of its representatives. However, the legal issues pertaining to the deportation of mountain nations were of no concern to Stalin and his henchmen (the deportation of the mountaineers was organised and executed by the NKVD chief Lavrentii Beria). They were determined

to punish the mountaineers for their long resistance to the cruel and arbitrary Communist rule and for their continuing struggle for freedom and independence. In late 1943-early 1944, the population of four Caucasian nations, Čečens, Ingush, Balkars and Karačays—men, women and children—were rounded up *en masse* by special Red Army detachments, placed in freight cars and transported to Central Asia. Only three-quarters (some say 50%) of the deported Čečens and Ingush are said to have reached their destination. The rest died *en route* of disease, crowded conditions and starvation. The survivors were placed in special settlements where they remained under the close surveillance of the forces of the Soviet Ministry of Internal Affairs until the end of exile in 1957. Those few Čečens and Ingush who were able to escape into the mountains, continued an *abrek*-style resistance to the Soviets by assassinating Red Army and police officers, robbing and burning down the farms of new settlers from Russia and neighbouring republics, engaging in sabotage, etc.

Deprived of the benefits of culture and education, many members of the exiled nations turned to Islam for consolation and guidance. For many, Islam became a badge of honour and a powerful source of identity and resistance to the Communist régime's attempts to erase any distinguishing ethnic and religious characteristics of its subjects. As a result, during the years of exile, the position of traditional religious leaders, which had been undermined by two decades of Communist rule and by competition from secular nationalists, was reinforced. This is especially true of the exiled Čečens and Ingush, among whom the traditional Süfi *wirds* remained active throughout the exile. Moreover, a new *wird* named after Vis (Uways) Hādjǧǧi, a branch of the Ćim Mīrzā Hādjǧǧi *silsila*, is said to have come into being during this period. Süfism survived also among the exiled Karačays, many of whom were affiliated with the local branch of the Nakshbandiyya *ṭarīqa*. At the same time, there is no evidence to support the oft-repeated claims that, in the 1960s, after the return from Central Asia, from 90% to 95% of the Čečen and Ingush believers were affiliated with a Süfi *ṭarīqa*. Given the fact that this period coincided with Khrushchev's campaign to crack down on "religious superstitions" in all Soviet republics and that leaders of the atheist campaign tended to provide grossly inflated statistics in order to secure additional resources from the Communist Party authorities, such statements have to be treated with extreme caution.

The exile lasted for thirteen years for the Čečens and Ingush and fourteen for the Balkars and Karačays. In January 1957, the Twentieth Communist Party Congress, presided over by Nikita Khrushchev, declared the "rehabilitation" of the four deported mountain nations along with the other victims of Stalin's terror, namely, the Kalmyks, the Crimean Tatars and the Volga Germans. The Čečens, Ingush, Karačays and Balkars were allowed to return to their native lands and their autonomous republics were re-established by the Soviet government. Upon arrival, many exiles found their lands and houses occupied by the people who were resettled there on Stalin's orders. This created a fertile ground for conflicts over land between the new settlers and the returning indigenous population. Thus in Ingushetia, the lands that had been vacated by the exiled Ingush population were occupied by the settlers from neighbouring North Ossetia. With the weakening of the Soviet state in the late 1980s, the long-standing conflict between these



two ethnic groups escalated into violence and bloodshed to the extent that the Soviet government was forced to send regular army units to the area in order to separate the combatants. In Čečnyā, the majority of new settlers were Russian Cossacks from the neighbouring Stavropol' region (*krai*). The Russo-Cečen military conflicts of 1994-6 and 1999-2002 led to an upsurge of Čečen nationalism and anti-Russian sentiment. As a result, many Cossack families were forced to flee to Russia along with thousands of Russian and Ukrainian families that had resided in Čečnyā's urban centres, especially in Grozny and Gudermes.

p. Conclusion

The developments in the Caucasus following the dissolution of the Soviet Union in December 1991 cannot be detailed here, especially since many aspects of local social and political life are still in flux and require a careful analysis. In the absence of precise data and opportunities for on-site research, any general conclusions are at best premature. The old biases and stereotypes of Soviet historiography are now being replaced by new ones. They spring from the proliferation of nationalist mythologies associated with the process of nation-building and forging new religious and national identities. Unfortunately, despite the opening up of the area to Western scholars in the aftermath of the collapse of the Soviet régime, the ongoing warfare and continuing hostage-taking in various parts of the Caucasus, most notably in Čečnyā, Ingushetia, Dāghistān, Qarābāgh, Abkhāzia and Ossetia, make research trips to the area extremely dangerous. In many senses, the Caucasus has all the typical characteristics of the so-called "post-Soviet" political, social and economic space, i.e. general political instability, near-disastrous economic conditions resulting from a steep decline in industrial and agricultural output, high unemployment and crime rates, a feeling of nostalgia for the stability and certainties of the late Soviet era, corruption at all levels of the state apparatus, etc.

Since the disintegration of the Soviet Union, the political landscape of the area has been determined by several military conflicts, of which the two Russo-Cečen wars, the war between Abkhāzia and Georgia and the struggle for [Nagorno-]Qarābāgh [*q.v.*] between Armenia and Aḏharbāyḏjān, deserve special mention. In all these cases, religion plays an important role, at least on the rhetorical level, as the parties to the conflict adhere to different religious traditions, i.e. "Christian" Russia versus "Muslim" Čečnyā; "Muslim" Abkhāzia versus "Christian" Georgia; "Christian" Armenia versus "Muslim" Aḏharbāyḏjān. As the political space in the new ethnic formations is being contested by multiple forces and factions, Islam has come to serve as a powerful source of rhetoric and legitimacy for the participants. Furthermore, different political factions uphold different interpretations of Islam, which further complicates the local discursive landscape.

So far, the most prominent and consequential divide has been between the supporters of "traditional" Islam and the so-called "Wahhābīs". The former emphasise loyalty to the local version of Islamic religion as explained and maintained by mountaineer 'ulamā' and Šūfī elders (*ustādhs*). The "traditionalists" encourage the reverence of local saints, the continuing use of the local customs (*ādāt*), participation in Šūfī rituals and respect for the traditional clan structure. The "Wahhābīs", who style themselves *salafīyyūn* [see SALAFIYYA], claim to follow the teaching of Ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb [*q.v.*] and its modernised version upheld by Su'ūdī-based scholars. They are particularly active

in Čečnyā and Dāghistān. In 1996-9, in the Buynaksk region of Dāghistān, several local "Wahhābī" groups attempted to create small enclaves of *Sharī'a* rule. Their leaders declared their independence of the official Dāghistānī government at Makhač-ka'le [*q.v.*]. In late 1999, they fought against Russian troops, which had been sent to suppress them, alongside the Čečen Wahhābīs led by the field commander, *Amīr* Shāmil Basaev. According to the Caucasian "Wahhābīs", their teaching represents the "pure and simple" Islam of the primeval Muslim community. They demand that their followers and Muslims at large strictly adhere to their version of the "Islamic" dress code (described as "Arab" by its opponents) for men and women, carefully observe the basic Muslim rites and restrictions and participate in *djihad* against the "enemies" of the Muslim community worldwide. The supporters of Caucasian "Wahhābism" reject as *bid'a* [*q.v.*] many key elements of "traditional" Caucasian Islam, namely, belief in the supernatural and intercessory powers of Šūfī *shaykhs* and *ustādhs*, the practice of *dhiḳr* and the use of the local *ādāt* alongside the *Sharī'a*.

To what extent "Wahhābism" can be seen as a mere foreign import (as argued by its detractors), deliberately introduced into the Caucasus by missionaries and volunteer fighters (*mudjāhidūn*) from Su'ūdī Arabia, the Arab states of the Gulf, Afghānistān and Pākistān, and cultivated through an elaborate system of material incentives and sophisticated propaganda, remains unclear. One cannot deny that "Wahhābism" has found a wide following among the Čečen and Ingush youth, as well as some middle-aged men and women, whose lives have been shattered by the brutality of the Russo-Cečen wars. By infusing its followers with a sense of camaraderie and common cause that goes beyond the immediate goals of nationhood and independence, "Wahhābism" serves as a powerful source of identity and mobilisation that renders it especially well suited for the trying times of war. At the same time, by its sweeping rejection of local customs and practices, Caucasian "Wahhābism" inevitably creates a rift between different groups of mountaineers. Often, but not always, this rift is generational in its nature. The fact that "Wahhābism" has been embraced by the younger generation of Čečen military and political leaders (Shāmil Basaev, Mowladi Udugov, Arbi Baraev, etc.) in opposition to the "Šūfī" Islam of the supporters of President Maskhadov may indicate that the former are eager to free themselves from the traditional sources of legitimacy and authority in order to enter into a dialogue with, and perhaps secure assistance from, the Muslim community worldwide.

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ḲABṬŪRNUH, BANU 'L-, a family of 5th/11th-century al-Andalus whose Arabic *nasab* was the Banū Sa'īd.

They comprised three brothers who were poets and also secretaries to the Aftasid prince of Badajoz, Abū Ḥaṣṣ 'Umar al-Mutawakkil (464-88/1072-95 [q.v. and AFTASIDS]), and then were subsequently in the chancery of the Almoravids. The *laqab* of al-Ḳabṭūrnuh (according to other sources, al-Ḳabṭūrnah or al-Ḳubṭūrnuh) suggests an Hispanic origin, probably one stemming from the Low Latin **capiturnus* "having a large head". The first of the three brothers, Abū Muḥammad Ṭaḥa (Ibn al-Abbār, no. 259) is the author of several fragments, of an epicurean and festive type, as well as three fragments elegising his wife, Umm al-Faḍl. The second brother, Abū Bakr 'Abd al-'Azīz (Ibn al-Abbār, no. 1743), is the best known of them; he has left behind the most substantial written legacy, including a poem of 14 verses recounting nostalgically the days of his youth at Cordova, plus other poetic and prose fragments, including a short *risāla* in an artificial style (ed. Makkī, in *RIEM*, vii-viii, 186-8). Only a few very rare verses remain from the third brother, Abū 'l-Ḥasan Muḥammad. The family's poetry is often considered as exemplifying the Andalusī poetry of the Taifas period [see MULŪK AL-ṬAWĀ'IF. 2], hedonist in tone and in a brilliant but rather mannered style.

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ḲADAMGĀH (A. and P.), literally "place of the [imprint of the] foot", a village in Khurāsān, on the highway to Mashhad and some 20 km/12 miles



east of Nīshāpūr at the southern edge of the Kūh-i Bīnālūd (lat. 36° 07' N., long. 59° 00' E.). It is locally famed as a *ziyāratgāh* or place of pilgrimage, since the Eighth Imām of the Shī'a, 'Alī al-Ridā [q.v.], is said to have halted there and left the imprint of his foot on a stone, henceforth to be regarded with reverence; see Bess A. Donaldson, *The wild rue. A study of Muhammadan magic and folklore in Iran*, London 1938, 59, 148-9).

The concept of sacred imprints on rocks, on the roof and walls of caves, etc., is widespread across the Old World, certainly from the Middle East to South and South-East Asia (in the latter regions, with e.g. footprints of the Buddha, as at Adam's Peak, Ceylon). In the Islamic lands, imprints of the Prophet Muḥammad's foot are early found all over the Arab lands, and subsequently in Ottoman Turkey, and are especially objects of veneration in Muslim India (as likewise are imprints of holy men in non-Muslim India); see KADAM SHARIF and also Annemarie Schimmel, *And Muhammad is His Messenger. The veneration of the Prophet in Islamic piety*, Chapel Hill, N.C. 1985, 42-3.

There are in fact numerous similar *kadamgāhs* or shrines of saints and holy men, often but not always 'Alids, apart from the one mentioned above near Nīshāpūr, throughout Eastern Persia, Afghānistān and Northwestern India, including a footprint of the caliph 'Alī b. 'Abī Tālib at the (Sunnī) shrine of Mazār-i Sharīf [q.v.] in northern Afghānistān. One should also mention *pandjagāhs*, "places of the [imprint of the] palm of the hand", impressions of the hands of holy men. Thus in Kābul, to the east of the Bālā Hīšār above the city, is the shrine of the Pandja-yi Shāh Mardān ("Lord of Mankind", i.e. the Prophet Muḥammad) mentioned by the traveller Charles Masson (*Narrative of various journeys in Balochistan, Afghanistan, and the Panjab*, London 1842, ii, 236, iii, 93; and cf. R.D. McClesney, *Waḡf in Central Asia. Four hundred years in the history of a Muslim shrine, 1480-1889*, Princeton 1991, 226).

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(C.E. BOSWORTH)

KĀDĪ-ZĀDE RŪMĪ, ŠALĀH AL-DĪN MŪSĀ b. Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd al-Rūmī, usually referred to as Kāḍī-zāde al-Rūmī or Mūsā Kāḍī-zāde al-Rūmī, lived ca. 760-ca. 835/1359-1432, dates derived from an early work written in 784/1382-3 and from his having outlived Ghīyāth al-Dīn al-Kāshī (d. 832/1429 [q.v.]), noted astronomer/mathematician from Bursa who played a substantial role in the Samarḳand observatory [see MARŠAD] of Ulugh Beg [q.v.] and whose commentaries were used extensively as teaching texts for mathematics and astronomy.

After studying for a time in his native Bursa, where his father Maḥmūd was a prominent judge at the time of Sultan Murād I, Kāḍī-zāde travelled to Persia to pursue an education in the philosophical and mathematical sciences. There he studied with the famous theologian al-Sayyid al-Sharīf al-Djurdjānī [q.v.], probably at the court of Tīmūr in Samarḳand; this was, however, an unhappy experience for both parties with al-Djurdjānī complaining of his student's infatuation with the mathematical sciences while Kāḍī-zāde made it known that his teacher was deficient in those subjects. After Tīmūr's death, Kāḍī-zāde found both a student and patron in Tīmūr's grandson Ulugh Beg, also in Samarḳand. He became the head of the large *madrasa* there and Ulugh Beg himself sometimes attended his lectures. Sometime later, ca. 823/1420, he collaborated with Ghīyāth al-Dīn al-Kāshī under the directorship and patronage of Ulugh Beg to build the famous Samarḳand observatory and undertake its

observational programmes. After al-Kāshī's death in 1429, he no doubt assumed additional responsibilities. By then he was assisted by the talented young 'Alī Kūshdjī [q.v.], who continued the observational programme after Kāḍī-zāde's death. Kūshdjī's daughter would marry Kāḍī-zāde's son Shams al-Dīn; a grandson of this union was the famous Ottoman astronomer/mathematician Mīrim Čelebī (d. 931/1525).

Kāḍī-zāde was not noted for his innovations or creativity, and his works reflect this. He was most famous for his commentaries on al-Djaghmīnī's [q.v.] astronomical compendium *al-Mulakḥḥas fi 'l-hay'a* (814/1412) and Shams al-Dīn al-Samarḳandī's [q.v.] geometrical tract *Ashkāl al-ta'sīs* (completed 815/1412); the large number of extant manuscripts of both commentaries indicates their enduring popularity as teaching texts. A work on determining the value of Sin 1° is heavily dependent on the more mathematically accomplished al-Kāshī. His supercommentary on Athīr al-Dīn al-Abharī's [q.v.] *Hidāyat al-ḥikma* seems to be his only philosophical or theological work, though he did intend to write a refutation of parts of al-Djurdjānī's famous commentary on al-Idjī's *Mawākif*. The common attribution to Kāḍī-zāde of Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana or. MS 271, a commentary on Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Tūsī's astronomical work *al-Tadhkira*, is incorrect; it is actually by al-Djurdjānī.

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KAFAN (A.), "shroud".

In the Islamic world, a dying person was often forewarned of imminent death by a dream, or by a dream that an inhabitant of his town had had during the preceding days, to the effect that the Prophet or some other great figure like Abū Bakr, 'Umar or 'Alī, was waiting for him and he should get ready for the meeting. Since death is the natural goal of life, its approach should be managed calmly. When the death agony is imminent, the dying person pronounces the *shahāda* or profession of faith, whilst raising one finger of the right hand to re-affirm for the last time his belief in the unity of God. If he is too weak, someone close to him murmurs in his ear just as his father murmured to him at his birth. The corpse is washed, unless the dying person has washed himself in preparation, and then wrapped in three cloths, white shrouds, or cloths of any other colour except red, fastened very tightly. A professional enshrouder, *kaffān*, takes charge of this process using cloths woven by an *akfānī*. The shroud has often been acquired long before death by the deceased, the sole piece of property which he retains after his death, since it does not figure in what he leaves behind as inheritance. Only the corpse of a martyr killed in the way of *djihad* is not washed, but buried where he has fallen and in his bloodstained garments.

For great persons, the number of shrouds and their

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value could increase considerably. At his death, the Fāṭimid vizier Ibn Killis [q.v.] was buried, at the expense of the caliph al-ʿAzīz, in fifty perfumed shrouds and cloths of various fibres, with a total value of 10,000 dinārs (see al-Maḳrīzī, *Itṭiʿāz al-hunafāʾ*, ed. Dī. Shaiyāl, Cairo 1387/1967, i, 268-9; see also the store of Fāṭimid shrouds mentioned by al-Musabbihī, *Akḥbār Miṣr*, ed. A.F. Sayyid and Th. Bianquis, Cairo 1978, 107). The fibres used in spinning these costly shrouds, and also the inscriptions on them—a politico-religious content in Fāṭimid Egypt, and often poetical, on the theme of the inevitability of death, in Būyid ʿIrāk—have been studied by both archaeologists and museum specialists (R. Gayraud, *al-Qurʾān al-kubrā, dernière demeure des Fāṭimides*, in M. Barrucand (ed.), *L’Égypte, son art et son histoire*, Paris 1999, 443-64; bibl. and characteristic texts in E. Garcin, *Le textile dans l’Islam médiéval, productions biyūdes et fāṭimides*, diss. DEA, Lumière-Lyon 2 1999, unpubl., 59-60).

The corpse was borne, on the same day, but rarely at night, on a simple bier, *naʿsh* (*wa-humila naʿshuhu ʿalā aydī*), al-Musabbihī, *op. cit.*, 108) by men who would sometimes run: “If I am good, bear me speedily to God, and if I am bad, get rid of me quickly.” A prayer was pronounced over the corpse near a mosque. Everyone would stand as the corpse passed by, even for the corpses of Jews and Christians (it was usual to be present at the funerals of important members of the other religious communities), out of respect for the angels accompanying it. It was even more meritorious to bear a corner of the bier. Sometimes the dead person was borne along without a bier, like a package wrapped in a white shroud, or conversely, the corpse could be carried in an open wooden coffin (*sandūq*, *tābūt*, also meaning cenotaph). The chroniclers mention this fact as a sign of respect felt for someone of a distinguished social group.

The corpse, wrapped in the shroud, is lowered into a tomb dug out for this purpose (see the detailed description of the types of Muslim tombs in Y. Raghib, *Structure de la tombe d’après le droit musulman*, in *Arabica*, xxxix [1992], 395-403). The shroud is then loosened so that the dead person can be at his ease, and the face is turned towards Mecca (archaeologists have found skeletons with *post mortem* fractures of the cervical vertebrae). Three handfuls of earth are thrown over the corpse, whilst pronouncing the words “We created you with this [earth], We give him back to it, and We will resurrect him anew” (cf. the myths of ancient Mesopotamia and Kurʾān, XXII, 5, XXX, 19, etc.). The cavity is filled with earth and pebbles, with an orifice left for the deceased to get water. From this point onwards, and until the palms planted on the tomb become dried up, the deceased is given over to interrogation by the angels of death preparatory to the Last Judgement [see *ʿADHĀB AL-KABR*].

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KAFES (A., T.) “cage”, the popular term in Ottoman Turkish usage for the area of the harem

of the Topkapı palace in which Ottoman princes of the blood (*shēh-zāde*) were confined from the early 17th century onwards.

In a more abstract sense, historians apply the same term to the system whereby the rights of claimants to the Ottoman throne were determined, as opposed to the “law of fratricide” which it was gradually superseding during this period. In the sources, the term is of late usage only (d’Ohsson uses the word in the plural; *Tableau de l’Empire ottoman*, vii, 101; ʿĀṣim, *Tārīkh*, Istanbul n.d., ii, 32). Earlier and more widely attested, however, is the appellation *Shimshīrlik* (or *Çimshīrlik* “the box shrub”) or *Shimshīrlik odası* (“the boxwood chamber”), a reference to the little courtyard planted with box, at the north-east corner of the courtyard of the Wālide Sultān (Silāḥdār, *Tārīkh*, Istanbul 1928, ii, 297; Uzunçarşılı, *Saray*, 91; Rāshid, *Tārīkh*, Istanbul 1282/1865-6, ii, 2-3; Necipoğlu, *Topkapı Palace*, figs. 94, 168, 178). It consisted of a set of pavilions (twelve, according to d’Ohsson, who presents each as “comprising several rooms and surrounded by a high wall”), surmounted by cupolas, fitted with chimneys and windows which, for the preservation of sexual segregation, did not overlook the harem. Some were decorated with the mural tiles typical of the 17th century and with marble niches (Necipoğlu, 178). Similar arrangements existed in the palace of Edirne: the princes were transferred thither when the Sultan made it his residence.

Adult *shēh-zāde* began living in the interior (*enderūn* [q.v.]) of Topkapı from the time, in the second half of the 16th century, when the practice of entrusting them with provincial governorships in Anatolia was partially and then totally abandoned. This then became the exclusive prerogative of the son of the reigning sovereign. On the other hand, on the accession of Ahmed I, while still a minor (1603), the leading dignitaries of the state allowed his younger brother Muṣṭafā to live installed in a niche within the palace. Furthermore, on the death of the same ruler (1617), they preferred this brother to succeed him rather than his eldest son ʿOṭmān, who was still very young (Pecewī, *Tārīkh*, Istanbul 1283/1866-7, ii, 360-1; Kātib Çelebi, *Fedhileke*, Istanbul 1281/1864-5, i, 385). Having thus emerged from his confinement, Muṣṭafā I was deposed after an initial reign of three months, on account of mental disorders; he “returned to his former apartments” (Naʿīmā, *Tārīkh*, Istanbul 1281/1864-5, ii, 163). He was brought out once again to be restored to the throne after the insurrection which resulted in the assassination of his nephew ʿOṭmān II (May 1622). No more successful than the first, this second reign lasted only sixteen months and Muṣṭafā returned to his prison, where he died in 1639.

These events were the harbingers of important changes: henceforward, despite continuing attacks mounted by ʿOṭmān II and Murād IV against their respective brothers—outdated practices denounced by public opinion—the brothers of reigning sovereigns were allowed to live, but were politically neutralised by rigorous seclusion in the most secure and secret area of the Palace. In parallel, despite the inclination of numerous sultans to promote one of their sons to the succession, the principle of seniority, made possible by the survival of the sultan’s brothers, led, by gradual stages, to the establishment of a successorial system in the Ottoman dynasty: in the early 18th century, the chronicler Rāshid presents the eldest of the brothers of Meḥmed IV, Süleymān II, who succeeded the deposed sultan in 1687, as “the august person who in his turn took charge of the sultanate



(*nöbet-i saltanat*), according to the order of birth" (*tertib-i sinn-i wilâdet üze*, Râşid, ii, 3). Silâhdâr confirms that seniority had become the rule when, on the occasion of the replacement of Muṣṭafâ II, deposed in 1703, Ahmed III, son of Meḥmed IV, was preferred by the arbiters of the situation, on account of the "order of succession" (*tertib-i nöbet*), as well as the qualities of the candidate, over the prince Ibrâhîm, a son of Ahmed II who, furthermore, was still a minor (*Nusret-nâme*, ed. I. Parmaksızoglu, Istanbul 1962, ii, 177).

Another consequence of the establishment of the *kaḥes* was to promote, by constituting a reserve of legitimate candidates to the throne, the notion that the solution to political crises was not to be found only in the sacrifice of a number of senior dignitaries, serving as a "safety-fuse" for the reigning sultan; there was also the option of a change of sultan, a new accession (*qûlûs*): the sovereign himself became a safety-fuse to the benefit of the superior entity constituted by the dynasty, his throne, like other positions of eminence in the empire, being nothing more than "an ejectable seat".

This was indeed an eccentric preparation for an eventual reign: total seclusion which could last several decades (see in Alderson, 36, the table of periods spend in the *kaḥes*, before their accession and after their eventual dethronement, by the twenty-three sultans concerned, from Muṣṭafâ I to 'Abd ül-Medjîd II). However, a distinction should be drawn, following the lead of d'Ohsson, between two categories of *shah-zâde*: on the one hand, the sons of the reigning sultan who, while stringently kept apart from any political activity (and barred from procreation), were not altogether excluded from public life: on the contrary they participated in festivals which, when the case arose, were dedicated to them (circumcisions, the beginnings of education, etc.; cf. S. Faroqhi, *Crisis and change*, in H. Inalcik and D. Quataert (eds.), *An economic and social history of the Ottoman Empire*, Cambridge 1994, 613-14), or in official functions (Ahmed III received the French ambassador, Andrezel, surrounded by his four sons; illustration by J.-B. Van Mour, reproduced in A. Boppe, *Les peintres du Bosphore au XVIII^e siècle*, Paris 1989, 29); and on the other hand, the other princes of the blood. To the latter alone the régime of the *kaḥes* was applied in full rigour. Furthermore, as soon as their father ceased to reign, the princes of the first category were relegated to the second: thus on leaving the prison where he had just spent 39 years, to ascend the throne in place of his deposed brother Meḥmed IV, Süleymân II issued a *khâṭt-i humâyûn* ordering the transfer to the same place of his displaced brother, the latter's two sons Muṣṭafâ and Ahmed, as well as his own younger brother Ahmed (the future Ahmed II) who had previously shared his prison (Silâhdâr, *Târikh*, ii, 298). Reduced to the company of their pages, their eunuchs and concubines who were not permitted to give birth, to male children in any case (on Akhîretlik Khânîm, fathered by 'Abd ül-Hâmid I in the *kaḥes*, see Uzunçarşılı, 115), these princes were strictly cut off from the exterior, deprived of any experience of the world and of any useful education, neglected and despised (on succeeding his brother, Süleymân II appeared wearing an old *'anterî* robe and shod in heavy cavalry boots; Silâhdâr, *Târikh*, ii, 298). Some coped with their boredom by practising various manual occupations (Ohsson, vii, 102). Added to these inconveniences was the fearful threat which the suspicions of the reigning sultan constantly posed to the lives of his potential rivals. The anxiety which could be thus

aroused among the latter is well illustrated by the attitudes of Ibrâhîm or of Süleymân II when invited to take the throne; both were convinced that this was a trick on the part of their respective brothers, Murâd IV and Meḥmed IV, to have them executed, and they stubbornly refused to leave their prison (Na'imâ, *Târikh*, iii, 450-2; Silâhdâr, *Târikh*, ii, 198). It may be noted to what an extent the shadow of fratricide, although in fact no longer practised, continued to hang over the dynasty (as late as 1730, on leaving the throne, Ahmed III entrusted to his nephew and successor Maḥmûd I, as "a trustee of God" the protection of his children (Ferâ'idjizâde, *Gülşen-i ma'ârif*, Istanbul 1252/1836-7, ii, 1251; 'Abdî, 1730 *Patrona Halil hakkından bir eser. Abdî Tarihi*, ed. F.R. Unat, Ankara 1943, 42). The vigilance of the Janissaries, anxious to maintain the freedom of manoeuvre guaranteed to them by a plethora of possible sultans, was the best safeguard of the sequestered princes: in 1632, rebellious Janissaries compelled Murâd IV to show them that his brothers were still alive (Uzunçarşılı, 227-8). According to Bobovius, adapted by Girardin, 30-1, "*la milice est toujours leur tutrice*".

Chroniclers have often stressed the negative effects of the system on the competence and mental health of the sovereigns produced by it (blaming it in particular for some of the psychological disorders associated with Muṣṭafâ I or with Ibrâhîm), but this "black legend" is doubtless to be treated with caution: the stringency of confinement certainly varied according to reigns and circumstances: only Muṣṭafâ I, after his first deposition, or Ibrâhîm after his dethronement, are presented as being immured alive, "already interred" (Na'imâ, ii, 218, iii, 330). In other cases, the links of princes with their reigning parent, between themselves and even with the outside world were not entirely severed: "Sultan Soliman, brother of the current emperor, has acquired universal esteem throughout the empire... and his renown has induced all ranks of the militia to declare themselves his protectors," Bobovius noted (122-3), with regard to the future Süleymân, disparaged as he was in other respects. Worth noting, on the other hand, is the energy displayed by Ahmed II when, on emerging from 43 years of the *kaḥes* he inaugurated his brief reign (1691-5) (Silâhdâr, ii, 576-80). More generally, in the course of time a progressive humanisation of the *kaḥes* is observable, associated no doubt with the individual personality of certain sultans, but especially with the stabilisation of the new successorial system; during his 39 years on the throne, Meḥmed IV (1648-87) made no further attempts to harm his two brothers, even going sometimes to speak with them (Uzunçarşılı, 96; Bobovius evokes "a fairly comfortable prison"). Several decades later, Ahmed III showed himself respectful and amicable towards his brother Muṣṭafâ II (1695-1703) whose place he took, not that this prevented the latter dying 140 days later in the *kaḥes*, "of nostalgia for the crown and for the throne" (Defterdâr Şarî Mehmed Pasha, *Zübde-i wekâyi'ât*, ed. Özcan, Ankara 1995, 815, 835). When in 1730 it was the turn of Ahmed III to be overthrown, the transfer of power between him and his nephew Maḥmûd I took place very smoothly: he kissed him on the forehead, while the other kissed his hand (Ferâ'idjizâde, 1251). But it was not until the end of the 18th century that the régime was definitively relaxed: on the death of his father Muṣṭafâ III in 1774, the future Selîm III was granted a considerable degree of freedom by his uncle 'Abd ül-Hâmid I, enabling him in particular to correspond with Louis XVI (Uzunçarşılı,



Selim III'ün Velâhî'ken Fransa Kralı Lii XVI ile muhaberetleri, in *Belleten*, ii [1938], 191-246; S. Munir, *Louis XVI et le sultan Selim III*, in *Revue d'Histoire diplomatique*, xxvi [1912], 516-48). Similarly, 'Abd ül-Medjîd (1839-61) was to allow a free hand to his brother 'Abd ül-'Azîz (he fathered a son before becoming sultan, Yûsuf 'Izz ül-Dîn, born in 1857) and having ascended the throne (1861-76) the latter showed the same latitude towards his nephews, having two of them accompany him on his journey to Paris and London in 1867 (Alderson 34-5).

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(G. VEINSTEIN)

AL-KAFF (A.), verbal noun of the verb *kaffa* in the sense of "to abstain, desist [from s.th.]," and "to repel [s.o. from s.th.]" (see *WbKAS*, i, *Letter Kāf*, 236-9), in a religio-political context refers to the quiescent attitude of some *Khāridjite* [q.v.] groups in early Islam, called *ka'ada* "those who sit down", i.e. stay at home, in abstaining from overt rebellion and warfare against the ruling authority. See further *ku'ūd*. (Ed.)

KĀHĪ (late 9th century-988/late 15th century-1580), the *takhalluṣ* [q.v.] or pen-name of an Indo-Muslim poet, Naḍīm al-Dīn Abu 'l-Kāsim Muḥammad, who wrote at the courts of the Mughal emperors Humāyūn and Akbar [q.v.].

According to most writers he was born in Transoxania at Miyanākāl, a district situated between Samarkand and Bukhārā, but stayed a long time in Kābul, whence he is also known as Kābulī. When fifteen years old he is said to have visited Djamī (d. 898/1492 [q.v.]) at Harāt, and spent some seven years in the poet's company. Subsequently he went to India on two separate occasions, once in ca. 936/1530 and then in 961/1554. In his first visit he travelled to Bhakkar in Sind to meet the Sūfī mystic Shāh Dījahāngīr Hāshimī (d. 946/1539-40) of Kirmān, author of the Persian *mathnawī* *Mazhar al-āthār*, and lived in Guḍjarāt writing for Bahādur Khān and Muḥammad Khān, who ruled that state from 932-43/1525-36 and 943-61/1536-53 respectively. In ca. 956/1549 he returned to Kābul and entered the service of prince Akbar. It was as a member of Akbar's entourage that he made his second visit to India, spending the remaining years of his life in that country. His patrons this time included, in addition to Humāyūn and Akbar, the noblemen of Banāras and Dīawnpūr, Khān Zamān and his brother Bahādur Khān, who were both slain in their abortive revolt against Akbar in 975/1567. From 969/1561-2 onward he lived in Āgra, where he died in 988/1580 at an advanced age of 110 or 120 years.

Kāhī was an important figure of Akbar's reign, noted for his poetry as well as other attainments. Besides writing *kaṣīdas* and *ghazals*, he displayed special skill in composing chronograms and riddles. He is also said to have written a *mathnawī* on the model of Sa'dī's *Būstān* entitled *Gul-afshān*. His other accomplishments included the study of Qur'ānic exegesis, scholastic theology, music, astronomy and mysticism.

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KAHTĀNITE, QAHTANITE, a name which has been proposed for designating the ensemble of graffiti found in pre-Islamic South Arabia but whose use has not yet become generalised.

The numerous written documents found in Arabia and dated from pre-Islamic times, may be classed under three headings: (1) monumental inscriptions on stone or other durable materials, meant to be exposed and using varieties of the Arabian alphabet (South Arabian, Dedanite, Liḥyānite and Ḥasaeen) or foreign scripts (Aramaic, Greek, Latin and Ge'ez); (2) private documents (correspondence, contracts, lists or writing exercises), written in cursive South Arabian script on wooden sticks or palm stalks, all of these having been found in Yemen; and (3) very numerous graffiti written on rocks in various forms of the Arabian alphabet.

The monumental inscriptions and the documents in cursive South Arabian script can be divided into several groups, to be defined by ranging over provenance, dating and the political, linguistic, religious and tribal information given in the text. For designating these ensembles, Western scholars have devised names derived from the political groupings where these writings have originated, or failing that, from the region where they have been found. Thus in South Arabia, there have been accordingly classified the Sabaic inscriptions (from the kingdom of Saba' [q.v.]; the Madhābic (from the region of the Wādī Madhāb), previously called Minaean [see MA'IN]; Katabānic (from the kingdom of Katabān [q.v.]; and Ḥadramitic (from the kingdom of Ḥadramawt [q.v.]). In the oasis of al-'Ulā (ancient Dedan) and of Madā'in Şāliḥ (ancient Ḥegra/al-Hijr [q.v.]) are recognised two successive ensembles, called Dadanitic (after the ancient name of the oasis) and Liḥyānite (after the ancient tribe [see LIḤYĀN]), which Michael Macdonald has recently suggested should be grouped under the single term Dadanitic (Macdonald, 2000, 29). Finally, on the Arabian shores of the Perso-Arabian Gulf, a group of some 50 texts has been called Ḥasaitic, after the name of the region al-Ḥasā' [q.v.] or al-Aḥsā'.

It is more difficult to classify the graffiti, which number tens of thousands, because their content, often poor and uninformative, gives hardly any indications of their language or tribe or cults. Contributing to



this difficulty is the fact that very few of them have been rigorously studied. Their typology is based mainly on adducing as evidence the various types of the Arabic alphabet and, additionally, on examining the distinct and homogeneous zones of their distribution.

It is further not very easy to give a name to the various groups of graffiti at present recognised, since the identity of their authors is unknown. At an early stage, specialists isolated two groups, called Šafaitic [q.v.] (from the *Djabal al-Šafā* to the southeast of Damascus) and Thamudic [q.v.], making a connection with the ancient tribe of *Thamūd* [q.v.]. But it soon became apparent that the Thamudic ensemble, in which were grouped all the non-classified graffiti, was a vast hold-all term for an extremely heterogeneous group. A first tentative step to devise a new order for them was made by F.V. Winnett, who adduced five sub-groups, each defined by a variety of the Arabian alphabet and called by letter of the Latin alphabet, A, B, C, D and E. Later researches by this same author, continued by those of M. Macdonald and G. King (Macdonald-King, 2000), have shown that two of these sub-groups belong to particular regions, *Hismā'* (southern Jordan and northern *Ḥidjāz*) and the district of the *Taymā'* oasis, whence the names *Hismaic* (former Thamudic A) and *Taymanitic* (former Thamudic E) have been proposed.

There remains to classify the numerous other Thamudic graffiti, notably those found in the region between the *Ḥidjāz* and Yemen, these being especially numerous in the regions of *Nadīrān* [q.v.] and *Karyat al-Fāw* [see *FĀ'w*] (the latter 280 km/165 miles to the northeast of *Nadīrān* (Jamme, 1973). For these, the terms "Southern Thamudic" (see Macdonald-King, 2000, 44) or "Kaḥṭānite" (Robin, 1978, 106-7) have been proposed, but these terms remain provisional whilst a typology of the whole ensemble remains to be sketched out. The task is difficult because a number of these graffiti recall the proximity and prestige of the South Arabian states by mixing together, in varying proportions, the regular South Arabian script letters and those reflecting local graphic forms.

This name "Kaḥṭānite" stems from *Kaḥṭān*, the ancient eponym of the South Arabs, according to the purveyors of traditions on the beginnings of Islam (see especially, Ibn al-Kalbi's *Dīamharat al-nasab*). The name of this eponym probably comes from a tribe established at *Karyat al-Fāw* (the ancient *Karyat*^{um} *dhāt Kahl*^{um}, sc. "the Karya of Kahl", Kahl being the name of a god of the oasis). Two inscriptions mention this tribe. The first, found at al-Fāw, is the tombstone of "Mu'āwiyat, son of Rabi'at, of the line of M. . . , [the Kaḥṭānite, king of Kaḥṭān and of Madhḥig]; from the style of writing, this would date from the 1st century A.D. (Ansārī-Qaryat al-Fāw 2/1-2). The second inscription, stemming from the temple of *Awwām* at Ma'rib in Yemen, has a dedication to the Sabaeen god *Almaqah* in which the writer evokes an expedition against "Rabi'at of the line of *Thawr*^{um} king of Kiddat [= Kinda] and of Kaḥṭān", in the reign of the Sabaeen king *Šha'r*^{um} *Awtar*, ca. 220-5 (Ja 635/26-7). Ptolemy probably mentions the same tribe in the 2nd century A.D. in the form *Κατανίται* (VI, 7, 20 and 23).

The reason why *Kaḥṭān*, the pre-Islamic tribe at *Karyat al-Fāw*, associated in the first place with *Madhḥig* [q.v.] and then dominated by *Kinda* [q.v.], has been chosen as an eponym for the South Arabs has not yet been solved. It is likely that we have here a tradition of *Kindī* origin, which would have been imposed when the tribe of *Kinda* had a dominant

position in Central Arabia, in the 5th and 6th centuries A.D. This hypothesis underlines once more that *Kinda* is the source of the greater part of Arab traditions bearing the verifiable historical information on pre-Islamic South Arabia.

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KĀ'IMĪ, HASAN BABA (d. 1102/1691), Bosnian Muslim poet of the 11th/17th century.

After the Ottoman conquest of the 9th/15th century, Slavs converted to Islam began to write in the Islamic languages of Turkish, Persian and Arabic, whilst some authors continued to write in Slavonic but in Arabic characters (*alhamiādo*).

Hasan Baba, with the *makhlas* of *Kā'imī*, was the most celebrated poet of his time in Bosnia and the Balkans in general. Little is known of his life, but he seems to have been in easy circumstances and to have lived most of his life in Sarajevo [q.v.], where he was born by 1039/1630. He was apparently an adherent of the *Kādiriyya ṭarīqa*, and *sheykh* of the *tekke* of *Sinān Agha* in Sarajevo, and he dedicated poems to the founder, 'Abd al-Kādir al-Dīlānī. He seems to have left Sarajevo towards the end of his life, perhaps driven out of the Sarajevo rebellion of 1093/1682 and to have lived in Zvornik, where he died and where he has his *türbe*.

He is the author of two *Dīwāns* in Turkish, the first one of mystical poetry and the second, smaller one of *kaşidas* only called *Wāridāt* ("incomings, gains"), the whole comprising several thousand verses, extant in a hundred mss., mostly copied in the 19th century. In the *Wāridāt*, he touched upon political events, such as the long campaign by the Ottomans for the conquest of Crete from the Venetians, a war which also affected Dalmatia and its coastal towns. In the first *kaşida* of this *Dīwān*, comprising 174 *beyts*, he correctly foretold the date of the end of the war (1079/1669), giving him great celebrity; and much of the enthusiasm for copying *Kā'imī*'s works arose after 1878 when the Austrians extended their protectorate over Bosnia and Hercegovina, since the poet had alluded to universal conquests by the Turks and the universal triumph of Islam. Modern Bosnian scholars, on the other hand, have claimed him as a Bosnian patriot (although the concept of "patriotism" did not exist in his time) or even as a proto-Marxist; at most, one can note his evident love for Bosnia and, especially, for Sarajevo.

Kā'imī also wrote *alhamiādo* poetry, including an



"ode against tobacco", written when Murād IV banned the use of tobacco [see *TUTUN*] in the Ottoman empire, and a second, shorter ode on the Cretan War in addition to the one in Turkish.

Bibliography: See for full references, Jasna Samic, *Le Divan de Kā'imī*, Paris 1986, with bibl. at 251-80. (JASNA SAMIC)

KĀ'IN, conventionally Qayen, etc., a town of eastern Persia (lat. 33° 43' N., long. 59° 06' E.), now in the administrative province of *Khurāsān* but in mediaeval Islamic times falling within the region known as *Kūhistān* [q.v.]. It lies on the road connecting the urban centres of northern *Khurāsān* (Mashhad, Turbat-i Haydariyya, etc.) with Birdjand, Persian *Sistān* and *Zāhidān*.

Kā'in must be an ancient town, but virtually nothing is known of it before the descriptions of the 4th/10th century geographers. The 8th century Armenian geography attributes its foundation to Lōhrāsp, son of Wishtāsp, of Iranian legendary history (Markwart-Messina, *A catalogue of the provincial capitals of Ērānshahr*, Rome 1931, 12, 53). In the 4th/10th century it appears as the administrative centre of *Kūhistān*, with a citadel, also containing the *dār al-imāra* and congregational mosque, surrounded by a trench and rampart, and an outer wall with three gates. The water supply came mainly from *kanāts*. Al-Muqaddasī considered it a place of few amenities and harsh living conditions, but one which flourished as an emporium (*firda*) for the trade of *Khurāsān* passing southwards to the Gulf of Oman and the Arabian Sea shores (Ibn Hawkal, 446, tr. Kramers and Wiet, 431; al-Muqaddasī, 321; *Hudūd al-'ālam*, tr. Minorsky, 103). Nāṣir-i *Khusrāw* passed through it in 444/1052 and found it a large, fortified town; he marvelled at the great arch (*ārk*) of its mosque (*Safar-nāma*, ed. M. Dabīr-Siyāki, Tehran 1335/1956, 127, tr. W.M. Thackston, New York 1986, 102). In the ensuing Saljuq period, Kā'in and fortresses in its surrounding district became known as haunts of the Ismā'īlīs; an Ismā'īlī presence, including within the town of Kā'in, has persisted until today (see F. Daftary, *The Ismā'īlīs, their history and doctrine*, Cambridge 1990, 341, 387, 543; C.E. Bosworth, *The Ismā'īlīs of Qūhistān and the Malikis of Nimrūz or Sistān*, in Daftary (ed.), *Mediaeval Ismaili history and thought*, Cambridge 1996, 221-9; and *KŪHISTĀN*).

It has often been assumed that the name of the Persian principality *Tunocain* mentioned by Marco Polo is a conflation of Kā'in and the town of Tūn [q.v.] some 18 farsakhs north-north-west of it (see Yule-Cordier, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, London 1903, i, 83, 86, 127-8); certainly, Bābur, two centuries later, continued to link the towns thus (*Bābur-nāma*, tr. Beveridge, 296, 301). Two generations or so after the time of Marco Polo, the town was still large and flourishing, on the evidence of Hamd Allāh Muṣṭawfī; he mentions how most houses had cellars from which they could tap into the adjacent subterranean *kanāts* and how the men all carried arms and were ready to use them (*Nuzhat al-kulūb*, 145-6, tr. 144).

The subsequent history of Kā'in is substantially that of the local amirate, whose capital it was until this last was moved to the larger and more important town of Birdjand in the 19th century, of the *Khuzayma* family, which traced its origins back to early Islamic Arab governors of *Khurāsān*. It fully emerges into history in Nādir Shāh Afshār's time, when the monarch bestowed the governorship of the Kā'ināt, the region around Kā'in, on Amīr Ismā'īl Khān *Khuzayma*. In the chaotic conditions after Nādir's assassination, Amīr 'Alam Khān (d. 1753) briefly expanded his power

beyond its traditional boundaries of Kā'ināt and *Sistān* as far as Mashhad and Harāt in the north and Persian Balūčistān in the south (1748-53). In the Kādjar period, the family continued as guardians of the eastern frontier of Persia against Afghān and Balūč marauders. Curzon described Amīr Hishmat al-Mulk 'Alam Khān III (d. 1891) as "probably the most powerful subject of the Persian crown" (*Persia and the Persian question*, i, 200), and C.E. Yate, who was at Kā'in in 1894, met his second son Shāwkat al-Mulk Muḥammad Ismā'īl Khān, who became Amīr of Kā'ināt (*Khurasan and Sistān*, Edinburgh and London 1900, 66 ff., 76-7). The *Khuzayma* family adopted the family name of 'Alam when Ridā Shāh Pahlavī introduced this requirement in the 1930s, and Asad Allāh 'Alam (d. 1978) had a distinguished career under the last Shāh, Muḥammad Ridā, beginning with his appointment as the youthful governor of *Sistān* and Balūčistān in 1945 and ending as Minister of the Imperial Court in 1966-77; his memoirs, published in English as *Assadollah Alam, The Shah and I*, London 1991, are a prime source for the later years of the Shāh's reign. See for the history of the family and its role in the political and military history of Persia's eastern frontiers, Pirouz Moujtahed-Zadeh, *The Amirs of the borderlands and Eastern Iranian borders*, London 1995.

The region of Kā'ināt of recent times corresponded largely to the ancient *Kūhistān*, but was in the 1973 administrative reorganisation subdivided into two *shah-rastāns*, that of Kā'in or Kā'ināt and that of Birdjand [q.v.]. This was modified in the 1980s under the Islamic Republic, when three *shah-rastāns* were formed: Kā'ināt; Birdjand to its south; and Nihbandān in the further south, adjoining *Sistān* and *Kirmān*. Thus the town of Kā'in is at present the chef-lieu of its *shah-rastān* (which contains a single *bakhsh*, the *Bakhsh-i Markazī*, and eight *dihistāns*). The population of Kā'in itself was in 1986 15,955, and that of the whole *shah-rastān* 122,149 (Moujtahed-Zadeh, 50-5; this information on administrative arrangements replaces that given in the arts. *BIRDJAND*, in Vol. I, 1233b, and *KŪHISTĀN*, in Vol. V, 355b).

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KĀKAR, a *Gharghusht* Pashṭūn tribe concentrated in southeastern Afghānistān and Pākistānī Balūčistān. Though not prominent among Afghān [q.v.] groups migrating to India during the early Dīhlī Sultanate [q.v.], Kākars are noticeable among military and political élites during the Lōdī, Sūrī and early Mughal [q.v.] periods. Haybat Khān Kākār, patron and collector of materials for Nī'mat Allāh's *Makhzān-i Afghānī*, demonstrates Kākār participation in Mughal literary production.

Kākāristān designates territory on and between the Tūba and Sulaymān mountain ranges, including the microregions of Būri, Pīshīn, Sībī [q.v.] and Zhūb/Zhōb [q.v.]. Within this area Kākars incorporated non-Pashṭūn minority groups such as Gadūn and Watensī speakers in *hamsāya* dependency relationships, and there is a lack of consensus about whether other local Pashṭūn groups, including the Panrī and Nagher, are Kākars. Surrounding Ačakzay, Ghalzay [q.v.], Tarīn and Wazīr Pashṭūns and various Balūč [q.v.] communities form the social boundaries of Kākār territory, which is economically linked to the greater Indo-Islamic world through the markets of Kāndahār, Kwāffa, and the Dēradjāt [q.v.].



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(SHAH MAHMOUD HANIFI)

KĀLANSUWA, **ḲULANSIYA** (A), the name for a cap worn by men either under the turban proper or alone on the head.

The word, from which verbal forms are derived as denominative verbs, is apparently of foreign origin; while it used to be commonly connected with the Latin *calantica* (for which, however, the form *calantica* is difficult to quote and besides, it means a head-cloth for women), Fraenkel wished to derive it through the Aramaic *k.w.l.s* (cf. Arabic *kālīs*, *kālīs*, Dozy, *Supplément*, ii, 395) from *kōvos* (*conus*). The Arab grammarians and lexicographers found in the manifold formation of the broken plural and the diminutive a reason for using *kalansuwa* as a paradigm for substantives of more than three radicals with such peculiarities.

Caps of different shapes were called *kalansuwa*; varieties of the *kalansuwa* are *turfūr*, *burnus*, *urṣūsa*, etc. While it is related of the Companions of the Prophet that they wore tight-fitting *kalansuwas*, later, a long peaked sugar-cone shape, supported within by pieces of wood, became fashionable, for which the name *tawīla* was usual. It seems to have come from Persia (cf. the head-dresses in the Dura-Šālihiyya 1st century A.D. paintings, in J.H. Breasted, *Oriental forerunners of Byzantine paintings*, Chicago 1924) for it was regarded by the pre-Islamic Arabs as a noteworthy feature of Persian dress (G. Jacob, *Altarabisches Beduinenleben*,² Hildesheim 1967, 237) and is said to have been first adopted in the reign of the first Umayyad by 'Abbād b. Ziyād from the inhabitants of the town of Kandaḥār, conquered by him (Yāqūt, ed. Wüstenfeld, iv, 184). High, black *kalansuwas* were worn by the 'Abbāsid caliphs from al-Manṣūr to al-Musta'in and by their viziers and *kādīs*. The latter adhered longest to the *kalansuwa*, so that in the course of the 3rd/9th century—this headgear being also popularly known as *damiyya*, pot-hat, or *tawīla*—it became their regular official headgear, together with the neck-veil or *taylasān* [q.v.] and at times was strictly forbidden to other classes of the community (al-Kindī, *K. al-Ḳudāt*, ed. R. Guest, 460, 586). On the other hand, criminals had a *kalansuwa* put on their heads when they were led through the streets. The *kalansuwa* was also worn among the Umayyads in Spain, where *muḳallas* meant a *muftī* wearing the *kālīs*. A headdress introduced by Tīmūr into his army was also known as *kalansuwa*.

The name *kalansuwa* appears several times in Ibn Baṭṭūta, according to whom (ii, 378, tr. Gibb, ii, 481) the Kipčaks, for example, called their *kalansuwas* by the Persian name *kulāh*. Concerning the *futuwwa* [q.v.] societies in Anatolia (*akhiyyat al-fityān*), he says (ii, 264, tr. Gibb, ii, 421) that their members wore several *kalansuwas* above one another, a silk one on the head, above it a white woollen one, to the top of which was tied a strip of cloth two fingers broad and one

ell long: at meetings, only the woollen *kalansuwa* was taken off, the silk one remaining on the head. A similar pendant strip of cloth is also part of the dress of the Coptic priests of modern Egypt and is there called *kallūsa* or *kalasua*; here the name appears to have been transferred from the cap itself to its most striking and therefore better known part.

At periods when, as in the 2nd/8th century, both Muslims and Christians wore *kalansuwas*, the latter had to tie two knots of another colour to it (al-Tabarī, iii, 1389); but when the *kalansuwa* went out of fashion with the Muslims in the 3rd/9th century, it remained the mark of the Christians. The word is therefore frequently found in Arab authors meaning the headdress worn by Christian monks and hermits, Greek priests and even the Pope himself. Through the Crusades, the high cap with the veil seems to have found its way to Western Europe as a woman's dress.

The name *kalansuwa* was also given to other objects of similar shape: *k. nuḥās* is the metal cap of the obelisk near Heliopolis ('Ayn Shams [q.v.]); *k. turāb* in modern Arabic is used for a chemical sublimating vessel; *k. bukrāt* is used by surgeons for a particular kind of head bandage; and *kālīs* (*kūlis*) is the name of a plant, which seemed to represent a human head with a high cap. *Kalansuwa* was also the name of a fortress near al-Ramla in Palestine, see G. Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, London 1890, 476.

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KALIKAT, locally Kōlikōḍu (interpreted in Malayalam as "cock fortress", see Yule and Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson*, a glossary of Anglo-Indian colloquial words and phrases,² London 1903, 148), conventionally CALICUT and, in modern Indian parlance, KOZHIKODE, a town of the Western Deccan or Peninsular Indian coastland (lat. 11° 15' N., long. 75° 45' E.) in what was known in pre-modern times, and is still known, as the Malabar coast [see MA'BAR]. In British Indian times it was the centre of a sub-district (*tālūk*) of the same name in the Malabar District of the Madras Presidency, later Province; it is now the centre of the District of Kozhikode in the Kerala State of the Indian Union.

In pre-Muslim times, the region around Kalikat fell within the powerful Hindu kingdom of the Čolas. The commander of the Khaldjī sultans of Dihlī, Malik Kāfūr [q.v.], broke through the Deccan to the Malabar coast for the first time in the opening years of the 8th/14th century, although this success was short-lived [see MA'BAR]. It was, however, probably as a result of Muslim knowledge of the region that the traveller Ibn Baṭṭūta was able ca. 739/1338 to visit the Malabar coast and, specifically, Kalikat (which he spells as Kālīkūt). He describes the ruler there as an infidel having the title of Sāmārī, a rendering of Malayalam *sāmūri* or *sāmūtiri*, a vernacular modification of Skr. *sāmandri* "sea king", which the Portuguese subsequently rendered as Samorin or Zamorin. There was already a substantial community there of Muslim traders, who



had commercial connections with the Maldive Islands, Ceylon, Java and China. There was a *shāhbāndar* [q.v.] or head of the Muslim merchant community *vis-à-vis* the ruler, called Ibrāhīm, who came from Bahrayn, and also a *kādī* and the *shaykh* of a *Ṣūfī zāwiya* or hospice in the town. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa noted a large number of Chinese ships in the busy harbour, and it was in one of these junks that he then embarked for China (*Rihla*, iv, 88-94, tr. Gibb and Beckingham, iv, 812-14, cf. Yule-Cordier, *Cathay and the way thither*, London 1914-15, iv, 24-6; on the Chinese presence at Kalikat, see Yule-Cordier, *The Book of Ser Marco Polo*, London 1903, ii, 391-2 n. 5).

In 1370 the Malabar coast passed into the general control of the powerful Hindu kingdom of Viḍḍyanagar [q.v.] and remained under non-Muslim rule with the exception of a short period towards the end of the 17th century when the Mughal emperor Awrangzib overran the Deccan. As in Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's time, Kalikat itself remained under the rule of its Zamorins till the 18th century.

Another Muslim, the historian 'Abd al-Razzāk [q.v.] al-Samarḳandī, was sent as an envoy to the Zamorin of Kalikat by the Tīmūrid Shāh Rukh in 846/1442, and mentions seeing ships from the Horn of Africa and Zanzibar in its harbour; the numerous local Muslim community had two mosques and a Shāfi'ī *kādī*. It was just after this, in 1444, that the first European to visit Kalikat, Nicolo Conti, came from Cochin. The Zamorins extended their authority with the help of the Muslim traders, and in the 15th century Kalikat became the most important town on the Malabar coast. Malabar was also a part of India where the Portuguese endeavoured to establish forts and trading factories, with Covilha at Kalikat in 1486 and Vasco da Gama there in 1498. A factory was set up in 1500, but immediately destroyed by the local Muslims, whose monopoly of trade was now seriously and, in the end, fatally challenged; a fort was built in 1511, but evacuated in 1525, the end of Portuguese activities at Kalikat. European settlements were more successful at Cannanore or Kannanūr [q.v.] and at Cochin, whose Rājās were enemies of the Zamorins, hence sought European help and support.

The English first appeared at Kalikat in 1615 when three ships under Captain William Keeling arrived. In 1664 the English East India Company opened a factory; in 1698 the French Company opened one; and in 1752 the Danish did likewise. The extensive trade in cotton cloths exported from Kalikat—Marco Polo mentions the fine textiles of Malabar—was the origin of the English term calico (see Yule and Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson*, 147-8). By the later 17th century, the power of the Zamorins was in decline, but they continued to be hostile to foreigners. Kalikat suffered badly in the Mysore Wars of the later 18th century, being sacked by the Muslim armies of Ḥaydar 'Alī [q.v.] of Mysore in 1773, and those of his son Tipū Sulṭān [q.v.] in 1788, who tried to establish a rival capital in Malabar on the south bank of the nearby Beypore river. In 1790 Kalikat was occupied by East India Company troops, and by the Treaty of Seringapatam of 1792, the town passed finally under British control.

A significant proportion of the town's population remained Muslim, under their Hindu and then British rulers, being part of the Māppila community of Muslims on the Malabar coast [see MAPPILA]. In the 1901 census, they formed 40% of Kalikat's 77,000 population, with over 40 mosques, including the Shēkindē Palli, with the shrine and tomb of Shaykh

Māmu Koyā, said to have come from Egypt to Kalikat in the 16th century. In 1970 the town had a population of 330,000, and in 2003, 453,700.

Bibliography: C.A. Innes, *Madras District gazetteers. Malabar and Anjengo*, Madras 1908, 45 ff., 380-9; *Imperial gazetteer of India*², ix, 289-91. For studies on the history of the Malabar coast and the European presence there, see the *Bibls.* to MA'BAR and MAPPILA. (C.E. BOSWORTH)

KALIMANTAN, PULAU KALIMANTAN, or KLEMANTAN, one of the pre-colonial names of the island of Borneo [q.v. in Suppl.], one of the larger Sunda Islands in present-day Indonesia and Malaysia. The name is officially used in Indonesia for the whole island, whereas in Malaysia the term Borneo, derived by the Portuguese from the name of the old and once powerful sultanate of Brunei [q.v. in Suppl.] in the north, is still in use. About three-quarters of the island is part of the Indonesian Republic, being divided into four provinces: West, Central, South and East Kalimantan. The northern states of Sarawak and Sabah [q.v.] are part of the Federation of Malaysia (since 1963), while the Sultanate of Brunei re-obtained its independence from British protection in 1984.

The present article deals essentially with the ethnic and social structures of the whole island; for the Indonesian part of the island specifically, see BORNEO, in Suppl. The whole island covers an area of ca. 755,000 km². As most of the area is, or was, covered by tropical rain forest growing partly on swampy ground, particularly in the vast plains in the south, the population density was very thin; an average of 22 people per km² was counted. Bigger settlements are usually found on river shores not too far away from their mouths, thus presenting themselves as strategic places for rule and commerce. The people used to live in villages or longhouses on the shores of the huge rivers that, until recently, together with their tributaries, were almost the only ways of communication for most parts of the island, except in the mountainous areas where rapids and ravines made shipping almost impossible.

Ethnologists usually divide the indigenous population of Kalimantan into two major groups: the "Malays" and the "Dayaks". These terms, however, should not be taken necessarily to denote ethnic, or even cultural identities. In both groups, a large variety of ethnic, cultural, linguistic and tribal entities exist. In very general terms, "Malay" denotes those individuals or groups who *masuk Islam* ("became Muslims") and therefore either considered themselves to have taken over "Malay" religion and *adat* (customs), or who were considered by their former kinsfolk to have left their old relationships and adopted a new and strange identity, namely, the Malay one. "Dayak" then covers all those indigenous tribes and groups who did not become Muslim but either kept to their traditional religious and cultural identities or, later, became Christians.

Such "ethnic switching" of the "Malays" was not a general rule, however, as sometimes is taken for granted. Some of those groups who turned to Islam still maintained a number of their traditions, e.g. living in longhouses, or continuing their own nutrition habits. Thus e.g. the Bakumpai in the south Barito districts in South Kalimantan did not take over Malay habits, although they became strong propagators of Islam to the Dayaks in the interior. Other tribal entities maintained parts of their traditional social structure and habits after converting to Islam, e.g. the Bajau on the west coast of Sabah and the Bajau Laut



(Sea Bajau) in the Tawau region (who may, however, originate from the Southern Philippines). The Islamic Madurese who were transplanted from the island of Madura and Eastern Java to West Kalimantan by the Indonesian army after 1965 and settled there on land owned formerly by Chinese refugees living there since the fall of the Ming dynasty in 1644, met with the unanimous hostility of the Chinese (now partly Protestant, Catholic or traditional Chinese), the Dayaks (partly Christian or traditional), and the "Malays" from the former sultanate of Sambas. After the collapse of President Suharto and the power of his army who had sheltered them, they suffered a severe series of massacres.

The first strongholds of Islam on Kalimantan were those settlements that were already established as harbour and military watch stations under the Maritime Kingdom of Sri Vijaya which had its centre near Palembang [q.v.] in south Sumatra, and which vanished in the 14th century (particularly in West Kalimantan, like Sukadana, Sambas), or by the Javanese Empire of Majapahit which decayed at the end of the 15th century (e.g. Kutai [q.v.] in East Kalimantan). Muslim sultans established their power, and their seats of power continued their roles as trading and administrative centres. Other centres like Brunei and Banjarmasin [see BANDJARMASIN] followed suit, and these increased in importance for the "Malay" or regional traders when, first the Portuguese and later the Spaniards, and then the British and the Dutch, attempted to promote their trading interests. These traders, although only few among them were ethnic Malays, continued to use Malay as their *lingua franca* as they had done already in the times of (Buddhist) Sri Vijaya, and they were also the main communicators of Islamic teachings, first from a foothold in the coastal and sub-coastal settlements and from there penetrating into some of the up-river regions. The interior of the island remained, however, closed to them.

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KĀMILIYYA, an early Shī'ī sect which is normally mentioned for having criticised not only Abū Bakr and 'Umar, as did the Rāfiḍa [q.v.], but also 'Alī. The founder, a certain Abū Kāmil Mu'adh b. Ḥusayn al-Nabhānī, seems to have lived in Kūfa during the first decades of the 2nd century A.H., but has left no traces in later sources. He supported Zayd b. 'Alī [q.v.] and therefore did not acknowledge anybody as *imām* who abstained from coming out for his rights. This verdict applied to 'Alī as well as to his son Ḥasan; only Ḥusayn acted as an *imām* should do. Apart from that, Abū Kāmil seems to have shared some of the gnostic ideas proffered by Abū Maṣ'ūr al-'Idjlī (executed under Yūsuf b. 'Umar al-Thaqafī between 120/738 and 126/744 [see MAṢ'ŪRIYYA]), e.g. metempsychosis. Among those who felt attracted to him was the father of the poet Baṣṣhār b. Burd [q.v.]. His adherents followed Zayd b. 'Alī's sons, Yahyā first and then 'Alī, but when the latter joined al-Nafs al-Zakiyya (Muhammad b. 'Abd Allāh [q.v.]) and shared his defeat, they lost their orientation and faded away. Later heresiographers failed to recognise the identity of the sect; they had to entirely rely on a few lines of *ḥidā'a* poetry. Malevolent reporters like Ma'dān al-

Shumaytī changed the name into Kumayliyya. In Shī'ī tradition, the group sometimes appears as al-Ḥusayniyya (al-Nawbakhtī, al-Kummī, Kādī al-Nu'mān).

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KANBŌ, KAMBŌ, **SHAYKH DJAMĀLĪ**, Suhrawardī Šūfī saint of early 10th/16th century Muslim India, who died in 941/1534-5 during the reign of the Mughal ruler Humāyūn [q.v.] and was buried at Mihrawlī. His son Gadā'ī [see GADĀ'Ī KAMBŌ, in Suppl.], whom Djamālī had in his lifetime made his *khalīfa* or spiritual successor within the Suhrawardī order, achieved equal religious influence at the courts of Humāyūn and then Akbar.

Bibliography: See that to GADĀ'Ī KAMBŌ.

(Ed.)

KANTIMİR, DEMETRIUS (Cantemir, Kanti-miroglu) (1673-1723), Hospodar (Rumanian "lord") or tributary prince of Moldavia during Ottoman times, and renowned musical practitioner and theorist. Born on 26 October 1673 at Silișteni, he was the son of Constantin, Prince of Moldavia (1685-93). In 1687 he was sent as a princely hostage to Istanbul, and was to stay there until 1691 and then again from 1693 until 1710, when he was himself appointed *Boghdān beyi*, i.e. governor of Moldavia [see BOGHDĀN]. But he promptly formed an alliance with Peter the Great, and was forced to flee as a result of the unexpected Ottoman victory of 1711, thereafter living in Russia, attached to the court. In 1722 he took part in the Caucasian campaign, but fell ill, and died on 21 August 1723.

Whatever the importance of his political role, it is his prodigious scholarly and creative achievements that justify his reputation as a major figure. As familiar with Islamic as with classical and contemporary European culture, he was a polymath who had interests in architecture, cartography and geography, and also wrote on philosophy and theology. In Western Europe he was considered important above all as an authority on the history and current state of the Ottoman Empire, and his *Incrementa atque decrementa aulae Othomanicae*, first published in 1734-5 in an English translation, was to remain the standard source on the Ottomans for a century, and is still of interest for its personal observations. A further important work that remained undeservedly in its shadow is the *Systema de religione et statu Imperii turcici*.

In Turkey, on the other hand, where he is known as Kantemiroğlu, it is for his musical accomplishments that he is renowned. He was an outstanding *tunbūr* [q.v.] player; his innovative treatise was to exert a major influence on theoretical writing down to the middle of the 19th century; and the modern repertoire preserves a considerable number of pieces attributed to him. Some are spurious, but it is evident from those he included in his collection of notations, itself invaluable as a comprehensive record of late 17th-century Ottoman instrumental music, that he was a skillful and innovative composer.

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(O. WRIGHT)

KAPLAN MUŞTAFA PASHA (d. 1091/1680), Ottoman vizier and *kapudan pasha* [q.v.]. Educated in the palace school at Istanbul, he made his early career in the private household of the sultan or *enderûn* [q.v.]. Launched afterwards into a military and administrative career, Kaplan Muştafa Pasha was appointed *beglerbegi* of Damascus before 1076/1666. From 6 February 1666 to April 1672, he served as Grand Admiral (*kapudan pasha*). Under the Grand Vizier and Commander-in-Chief Fâdil Ahmed Pasha Köprülü, he commanded the main squadron during the War of Candia (*Girit Seferi* [see İKRİTİŞİ; KANDIYA]). In 1077/1666 his fleet of 47 galleys served to transport men and materials to Crete. On 30 October 1666, the Grand Vizier boarded the admiral's flagship (*bahşıarda*) at Termis Iskelesi (the fortress of Termis, Thermsia, present-day Ermioni), or at Monemvasia, Menekşe [q.v.], in order to go to the front in Crete. In the next year, he made a punitive raid on the Cyclades, sacking the island of Paros [see PARA]. In 1672 he was made *beglerbegi* of Aleppo and appointed *ser'asker* (commander of the field army) for the Sultan Mehmed IV's Polish campaign, and in the following year he was made *beglerbegi* of Diyar Bakr.

Muştafa Pasha fought before Cehrin (Çyhyryn), the seat of the Ukrainian hetman Doroshenko, at that time an Ottoman ally, in 1674/1085 and again in 1089/1678, reconquering that fortress on 2-3 Redjeb 1089/20-1 August 1678. From 1678/1089, Muştafa was Grand Admiral for the second time till his death in the harbour of Izmir on 10 Shawwāl 1091/5 December 1680 while cruising the Archipelago.

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KARAM (A.), the qualities of nobility of character, magnanimity, generosity, all the virtues making up the noble and virtuous man (see *WIKAS. Letter Kāf*, Wiesbaden 1970, 142-3). For a discussion of honour and nobility, see 'IRD; MURŪ'A and SHARAF.

KARAMANLIDIKA [see TURKS. II. vi, in Suppl.] **KARATĀY** (or KIRTĀY) AL-'IZZĪ AL-KHĀZINDĀRĪ, an author of the Mamlūk period about whom very little is known.

His name would seem to indicate that he was a mamlūk of a *khāzindār* or treasurer. Three fragments of his chronicle, called *Ta'riḫ al-Nawādir minnā ḡarā li 'l-awā'il wa 'l-awākhir*, have been preserved, the most interesting being that covering the years 626-89/1228-90 (Gotha A 1655), in which the author says that he was writing between 1293 and 1341. This latter part is not free from faults (chronological errors, anecdotes which are hard to verify, and legends mixed with real events), hence should be used only with care, but its interest lies in the fact that it transmits oral sources contemporary with the author, certain information stemming from highly-placed personages of the final years of the Ayyūbid period, such as Djamāl al-Dīn Ibn Maṭrūh [q.v.], and likewise some fragments of the abridged, and little-known, history of al-Nāṣir Kalāwūn's reign composed by the *kaḏī* Sharaf al-Dīn Ibn al-Wahīd. The author was, moreover, largely inspired by the well-known chronicle of Ibn Wāṣil [q.v.] and may have used a source common to himself and Ibn al-Dawādārī [q.v.].

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KAṢIM ARSLÂN (?-995/?-1587), Indo-Muslim poet, court panegyrist of the Mughal emperor Akbar [q.v.] in the later 10th/16th century.

Details regarding his life and career are scanty. According to *Muntakhab al-tawāriḫ*, he was originally a native of Tūs; but most other writers refer to him as Mashhadī, which would indicate that he might have lived in Mashhad. He was brought up in Transoxania and went to India during Akbar's reign. It is related that he took Arslân as his pen-name because his father claimed descent from Arslân Djādhīb, a military commander of Maḥmūd of Ghazna. Kaṣim Arslân is described as a man of broad religious views, enjoying a witty, sociable and generous disposition. Apart from his status as a poet, he was known in his time as a skilled calligrapher, specialising in the *nasta'liq* style. His *diwān*, which is rare, comprises various kinds of poems. One of his *qaṣidas* is addressed to the Eighth Imām 'Alī al-Riḏā and expresses the poet's devotion to the Shī'ī leader. His *ghazals*, mostly short, describe amatory feelings in simple speech. His chronograms, for which he is especially noted, are useful in providing dates of certain historical events. He died, according to most accounts, at Lahore in 995/1587.

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KĀṢR (ا.), pl. *kuṣūr*, most probably from Grk. *kas-tron*, Latin *castrum*, has the general sense of "a fortified place", hence "residence of an *amīr* or ruler, palace, or any building on a larger scale than a mere house".

1. In the central and eastern Islamic lands. See for this, SARĀY, and note also that in the Persian lands, a synonym for this in early mediaeval usage (e.g. in Narshakhī, Bayhaqī, Djūzjdjānī) is often *kūshk* (MP *kōshk*), yielding Eng. and Ger. *kiosk*, Fr. *kiosque*.

2. In the Maghrib.

Here, from the vocalic changes frequent in Maghribī dialects, we often find the pronunciation *kṣar*, pl. *kṣūr*. The term has here various semantic strata that have to be illuminated by close examination of the various texts available and by archaeological investigation, and in the light of the complex material factors concerning the Maghribī habitat from mediaeval times until long afterwards. Hence it denotes here: (a) a palace, the place from which political authority is exercised, or an aristocratic residence; (b) a fortified place, a small fort or a full-scale fortress; (c) a fortified complex for community habitation; and (d) a collective granary or store house.

A. The evidence of mediaeval texts

The palace. The term is usually used in the texts to denote a palace, a place of residence for a person wielding authority, such as the *kaṣr al-qaḍīm* which the Aghlabid *amīr* Ibrāhīm I had built in 184/800, on the site of the princely town of al-'Abbāsiyya, not far from al-Kayrawān [q.v.] (al-Balādhurī, *Futūh*, 328; al-Bakrī, *al-Masālik wa'l-mamālik*, ed. and tr. de Slane, repr. Paris 1965, 28/64), or the palaces (*kuṣūr*) built in 263/876 by the *amīr* Ibrāhīm II in his new princely residence of Rakkāda [q.v.] (al-Bakrī, *op. cit.*, 27/62, 147/135; Ibn 'Idhārī, i, 299). Al-Mahdiyya [q.v.], the first royal residence founded by the Fāṭimids in Ifrīkiya, additionally included the palaces of 'Ubayd Allāh and Abu 'l-Kāsim (Ibn Hawkal, 71/67; al-Bakrī, *op. cit.*, 30/67-8). In the far Maghrib, the fortress built by the Almoravids at the moment of the foundation of Marrākush [q.v.] was called the *Kaṣr al-Ḥadjjar* (Ibn 'Idhārī, iii, 20). The term served to designate at one and the same time palaces, including the governmental headquarters or princely residence, and also the residences (*kuṣūr*) of the Almohad leaders, each of which comprised houses (*ḍiyār*), gardens (*baṣā'īn*), a bathhouse (*ḥammām*) and stables (*iṣṭablāt*) (al-'Umārī, *Masālik al-abṣār fī mamālik al-amṣār*, B.N. Paris ms. No. 5868, fol. 67b, tr. M. Gaudetfroy-Demombynes, Paris 1927, 179).

Fortresses, places for garrisons and the fortified community habitats. Although frequently used in texts from the mediaeval period, the term *kaṣr* has no homogenous geographical distribution. It is rare in the western regions, from Tilimsān/Tlemcen to the Atlantic, where toponyms like *ḥiṣn* and *ka'la* are very clearly predominant, but places denominated as *kuṣūr* are numerous from Tripolitania to the region of Tāhart, passing through Ifrīkiya, where they often correspond to fortresses whose construction goes back to Byzantine times (al-Bakrī, *Masālik*, 31/69, 50/108; al-Idrīsī, *Maghrib*, 157/144-5). However, in their grouping, the fortified sites thus described as *kaṣr* or *kuṣūr* do not

appear to be, above all, places for garrisons but rather centres for population, a role that certain fortresses dating from Byzantine times already played at the time of the Arab conquest (Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, *Futūh*, 224, 228, 239; al-Bakrī, *op. cit.*, 13/34). In Ifrīkiya, as in the far Maghrib, the term thus denotes a village or a fortified town (*ibid.*, 47/101, 153/292), or a fortified place where the surrounding people come to take refuge when necessary (al-Tidjānī, *Rihla*, Tunis and Tripoli 1981, 56, 119). Corresponding to an agglomeration on a more important scale, the term finally denotes nuclei of people, and these may be of a pre-urban or an urban nature. Thus Tāhart was in origin made up of several *kuṣūr* (B. Zerouki, *L'imamat de Tahart, premier état musulman du Maghreb*, i, Paris 1987, 132-3); it was probably similarly the case at Sijilmāsa (Ibn Hawkal, 91/89).

B. The pre-modern *kṣūr* in the Maghrib

The fortified villages of the Saharan wastes. In North African toponymy, Arabic *kṣar* frequently replaces its Berber equivalent *igherm* (pl. *igherman*) when applied to the fortified villages characteristic of a type of habitat peculiar to the ante-Saharan zones: in Morocco, in the valleys of the Ziz, Dadès and Draa, from the Sūs in the west to Tāfilālt in the east, and from the Atlas from north of the Draa to the south; and in Algeria, the regions of Tuwāt [q.v.] and Gourara [q.v. in Suppl.] and that of Mzāb [q.v.]. In its "completed" form, i.e. pre-modern one, such as one still finds in Morocco, the *kṣar* appears as a fortified village with a rectangular plan, surrounded by a protective wall flanked with towers and with angled bastions; the space thus circumscribed, with a dense network of contiguous houses, is criss-crossed by several narrow streets whose pattern is based on more or less orthogonal axes. The regular form depends on the topographical conditions of the site; if the *kṣūr* of the plains of southern Morocco most often show a regular pattern, the mountain villages are made up of houses huddled together and presenting a continuous front view, whilst in the Algerian Sahara, the overwhelming majority of *kṣūr* simply consist of an agglomeration with a dense and complex pattern whose general contours attest an organic pattern of growth. As an economic centre and place of refuge, and as a nucleus for sedentarisation, the *kṣar* forms the basic political unit of these regions. In the southeast of Morocco, the management of the internal affairs of the *kṣar* is confided to two distinct political entities: the chief (*shaykh* or *amghar*) elected once a year is seconded by the chiefs of the quarters or the great families (*mzang* or *amur*) in order to avoid power being gathered up into the hands of a single kinship group. These balancing factors, which make up a small council (*ḡamā'a* [q.v.]), are guarantees of a social order that is expressed by means of prescribed forms and customary rules, often set down in writing.

The collective granary in the eastern Maghrib. In south-eastern Tunisia, the term *kṣar* further denotes a collective storehouse where the local people, living in the valleys near to cultivated fields, come to store their grain. The mountainous Tuniso-Libyan arc and its outliers, some 150 km/95 miles long, contains a hundred or so of these *kṣūr*, with similar ones in Algeria, in the region of Gourara. Built on a hilltop with escarpmented slopes, the *kṣar* here generally has a quadrangular plan, with its protective wall formed by the placing together of narrow rooms (*ghurfas*) with cradle vaulting, sometimes placed above each other on two or three levels, access to them being by an improvised outside ladder. Although nobody lives there,



the *kaşar* is nonetheless a focus for the social life of peoples living a dispersed or troglodytic way of life. Sometimes it provides shelter for some artisanal activities, and it forms the point near to which an important market may on occasion be held. Likewise, one finds the mosque or *muşalla* [q.v.], sometimes with a cemetery associated with it, at some distance away from the *kaşar* yet at the same time associated with it.

The overall view. It is extremely difficult, for reasons both historical and methodological, to trace the evolution of the habitat which finally contributed to the emergence of the "completed" form of the *kaşar*, the fortified village of the high plateaux of the Moroccan steppelands, more characteristic of certain regions which are in majority Berberophone than really "typical"—as has often been said—of a certain "Berber style of architecture". Various influences have been suggested in this regard: that of Africa, put forward at the time of the first exploratory travels, has speedily been forgotten, even if Terrasse perpetuated it in a certain manner by finding in the *kaşar* an imprint of Pharaonic Egypt. The geometrical disposition of the Moroccan *kaşar*, above all the presence of a principal axis which serves the groups of dwelling places, has generated as many arguments in favour of the thesis of an influence from the Roman-Byzantine *castellum*, whilst the brick decoration which often ornaments the whole ensemble has raised the question of connections with the East and with Hispano-Moresque art. Suffice it to say that these suggestions still today do not go beyond simple formal or stylistic likenesses.

The problem of tracing the origin of the type is further exacerbated by the difficulty of dating these groupings, given the very fragmentary historical data and the absence of archaeological remains which can be firmly dated. Thus, although the Moroccan *kaşar* has for a long time been considered as an example of a "traditional" and "archaic" form of architecture, and therefore of an undateable nature, its existence is not attested by any sure material piece of evidence before at least the 17th and 18th centuries. The uncertainty over the dating—or at least, over the relative chronology—of these fortified villages has given rise to two postulates: (1) the prior dating of those with plans shows an organic growth compared with those having geometrical plans—*kaşar* with regular plans are considered later than those which, in Tuwāt and elsewhere in the Sahara, show in their plans no concern for symmetry; and (2) *terre pisée* was substituted for stone—the *kaşar* constructed of baked earth is seen as the end product of a process of change from the more ancient fortresses built in stone. These theories, even if they cannot be regarded as totally invalid, must, however, be approached with great prudence because of their neglect for the socio-economic and topographical considerations which brought about the conditions for the construction of these sites, and because of the *a priori* definition of a linear evolution of the construction techniques which they presuppose. Studies on the typologies involved, supported by the most rigorous possible surface explorations, are required to understand the phenomenon of the *kaşar* in all its breadth, geographical and chronological. J.-Cl. Echallier has accordingly made an exploration and inventory of over 300 *kaşar* in the Gourara-Tuwāt region. Starting from formal criteria, he proposes classifying the ensemble of these sites into six main groups, ranging from storehouses used as refuges on rocky peaks (type I) to regular walled enclosures in unfired brick, displaying a sense of care in the organisation of the interior spaces (type VI). In southeastern Tunisia, some inscrip-

tions on plasterwork placed on the arcading of the entrance vaulting, from which access leads into the *kaşar*, bear a date. A. Louis has studied and published the account of a granary which served as a place of refuge, the *Kaşar Zānāta*, which in this way dates to 475/1082-3, whilst at the *Kaşar Djouama*, an inscription dates either the building or the restoration of this part of the building to 1178/1764-5. The gap between these two dates indicates the degree of uncertainty which still reigns in the studies on the evolution of these forms of habitation in the Maghrib.

Often placed in connection with the general phenomenon of a crisis which ruptured the complementary relationship between two types of economy, the nomadic and the sedentary, and which led to periods of conflict and change, it seems that the *kaşar* of southern Morocco and southern Algeria, like the communal storehouses of southeastern Tunisia, can be placed, in a more global and more nuanced way, in relationship to a situation of transition between nomadism and sedentarisation. This particular form of a place for keeping commodities and for refuge, or as a place for habitation, would thus form a nucleus for sedentarisation around which the territory of a given human group becomes organised. The *kaşar*, so characteristic of certain North African landscapes, is an architectural form on the verge of disappearing because of the major changes of recent decades in social relations and techniques. In these regions, it is now the village which has succeeded the *kaşar* as the basic element of social cohesion.

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KAŞAR ABİ DÂNIS, a settlement of Islamic Portugal, revealed by archaeological excavations on the ancient site of Salacia, to the south of Lisbon, and on the site of the present convent of Aracoeli, the modern Alcácer do Sal.

It dates from the 3rd/9th century, when coastal defences were being erected against the Viking attacks which had begun in 230/844 [see *AL-MADJŪS*]. The fortress occupied a major strategic site, up-river from the mouth of the Sado. According to Ibn Ḥazm and Ibn Ḥayyān, it was in the course of the *fitna* in this century, during the reign of the Umayyad *amīr* 'Abd Allāh, that the Banū Dānis, Berbers driven from the region of Coimbra, besieged the place, which received their name. When 'Abd al-Rahmān III brought the region under his authority, he confirmed the Banū Dānis as chiefs in the town, which now became the



capital of a *kūra* and grew into a prosperous centre. Ibn Abi 'Amir [see AL-MANŞÜR BI 'LLAH] made it into an important naval dockyard for attacking the shrine of St. James of Compostella in 387/997. As the main maritime outlet for the Aftasids [*q.v.*] of Badajoz, Kaşr Abi Dânis retained its role as a dockyard and arsenal and was also, according to al-Idrîsî, a prosperous commercial port. After the fall of Lisbon in 542/1147, the town was first taken by Afonso Henriques, but recovered by the Almohad caliph al-Manşūr in 587/1191 before its definitive fall in 614/1217. Immediately after this, Muslim Alcácer declined in favour of Setúbal.

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KAŞR AL-MUSHASH, an Umayyad period archaeological site in Jordan located 40 km/25 miles southeast of 'Ammān. The core of the site consists of a *kaşr*, a water reservoir and a bath, surveyed by King in 1980-1 and excavated by Bisheh in 1982-3. The *kaşr* measures 26 m/85 feet square and consists of rooms around an open central courtyard, without any corner towers, and could accommodate up to 40 people. Re-used in one wall is a stone with a Kufic inscription asking for the forgiveness of the sins of an unknown Radjā b. Bashshār. Nearby is a plastered cistern 4.8 m/16 feet in diameter once roofed by stone slabs supported by arches, intended to supply the inhabitants of the *kaşr* with drinking water. At 400 m/1,312 feet west of the *kaşr* is a plastered water reservoir measuring 25 m/82 feet square. The excavated bath house was a simple structure with four rooms: an apodyterium, frigidarium, tepidarium and caldarium with a furnace. The bath has none of the lavish decorations characteristic of ʔuşayr 'Amrā or Hammām al-Şarākh [*q.v.*]. Other uninvestigated reservoirs, cisterns, walled enclosures and barrages dot the site. The pottery at the site is predominantly Umayyad. The function of the site, without a sizeable resident population, was to serve as a watering stop for caravans travelling between 'Ammān and the northern Arabian Peninsula via the Wādī Sirhān. Reduced traffic along that route after the 'Abbāsīd revolution soon led to the abandonment of the site.

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Conference on the History of Bilād al-Sham during the Umayyad period. English Section, ii, 'Ammān 1989, 81-104. (R. SCHICK)

KAŞR TŪBĀ, one of the so-called "desert castles" in Jordan, is located ca. 100 km/60 miles southeast of 'Ammān. Since it is unfinished, information on the intended design of the elevations and the decorations are limited. The enclosure walls and the foundations were built of limestone, the remaining parts of brick. The building has a rectangular shape, measuring ca. 140 m (east-west) by ca. 70 m (north-south) and is flanked by five semicircular towers on the south side, two on the east and west sides. There was a round tower at each corner. In the north the arrangement is different (see below). The structure consists of two individual and identical halves, divided by a wall and connected with each other by a small passage. Each of the two buildings has a central courtyard of ca. 30 m by 30 m with rooms and/or smaller courtyards built around it. Entrance is given to each of the buildings by a gate flanked by square towers in the middle of northern façades. Between the two gates, a semicircular tower projects from the northern façade. Behind the gate, passages, ca. 6 m deep, lead into the courtyards. In each of the corners of the courtyards, traces of typical Umayyad *bayts*, i.e. two rooms flanking a central hall or courtyard on two sides, are to be found. This feature, in addition to the use of brick, the vaulting technique and the few decorations preserved, shows that the building must have been built in the late Umayyad period. Most authors consider al-Walid II [*q.v.*] as the patron of this building.

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KAŞTAL, one of the so-called Umayyad "desert castles", now in the Kingdom of Jordan. It lies ca. 15 km south of the centre of 'Ammān. Its existence became known only at the beginning of the 20th century, following a publication by Brünnow and von Domaszewski (see *Bibl.*).

Until the 1970s, the period of its construction remained speculative, but since then there is little doubt that this desert castle was built in Umayyad times. The site consists of a palace and a mosque, the latter lying north of the palace. Changes in the construction as well as ceramic finds indicate that the place was used in the Ayyūbid-Mamlūk period as well as in later Ottoman times.

The palace is a square construction of ca. 59 × 59 m (without counting the towers), made of ashlar with cast work between the surfaces, with round corner towers and three semicircular intermediate towers on the northern, southern and western sides each, while the entrance was on the eastern side. The latter has four semicircular intermediate towers, two of which can be considered as part of the wings of the main entrance. Through a ca. 2 m-wide gate one enters into a space inside the tower, which is ca. 16 m deep and leads to an inner court of ca. 28 × 28 m. Around the inner court was a peristyle, behind which lay six groups of rooms, arranged *bayt*-wise (four on the eastern and western sides, with adjoining rooms in the corners, two on the northern and southern sides). Remains of an upper storey, which formerly surrounded the entire building, are only found in the neighbourhood of the tower room. The building thus



resembles other Umayyad sites, the palace at *Ḍjabal Says* [*q.v.* in Suppl.], *Ḳharāna* and *Ḳaṣr al-Ḥayr al-Sharkī* [*q.v.*] in particular.

A few metres off the western part of the northern palace wall lies a construction which originally was interpreted as a praetorium, but which is undoubtedly a mosque. Preserved are the remains of a rectangular surrounding wall of ca. 21 × 18 m, which encloses a courtyard and a prayer-house. Its north-western corner encloses a round tower with a diameter of ca. 6 m. From the southern side of the court a door leads to a rectangular prayer-room with a deeply vaulted *miḥrāb* [*q.v.*] in the middle of the southern wall. The mosque clearly shows three construction phases. The masonry of the earliest phase is the same as that of the inside constructions of the palace. It belongs to a mosque, which probably had a saddle roof. To this mosque also belonged the round tower, beyond all question one of the earliest minarets to survive. It proves that rectangular as well as round minarets were already erected in early Islamic times. In Ayyūbid-Mamlūk times the walls of the mosque were reinforced, and the original roof replaced by a barrel vault. In late Ottoman times, the mosque was further restored.

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KATHĪRĪ, a South Arabian tribal group and sultanate, the latter eventually becoming part of the Eastern Aden Protectorate prior to the departure of the British from South Arabia in 1967. Their origins were in the area of *Zafār* [*q.v.*] on the Indian Ocean, now within the Southern Region of the Sultanate of Oman [see *ʿUMĀN*], and they appear suddenly on the stage of history in the 9th/15th century. By the time the Eastern Aden Protectorate collapsed in 1967 after the departure of the British, the *Kathīrī* sultanate was made up of the centre and eastern end of the *Wādī Ḥaḍramawt*, tribal lands to the north of the *Wādī* towards the Empty Quarter [see *AL-RUBʿ AL-ḲHĀLĪ*] and to the south in the mountainous region towards the sea, although by this time they had no access to the sea. Their main towns were *Sayʿūn* [*q.v.*], the capital of the sultanate, *Tarīm* [*q.v.*], the intellectual centre, *al-Ḡhuraf*, *Būr* and *al-Ḡhurfa*, all within *Wādī Ḥaḍramawt*.

The *Kathīrī* tribe was of *Zanna* (sometimes written *Danna* in the Arabic sources) and, according to *al-Shāḥīrī* (*Adwār*, 234), *Kaḥṭānīs* of *Sabaʿ*, and not of *Hamḍān*. *Al-Shāḥīrī* adds (352) that *Zanna* are believed to have come from *Muscat* (*Maskat*) and *Zafār*.

The *Kathīrīs* first took *Zafār* in 807/1404 (*al-ʿAlawī, Taʾrīkh*, ii, 684). They took the important port of *al-Shiḥr* [*q.v.*] from the *Tāhīrīs* [*q.v.*] in 867/1462. The port, always vulnerable from the sea, was not only the emporium of Indian trade in the area but also handled the traffic of the pilgrims bound for *Ḳabr Ḥūd* in *Wādī Ḥaḍramawt* (*Serjeant, Portuguese*, 25 and see also his *Hud*). Both trade and the pilgrimage traffic were huge sources of revenue. The exact situation is not clear, however, and it seems that the *Kathīrīs* on occasion held *al-Shiḥr* as governors of the *Tāhīrīs*.

The expansionist policies of the *Kathīrīs* are associated with the famous *Badr Bū Tuwayrīḳ* (r. 922-77/1516-70). He fought the *Mahra* [*q.v.*] tribes to the east of *al-Shiḥr*, and endeavoured to keep the Portuguese and the Turks at bay as far as he could,

playing them off against each other. He was able to pursue campaigns into *Ḥaḍramawt*, using Turkish-Portuguese rivalry to his own advantage. *Badr* even made use of the Turks and the Portuguese: with the aid of the former in 926/1520 he took *Shibām*, and with Portuguese musketeers he made gains in *Wādī Ḥaḍramawt* in 945/1539 (*al-Kindī, Taʾrīkh*, i, 164; *Serjeant, Portuguese*, 28). His successes in *Ḥaḍramawt* may well have been because of his access to firearms introduced by the Turks in the expedition against *Shibām*. He had no strong religious sentiment against the Portuguese, but this earned him the resentment of many *Ḥaḍramīs* who urged holy war against him (*Serjeant, Portuguese*, 27-30, 57).

Al-Kindī in his *Taʾrīkh* provides a whole catalogue of *Kathīrī* activities in mediaeval times in *Ḥaḍramawt* and on the coast. In 926/1520, for example, *Badr* went on to take both *Tarīm* and *al-Ḡhurfa*. In 934/1527, he struck coins in *al-Shiḥr*. Under the year 942/1535, the killing of a number of Portuguese is reported, others being shackled and plundered. The *Kathīrīs* were also in touch with the Turks and the Egyptians. In 943/1536, *Badr* began the building of the fortress of *Ḡhayl Bā Wazīr* in the coastal area. The year 944/1537 marked the arrival in *al-Shiḥr* of a Turkish galley to assist *Badr* against the Portuguese. It was announced that the *ḵuṭba* was to be pronounced in the name of the Ottoman sultan, *Sulaymān Bā Yazīd* (i.e. *Sulaymān the Magnificent*). After *Badr's* death in 977/1569, there was less stability in the *Kathīrī* house. Reports for the following years reflect internecine squabbles (*al-Kindī, Taʾrīkh*, i, 164, 165, 180, 182, 185, 215, 216 and *passim*).

The struggle in 1064/1653 between the two *Badr*s of the *Kathīrī* family, *Badr b. ʿUmar* and *Badr b. ʿAbd Allāh*, brought the *Zaydīs* [see *ZAYDIYYA*] of the Yemen into the affairs of *Ḥaḍramawt* (*al-Wazīr, Tabak al-ḥalwā*, 135 ff.). *Badr b. ʿUmar al-Kathīrī*, lord of *Ḥaḍramawt*, *al-Shiḥr* and *Zafār*, having already embraced the *Zaydī* rite, had the *ḵuṭba* pronounced in the name of the *Zaydī* *Imām al-Mutawakkil* (r. 1054-87/1644-76 [*q.v.*]). His nephew, *Badr b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Kathīrī*, had *Badr b. ʿUmar* arrested and imprisoned near *Sayʿūn* (*Serjeant, Omani naval activities*, 78). *Al-Mutawakkil* reacted swiftly to *Badr b. ʿAbd Allāh's* action against his uncle. Much correspondence passed between him and the *Kathīrī*, and the latter finally submitted, though *Badr b. ʿAbd Allāh* was resentful of the *Imām's* intervention and his submission was clearly a sham. *Badr b. ʿUmar* was obliged to flee *Zafār*, where the *Imām* had secured his governorship as part of his agreement with *Badr b. ʿAbd Allāh*, and finally arrived at the *Imām's* court in *Sanʿāʿ* [*q.v.*] in 1069/1659. This state of affairs now brought about a full-scale *Zaydī* military expedition into *Ḥaḍramawt* under the command of *Ṣafī ʿl-Islām Aḥmad b. Hasan* and accompanied by *Badr b. ʿUmar*. *Ṣafī ʿl-Islām* was able to subdue *Ḥaḍramawt* itself, but then experienced difficulties in supplying his large *Zaydī* army. He was thus unable to deal with the problem of *Zafār*, by this time under an *ʿUmānī amīr*. He returned from *Sayʿūn* to *Sanʿāʿ* (*Serjeant, Omani naval activities*, 79-80). By about 1080/1670, *Zaydī* influence in *Ḥaḍramawt* had declined and the *Kathīrī* sultans were in independent control there (*ibid.*, 84). Once again, sources provide a rather confused and lengthy catalogue of *Kathīrī* activities: military movements, battles, tribal problems and agreements, these involving also the *Yāfīʿīs* [see *YĀFĪʿ*], who had entered the area, on occasion the *Zaydīs*, and from the mid-19th century onwards the *Ḳuʿayṭīs*.



The Government of Bombay's *Account of the Arab tribes*, compiled at the beginning of the 20th century, indicates (123) that Kathīrī territory had originally been carved out of 'Awlaḳī lands in the west and Mahra in the east, and included al-Mukallā on the coast, until 1881 when it passed to the Ḳu'ayṭī, and al-Shiḥr. The Kathīrī sultanate lost much ground to the Yāfi'īs and Ḳu'ayṭīs in the latter half of the 19th century. The *Account*, reporting on the Kathīrī, also reports a total of 7,000 fighting males. Many Kathīrī subjects were scattered over parts of India, Java, Singapore and East Africa, engaged in trade.

In 1883, Sultan 'Abd Allāh b. Ṣāliḥ al-Kathīrī visited the British Resident in Aden to assess the attitude of the British to his seizing al-Mukallā and al-Shiḥr from the Ḳu'ayṭī. The British answer was firm and to the point: if the Kathīrī attacked the ports, the British would come to the aid of the Ḳu'ayṭī with a gunboat. The Kathīrīs continued to smart at their loss of access to the sea (*Account*, 123).

It is interesting to note that in 1895, the Kathīrīs still at this time had designs on their native region and they took Ṣafār, although they were unable to hang on to it for longer than two years. The *Account* also reports (124) that there was little contact between the Kathīrī and the Aden Residency in the 1860s and '70s and that there was none at all in the '80s and '90s. Unlike most of the other Aden Protectorate states, the Kathīrī signed no 19th-century formal treaty of protection with Britain (*Account*, 130). They are, however, listed (154-5) among those states "having relations with Aden Residency". Their annual revenue is quoted as 24,000 rupees, although there was no stipend from the Residency. The sultan in 1906 when the *Account* was published was Maṣṣūr b. Ḡhalīb.

It was only during the 1930s that relations between the Kathīrī and the British became closer, the rapprochement occurring in the wake of the famous "Ingrams Peace", when the first British political officer in Ḥaḍramawt, Harold Ingrams, brought about a general peace between the years 1937-40 in the tribal lands of both Ḳu'ayṭī and Kathīrī (Ingrams, *Arabia*, 10-19). This resulted in the political, social, agricultural, educational and medical development of both sultanates, including the completion of a road from Tarīm in Wādī Ḥaḍramawt to al-Shiḥr on the coast, and the increased British involvement in their affairs, culminating in the separate British administration of the Kathīrī, Ḳu'ayṭī, Mahra and Wāḥidī [q.v.] sultanates as the Eastern Aden Protectorate. In March 1939, a treaty between the Kathīrī and the British was finally signed (Smith, "Ingrams Peace", *Ḥaḍramawt*, 1937-40, see *Bibl.*; for the texts of the treaty, see *Records of Aden*, 239-40).

The sultanates of the Eastern Aden Protectorate never entered the Federation which was formed and fostered by the British in the Western Aden Protectorate. At the time of the withdrawal of the British in 1967, the Kathīrī sultanate became a part of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen. In 1990, with the unity of north and south Yemen, the whole of what had been the Eastern Aden Protectorate became a part of the Yemen Republic [see AL-YAMAN, 3(b)] with its capital at Ṣan'ā'.

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AL-KATIFI, IBRAHİM B. SULAYMĀN, Imāmī Shī'ī jurist of the 9th-10th/15th-16th centuries.

He is most famous for his acrimonious dispute with his supposed classmate (or teacher), the influential 'Alī b. 'Abd al-'Alī al-Karakī (d. 940/1534 [q.v.]). Al-Katifi moved from his birthplace Bahrayn to 'Irāq to study (some date this move to 913/1507). Apart from a pilgrimage to Maṣḥad, supposedly with al-Karakī, at some unknown date, he appears to have spent the rest of his academic life in southern 'Irāq (Nadīf and later Ḥilla), teaching and writing. His academic output is mostly inspired by his personal and religious animosity towards al-Karakī. Al-Karakī had gained the favour of the Ṣafawid Shāh Tahmāsp I [q.v.], and al-Katifi accused him of egotism and legal chicanery aimed at personal enrichment. Such accusations can be found throughout al-Katifi's most famous work *al-Sirādī al-wahhādī*, a detailed refutation of al-Karakī's *Kāfi'at al-ladīdī*. The debate here concerned the legitimacy of land-tax (*kharāj*) payable to the ruler. Whilst al-Karakī, benefiting personally from *kharāj* revenue, argued that it was a permitted tax during the occultation (*ghayba* [q.v.]) of the Imām, al-Katifi maintained that Ṣafawid rule was (legally speaking) illegitimate; no Ṣafawid tax could be legitimate and no gifts bestowed by the Shāh could be accepted. In one incident in Karbalā', al-Katifi publicly refused to accept a gift brought by al-Karakī from Shāh Tahmāsp.

Most of al-Katifi's works remain in manuscript, and nearly all appear to be refutations of al-Karakī's views on subjects such as the *djum'a* prayer, fosterage and fasting. Some have linked al-Katifi to the emerging Akhbārī school [see AKHBĀRIYYA, in Suppl.], but his juristic reasoning, though conservative, appears within the mainstream of Shī'ī jurisprudence. His date of death is unknown, but he is reported to have been alive as late as 951/1544.

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KAWĀ'ID FIKĪHIYYA (A.), legal principles, legal maxims, general legal rules (sing. *kā'ida fikhīyya*). These are *madhhab*-internal legal guidelines that are applicable to a number of particular cases in various fields of the law, whereby the legal determinations (*ahkām*) of these cases can be derived from these principles. They reflect the logic of a school's legal reasoning and thus impart a "scaffolding" to the "case-law" (*furū'*).

Historically, general rules can be found already strewn throughout early *furū'* works. They were first collected by Hanafis like Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Karkhī (d. 340/952), but under the title of *uṣūl* rather than *kawā'id*. (As a result, the term *asl* acquires, minimally, a fourfold meaning: (1) an act that has already been legally determined and now serves as a "model" for similar cases; (2) a scriptural pronouncement (Qur'ān or Ḥadīth) that is considered decisive for the legal determination of a given act; (3) a legal principle, under which several individual cases are subsumed; (4) a source of the law, such as the Qur'ān.) But this early start hardly bore fruit, and it is only around the 7th/13th century that all the legal schools began to produce books on *kawā'id* (predominantly with this term in the title of their books), except (!) the Hanafis. This strange gap in the latter's record is probably not to be attributed to a loss of their works, because the Hanafi scholar, Ibn Nudjāym (d. 970/1563 [q.v.]), complains about the fact that his school has nothing to compete with against the Shāfi'īs in this respect (*Ashbāh*, 15)—a situation that he tries to redress by writing a *kawā'id* book on the model of the Shāfi'ī Tādj al-Dīn al-Subkī's (d. 771/1370 [q.v.]) work. Some of the most influential *kawā'id* works of the later period bear the title *al-Ashbāh wa 'l-naẓā'ir*, such as those of the Shāfi'īs Ibn al-Wakīl (d. 716/1317), Tādj al-Dīn al-Subkī, and al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505), as well as that of the Hanafi Ibn Nudjāym. According to the co-editor of Ibn al-Wakīl's book, Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-'Ankarī, *ashbāh* refers to cases that are alike in appearance (*ẓāhir*) and legal status, while *naẓā'ir* denotes cases that are alike in appearance, but differ in legal status. Whether this is generally true remains to be seen. Look-alike cases of the latter type are dealt with in the *furū'* literature, the *farq* being the decisive difference that brings about a different legal determination (*ḥukm*). Since sections on *furū'* do occur in *ashbāh wa-naẓā'ir* works, one may consider such works an umbrella genre that comprises both the *kawā'id* deduced from truly similar cases and the *furū'* indicating the differences between outwardly similar cases. Logically, and probably also historically, the establishment of similitudes among cases precedes the formulation of legal rules/maxims based on them as well as the recognition of *furū'* as obstacles to the subsumption of cases under a single rule.

However, with regard to the *kawā'id*, this picture is too simple. Although generally valid rules (*al-kawā'id al-kullīyya al-fikhīyya*) do exist, they are outnumbered by rules that are only "preponderant" (*al-kawā'id al-aghlabīyya/al-akthariyya*). In the *Idāh al-masālik ilā kawā'id al-imām Mālik* of al-Wansharīsī (d. 914/1508 [q.v.]) the relationship of the two types is 17 to 101, and a number of legal scholars assert that legal rules, as opposed to other rules, are always preponderantly valid. The generally valid rules are couched in maxims, the preponderantly valid ones in double questions, thus e.g. *dar' 'l-mafāsīd mukaddam 'alā djalb 'l-masālih* "warding off corruptions has the priority over bring-

ing about benefits" is a *kā'ida kullīyya*, whereas *al-zann' hal yunqad' bi-'l-zann' am lā* "can a presumption be canceled by [another] presumption or not?" is a *kā'ida aghlabīyya*. The term *aghlabī* refers to the fact that the non-subsumable cases are *istithnā'āt* "exceptions" to the rule, rather than constituting a competing *kā'ida*.

The unmistakable blossoming of *kawā'id* literature from the 7th/13th century onward expresses several tendencies:

(1) The focus of the *fukahā'* is *madhhab*-internal, not independent, *idjtihād* (i. *mutlak*). A good command of the *kawā'id* will qualify the jurist as a *mudjtahid al-fatwā*, someone who can issue a legal opinion on the basis of the *kawā'id* of his school.

(2) The school-specific *kawā'id* were collected from the *furū'* works or, where the imāms and other earlier authorities had not been explicit about their principles, were arrived at by induction from their *furū'* decisions (*kawā'id istikrā'īyya*). Ibn al-Wakīl (d. 716/1317) and Abū 'Abd Allāh al-Maḥkarī (d. 758/1357) are said to have done their own *istikrā'* of the major Shāfi'ī and Mālikī sources respectively (see al-Bāḥusayn, *Kawā'id*, 324 and 328).

(3) There is a certain competitiveness among the schools to reduce the *kawā'id* to the lowest possible number. The most extreme of these attempts is what Tādj al-Dīn al-Subkī imputes to 'Izz al-Dīn Ibn 'Abd al-Salām (d. 660/1262 [see AL-SULAMĪ]), that he reduced the whole of the Law to one principle, to wit *djalb al-masālih wa-dar' al-mafāsīd* "bringing about benefits and warding off corruptions" (see al-Subkī, *al-Ashbāh*, i, 12, referring to Ibn 'Abd al-Salām, *Kawā'id al-ahkām*, i, 6 and 11). These attempts at keeping the number small do not have any practical importance for the lawyer. They are an outcome of the desire to structure the law with the greatest economy.

Although the *kawā'id* are mostly school-specific, some were generally accepted by all schools. Particularly famous are the so-called *al-kawā'id al-khams* "Five Principles". Attested since the 8th/14th century, they are the following (there are variations in wording and sequence):

- (1) *al-umūr* "bi-maḥāṣidihā" "Things [acts] are what they are through the intentions that bring them about";
- (2) *al-darar* "yuzāl" "Harm shall be removed";
- (3) *al-'āda* "muḥakkama" "Custom is made the arbiter";
- (4) *al-mashakkka* "taḍlul" "Hardship brings about facilitation";
- (5) *al-yakīn* "lā yazūl" "bi-'l-shakk" "Certainty is not erased (superseded) by doubt/uncertainty".

Restricting these principles, also called *al-kawā'id al-kubrā*, the "Major Principles", to the number five may result from a desire for balance; an attendant saying goes: *buniya 'l-Islām 'alā khams wa 'l-fikh 'alā khams* "Islam has been built on five [sc. the *arkān*] and so has jurisprudence".

As for the position of the *kawā'id* literature within legal studies, one may quote the Mālikī Shihāb al-Dīn al-Karāfī (d. 684/1285), who says at the beginning of his *furū'* work that there are two kinds of *uṣūl*: *uṣūl al-fikh* and *al-kawā'id al-fikhīyya al-kullīyya* (*al-Furū'*, i, 2), and the Hanafi Ibn Nudjāym who made the shocking statement that the *kawā'id* are the real *uṣūl al-fikh* (*al-Ashbāh*, 15). While the latter statement seems exaggerated, it is clear that the *kawā'id* were considered an important third "player" alongside the *uṣūl* and the *furū'*.

It should be mentioned that the *uṣūlīs* formulated hermeneutical principles that were called *kawā'id uṣūliyya*; these are at times not carefully separated from the *kawā'id fikhīyya*.



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(W.P. HEINRICHS)

KAWĪR, DASHT-I [see IRAN. i. 3].

KAYSŪM (modern Tkish. Keysun; Grk. Kaison; Arm. Kesun; Frankish Cressum and variants), a place situated to the south of Besni [q.v.], in east-

ern modern Turkey on the Keysun-çay, an affluent of the Sūrfaz-çay, in the upper valley of the Euphrates. Considered in the 9th century A.D. as one of the marches of the Byzantine frontier, it commanded a col on the Besni road. Its fortress served as a base for the revolt of Naṣr b. Shahaṭh [q.v.] but was dismantled after Naṣr's submission to al-Ma'mūn in 209/824-5.

Kaysūm was re-occupied by the Byzantines ca. 958, and at the end of the 11th century became the capital of the Armenian lord Gogh Vasil (d. 1112). The Franks annexed it in 1116 and it became part of the lands of the lord of Mar'ash. Baldwin of Mar'ash (d. 1146) rebuilt the fortress in stone, but this has now disappeared. During this Frankish occupation, Kaysūm was the seat of a Latin bishopric. An Armenian bishopric is mentioned up to 1177 and a Jacobite one till 1174. It was even the place of residence of the Jacobite patriarch for a few years. All this indicates that there was living there an important Christian population.

Between 545/1150 and 568/1173 the Saldjūks of Rūm and Nūr al-Dīn b. Zangī occupied it alternately. During Ayyūbid times it came within the territory of Aleppo, but its strategic role declined, and after the passage through it of the Mongols in 1260 it is mentioned only as a village under Armenian domination.

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KAZAKHSTĀN, conventionally **KAZAKHSTAN**, a region of Inner Asia lying essentially to the south of Siberia and north of the older Islamic Transoxania [see MĀ WARĀ' AL-NAHR]; the southern part of what is now the Kazakhstān Republic includes what was in mediaeval Islamic times rather vaguely known as Moghōlistān [q.v.]. The modern Kazakhstān Republic (formally, Kazakhstān Respublikasi) is the largest state of Central Asia; it borders on its north and west with the Russian Federation of States, on the east with China and on the south with Kīrgīzstān [q.v. in Suppl.], Uzbekistān [q.v.] and the northwestern tip of Turkmenistān [q.v.]. The capital since 1997 has been Astana (formerly Akmolā), although the former capital Almatī (older Russian name, Alma Ata [q.v.]) remains the largest city.

1. Topography and climate.

Kazakhstān covers an area of 2,724,900 km² and stretches from almost the lower Volga and the Caspian Sea in the west to the Altai and Tien Shan Mountains in the east. Deserts occupy the central and western parts of the country, while the northern part is largely covered by steppes. The highest point is Khantāngīrī peak (6,995 m/22,944 feet) in the southeast. Main rivers are the Sir Daryā [q.v.] which flows into the Aral Sea, the Ertīs (Irīsh [q.v. in Suppl.]) and Esmī (Ishim) which join the Ob' river, the Ile (Ili [q.v.]) which empties into Lake Balkash (Balkhash [q.v.]), and the Oral (Ural [see YAYIK]) river which drains into the Caspian Sea.

The average January temperature rises from -17° C



in the north to 0° C in the south, and the average July temperature increases from 19° C in the north to 28° C in the south. Annual precipitation levels are generally low, ranging from about 100 mm in the deserts to between 250 and 400 mm on the steppes, but higher levels of precipitation are observed in the foothills and mountains; e.g. in Almatī at the foot of the Alatau Mountains, it is 640 mm.

2. Demography and ethnography.

According to the results of the census in 1999, Kazakhstan has a population of 14,953,100, giving it an average population density of 5.5 persons per km². The proportion of the urban population is the highest among the Central Asian states (56%).

The ethnic composition of the population underwent significant changes during the 20th century. In 1897, roughly 81% of the population of the present-day Kazakhstan territory were Kazaks, and 11% were Russians. But due to continuous large influxes of Russians and other Europeans, as well as mass starvation of Kazaks during collectivisation and forcible sedentarisation in the late 1920s-1930s, the proportion of Kazaks decreased to 30% in 1959, while Russians then occupied 42.7%. Deportation by the Soviet authorities of Čečens, Germans, Koreans and others to Kazakhstan on the eve of and during World War II also made the ethnic composition of the country diverse. In the 1970s, however, reverse migration of Russians to Russia started, and the proportion of Kazaks began increasing. In 1999, Kazaks formed 53.4% of the population; Russians, 30.0%; Germans, 2.4%; Ukrainians, 3.7%; and Uzbeks, 2.5%. The outflow of Russians, Germans and Ukrainians is so intense that the total population of Kazakhstan has been decreasing since 1993.

Most Kazaks were nomadic people until they were forced to settle in the 1930s. They raised sheep, horses, goats and camels, and lived in felt-covered tents (*kīz ūy* in Kazak, *yurta* in Russian) [see KHAYMA. iv]. Nomadism was the best form of adaptation to an arid environment before modern agricultural technology developed. Today, more than one-third of the Kazaks live in cities, whereas rural Kazaks engage in both farming and livestock breeding with limited seasonal migrations. In some areas during summer, Kazaks still live in felt-covered tents, which are also widely used as rest houses during festivals, even in cities.

Kazaks, except for the nobility and slaves, were traditionally divided into three large tribal confederations called Djuz (Kazak form, Zhūz; the etymology of the term is unclear, though one thinks of Ar. *ḡuz* 'part, section'): Senior (Ulī Djuz, Middle (Orta) Djuz, and Junior (Kishī) Djuz. The seniority among the Djuz was only nominal. The Senior Djuz occupied the southeastern part of Kazakhstan, while the Middle Djuz occupied the eastern, northern and central parts, and the Junior Djuz occupied the western part. Each Djuz was divided into numerous tribes and clans. Although these tribal divisions were based on the nomadic way of life in the past, many Kazaks are still conscious of belonging to a Djuz and to tribes.

Kazaks also live in Sinkiang in western China (1,257,000 in 1996), Uzbekistan, Russia and other former Soviet countries, Mongolia, Afghanistan and Turkey.

3. Languages.

The Kazak language belongs to the Kipčak group of the Turkic languages, together with Karakalpak, Noghay, Tatar, etc. Dialectal differences are not great. The written language of premodern times was a Kazak version of Čaghatay Turkic, though its use was limited.

The Kazak literary language began to develop in the second half of the 19th century. In the early 20th century, Akhmet Baytursinov and other intellectuals established the study of Kazak linguistics and reformed the Arabic alphabet so that it would fit the phonetic characteristics of Kazak. In 1928 the Latin alphabet was adopted, to be replaced in 1940 by the Cyrillic one [see further, TURKS. II. Languages, iv, v].

Kazak became the state language in 1989, but most non-Kazak citizens and some Kazaks do not understand it, while almost all citizens understand Russian. Russian was called "a language for inter-ethnic communication" by the language law in 1989, and the constitution in 1995 stipulated that Russian is to be used officially on equal terms with Kazak.

4. Religion.

The Kazaks are Sunnī Muslims of the Hanafī *madh-hab*. Islam was probably first introduced to a part of the sedentary population in southern Kazakhstan by the incoming Arabs from the 8th century onwards, but nomadic people continued to worship Tañrī (the sky [q.v.]), fire and other natural beings and spirits. There were Nestorian Christians also. Because of the affinity between Sūfism and local traditional beliefs, Sūfis, including Ahmad Yasawī (1093?-1166 [q.v.]), who lived in Yasi (present-day "Türkistan" or Turkistan in southern Kazakhstan), greatly contributed to the propagation of Islam among both the sedentary and the nomadic populations. After the Mongol invasions, *khāns* of the *Djocid ulus* and the *Čaghatayid ulus* gradually came to support Islam. Kazak *khāns* also maintained close relations with the *ulamā* and Sūfis of Transoxania.

Nevertheless, animistic beliefs and shamanistic customs were strongly maintained by Kazaks. Social and political affairs were usually regulated by customary law, *adat*, not by the *Shari'a*. Although Tatar *mullās* strengthened Islamic norms among the Kazaks, Kazak intellectuals in the 19th and the early 20th centuries were more oriented towards European culture than towards Islam. Soviet anti-religious policies further weakened the influence of Islam on Kazaks.

From 1943, the Spiritual Directorate of Muslims of Central Asia and Kazakhstan (known as SADUM), which collaborated with the Soviet government, controlled mosques in Kazakhstan. In 1990, the Spiritual Directorate of Muslims of Kazakhstan was separated from SADUM. At the same time, a certain degree of Islamic revival began both within and outside the framework of the Spiritual Directorate.

5. History.

From ancient times, present-day Kazakhstan was the territory of various nomadic tribes and states: the Sakae, the Usun, the K'ang-yüeh, the West Turkic Kaganate, the Türgesh, Karluk and Oghuz Kaganates, the Karakhānids, the Karākhītāys, the Kimāks, the Kipčaks, etc. Based on the Soviet theory which stresses the "autochthonness" of ethnogenetic processes, most Kazak historians think that all these tribes are the Kazaks' direct ancestors; but most Western scholars are sceptical about it.

After the Mongol invasions, the *Djocid ulus* and the *Čaghatayid ulus* were established there. In the mid-15th century, most of present-day Kazakhstan (the eastern Dašt-i Kipčak) was inhabited by the nomadic Özbeks, whose ruler was Abu 'l-Khayr, a descendant of Shibān, Djocī's fifth son. In ca. 1460, descendants of another son of Djocī (the first son, Orda, or the thirteenth son, Toka Temür), Djānibek and Girey, split from Abu 'l-Khayr and moved to Moghulistan.



[*q.v.*] (southeastern Kazakstān). After they increased their power, they returned to the Dasht-i Kipčak and replaced the Özbeks, who moved to the south of the Sir Daryā. Their dynasty is known as the Kazak Khānate, but its government structure and territory were unstable, and there is a dispute among Kazakstān scholars on whether the khānate can be called a "state" or not. In any case, there is scant evidence of the ethnic consciousness of its inhabitants, and it is not clear whether the word "Kazak", which originally means a "independent man" or a "wanderer", meant at this time a distinctive ethnic group.

In the late 17th and the early 18th centuries, fierce battles occurred between the Kazaks and the Oyrads or Oinats (Kalmaqs [see KALMUK]) of the so-called Djungar Khānate (western Mongolia). This confrontation, on the one hand, consolidated the Kazaks' ethnic identity, and on the other hand, induced some Kazak khāns to swear loyalty to the Russian Empress Anna Ivanovna, though in practice they remained independent. In the 1820s, Russia abolished the khān's power in the Middle and the Junior Djuz, and started to rule directly most parts of Kazakstān. The territory of the Senior Djuz, which was under the rule of the Khokand [*q.v.*] Khānate, was incorporated into Russia by the 1860s.

During the 1917 October Revolution and the ensuing civil warfare in Russia, Kazak intellectuals established the Alash-Orda autonomous government. After it collapsed, the Autonomous Kazak (mistakenly called "Kirgiz" in Russian usage until 1925) Socialist Soviet Republic was formed inside Soviet Russia. After receiving and abandoning some territories in 1925, it was in 1936 upgraded to the Kazak SSR, one of the fifteen constituent republics of the USSR.

The 1920s and 1930s were especially hard times for Kazakstān: purges, mass collectivisation and forcible sedentarisation killed a large number of politicians, intellectuals, nomads and peasants. But at the same time, the Soviet government started the industrialisation of Kazakstān, which was accelerated during World War II, when factories were evacuated from Central Russia. The ethnic Kazak cadre grew, especially since the 1960s under Dīnmūkhamed Konaev, who served as first secretary of the Communist Party of Kazakstān for 25 years. When he resigned under pressure from Moscow in December 1986, Kazak youths in Almatī and other cities held demonstrations, which were suppressed violently.

6. Post-Soviet Kazakstān.

Although the leadership of Kazakstān actively advocated maintaining and renovating the USSR, it declared independence in December 1991 when the USSR collapsed. Nūrsūltan Nazarbaev, who became first secretary of the Communist Party in 1989 and president in 1990, was known as a pragmatic and semi-democratic reformist. But in 1995 he took drastic measures to concentrate power in his own hands; the parliament was suddenly dissolved, the constitution of 1993 was abolished, and the new constitution increased the power of the president and restricted the functions of the parliament. The opposition's sphere of activity is very limited, though it has not been physically liquidated as in Uzbekistān and Turkmenistān.

Although the country is undergoing economic hardship, Kazakstān is rich in natural resources (especially oil and metals), which have not yet been fully exploited. Kazakstān's resources, as well as geopolitical importance, have drawn the attention of many foreign countries, and it maintains basically good relations with all neighbouring countries including Russia and China,

as well as with the United States, Japan and European countries.

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KELANTAN, a state of northeastern Malaysia.

Lying on the coast adjoining the Malay areas of southern Thailand, Kelantan has long been a centre of devout Islamic scholarship and education, of Malay cultural creativity, and assertive forms of Malay-Islamic politics. Kelantan's traditional religious boarding school academies (*pondok* [see PESANTREN]) and their more illustrious teachers were well known throughout the Malay world; together with Malays from neighbouring Patani [*q.v.*] (Pattani) in southern Thailand, the Kelantanese constituted a sizeable component of the so-called *Djāwa* or Southeast Asian Malay community in 19th century Mecca. By the early 20th century, Kelantan was an important centre of publication of religious and Malay vernacular works and the site of important innovations in the collection and management of religious taxation (*zakat* and *fitra*) through its state religious council (*Majlis Ugama Islam*).

With its people intensely committed to their own local variants of the Malay language and culture, Kelantan has over time elaborated a powerful sense of its own distinctiveness within the wider Malay-Islamic world. It resisted Thai domination in the 19th century, succumbed to British rule in the first half of the 20th, and achieved independence in 1957 as part of the Federation of Malaya, later Malaysia. Since 1959 it has been the stronghold of PAS (*Parti Islam Se-Malaysia* [*q.v.*]), an avowedly Islamist party which, while playing a leading opposition role in national politics, has held power at the state level in Kelantan for much of the post-independence period (1959-78, and 1990 to present).

Since the 1980s, and especially since its return to power in Kelantan in 1990, PAS has promoted a strongly "*Shari'a*-minded" neo-traditionalistic Islamism. Since 1993, Kelantan has mounted a powerful challenge to the ascendancy of Malaysia's ruling multi-ethnic coalition by questioning the national government's Islamic credentials, most notably through its efforts to secure constitutionally-required federal assent to implement the *Shari'a* law, including the *hudud* punishments, in Kelantan state.

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KH'ADJAGĀN, a Šūfī brotherhood of Central Asia.



The movement of the Kh'ādjagān belongs to the proto-history of the Nakshbandiyya [q.v.] order, which often combines the two groups as the Kh'ādjagān-Nakshbandiyya. This movement, whose first figure is Abū Ya'qūb Yūsuf Hamadānī (d. 535/1140), took over a Sūfī tradition going back to the Prophet through Bāyazīd Bisṭāmī, Salmān al-Fārisī and the caliph Abū Bakr. This Sūfī tradition was at first known as the *Tarīkat-i bakriyya* ("Abū Bakr's way") or *Tarīkat-i Ṣiddiqiyya*, and then at the time of Bisṭāmī, as the *Tayfūriyya* (from another name of Bisṭāmī). The main representatives of the Tayfūriyya were Abū 'l-Ḥasan Kharaḳānī, Abū 'l-Kāsim Gurgānī and Abū 'Alī Fārmadī. It is only with Hamadānī, a pupil of the last-named, that the Tayfūriyya assumed the designation of *Tarīka-yi Kh'ādjagān* ("way of the masters").

Yūsuf Hamadānī, having studied *fikh* at Baghdād and being connected with the Ḥanafī law school, spent his time between the cities of Marw and Harāt in Khurāsān. He was initiated into Sūfism by Abū 'Alī Fārmadī and founded a *khānakāh* [q.v.] at Marw, which became famous as "the Ka'ba of Khurāsān". Also, Hamadānī politely refused the support of the temporal power, in his time represented by the powerful Salḡūk sultan Sandjar [q.v.]. Conflicts over the manner of performing *dhikr*—whether out loud, *djāhri*, or inwardly and silently, *khafi*—caused divisions in Kh'ādjagān circles and set these against the Yasawī Sūfīs [see YASAWIYYA], just as this later permitted the Nakshbandīs to distinguish themselves from all other Sūfī brotherhoods. This conflict did not, however, exist in the time of Hamadānī, who practised *dhikr* of heart (*dhikr-i dil*) in preference to a public one (*dhikr-i 'alāniyya*) but without rejecting this last; the *dhikr-i dil* was accompanied by the prolonged holding of the breath which made the Sūfī break out in violent sweats. In a short treatise, the *Rutbat al-ḥayāt*, attributed to Yūsuf Hamadānī, it is stated that "*dhikr* of the body", *dhikr-i tan*, which uses the tongue, *ṣabān*, is inferior to the *dhikr* of the heart. Moreover, it is averred, if *dhikr-i dil* is practised for forty days, lights will be manifested and will fill the heart.

Following the model of the Prophet and his preceptor Fārmadī, Hamadānī named four of his disciples as his successors. The first was 'Abd Allāh Barakī, originally from Kh'āzrm, who died and left his position to the second person, Ḥasan Andakī, from Bukhārā, who was in turn succeeded by the third, Ahmad [q.v.] Yasawī (d. 562/1166-7), eponymous founder of the Yasawiyya and a native of Yasi (the present-day Turkistān [q.v.] in Kazakhstān). The hagiographies that later developed in Kh'ādjagān and Nakshbandī circles played down the role of Ahmad Yasawī, and relate that Ahmad, who had the reputation of a great spiritual master amongst the nomads, retired after having led the Kh'ādjagān group for some time and installed the fourth of Hamadānī's disciples, 'Abd al-Khālīk Ghudjduwānī (d. 617/1220 [q.v.]), who had not, however, apparently known Hamadānī himself. It is from this period that there dates the opposition between the groups claiming to stem from Ahmad Yasawī, affirming that Yūsuf Hamadānī favoured *dhikr-i djāhri*, and the Kh'ādjagān, who attribute to him *dhikr-i khafi*. According to the *Maḳāmāt-i Yūsuf Hamadānī*, attributed to Ghudjduwānī, *dhikr-i dil* was transmitted from Abū Bakr to Hamadānī's master Fārmadī, with an uninterrupted chain, and Hamadānī is reported on his death bed to have adjured his four disciples called to succeed him to only practise *dhikr-i dil* and avoid *dhikr-i djāhri*.

'Abd al-Khālīk Ghudjduwānī is the main figure in

the Kh'ādjagān movement, called "the first in the chain of the masters", *sar-daftar-i tabaka-yi kh'ādjagān*, *sar-silsila-yi 'in 'azīzān*, although this title goes back to Yūsuf Hamadānī. Above all, he set forth and codified the main elements of Kh'ādjagān doctrine, which were taken up by certain disciples of his, above all, by Bahā' al-Dīn Nakshband (d. 791/1389 [q.v.]), eponymous master of the Nakshbandiyya. Originally from a family of eastern Anatolia, 'Abd al-Khālīk was born at Ghudjduwān in the Bukhārā oasis, and studied in Bukhārā. He soon evinced an interest in silent *dhikr*, to which he was initiated in a dream by the prophet Khidr. The hagiographical traditions recount that he then met Hamadānī in Bukhārā, becoming the latter's disciple, and Hamadānī authorised him to continue in the way of silent *dhikr*. The great merit of Ghudjduwānī was to have stated succinctly and codified, in the form of the eight adages or rules called "Holy Sayings", *kalimāt-i kudsiyya*, the essentials of Kh'ādjagān doctrine and thought. Bahā' al-Dīn Nakshband enriched these eight rules with three new ones, the whole making up his famous "Eleven Rules" of the Nakshbandiyya, adopted and made the subject of lengthy commentaries by adepts of the order right up to the present day.

At the time of 'Abd al-Khālīk, the "Holy Sayings" had the form of eight rules which, if followed, enabled the Sūfī to concentrate his attention and to organise for himself the contemplative life. 'Abd al-Khālīk seems to have given preference to four of the rules, and these were the subject of a special commentary by such a Nakshbandī author as Ahmad Kh'ādjagī Kāsānī (d. 949/1542; see his *Risāla-yi ṣāḥar kalima*, ms. 501/XVI, Brūnī Institute of Oriental Studies, Tashkent). The four rules were: (1) "assuming awareness in breathing", *hūsh dar dam*; (2) "observation of one's steps", *nazar dar qadam*; (3) "journeying in the homeland", *saḡar dar waṭan*; and (4) "taking up a position of retreat within society", *khahwat dar andjuman*. The remaining four rules were: (5) "retaining in memory", *yād kard*; (6) "return [to God]", *bāz gasht*; (7) "maintaining awareness", *nigāh dāsh*; and (8) "keeping in mind", *yād dāsh*.

Nevertheless, the Kh'ādjagān movement had no doctrinal unity or agreement regarding the mystical exercises, and far from remaining united, Ghudjduwānī's disciples split into several rival groups after his death. One of these groups became known as the 'Abd al-Khālīkiyān, "the founder's partisans". The main Kh'ādjagān who figure in the Nakshbandī order's *silsila* after Ghudjduwānī are: 'Arif Riṭwari (d. 649/1251); Maḥmūd Andjūr Faghṇawī (d. 710/1310); 'Alī 'Azizān-i Ramitānī (d. 716/1316 or 721/1321); Muḥammad Bābā-yi Sammāsi (d. 755/1354); and Sayyid Amīr Kulāl (d. 771/1370). Despite the importance laid on it by Ghudjduwānī, to be likewise stressed by Bahā' al-Dīn Nakshband, silent *dhikr* was not followed by all Kh'ādjagān circles. These circles developed a strong criticism of Sūfī movements contemporary with themselves and which they used to describe as corrupt. Above all, the Kh'ādjagān held fast to a strict regard for the traditions of Islam, as reported in the *Rashahāt 'ayn al-ḥayāt*, where it is stated that Ghudjduwānī encouraged his disciples to study Islamic law and the *Ḥadīth*, to avoid ignorant Sūfīs (*sūfiyān-i ḡāhil*), always to observe the Muslim worship, not to create any new *khānakāh* or to reside in such an institution, and not to be present at sessions of *samā'*.

There are two precious manuscripts, only brought to light and exploited in recent years, sc. the *Maslak al-'arifin* of Muḥammad b. As'ad al-Bukhārī (mid-8th/



14th century) and the *Manāqib* of Kh^wādjā 'Alī 'Azizān-i Ramitānī (cf. D. DeWeese and J. Paul, below, in *Bibl.*), which are, at the present time, the two main sources on the practices and doctrines of the Kh^wādjagān before Bahā' al-Dīn Naqshband. The Kh^wādjagān were mainly divided by the questions of *dhikr* and pious retreat (*khalwa*). In Bukhārā, the group headed by 'Arif Riwgārī had good relations with that headed by Awliyā-i Kabī, but these deteriorated after the death of the former because his successor, Maḥmūd Andjūr Faghnavī, made the group adopt the open, vocal *dhikr*. The sources also tell us that Bahā' al-Dīn Naqshband, who had been initiated into *dhikr khaḥī* by 'Abd al-Khālīk Ghudjduwānī in a dream, came into conflict with his own master, Sayyid Kulāl, who was personally a proponent of *dhikr dhahrī*. Ghudjduwānī's followers practised *dhikr* during which they held their breath, whilst concentrating on their *shaykh's* heart, keeping their eyes closed, lips pressed together and tongue up against the palate. Amongst certain of the Kh^wādjagān, music and dancing were not formally proscribed. Likewise, *khalwa*, rejected by 'Abd al-Khālīk as also rejected, later, by Bahā' al-Dīn Naqshband, was nevertheless adopted by some members of the order; it was done in a darkened cell, where the adept had to struggle with his self by means of *dhikr*. A famous expression attributed to 'Abd al-Khālīk, "close your door to *khalwa*, but open it to spiritual companionship (*suhba*)", shows the position of the early Kh^wādjagān on this subject and further reveals that 'Abd al-Khālīk attributed a major importance to *suhba*, mystical discourse with the spiritual master, which was to become an essential feature for the Naqshbandiyya. Like 'Alī 'Azizān-i Ramitānī, 'Abd al-Khālīk was opposed to the institution of Ṣūfī communal life *par excellence*, the *khanakāh*, but it is known that there existed amongst Sayyid Amīr Kulāl's disciples a form of association, whose precise nature is not clear, called a *djama'at-khāna* "house for social gatherings".

The Kh^wādjagān nevertheless remained essentially united in face of the other Ṣūfī currents in Central Asia, against the Qalandars [*q.v.*] and, in particular, against the Yasawī groups, whom they castigated for their lack of respect for the precepts of Islam. In sum, everything which symbolised Ṣūfism in general was rejected, from the *khanakāh* to the dervish cloak (*khirka*). The Kh^wādjagān were little attracted by asceticism, even if some of them preached abandonment of the secular world, *tark-i dunyā*, and encouraged *khalwa*, and Ramitānī went so far as to recommend that the Ṣūfī should have a trade (*hira*), a feature later found amongst the Naqshbandiyya. In fact, a famous formula popularly attributed to Bahā' al-Dīn Naqshband, "the heart should be with God and the hand with some piece of work", *dil bā-yār u dast ba-kār*, seems to have been inherited from a very similar maxim which one group of Kh^wādjagān held as a "Fifth Holy Saying" added to the four first ones: "the heart should be with God and the body in the market", *dil ba-yār wa tan ba-bāzār*. Another criticism of the Ṣūfis on which they were united was rejection of the hereditary succession of *shaykhs*. This explains why, after the deaths of 'Abd al-Khālīk and Bahā' al-Dīn Naqshband, their communities of disciples split into several groups. In the 8th/14th century, Bahā' al-Dīn was unable to unite the various Kh^wādjagān groups and was only the master of one group out of many. Even if he did succeed in giving a more homogenous form to the doctrines and practices taught by 'Abd al-Khālīk, and in retaining as vital principles for his own commu-

nity, the one which was to become the Naqshbandiyya, the obligation of a single, silent *dhikr*, the idea of *suhba*, adoption of the eight Holy Sayings and rejection of the practice of *khalwa* or retreat, it was only in the second half of the 9th/15th century, at Samarkand, with Kh^wādjā 'Ubayd Allāh Ahrār [*q.v.* in Suppl.], that the Kh^wādjagān-Naqshbandiyya were to take the form of a powerful, centralised Ṣūfī brotherhood.

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KH^wĀDJAS, KH^wĀJAS, the designation of two lineages of spiritual and political leaders in Eastern Turkestan, the later Sinkiang [*q.v.*], and, more specifically, in the Altishahr ("six towns"), now in the western and southwestern parts of Sinkiang, where they played a decisive role from the late 10th/16th century to the last quarter of the 19th century. The lineages are distinguished as the White Mountain (Āfākiyya) line and the Black Mountain (Ishākiyya) line (*aktaghlik* vs. *karataghlik*, names possibly derived from the Tien Shan and Pamir [*q.v.*] mountain ranges, respectively).

Both lines were descended from the Kh^wādjagān-Naqshbandī *shaykh* Ahmad Kh^wādjagī-yi Kāsānī, known as Makhdūm-i A'zam (d. 949/1542) (Bakhtiyar Babadzanov, *Politicheskaya deyatel'nost' shaykhov Naqshbandiyya v Maverannakhre (I polovina XVI v.)*, unpubl. diss., Tashkent 1996), who wielded considerable influence in the Shībānīd [*q.v.*] internal struggles. One of his sons (the fourth or the seventh), Ishāk, had to leave



Transoxania and came to Altīshahr at an unspecified moment (between 990/1582 and 999/1591) where he stayed for some years; he died in Samarkand in 1007/1599. He left behind an already powerful organisation that was to become the Black Mountain faction. Very much like their counterparts in Transoxania, the representatives of Kh^Wādja Ishāk acted as intermediaries between the Čaghatayid rulers and between the rulers, the begs and their subjects. They acquired considerable wealth (pious foundations, *wakf*, and donations, *niyāzmandī*) on which their influence rested as well as on the communal affiliations of settled and nomadic communities. Almost from the start, they were active promoters of Islam among the still shamanistic Kirghiz [*q.v.*] and Kazakhs [see KAZAK] (J. Fletcher, *Confrontations between Muslim missionaries and nomad unbelievers in the late sixteenth century: notes on four passages from the 'Diyā' al-qulūb'*, in *Tractata Altaica*, ed. W. Heissig, Wiesbaden 1976, 167-74). These endeavours must have gone on throughout. Later on, the White Mountain faction was instrumental in spreading Islam to China proper, beginning in the middle of the 17th century. (Fletcher, *The Naqshbandīyya in northwest China*, in his *Studies on Chinese and Islamic Inner Asia*, ed. B. Manz, Variorum, Aldershot 1995, no. XI, 1-46; this book also contains reprints of other relevant published texts by Fletcher).

It was unusual that a ruler came to occupy an elevated position in the spiritual hierarchy. This was, however, the case with Muḥammad Khān (r. 999-1018/1591-1609), who is even said to have been the Axis (*kutb*) (Shāh Maḥmūd Čurās, *Tārīkh (Khronika)*, ed. O.A. Akimushkin, Moscow 1976 [Pamyatniki pis'mennosti vostoka, 45]). But apart from this, leadership in the Black as well as White Mountain group seems to have been hereditary, this principle extending even to the *khālīfas* and sometimes to affiliations as well. The spiritual organisation adapted itself to the strongly localised political system of Altīshahr: a city oasis governed by members of the ruling family or leading men of certain clans, with sometimes only nominal overlordship of the paramount khān. The cities all had their *khālīfas*. Whereas the centre of the Black Mountain faction was at Yārkand [*q.v.*], where the khān also had his capital, the White Mountain faction centred on Kāshghar [*q.v.*].

The Ishākiyya Kh^Wādjas did not achieve a monopoly of spiritual guidance, however; at least in the north and northeast of Altīshahr and beyond in the area where the Čaghatayid rulers held sway, other (sometimes local) groups were also active (in Kuldja: see Masami Hamada, *De l'autorité religieuse au pouvoir politique: la révolte de Küčā et Khuwāja Rāshīdīn*, in M. Gaboricau, G. Veinstein and Th. Zarcone (eds.), *Naqshbandis. Cheminement et situation actuelle d'un ordre mystique musulman*, Paris-Istanbul 1990, 455-89; in Turfan, the local shrine of Alpātā/Alfātā: see Akimushkin, *op. cit.*, 165). To what extent other brotherhoods were active in the region remains open to question.

The Ishākiyya supremacy did not last long. Sometime before the middle of the 17th century, another descendant of Makhdūm-i A'zam made his appearance in Altīshahr in the person of Muḥammad Yūsuf (d. 1063/1653), son of Muḥammad Amīn, the eldest son of the Makhdūm. He was able to gain a foothold in Kāshghar and soon became influential with the Čaghatayid khān. As a result of the rivalries that surrounded and followed his death, his son Hidāyat Allāh, better known as Kh^Wādja Āfāk ("Master of the Horizons", whence the name by which the White Mountain faction was also known, sc. Āfākiyya)

was compelled to take flight. The influence he had gained may be seen from the fact that he was given a Moghul (although not Čingisid) princess in marriage. Āfāk then succeeded in persuading Galdan, the Zunghar khān, to mount a campaign against Altīshahr (1090/1679, when Galdan was only beginning his career as a conqueror). The report of Muḥammad Šādīk that this was achieved due to a letter from the Dalai Lama (the Zunghars had by then become Lamaist Buddhists) should perhaps also be seen as indicative of the view that spiritual leadership should prevail over military (Muḥammad Šādīk, *Tadhkira-yi kh^Wādjağān*, epitome by R. Shaw, *A history of the Khojas of Eastern Turkistan*, in *JASB* [1897], extra number, pp. i-vi and 1-67, at 36-7; German version by M. Hartmann, *Ein Heiligenstaat im Islam. Das Ende der Čaghatayiden und die Herrschaft der Khojas in Kaschgarien*, in *Der islamische Orient. Berichte und Forschungen*, vi-ix, Berlin 1905, 195-374, at 210-2). The Zunghars conquered Altīshahr and reinstated Kh^Wādja Āfāk as their vicegerent (r. 1090-1105/1679-94). The White Mountain faction now ruled with a degree of independence, but acknowledged Zunghar overlordship, paying them tribute (a comparatively heavy one, according to Fletcher's figures, unpubl. ms., ch. 3, 149-51) and accepting that members of their family be held as hostages. The area under this kind of Kh^Wādja authority cannot have extended much over the four cities of Khotan, Yārkand, Kāshghar and Aksu, the Oirat Zunghars having established their rule over the northeastern regions already in 1659. Nor had Čaghatayid rule come to an end; and even if the newly appointed khān 'Abd al-Rashīd (who married his daughter to Āfāk, who thus became tied to the Čingisid house) was a puppet of the Zunghars, he was influential enough to build a faction together with the ousted Black Mountain followers; his attempt at a Moghul-Black Mountain revival was, however, worsted in 1093-4/1682-3, and he was replaced by his brother. The White Mountain faction then set out to destroy their Black Mountain opponents, and after the Čaghatayid figurehead had died in 1103/1692, they tried to make do without a Moghul khān. In the ensuing strife, the deciding force in the south-western part of Altīshahr came to be the Kirghiz, but it was still a Moghul who called back Kh^Wādja Dāniyāl of the Black Mountain faction. Dāniyāl established himself with Kirghiz help, and until 1125/1713, when the Zunghars re-established their rule under Tsewang Rabtan, the oasis cities were under different nomad-Kh^Wādja coalitions. After Dāniyāl had died ca. 1142/1730, the cities of Yārkand, Khotan, Kāshghar and Aksu were divided up between his sons, thus furthering localisation. The next turn was induced by an attempt of the Black Mountain faction to break loose of the Zunghars, countered by their appeal to the White Mountain group (1166/1753); fights ensued between the two Kh^Wādja factions, some Kirghiz begs, urban local begs, the nominal Zunghar ruler and his opponent Amursana, who was backed by the Chinese. As a result, the Zunghar empire was taken over by the Manchu Emperors, who consequently also came to be overlords of the Tarim [*q.v.*] basin as well.

The Kh^Wādjas failed because they were unable to build up a unified leadership, but more important still was their failure to gain a military basis of their own, not easily achieved under the circumstances. The resources available in the sedentary oasis economy could hardly support a state apparatus for revenue raising, and revenue was inadequate for building enough military strength to keep the nomads out.



Therefore, throughout this period, military power rested not with the urban-based Kh^wĀdjas, but essentially with their mainly nomadic Zungghar overlords and, as far as the region itself is concerned, with various Kīrghīz groups.

It might appear that after the Chinese conquest of Altīshahr, the fate of the Kh^wĀdjas was sealed, but this was not the case. After the first attempts at restoring White Mountain power had been crushed by the Manchus and their representatives in Altīshahr (Amīn Kh^wĀdja of Turfan [q.v.], whose spiritual affiliation is not altogether clear), a period of relative stability ensued, which came to an end in 1820. By this period, the Khokand [q.v.] khānate had consolidated itself in the Farghāna basin, serving as a platform for repeated Kh^wĀdja incursions, the last of which occurred as late as the 1860s when Buzurg Khān, together with Ya'kūb Beg [q.v.], invaded Kāshgharia. It was only after the short-lived state of Ya'kūb Beg had been crushed in 1878 that the region was incorporated into the Chinese empire under the name of Sinkiang (1884) ("New dominion" [q.v.]), and this seems to have been the end of open Kh^wĀdja activity.

Bibliography: Partly given in the article. Islamic sources include hagiographic texts for both lineages as well as chronicles, many of them still remaining in manuscript; they are best discussed by Akimushkin and Fletcher. Chinese sources take prime importance only after the middle of the 18th century. *Tārīkh-i Kāshghar, faksimile rukopisi; izdanie teksta, vvedenie i ukazateli* O.F. Akimushkina, St. Petersburg 2001 (Pamyatniki kul'turi vostoka, no. 8); Laura J. Newby, *The begs of Xinjiang: between two worlds*, in *BSOAS*, lxix (1998), 278-97; Isenbike Togan, *Islam in a changing society. The Khojas of Eastern Turkistan*, in Jo-Ann Gross (ed.), *Muslims in Central Asia. Expressions of identity and change*, Durham, N.C. and London 1992, 134-48; H. Schwarz, *The Khawās of Eastern Turkestan*, in *CAJ*, xx (1976), 266-96 (to be used with caution); J. Fletcher, *China and Central Asia, 1368-1884*, in J.K. Fairbank (ed.), *The Chinese world order*, Cambridge, Mass. 1968, 106-224, 337-68; Fletcher, *Altishahr under the Khojas*, unpubl. ms., Harvard University (chs. 2-4, "The Khojas of Eastern Turkestan", "The coming of the infidels" and "The triumph of the oasis nobility").

(J. PAUL)

KHĀ'IR BEG (Khāyir or Khayr Bey), the last Mamlūk governor of Aleppo, subsequently first Ottoman viceroy of Egypt.

He was the son of Malbāy b. 'Abd Allāh al-Djarkasī (sic), a Muslim Abaza trader in Circassian mamlūks. He was born at Samsun (on the Black Sea coast within the Ottoman Empire), and his father presented him, although not a slave, with his four brothers to the Mamlūk Sultan al-Ashraf Kā'it Bāy [q.v.]. He was enrolled in the Royal Mamlūks, and was formally "emancipated" by the grant of a steed and uniform. He became an *amīr* of Ten in 901/1495-6, and subsequently an *amīr tablkhāna*, making his first contact with the Ottoman court as an envoy in 903/1498 to announce the accession of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Kā'it Bāy to Bāyezīd II. He was promoted *amīr* of a Hundred by al-Ashraf Djānbulāt (905-6/1500-1). Under al-Ashraf Kānṣawh al-Ghawrī, he held the important post of great chamberlain (*hādīb al-hudūdīyāb*) until in 910/1504-5 he was appointed governor of Aleppo, where he was regarded as a severe but capable administrator. He was very wealthy, and maintained a large mamlūk household as his power-base, significantly including a company of arquebusiers "as in the Otto-

man armies" (*kamā fī 'asākīr al-mamlaka al-rūmiyya: Durr*, i/2, 607). To Kānṣawh he must have seemed an over-mighty subject, and the sultan unsuccessfully attempted to poison him.

His governorship of Aleppo ended with Selīm I's conquest of Syria, in which he colluded by going over to the Ottomans at the decisive battle of Mardj Dābiḳ [q.v.] (25 Radjab 922/24 August 1516). This act of treachery won him his final and supreme promotion, when Selīm, before leaving Cairo on 13 Sha'bān 923/24 August 1517, appointed him viceroy of Egypt. He held this position until his death on 14 Dhu 'l-Kā'da 928/5 October 1522, and although he kept up something of the state and usages of the defunct Mamlūk sultans, he remained ostentatiously loyal to his Ottoman suzerain. His viceroyalty began with the capture and execution of Kāsim Bey [see KĀSIM. 4], a grandson of Bāyezīd II, to whom Kānṣawh al-Ghawrī had given asylum. When Süleymān became sultan in 926/1520, and Djānbirdī al-Ghazālī [q.v.], the governor of Damascus and his former accomplice at Mardj Dābiḳ, rose in revolt, Khā'ir Beg studiously kept aloof, and prevented disaffected Mamlūks from joining him. Within Egypt, Khā'ir Beg's viceroyalty witnessed the restoration of stability. The terrorisation of the defeated Mamlūk soldiery ceased; they emerged from hiding, and resumed their traditional dress. Relations with the Ottoman troops, who envied their better pay and rations, were naturally uneasy. Although the former hierarchy of rank and office had fallen with the Mamlūk sultanate, the old administrative system largely survived, to be codified and perpetuated in the *kānūn-nāme* of Egypt, three years after Khā'ir Beg's death. Presiding over a crisis of transition in Egypt, Khā'ir Beg was thus one of the most successful survivors of the old régime.

Bibliography: For Khā'ir Beg's early history, see Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i' al-zuhūr*, ed. Mohamed Mostafa, v, 253-4 n. 22, tr. G. Wiet, *Journal d'un bourgeois du Caire*, ii, 193-4; for his governorship of Aleppo, Ibn al-Hanbalī, *Durr al-habab fī tā'rīkh a'yān Halab*, i/2, 603-9; for his vice-royalty of Egypt, Ibn Iyās, *Badā'i'*, v, 203-486; Wiet, *Journal*, ii, 193-467; other references in respective indexes. Ibn Zunbul, *Tārīkh ghazwat al-Sultān Salīm Khān mā'a al-Sultān al-Ghawrī*, although apparently detailed, is essentially a prose saga forming athrenody on the passing of the Mamlūk sultanate. (P.M. HOLTR)

KHAL^s (A.), the verbal noun from the verb *khala'a* "to take off (a garment), to remove, to discharge from an office, to depose" (sc. 'an 'amalīhī, Lane, i, 2, 790a), "to dethrone (e.g. a ruler)", is the technical term for deposition. The modern Arabic term is *khala'a min al-'arsh* or *raf'a'a min al-manṣab*.

(i) **Historical development.** There are many cases of deposition or forced abdication throughout the course of Islamic history, e.g. in the Umayyad period (cf. Mu'āwiya II, 64/684 and Ibrāhīm, 126/744) and especially in 'Abbāsīd times. During this period, about a quarter of the rulers were deposed or forced to abdicate, pressured by the *de facto* ruling military leaders, after years of military disaster and misrule through favourites had amply demonstrated the incompetence of the caliphs. The unstable caliphs, many of whom had something of a genius for making bad situations worse, inevitably stimulated the claims of usurpers. After the war between the brothers al-Amin and al-Ma'mūn, who each declared the other deposed [see KHALIFA, at Vol. IV, 940a], the situation culminated in the anarchic period of Sāmarrā' and continued under Būyid rule (320-447/932-1055) and that of their



successors, the Saldjūk sultans of 'Irāk and western Persia (447-590/1055-1194), in whose hands the caliph was but a mere tool. The majority of the 'Abbāsīd caliphs were forced to abdicate, e.g. al-Musta'in in 252/866 and his two successors, al-Mu'tazz in 255/869, and al-Muhtadī the following year. One ruler, al-Muhtadī, had even to abdicate twice, in 296/908 and 317/929, and three caliphs, al-Kāhīr in 322/934, al-Muttaḳī in 333/944 and al-Mustakfī in 334/946, were blinded, so that they were legally incapacitated from ever regaining power. Often the military leaders forced them, sometimes brutally, to abdicate, issuing an elaborate, sometimes falsified, document of the deposition, accusing them of treason, oath-breaking, etc., and insisting on a formal, written document of abdication. This act, considered as an essential part of the deposition process and registered officially by the judges, aimed at the nullification of the oath of allegiance. The forced abdication was accompanied by symbolic acts such as the taking off of clothes or shoes (cf. in the Old Testament, Ruth, iv. 7; see Goldziher, *Abhandlungen* i, 47-8), or turbans, or rings, and the yielding up of the insignia. Thus deprived of the sovereign dignity, the deposed caliph had to pay homage to his tractable successor, who was speedily installed. Often kept prisoner thereafter, many rulers were murdered, usually by rivals and relatives, or soon died. A striking example of a real deposition is the dethronement *in absentia* of al-Rāshīd bi'llāh by al-Mas'ūd b. Muḥammad in 530/1135. The practice of deposing rulers remained widespread throughout the Islamic world, particularly in the period of the Mamlūks and in Ottoman times. Often accused of alleged debility, a dozen Ottoman sultans were deposed, sc. Muṣṭafā I (1027/1618 and 1032/1623), 'Othmān II (1032/1622), Ibrāhīm (1058/1648), Mehmed IV (1099/1687), Muṣṭafā II (1115/1703), Ahmed III (1143/1730), Selīm III (1222/1807), Muṣṭafā IV (1223/1808), 'Abd al-'Azīz I (1293/1876), Murād V (1293/1876), 'Abd al-Hamīd II (1327/1909) and Mehmed VI (1341/1922). Then, on 3 March 1924, the Grand National Assembly in Ankara definitively abolished the Ottoman caliphate, resulting in the creation of a secular Turkish state under Muṣṭafā Kemāl Atatürk [q.v.].

(ii) *Legal aspects.* The various instances of deposition became the starting point for subsequent discussions by Muslim writers. The question of the legitimacy of deposing a ruler was answered in different ways, but in general, Muslim writers denied to mere mortals the right of deposing rulers. The utterance *sultān 'ādil khayr min sultān zalūm wa-sultān zalūm ghashūm khayr min fitna tadūm* may demonstrate the attitude towards tyranny and the duty to obey even an unjust ruler (see details in U. Haarmann, "Lieber hundert Jahre Zwangsherrschaft als ein Tag Leiden im Bürgerkrieg", *ein gemeinsamer Topos in islamischen und frühneuzeitlichen europäischen Staatsdenken*, in U. Tworuschka (ed.), *Gottes ist der Orient, Gottes ist der Okzident. Festschrift für A. Falaturi*, Cologne-Vienna 1991, 262-9). The learned *kādī* al-Māwardī (d. 450/1058) defined in his *al-Ahkām al-sultāniyya* (ed. M. Enger, Bonn 1853, 5, 23, 25-6, tr. E. Fagnan, Algiers 1915, 7-8, 30-1, 33) the office of the ruler and his duties. He laid down in his first chapter that any corrupt ruler who failed to meet the standards for the just, legitimate caliph might expect legitimate opposition and deposition, though he greatly feared misuse here. His exposition of the criteria for legitimate rulership played an important role in later times, and was cited again and again, for instance by Ibn Djamā'a (d. 733/1333 [q.v.]) (see his *Tahrīr al-ahkām*

fi tadbīr ahl al-islām, ed. H. Kofler, in *Islamica*, vi [1934], 349-414, vii [1935], 1-64, and [1938], 18-129, see ch. 1, § 3, and ch. 2, § 7). Other than a single passage in al-Fārābī's work on the perfect state (*Mabādī' ārā' ahl al-madīna al-fāḍila*, ed. F. Dieterici, Leiden 1895, repr. 1964, ch. 29, 63, tr. F. Dieterici, Leiden 1900, 100, ed. R. Walzer, Oxford 1985, 258, tr. R.P. Jaussen *et alii*, Cairo 1949, ch. 29, 87), the sources of political theory contain no distinction in the two bodies of the ruler, the visible individual and the objective institution, as in mediaeval European theories; see the exhaustive study of E. Kantorowicz, *Die zwei Körper des Königs. Eine Studie zur politischen Theologie des Mittelalters*, Munich 1994, esp. 385.

Bibliography: Besides the Arabic sources and the relevant historical studies, materials concerning Būyid times can be found in H. Busse, *Chalif und Grosskönig, die Buyiden im Iraq (945-1055)*, Beirut 1969, 28, 157-9, 500; see also C.E. Bosworth, *Notes on the lives of some 'Abbāsīd princes and descendants*, in *The Maghreb Review*, xix, 3-4 (1994), 277-84, esp. 278-9; for a single alleged case, that of al-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh, see A. Hartmann, *Wollte der Kalif sufi werden? Amtstheorie und Abdankungspläne des Kalifen an-Nāṣir li-Dīn Allāh (reg. 1180-1225)*, in *Egypt and Syria in the Fatimid, Ayyubid and Mamluk Eras*, Procs. of the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd International Colloquium, the Katholieke Universiteit, Leuven, in May 1992, 1993 and 1994, ed. U. Vermeulen and D. de Smet, Leuven 1995, 175-205; for the Mamlūks, see recently M. Espéronnier, *La mort violente à l'époque mamlouke. Le crime et le châtement*, in *Isl.*, lxxi (1997), 137-55; for the Ottoman sultans, J. Matuz, *Das Osmanische Reich. Grundlinien seiner Geschichte*, Darmstadt 1985, index; and C. Kleinert, *Die Revision der Historiographie des Osmanischen Reiches am Beispiel von Abdülhamid II. Das späte Osmanische Reich im Urteil türkischer Autoren der Gegenwart (1930-1990)*, Berlin 1995, 130-41, 249-50; concerning juristic matters, see also the details in A.K.S. Lambton, *Theory and practice in medieval Persian government*, Variorum, London 1980, nos. II, III, V; further F.-C. Muth, "Entsetzte" Kalifen. *Depositionsverfahren im mittelalterlichen Islam*, in *Isl.*, lxxv (1998), 104-23. (F.-C. MUTH)

KHĀN, 'ABD AL-GHAFFĀR (1890-1988), Pathan leader and politician.

He was born at 'Uthmānzay in the Peshawar district of the North West Frontier region of British India, his father Bahrām Khān of the Muḥammadzay clan being a wealthy landowner and the chief khān of his village Hashtanagar. Educated first at a Qur'an and then at a mission school, 'Abd al-Ghaḥfār's early career was similar to those of many of the Muslim activists of his generation. From 1910 he began founding schools to stimulate social reform amongst the Pathans. At the same time, he was in close contact with the 'ulama' of Deoband, in particular 'Ubayd Allāh Sindhi, and was strongly influenced by the pan-Islamic journalism of *al-Hilāl* and *Zamīndār*. After World War I he threw himself into the Khilāfat movement [q.v.], and took part in the *Hijrat* movement [see KHILĀFA, KHILĀFAT MOVEMENT] to Afghānistān.

In the late 1920s, after performing the *Hajj*, the two guiding principles of 'Abd al-Ghaḥfār's life became clear. The first was his concern to further the social and political advancement of the Pathans, or Pakhtūns as he called them. British rule had greatly enhanced Pathan identity by carving a Pathan province, the North West Frontier Province, out of the Punjab in 1901 to strengthen border security. The problem was that the British, given the province's strategic role and



the relative backwardness of its people, were unwilling to give it the political advancement which had been given to the rest of India. To remedy this situation, 'Abd al-Ghaḥfār founded in 1928 the *Pakhtun*, the first political journal in Pakhtu/Pashto, and in 1929, the *Khudāy Khidmatgār* or "Servants of God" organisation. *Khudāy Khidmatgār*s, who wore the uniform of a red shirt, did both social service and political tasks. 'Abd al-Ghaḥfār's second guiding principle was non-violence. His *Khudāy Khidmatgār*s, though drilled in a military fashion, bore no arms and vowed to be non-violent, while he cooperated closely with India's leading apostle of non-violence, Mahatma Gandhi; in 1940, for instance, he resigned from the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress when it rejected a pacifist stance in World War II. Not once throughout a long life of protest did 'Abd al-Ghaḥfār betray this principle, a remarkable fact given the warlike and vengeful traditions of his people.

From the early 1930s onwards, 'Abd al-Ghaḥfār was the most influential figure amongst the Pathans, and between 1931 and 1947 he led large numbers of them in support of the Indian National Congress. From 1931, his Frontier Afghān Dīrga [*q.v.* in Suppl.] became the Frontier Congress, and the *Khudāy Khidmatgār*s, the Congress Volunteers and their activities were largely responsible for bringing Congress ministries to power in the Province between 1937 and 1947. But why did these Pathans, staunch Muslims to a man, support the Congress which revealed, on occasion, strong elements of Hindu revivalism? The great personal influence of 'Abd al-Ghaḥfār and his close relations with Gandhi and Nehru played some part. The power of the Congress in India played the major part, however: it offered the best chance of promoting Pathan interests—of winning provincial autonomy, of destroying British rule and of resisting inclusion within a Panjabi-dominated Pakistan. Only in this last and most vital matter was there ultimately disappointment; in 1947 the Congress abandoned 'Abd al-Ghaḥfār and his Pathan Congressmen to their fate.

Within Pakistan, 'Abd al-Ghaḥfār fought for the establishment of a Pathan state, Pakhtūnistān, although the area which it should include, and the degree of autonomy which it should have, remained ill-defined. He was not able to publish the *Pakhtūn*, the *Khudāy Khidmatgār* organisation was banned, and he spent most of his remaining days either in prison or in exile. In January 1988 he died at Peshawar but was buried in Afghānistān at Djalālābād, which he considered the original homeland of the Pakhtūns.

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(F.C.R. ROBINSON)

AL-KHAṢṢĀF, ABŪ BAKR AḤMAD B. 'AMR ('Umar) b. Muhayr (Mahīr? also Mīhrān and Mīhrāwān) al-Shaybānī al-Khaṣṣāf (d. 261/874), famous Hanafī jurist in the practical fields of *wakf*; *hiyal* [*q.v.*], or legal stratagems and devices, and *adab al-kāḍī*, or laws of procedure and evidence. The sources speak of him as an expert also in the law of inheritance. He transmitted the doctrines of the Hanafī school from his father, who had transmitted them from Hasan b. Ziyād (d. 204/819-20) and Abū Yūsuf [*q.v.*], the students of Abū Ḥanīfa. He was also known as a student and transmitter of *ḥadīth* from no less than twenty scholars.

His family background, as well as the names of his father and grandfather, cannot be definitively determined, although the possible names of his grandfather suggest a Persian ancestry, as a client of the Arab tribe of Shaybān [*q.v.*]. In early life he must have worked as a cobbler (*khaṣṣāf*), since most sources say he lived off this calling. His scholarly endeavours nevertheless attracted the attention of the 'Abbāsīd court, then in Sāmarrā'. He was nominated by the former tutor of the caliph al-Mu'tazz [*q.v.*], with eight other scholars, for judgeships. But they were accused by palace personnel of being members of secessionist groups, so the caliph ordered their expulsion to Baghdad, and al-Khaṣṣāf was attacked by a mob (al-Tabarī, iii, 1683). Following the deposition of al-Mu'tazz in 255/869, and the start of the brief rule of al-Muhtadī (255-6/869-70 [*q.v.*]), al-Khaṣṣāf was brought back to the caliphal court as the court lawyer. It was during this period that he wrote a book about *kharāj* [*q.v.*], which unfortunately has been lost. Other books were also lost when his possessions were plundered following the murder of his patron, al-Muhtadī.

Ibn al-Nadīm, tr. Dodge, i, 509, says that al-Khaṣṣāf advocated the doctrines of the Dījahmiyya [*q.v.*]. Since it is known that some Hanafīs advocated these doctrines, it is not unreasonable that al-Khaṣṣāf was one of them.

In the descending order of seven ranks of Hanafī jurists in the practice of *idjtiḥād* [*q.v.*], al-Khaṣṣāf has been placed in the third, following the first rank of Abū Ḥanīfa and the second rank of Abū Yūsuf and Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Shaybānī [*q.v.*]. Jurists of the third rank elucidated problems (*masā'il*) not previously covered by jurists of higher rank (see Tash-köprüzāde, *Tabakāt al-fukahā*, Mawsil 1954, 8-10).

His books, according to Ibn al-Nadīm, included the following: (1) *K. al-Kharāj*, which has been lost. (2) *K. al-Hiyal wa 'l-makhārīj*. This book, which deals with legal devices and stratagems, was edited by Schacht, Hanover 1923, but Schacht thought that the book was written in the 4th/10th century and retrospectively attributed to al-Khaṣṣāf. An earlier printing appeared in Cairo in 1314/1896. (3) *K. Ahkām al-awakāf*, Cairo 1322/1904, an early and authoritative treatise on *wakf*. (4) *K. al-Nafakāt*, ed. Abu 'l-Wafā' al-Afghānī, Haydarābād 1349/1930 and Beirut 1404/1984. (5) *K. Adab al-kāḍī*, which has been the subject of no less than ten commentaries (Ḥādīdī Khālifa, i, 72-3) including the commentary by Aḥmad b. 'Alī al-Djassās, ed. Farhat J. Ziadeh, Cairo 1978, and that by 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz b. Māza, ed. Muḥyī Hilāl al-Sirhān, Baghdad 1397/1977. Other works mentioned by Ibn al-Nadīm, and not yet discovered/edited, may be looked up in Ibn al-Nadīm, tr. Dodge, i, 509-10.

Bibliography: In addition to the references given in the text, see 'Abd al-Kādir b. Muḥammad al-Kurashī, *al-Djāwāhir al-muḍīyya fī tabakāt al-Hanafīyya*, ed. 'Abd al-Fattāh al-Hulū, Cairo 1398/1978, 230-2; 'Abd al-Hayy al-Lakhnawī, *al-Fawā'id al-bahīyya fī tarāḍīm al-Hanafīyya*, Banāras 1967, 23-4; Kāsim b. Kuṭlūbughā, *Tādī al-tarāḍīm fī tabakāt al-Hanafīyya*, Baghdad 1962, 12. (F.J. ZIADEH)

KHATMIYYA [see MĪRḤANIYYA].

KHATT.

vi. In Chinese Islam.

The evolution of the calligraphic art over almost a millennium amongst Chinese adherents of Islam (those now called the Hui) reflects the history of the implantation of Islam in China and its Sinitisation. During the first centuries of its presence in China,



when this new faith was the achievement of merchants and of emigrants, temporary or permanent, coming from the Near East, Central Asia, Persia and India and mainly settled on the southern coastlands of China, the texts written in Arabic or Persian are to be found on tombstones and funerary stelae. Some date from the 12th century, but most are from the 13th and 14th centuries, the period when the Mongol rulers of China recruited foreigners for governing their Chinese subjects. They are first of all in an ornamental Kufic and then, later, in rounded characters—specimens of what one might call *muhakkak*, or *rikāʿ*, or *rīhān* (see the corpus of some 200 examples existing in southeastern China made by a Chinese Islamic scholar, Chen Dasheng, and by an Arabic epigrapher, French by adoption, Ludvik Kalus, *Corpus d'inscriptions arabes et persanes en Chine. I. Province de Fujian*, Paris 1991). But from the 15th century onwards, funerary inscriptions are in Chinese, bearing witness to the integration of foreigners within the enveloping Chinese environment.

However, it was inevitable that, in a land where, in association with poetry, calligraphy was par excellence the art of cultivated persons, the Muslims should develop a personal calligraphic art once they were in possession of their own literature. They themselves characterise their calligraphic hands (see [in Chinese] Ch'en Chin-hui/Chen Jinhui, *Shih-lun a-la-po shu-fa tsai Chung-kuo Mu-shu-lin chung-te ch'uan-po yü fa-chan/Shihun alabo shufa zai Zhongguo Musilin zhongde chuanbo yü fazhan* ["On the dissemination and development of Arabic calligraphy among Chinese Muslims"], in *Shih-chieh tsung-chiao yen-chiu/Shijie zongjiao yanjiu*, 1994, no. 2, 96-9) in terms of the actual instrument used for writing, whether a kind of bamboo reed or, more often, a brush made from the hairs of various animals, or in terms of a style inspired by Kufic, *naskh*, *thulth* or "Persian" (i.e. probably *nasta'liq*). But these styles are, in fact, all so strongly marked by Chinese influence that they speak of a "Chinese style" of their Arabo-Persian calligraphy, whence a cursive script which imitates the Chinese writing "of grass" (*ts'ao-tzu/caozī*), one almost unreadable for the uninitiated.

Another, more realistic, classification, operates substantially in terms of support for the writing and, consequently, of its destination. Books entirely in Arabic or Persian are extremely rare, Islamic literature being generally written in pure Chinese. Nevertheless, the Mission d'Ollone, which explored Western China during 1906-9, reported from the strongly Islamised region of Kansu [*q.v.*]/Gansu the existence of some ten manuscripts in Persian, locally written and in a good *naskhī* hand of the 18th or 19th century, and two in *nasta'liq* (see Mission d'Ollone, *Recherches sur les musulmans chinois*, Paris 1911, 284-93, or in *RMM*, viii-ix [1909]). Of a wider distribution, there are, from the 19th century, cheap, bilingual publications, in which the Arabic words, glossing the Chinese words and themselves accompanied by an approximate phonetic "transcription" in Chinese characters, are in a clumsy script (arising from the difficulty that Chinese engravers find in preparing plates for impression in the Arabic alphabet and, probably also, because of an imperfect education in local Qur'ān schools). Books where the Chinese characters are in a deformed state in imitation of Arabic characters are especially curious.

The type of calligraphy of which the Chinese Muslims are excessively fond, in the 1990s more often than not, is a stylised, decorative calligraphy in which "calligraphy and design make up a single whole (*shu-hua he-i/shuhua heyi*)" and which plays a role at the

same time both propitiatory and displaying identity. These may be on paper, at the head of certain publications; or, above all, in the form of the so-called "designs of Kur'anic letters" (*ching-tzu-hua/jingzihua*), with a composite Sino-Arabic technique and model, often found in vertical decoration (causing an extreme distortion of the Arabic script) or in a band in the centre of the prayer room, either in two parallel bands here and there in the mosque's *mihrab* [*q.v.*] or the prayer corner in a private house, or else in four bands put together on screens. In passing judgement on a piece of decorative calligraphy in Arabic characters, the believers are unconcerned about the form of the letters or the deformations necessary to fit them within a geometrical figure or to form the silhouette of an auspicious Chinese character; they make, rather, a general judgement using the same ideas with which they would judge a piece of Chinese calligraphy. Hence they recognise the use of the "northern style" for what is vigorous, and the more supple "southern style", that of the northwest being the most distinguished. In China, calligraphy, however Arabic it may be, forms an undeniable role in making up the Chinese culture of believers.

Bibliography: Given in the article, but see also Françoise Aubin, *L'art de l'écriture chez les musulmans de Chine*, in *Horizons maghrébains*, xxxv-xxxvi/*Cahiers d'études maghrébines*, xi (1998), 29-43.

(FRANÇOISE AUBIN)

KHAWLA BT. ḤAKĪM b. Umayya b. Ḥāritha al-Sulamīyya, an early supporter of Muḥammad's cause at Mecca and an associate of his.

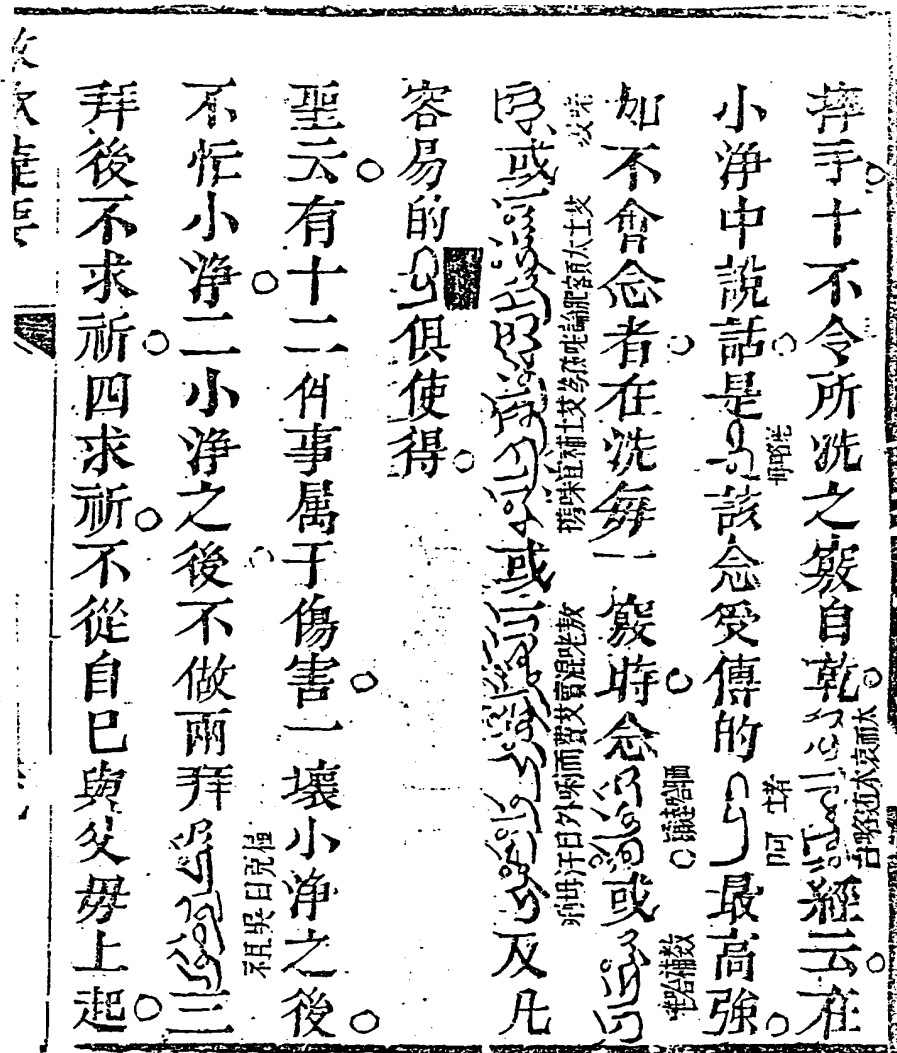
She was the daughter of a man of Sulaym [*q.v.*] who had come to Mecca and had become a confederate there of 'Abd Manāf, and of a woman of 'Abd Shams b. 'Abd Manāf; hence Khawla was related maternally to the Prophet himself. She was an early convert to the new teaching, in company with her husband, the ascetic 'Uthmān b. Maz'ūn [*q.v.*]. When he died in 3/624-5, Khawla is said to have "offered herself" (*wahabat nafsahā*) to Muḥammad, but the latter "put her off" (*ardja'ahā*). She plays a role in Muḥammad's life story as the person who looked after him when Khadija [*q.v.*] died and who counselled him to marry the child virgin 'Ā'isha and the widow Sawda b. Zam'a [*q.v.*].

Bibliography: Ibn Sa'd, viii, 113; Ibn Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, vi, 210-11, 409; Muḥammad b. Ḥabīb, *Muḥabbar*, 407; Tabarī, i, 1768-9; Ibn Ḥadjār, *Isāba*, iv, 691-2; Nabia Abbot, *Aishah, the beloved of Mohammed*, Chicago 1942, 2-4; W.M. Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, Oxford 1956, 309.

(C.E. BOSWORTH)

KHAYRKH^WĀH-ī HARĀTĪ, MUHAMMAD RIDĀ B. SULTĀN ḤUSAYN, Nizārī Ismā'īlī *dā'ī* and author. Born into a leading Nizārī Ismā'īlī family in Ghūriyān near Harāt, in present-day Afghanistan, towards the end of the 9th/15th century, Muḥammad Ridā b. Kh'ādja Sultān Ḥusayn Ghūriyānī, better known as Khayrkh^Wāh-ī Harātī, died not long after 960/1553, the latest date mentioned in his writings. Thus Khayrkh^Wāh flourished in the early Andjūdān period in post-Alamūt Nizārī history, when the Nizārī *dā'wa* and literary activities had begun to revive under the direct leadership of the Nizārī *imāms* themselves. In fact, Khayrkh^Wāh represents the second most important literary figure, after Abū Ishāk-ī Kūhistānī (d. after 904/1498-9), in the contemporary Persian Nizārī Ismā'īlī community; and his works are invaluable for understanding the Andjūdān revival in Nizārī Ismā'īlism and the Nizārī doctrine of the time.

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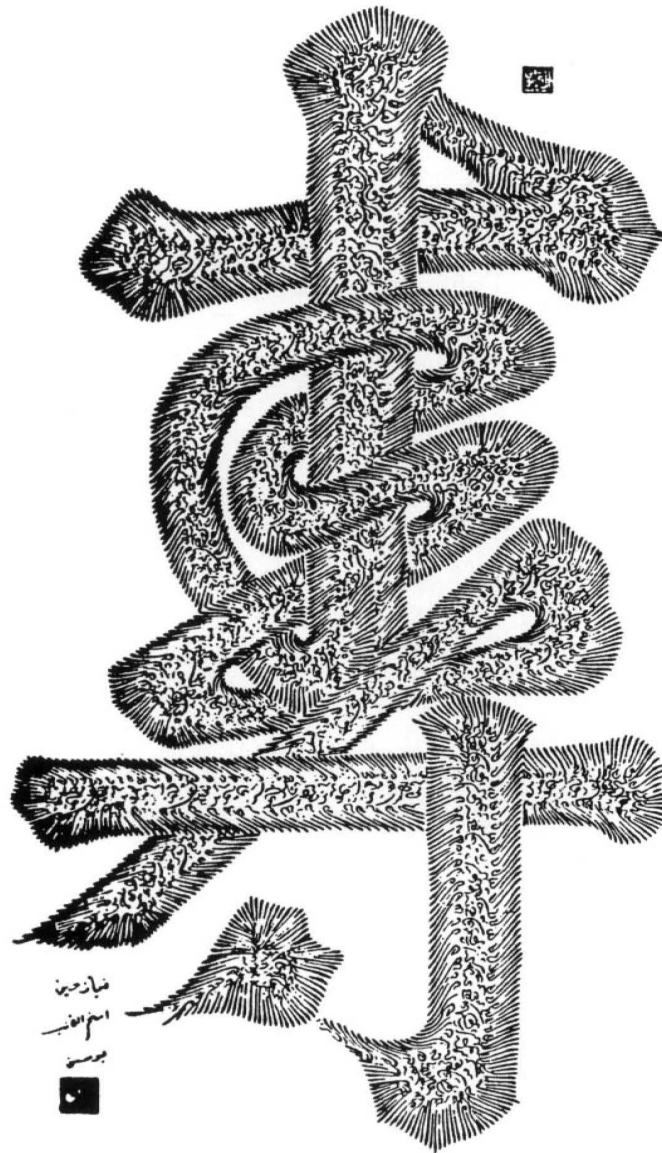
A cheap production, from Shantung/Shandong in 1874, in which the Arabic gloss (comprehensible by turning the book through 90°) has a supergloss of a transcription of the Arabic with the help of Chinese characters the *Chiao-k'uan chiai-yao/Jiaokuan jieyao* ("Quick résumé of the articles of the Faith") by Ma Po-liang/Ma Boliang, 1678.



A small Qur'anic manual from 1912, in which the Chinese script tries to resemble Arabic writing.



Examples of different types of artistic calligraphy made, as is stated in the lower part of the illustration, by the *imām* (*ahong*) Chang Kuo-chün/Zhang Guojun, of the mosque of Yang-chi'ao-chen/Yangqiaozhen ("town of the Yang bridge"), in the sub-prefecture (*hsien/xian*) of Chien-ch'üan/Jianquan in Anhui/Anhui province. In the centre, on the left-hand side, the Chinese seal of Chang Kuo-chün stands instead of a signature according to Chinese custom (illustration taken from the journal of the Islamic Association of the PRC, the *Chung-kuo Mu-su-lin/Zhongguo Muslin* (1995), no. 6, at p. 45.



Written by a celebrated calligrapher of the present time, an *imām* (in Chinese, *ahong*) of Tientsin/Tianjin, Liu Ch'ang-ming/Liu Changming (b. 1927), the Chinese character, above all auspicious, *shou/shou*, is formed by the upright shafts of the Arabic letters. The artist's signature is given in Arabic below, and above, with a Chinese seal (work dating from 1985).



In the autobiographical section of his *Risāla*, Khayrkh^Wāh relates how his father, a *dā'i* in the Harāt region, was murdered by brigands whilst on a journey to see the *imām* in Andjūdān near Mahallāt. Subsequently, the Nizārī *imām*, probably Mustanṣir bi 'llāh III (d. 904/1498), better known as Shāh Ḡharīb, appointed Khayrkh^Wāh, then only nineteen years of age, to the position of the chief *dā'i* or *hujjā*, then more commonly designated as *pīr* of Khurāsān and Badakhshān. Khayrkh^Wāh also visited the Nizārī *imām* of the time at Andjūdān and has preserved unique details in his *Risāla* on how the *imām* managed the affairs of the Nizārī *dā'wa* from his headquarters in Persia.

Khayrkh^Wāh-i Harātī was a prolific writer and his works, all written in Persian, have been mainly preserved by the Nizārī Ismā'īlī communities of Badakhshān (now divided between Afghanistan and Tajikistan), Hunza and other northern areas of Pakistan. Khayrkh^Wāh also composed poetry under the pen-name (*takhallus*) of Ḡharībī, based on the name of his contemporary Nizārī *imām*. His writings include *Faṣl dar bayān-i shīnākht-i imām* (ed. and tr. W. Ivanow in his *Ismailiyya*, in *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, viii [1922], 1-49; later editions and translations of this work by Ivanow were published in 1947, 1949 and 1960 in the series of publications of the Ismaili Society of Bombay), and the *Risāla-yi Khayrkh^Wāh-i Harātī* (originally partially ed. and lithographed by Sayyid Munir Badakhshānī in Bombay in 1333/1915), critically edited together with his *Kitā'āt* and selections of his poetry (*ash'ār*) by Ivanow and published in a collection entitled *Tasniṣāt* in Ismaili Society series A, no. 13, Bombay 1961. As Ivanow showed, Khayrkh^Wāh also produced a plagiarised version of Abū Ishāq-i Kuhistānī's *Haft bāb* (ed. Ivanow, Ismaili Society series A, no. 10, Bombay 1959, 3-8) under the title of *Kalām-i pīr* (ed. Ivanow, Islamic Research Association series, no. 4, Bombay 1935, introd.), attributing it to Nāṣir-i Khusrāw in order to enhance its popularity among the Nizārī communities of Persia and Central Asia.

Bibliography (in addition to the works cited in the article): W. Ivanow, *Ismaili literature. A bibliographical survey*, Tehran 1963, 142-4; A. Berthels and M. Baqov, *Alphabetic catalogue of manuscripts found by 1959-1963 expedition in Gorno-Badakhshan Autonomous Region*, Moscow 1967, 73, 104; I.K. Poonawala, *Biobibliography of Ismā'īlī literature*, Malibu, Calif. 1977, 270, 275-7; F. Daftary, *The Ismā'īlīs, their history and doctrines*, Cambridge 1990, 439, 469-71, 476-7, 481, 535. (F. DAFTARY)

KHIFĀD [see KHAFD].

KHŌDJĀ-ZĀDE, Muṣliḥ al-Dīn Muṣṭafā b. Yūsuf, born into a well-to-do family in Bursa, was one of the leading Ottoman scholars of the 9th/15th century. Among others he studied with Khidr Beg [q.v.], and began his career as *kādī* in Kaṣtal under Murād II [q.v.]. After 857/1453 he was appointed a private teacher of Mehemmed II and held high positions in the law administration (*kādī 'askar* [q.v.], *kādī* in Edirne and Istanbul) and in the educational system of the empire (professor at the Sultāniyya in Bursa and in Istanbul). After 1470, following intrigues at the court, he was removed to Iznik. Under Bāyezīd II [q.v.] he was rehabilitated and reappointed as professor and *muftī* [q.v.] in Bursa, where he died in 893/1488.

Most of his works have been lost, but those which have survived show the high level of his knowledge as well as of the educational system at the Ottoman universities in the 9th/15th century. Among the works

that have survived are publications on the following subjects: (a) *Grammar*: a commentary on al-Zandjānī's *al-'Izzī fi 'l-tasrīf* (evidently composed as a textbook for Mehemmed II); (b) *Fikḥ*: 1. Glosses to al-Taftāzānī's commentary on Maḥbūbī's *Tandīh*. 2. Glosses on al-Djurdjānī's glosses on al-Idjī's commentary on Ibn al-Hādij's *Mukhtaṣar Muntahā al-sū'al*; (c) *Kalām*: 1. Commentary on al-Bayḍāwī's *Tawālī' al-awwār*. 2. Glosses on al-Khayālī's glosses on al-Taftāzānī's commentary on al-Nasafī's *'Akā'id*. 3. Glosses on al-Djurdjānī's commentary on al-Idjī's *Mawākif* (this last work of Khodja-zāde, apparently unfinished, is critical of al-Djurdjānī); (d) *Philosophy*: 1. Glosses on Mawlānā-zāde's commentary on al-Abhārī's *Hidāyat al-ḥikma*. 2. Commentary on al-Urmawī's *Matālī' al-awwār*.

Khodja-zāde's fame here is above all based on a work called *Tahāfut al-falāsifa* (printed in Cairo in 1321/1903-4, together with the *Tahāfut* of al-Ḡhazālī and the *Tahāfut al-tahāfut* of Ibn Rushd). The work was written at the instigation of Mehemmed II, who organised a competition between Khodja-zāde and 'Alā' al-Dīn Tūṣī to answer the question who had been right in the dispute between al-Ḡhazālī and Ibn Rushd. Khodja-zāde gave a politic answer. Basically he sided with al-Ḡhazālī but corrected the latter's views on several points. At the same time, he emphasised that only the less important philosophers had made mistakes, while Ibn Rushd had a thorough command of his subject. This compromising attitude apparently carried approbation, for Khodja-zāde was not only proclaimed winner by Mehemmed II, but his *Tahāfut al-falāsifa* was still much read in the 10th/16th century and commented upon by several authors, among whom Kemal-Pasha-zāde [q.v.].

Bibliography: Tāshköprüzāde, *Miftāḥ al-sa'āda*, Beirut n.d., ii, 161 ff.; idem, *al-Shākhā'ik al-nu'māniyya*, tr. O. Rescher, repr. Osnabrück 1978, 76-88; Muhammad al-Shawkānī, *al-Badr al-tālī*, Cairo 1348/1929-30, i, 306-8; Mübahat Türker, *Üç tahāfut bakımından felsefe ve din münasebelleri*, Ankara 1956; Hassen Jarrai, *Tahāfut al-falāsifa par Khwādja Zāde*, diss., Paris 1972, unpubl.; Mustafa S. Yazıcıoğlu, *Le kalām et son rôle dans la société turco-ottomane aux XV^e et XVI^e siècles*, Ankara 1990, esp. 101 ff.

(U. RUDOLPH)

KHŌDJĀS [see KH'ĀDJĀS, in Suppl.].

AL-KHULAFĀ' AL-RĀSHIDŪN (A.), literally, "the Rightly-Guided Caliphs", the four heads of the nascent Islamic community who succeeded each other in the thirty years or so after the death of the Prophet Muḥammad in Rabī' I 11/June 632. The qualifying term in the phrase has often been rendered as "Orthodox" (an anachronism, since there was no generally accepted corpus of Islamic belief and practice at this early time from which deviation could occur) or "Patriarchal", reflecting a view of this period as a heroic age for Islam.

The four caliphs in question comprised:

- | | |
|--------------|---|
| 11-13/632-4 | Abū Bakr b. Abī Kuḥāfa, called <i>al-Ṣiddīq</i> |
| 13-23/634-44 | 'Umar (I) b. al-Khaṭṭāb, called <i>al-Fārūq</i> |
| 23-35/644-56 | 'Uthmān b. 'Affān |
| 35-40/656-61 | 'Alī b. Abī Tālib |

All four were from the Prophet's own Meccan tribe of Quraysh [q.v.], and all were already related to Muḥammad himself by marriage, whilst 'Alī, as a first cousin on the father's side, was also a close blood relation. A strong feeling was thereby created that the caliph, as both military and religious head of the community, responsible for protecting the Muslim



umma [q.v.] and its faith and for upholding the Prophetic heritage, should come from Kuraysh, a feeling later crystallised in a *ḥadīth* attributed to the Prophet, "authority shall not depart from this tribe of Kuraysh."

It was Abū Bakr who first adopted the title of *khalfat Rasūl Allāh* "successor of the Messenger of God", with the implication of a necessity for the caliph to uphold and to further the Prophet's heritage; for the genesis of the title and its early development, see *KHALĪFA* (i).

The three decades of the Rightly-Guided Caliphs saw the extraordinary expansion of the small Arab Muslim community based on Medina as the *mukātila* or warriors overran the outlying parts of the Arabian peninsula, Sāsānid 'Irāk and Persia, and Byzantine Palestine, Syria and Egypt. By the time of 'Alī's death, the Arabs were already raiding across the Oxus and into southern Afghānistān in the east, into Armenia and the Caucasus region in the north, and beyond Barqa [q.v.] towards Tripoli and Fezzān in the west. The administrative and fiscal bases of the later caliphate also being laid down at this time, with 'Umar's institution of the *ḍiwān* in which the pay allotments of the Arab warriors were registered, this military role became the requisite for full membership of the new community, creating the entitlement to share in its privileges [see 'AṬĀ'; *ḌIWĀN*. I.]. The longer-term financial stability of the new state was ensured by the ruling authority's utilisation of a considerable proportion of the booty captured from the conquered lands for state and community purposes rather than it being shared out among the warriors and thereby dissipated [see *BAYT AL-MĀL*; *FAY'*; *GHANĪMA*]. Hence by the end of the period of the Rightly-Guided Caliphs, the Islamic community was no longer a purely Arabian affair but was well established outside the peninsula. Although the Muslims were for long a minority in the conquered lands, the bases were being laid for the slow transformation of the societies of the conquered lands and their religious complexions. A pointer to this new orientation of the Muslim state was 'Alī's move of the capital from Medina to the new military encampment of Kūfa in 'Irāk; it was never to return to Arabia which, whilst remaining the locational focus for the Muslim cult, became from the political point of view, increasingly peripheral.

The end of 'Uthmān's reign and the whole of that of 'Alī's were marked by religio-political dissension. 'Uthmān's murder accordingly inaugurated for the community a period of *fitna* [q.v.] or internecine strife, out of which eventually emerged such groups as the Khāridjites and the Shī'a [q.v.]. Hence the preceding part of the age of the Rightly-Guided Caliphs came in later times to be regarded through a nostalgic haze as a Golden Age of early Islam, when the community was undivided. The period was invested with the pristine virtues of piety, simplicity, justice, equality of all (male, free) Muslim believers, all the more so as later pietistic, traditionalist circles contrasted it with what they regarded as the worldly-oriented *mulk* or kingship of the Rightly-Guided Caliphs' immediate successors, the Umayyads [q.v.]; G.E. von Grunebaum coined the term "Rāshidūn classicism" for this backwards-looking feeling, discernible still in some contemporary fundamentalist currents of Islam.

Bibliography: See, in the first place, the separate articles on the four caliphs and the *Bibls.* there. There are relevant sections on the caliphs and their times in the general histories of Islam and its ex-

pansion, including Sir William Muir, *The Caliphate, its rise, decline, and fall*, revised ed. T.H. Weir, Edinburgh 1915; C. Brockelmann, *Geschichte der islamischen Völker und Staaten*, ²Munich 1943, Eng. tr., *History of the Islamic peoples*, London 1949; J.J. Saunders, *A history of mediaeval Islam*, London 1965; R. Mantran (ed.), *L'expansion musulmane (VII'-XI' siècles)*, Paris 1969, '1991; G.E. von Grunebaum, *Classical Islam, a history 600-1258*, London 1970; L. Vecchia Vaglieri, *The Patriarchal and Umayyad caliphates*, in P.M. Holt et alii (eds.), *Camb. hist. of Islam*, i, Cambridge 1970; M.G.S. Hodgson, *The venture of Islam*, i, *The classical age of Islam*, Chicago 1974; H. Kennedy, *The Prophet and the age of the caliphs*, London 1986; A. Noth, *Früher Islam*, in U. Haarmann (ed.), *Geschichte der arabischen Welt*, Munich 1987. Specifically on the conquests of this period, see A.J. Butler, *The Arab conquest of Egypt*, 2nd ed. P.M. Fraser, Oxford 1978; F. McG. Donner, *The early Islamic conquests*, Princeton 1981; W.E. Kaegi, *Byzantium and the early Islamic conquests*, Cambridge 1992. On the internal evolution of the Islamic community and its stresses during this period, see Hichem Djait, *La grande discorde. Religion et politique dans l'Islam des origines*, Paris 1989; W.F. Madelung, *The succession to Muhammad. A study of the early caliphate*, Cambridge 1997. For chronology, see C.E. Bosworth, *The New Islamic dynasties*, Edinburgh 1996, 1-2 no. 1. (C.E. BOSWORTH)

AL-KHULD, *Kaṣr*, the name of a palace of the early 'Abbāsids in Baghdād, so-called because of its being compared in splendour with the *djannat al-khuld* "garden of eternity", i.e. Paradise.

It was built by the founder of the new capital Baghdād, al-Mansūr [q.v.], in 158/775 on the west bank of the Tigris outside the walled Round City, possibly on the site of a former Christian monastery (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 273; Yāqūt, *Buldān*, ed. Beirut, ii, 382). It was strategically placed between the two great military areas of the Harbiyya and al-Ruṣāfa on the eastern side [see *AL-RUṢĀFA*. 2.] and adjacent to the Upper or Main bridge across the river. The early 'Abbāsid caliphs, and especially Hārūn al-Rashīd and al-Amīn, resided in the Khuld palace, and the latter tried to escape by water from its riverside quay when Tāhir [q.v.] b. al-Husayn's attackers were about to break into the city in 198/813 (al-Ṭabarī, iii, 917 ff.). It suffered badly from Tāhir's bombardment, and al-Ma'mūn stayed elsewhere on his first visit to Baghdād from the East in 204/819. The seat of the caliphate was moved to Sāmarrā' some fifteen years later, and the Khuld palace must thenceforth have become completely ruinous; when, at the end of the century, al-Mu'taḍid moved back to Baghdād he occupied palaces on the eastern side. The site was only re-used when in 368/979 the Būyid 'Aḍud al-Dawla built there his Bīmāristān or hospital.

Bibliography: G. Le Strange, *Baghdad under the Abbasid caliphate*, Oxford 1900, 101-3; J. Lassner, *The topography of Baghdad in the early Middle Ages*, Detroit 1970, 55, 60, 105, 149, 154, 231, 243, 280. (C.E. BOSWORTH)

KHUMAYN, a small town in the province of Kum in modern Iran (lat. 33° 38' N., long. 50° 03' E.) some 70 km/42 miles to the south-south-east of Arāk/Sultānābād [q.v.]. It is unmentioned in the mediaeval Islamic geographers, but now has fame as the birthplace of the Āyatallāh Rūh Allāh Khumaynī (1902-89 [q.v. in Suppl.]). It is at present administratively in the *shahrestān* of Mahallāt. In ca. 1950 it had a population of 7,038, which in 2003 had risen to 59,300.



Bibliography: Razmārā (ed.), *Farhang-i dīghrāfiyā-yi Irānzamin*, 1, 81-2. (Ed.)

KHUMAYNĪ, Sayyid Rūḥ ALLĀH Mūsawī (1902-89), Āyatullāh [*q.v.* in Suppl.] and prominent Iranian religious leader of the later 20th century.

He was born into a clerical family in the small town of Khumayn [*q.v.* in Suppl.] in central Iran, a few years before the Constitutional Revolution of 1906-11 [see *DUSTŪR*. iv] opened the era of modern politics in Iran. Sayyid Rūḥ Allāh's father was murdered before he was a year old, and his mother died when he was in his teens. The reign of Riḍā Shāh (1925-41 [*q.v.*]), whose secularisation policies and dispossession of clerics he never forgot nor forgave, encompassed his formative years in Kum, where as an atypical seminarian he quietly studied mystical philosophy alongside jurisprudence, and began his teaching career. The popularity of his lectures on ethics in the latter part of the 1930s apparently caused the local police some apprehension. Khumaynī's entry into the public sphere began during World War II with the anonymous publication of *Kashf al-asrār*, a book written in defence of the Shī'ī hierarchy against a modernist anti-clerical pamphleteer. In it, he maintained that the *muḍṭahids* had the authority to supervise parliamentary legislation and the deeds of the monarch. Khumaynī took a radically novel position in a tract on *idjtiḥād*, which was apparently written in the early 1950s but published in A.H. 1384/1964-5, in which he took the term *ḥākim* not only in the Arabic, technical, but also in the Persian everyday sense, to extend the judiciary authority of the *muḍṭahid* to the political sphere as the right to rule (*Kunghir-i imām Khumaynī*, ix, 15-17).

Khumaynī first appeared on the national political scene in A.S.H. 1342/1963 as an outspoken critic of the Shāh and his reform program. The Shāh characterised his movement as "black reaction", and took repressive measures against it. Khumaynī was imprisoned in June 1963, and demonstrations by his supporters were violently suppressed. He was exiled to Turkey in November 1964, and moved on to the Shī'ī holy cities in 'Irāq. In January 1965 a group of his followers assassinated the Prime Minister, Hasan-'Alī Manṣūr, with a plan for setting up a "unified Islamic government". While in exile in Najaf, Khumaynī developed his theory of *wilāyat al-fakīh* as the mandate of the jurist to rule, both in a series of lectures in Persian, which were published in Beirut in 1970 under the title of *Wilāyat-i fakīh*, and in a work of jurisprudence on transactions, published in the second volume of *Kitāb al-Bay'* in A.H. 1391/1971. He argued that the right to rule devolves from the Imāms to the *muḍṭahids* during the Occultation of the Twelfth Imām, and, further, that if one of them were able to exercise that right by establishing a government, it would be incumbent upon other *muḍṭahids* to obey him. With this theory made public in clerical circles, Khumaynī began to prepare a beleaguered Shī'ī hierarchy for the takeover of a hostile, secularising state. His former students played the leading role in his movement and mobilised many younger clerics from humble rural and small town backgrounds in opposition to the monarchy and to Western cultural domination. As the leader of the Islamic revolutionary movement, Khumaynī assumed the title of *imām*, a title reserved for the twelve holy Shī'ī Imāms and not used by anyone else in Persian for over a thousand years.

On the victory of the Islamic revolution, Imām Khumaynī exercised his prerogatives according to the

theory of *wilāyat al-fakīh*, in ordering the confiscation of the property of the Pahlawī family and other industrialists of the old régime as war booty, and in appointing Mahdī Bāzargān, who represented the liberal and nationalist elements in the revolutionary coalition, as provisional prime minister. However, he was careful not to alienate the followers of the lay Muslim intellectuals and ideologues, such as Djalāl Āl-i Aḥmad and 'Alī Shari'atī, and did not proclaim a theocratic government at once. The *wilāyat al-fakīh* entered public debate only when a clerically-dominated Assembly of Experts was elected, in place of a constituent assembly, and bypassed the draft constitution prepared by the provisional government to institute theocratic government according to Khumaynī's theory. Some of the features of the original draft were retained, however, notably the elected president and parliament (*Maḍlis*), and a Council of Guardians (*shūrā-yi niḡah-bān*) which was modified to increase the number and power of its clerical jurists by giving them the exclusive right to veto any *Maḍlis* enactment they found in violation of Islamic standards. The new Constitution was approved by a referendum in December 1979, shortly after the occupation of the American embassy and the taking of its staff as hostages and the resignation of Bāzargān.

In the course of the ensuing power struggle of the early 1980s among the partners in the revolutionary coalition, Khumaynī sanctioned the violent suppression of the leftist and secular elements. Despite his apparent initial disinclination, the Iranian state and the revolutionary structures were brought under direct clerical control. Once the revolutionary power struggle ended with the complete victory of his supporters, Khumaynī sought to maintain unity between the conservative and the radical clerics and their respective allies, and intervened a number of times to prevent the tilting of the balance of power in favour of the former. Meanwhile, he oversaw the constitutional development of the Islamic theocratic republic he had founded. The failure of a variety of principles drawn from Shī'ī jurisprudence, including the distinctions between primary and secondary commandments (*aḥkām*) of the *Shari'a* and the introduction of a new category of "governmental (*hukūmatī*) commandments", to solve the impasse between the *Maḍlis* and the Council of Guardians had become evident by January 1988, when Khumaynī proclaimed a new idea of the "absolute (*muṭlaqā*) mandate of the jurist". This gave priority to what has increasingly been called the "governmental commandments" of the *wali-yi fakīh* over those of the *Shari'a*, including prayer and fasting. In the following month, overcoming the traditional reservations of the Shī'ī jurists regarding the principle of *maṣlaḥa* (public interest), he appointed a clerically-dominated Council for the Determination of the Interest of the Islamic Régime (*maḍjma'-i tashkīl-i maṣlaḥat-i niẓām-i islāmī*) as the final arbiter of cases of disagreement between the *Maḍlis* and the Council of Guardians. In April 1989, he ordered the revision of the Constitution, and the amended Constitution of 1989, which was completed and ratified after his death, awkwardly incorporated the phrase "absolute mandate to rule" (*wilāyat-i muṭlak-i amr*) into its Article 57, augmented the already considerable powers of the ruling jurist and gave the Council for the Determination of Interest the new function of setting the general policies of the state.

Khumaynī remained ruthlessly firm and resolute to his last days. He opposed the ending of the increasingly unpopular war with 'Irāq (1980-8) until he finally



decided to drink "the cup of poison", and accepted a ceasefire with 'Irāk on 18 July 1988. Two days later, the 'Irāk-based forces of the Islamic radical group, the *mudjāhidīn-i khalk*, attacked western Iran and were wiped out. In the following weeks, despite the vehement protest of his successor-designate, Āyatullah Muntazirī (Muntazirī, chs. 9-10), he ordered the execution of about 3,000 Islamic radicals who had already served or were serving sentences given them by revolutionary courts. The incipient collapse of communism in the last year of his life renewed Khumaynī's optimism, and in January 1989, he told the Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev that he should learn about Islam as communism now belonged to the museum of history. Finally, Khumaynī caused another international crisis by issuing an injunction (*fatwā*) that sanctioned the death of Salman Rushdie, a non-Iranian writer who lived in England.

Khumaynī died on 14 Khurdād 1368/3 June 1989. He was a charismatic leader of immense popularity. Millions of Iranians massed to welcome him when he returned as the Imām from exile in 1979, and a million or more joined his funeral procession after he died ten years later.

Bibliography: Khumaynī, *Kāshf al-asrār*, Tehran n.d. [1942 or 1943]; idem, *Wilāyat-i fakīh*, Beirut 1970; idem, *K. al-Bay'*, ii, Nadjaf AH 1391/1971; H. Rūhānī, *Barrasī wa tahlīlī az nahdat-i Imām Khumaynī*, 2 vols. Tehran ASH 1360-4/1981-5; S.A. Arjomand, *The turban for the crown. The Islamic Revolution in Iran*, New York 1988; Khumaynī, *Sahifa-i nūr*, revised and expanded ed. 11 vols. Tehran ASH 1376/1997 (collected speeches, interviews and proclamations); B. Moin, *Khomeini. Life of the Ayatollah*, London 1999; *Kūngirih-i Imām Khumaynī wa andishih-i hukumat-i islāmī*, 22 vols. Tehran 1378/1999-2000 (centennial collection; vol. ix contains a serviceable bibliography, and vols. iv-viii occasional essays of interest); Arjomand, *Authority in Shi'ism and constitutional developments in the Islamic Republic of Iran*, in W. Ende and R. Brunner (eds.), *The Twelver Shia in modern times. Religious, cultural and political history*, Leiden 2000, 301-32; H.-'Alī Muntazirī, *Khātirāt* (Memoirs), www.montazeri.com.

(S.A. ARJOMAND)

KHUMS (A.), a one-fifth share of the spoils of war and, according to the majority of Muslim jurists, of other specified forms of income, set aside for variously designated beneficiaries.

1. In Sunnism.

For the Sunnīs, like the Shī'īs, the starting point for the discussion of *khums* is Qur'an, VIII, 41 (*āyat al-khums, āyat al-ghanima*). The Sunnī exegetes take this verse to address the spoils of war specifically, but beyond that there is widespread disagreement about the circumstances of its revelation, its interpretation and the extent of its applicability after the death of the Prophet (Ibn al-'Arabī, *K. al-Kabas*, ed. Walad Karīm, Beirut 1992, ii, 600). Although the institution of the *khums* is often regarded as replacing the pre-Islamic right of the commander to one-fourth (*mūrbā'*) of the booty (al-Wākidī, *K. al-Maghāzī*, ed. J.M.B. Jones, Oxford 1966, i, 17; Muhammad Rashīd Ridā, *Tafsīr al-manār*, Beirut 1420/1999, x, 13; Lane, *Lexicon*, iii, 1015; Juynboll, *Handbuch*, 341), the acquisition of property, including the *khums*, through combat is regarded as unique to Islam among the revealed religions (Ibn al-Mulakkīn, *Qhāyat al-sūl fī khaṣā'is al-rasūl*, ed. 'Abd Allāh, Beirut 1414/1993, 260-1; al-'Aynī, *'Umdat al-kārī*, ed. Cairo, xv, 41-4).

It is generally held that Qur'an, VIII, 41, abrogates

Qur'an, VIII, 1 (*āyat al-anfāl*), which put the spoils gained at Badr (2/624) entirely at the disposal of the Prophet to distribute as he saw fit (al-Kurṭubī, *al-Djāmi' li-ahkām al-Qur'an*, Cairo 1387/1967, viii, 2; al-Māwardī, *al-Ahkām al-sulṭāniyya*, Cairo 1386/1966, 138-9). Qur'an, VIII, 41 would thus have been revealed some time after Badr, and the rule of the *khums* was first implemented, according to some, in connection with the booty gained in the victory over the Jewish tribe of Banū Kaynukā' (2/624 [q.v.]). According to another account, 'Abd Allāh b. Djaḥsh, shortly before the battle of Badr, on his own initiative set aside for the Prophet one-fifth of the spoils taken from Quraysh at Nakhla, the first spoils gained under Islam, and this rule was later affirmed by the Qur'an (Ibn Hishām, *al-Sira al-nabawiyya*, ed. al-Sakkā' et al., Cairo 1375/1955, i, 603-05, tr. Guillaume, Oxford 1955, 286-8). Some sources, however, place the introduction of the *khums* at other times: at Badr itself, at the victory over Banu 'l-Naḍīr (4/625) or over Banū Qurayza (5/627), at the conquest of Khaybar (7/628) or as late as the battle of Hunayn (8/630) [q.v.] (al-Kayrawānī, *al-Nawādir wa 'l-ziyādāt*, ed. Hadjdjī, Beirut 1999, iii, 221; Ibn Kayyim al-Djāwziyya, *Zād al-ma'ād*, ed. al-Arna'ūt, Beirut 1419/1998, v, 63).

Payment of the *khums* was taught by the Prophet as a cardinal religious obligation ('*Umdat al-kārī*, i, 302-11, *bāb adā' al-khums min al-imān*, xv, 26-7; Ibn Baṭṭāl, *Sharḥ ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, ed. Ibrāhīm, Riyād 1420/2000, v, 257) and appears among the undertakings required of certain Bedouin tribes (Ibn Sa'd, i/2, 25, 30; Caetani, *Annali*, i, 682, ii/1, 303-04; W.M. Watt, *Muhammad at Medina*, Oxford 1955, 255-6). Two collectors of the *khums* who served the Prophet are named: Maḥmiya b. Dja'z' and 'Abd Allāh b. Ka'b al-Anṣārī (al-Khuzā'i, *Takhrīḍ al-dalālat al-sam'iyya*, ed. 'Abbās, Beirut 1405/1985, 509-10). 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib was charged by the Prophet with distributing the portion of the *khums* that went to the Prophet's next-of-kin, a position he continued to hold into the caliphate of 'Umar (Abū Yūsuf, *K. al-Kharāj*, Cairo 1352, 20).

The common opinion is that, during the lifetime of the Prophet, the *khums* was divided into five shares, with that of God and the Prophet constituting a single share (*khums al-khums*), which the Prophet used for his own upkeep and that of his family, with any excess being spent on the needs of the community. A small minority, including the Baṣran Qur'an scholar Abu 'l-'Āliya Rufay' b. Mihrān al-Riyāhī (d. 90/708 or 96/714 [q.v.]), and it is sometimes reported, his mentor Ibn 'Abbās (d. 68/687-8 [q.v.]), were of the opinion that there was a distinct sixth portion for God. This portion, which was as much as the Prophet could grasp from the booty, was used for upkeep of the Ka'ba. According to Muḥāṭil b. Sulaymān (d. 150/767 [q.v.]), the *khums* was to be divided into four parts, with one part representing the shares of God, the Prophet, and the Prophet's next-of-kin (*K. Tafsīr al-khams mi'a āya*, ed. Goldfeld, Shfaram 1980, 271), a mode of division followed by the Ibādīs (Ibn Kayy, *Mukhtaṣar al-khiṣāl*, 'Umān 1403/1983, 192; al-Kindī, *Bayān al-shar'*, 'Umān 1414/1993, lxx, 374).

The Shāfi'īs and Ḥanbalīs continue to recognise five shares after the death of the Prophet: (1) the Prophet's share, now used to meet the needs of the community of Muslims (*sahm al-maṣāliḥ*), (2) the share of the Prophet's next-of-kin (*dhu 'l-kurba*), which goes to the Hāshimīs and Muṭṭalibīs without regard to need, with males getting double the share of females, (3) the orphans (*yalāmā*) [see YATIM], defined as needy



minors who have no father, (4) the indigent (*masākīn*), who correspond to the "poor and indigent" of Qur'an, IX, 60 [see ZAKĀT. 5. xi], and (5) the traveller, defined as for *zakāt* (cf. al-Bādjūrī, *Hāshiyā 'alā Ibn Kāsim al-Ghazzī*, ed. Cairo, ii, 274). After the Prophet's death, his share and that of his family lapsed according to the Hanafis, who appeal to the practice of the first four caliphs as evidence for this view (K. *al-Kharāj*, 19). The Hanafis do, however, give preference to indigent members of the Prophet's family under the remaining three classes, in recognition of their ineligibility to receive *zakāt* [see ZAKĀT. 5. xi]. The Mālikīs regard the classes named in Qur'an, VIII, 41, as illustrative (Ibn Rushd, *al-Mukaddimāt*, ed. Ḥaǧǧī, Beirut 1408/1988, i, 357) and treat the entire *khums* as *ḥay'* [q.v.] to be expended upon the needs of the Muslims as the ruler sees fit (Sahnūn, *al-Mudawwana*, ed. Muḥammad, Beirut 1419/1999, ii, 604), a view also adopted by Ibn Taymiyya (d. 652/1254 [q.v.]). They do, however, recommend that distribution of the *khums* begin with grants to the Hāshimīs (*al-Khīrshī 'alā mukhtaṣar Khālīl*, ed. Beirut, iii, 129).

The obligation of paying the *khums* is incumbent on Muslims (cf. al-Dardīr, *al-Sharḥ al-saghīr*, ed. Waṣfī, Cairo 1972, ii, 301, on Muslim slaves). Although it is sometimes stated that only Muslims are eligible to receive the *khums* (al-Shīrāzī, *al-Muḥaddithab*, ed. Cairo, ii, 247; Ibn Kudāma, *al-Kāfi*, ed. al-Shāfi'ī, Beirut 1421/2001, iv, 183), this restriction has been said not to apply to the expenditure of the share for the needs of the community (al-Ramlī, *Ghāyat al-bayān*, ed. Cairo, 345).

The rules for the *khums* apply specifically to *ghanīma* [q.v.], the spoils of war taken by armed force, except according to the Shāfi'īs (al-Shāfi'ī, K. *al-Umm*, ed. Cairo, iv, 64; al-Māwardī, *al-Hawī al-kabīr*, ed. Maṭraǧī, Beirut 1414/1994, x, 429-30) and some Hanbalīs, notably al-Khīrāḳī (d. 334/945) (Ibn Kudāma, *al-Mughnī*, ed. al-Turkī and al-Hulw, Cairo 1409/1989, ix, 284, 286), who fully extend the application of the *khums* to property taken from the enemy without such display of force, i.e. *ḥay'*, and the Mālikīs, who recognise an intermediate category, *al-mukhtaṣṣ*, between *ghanīma* and *ḥay'*, that includes property taken out of enemy territory by stealth, the *khums* of which must be privately distributed by its taker (al-Raṣṣā', *Sharḥ ḥudūd Ibn 'Arafā*, ed. al-Adǧfān and al-Ma'mūrī, Beirut 1993, i, 229-30). The extent to which *khums* is due on property seized by small groups of raiders acting on their own initiative is disputed (al-Tabarī, *Das konstantinopler Fragment des Kitāb Ikhtilāf al-Fukahā'*, ed. Schacht, Leiden 1933, 78-80; Schacht, *The origins of Muhammadan jurisprudence*, Oxford 1950, 286).

The booty subject to division does not include food consumed by the combatants or their animals (*al-Mudawwana*, ii, 612-14; al-Kāṣanī, *Badā'ī 'al-ṣanā'ī*, ed. Mu'awwad and 'Abd al-Mawǧūd, Beirut 1418/1997, ix, 494-6) nor, during the Prophet's lifetime, such booty as he selected as a personal prize (*ṣafī*) (K. *al-Kharāj*, 22-3). The *khums* is calculated on the total booty net such expenses as those incurred for its transport and safekeeping, and, according to the Shāfi'īs and Hanbalīs, after subtraction of the clothing, weapons, mounts, and other personal effects (*salab*) of enemy soldiers earned by the individual Muslim combatants who have killed or disabled them (cf. Schacht, *Origins*, 70-1). The Hanafis and Mālikīs treat such claims to personal effects as rewards (*naḥāl*), for which they require an express grant by the ruler, preferably, according to the Mālikīs, after the battle has ended so as not to compromise the purity of

motive of the combatants. The Mālikīs in all cases satisfy rewards from the *khums*; the Hanafis from the *khums* if the grant has been made after the booty has been secured in Islamic territory (*ihraz*), otherwise from the four-fifths; the Hanbalīs from the four-fifths. The Shāfi'īs pay rewards from the twenty-fifth share devoted to the needs of the community. Special allocations (*radkh*) of the booty granted to slaves, women, and children who participate in the battle but do not otherwise qualify as combatants, are distributed from the total booty according to the Hanafis, from the four-fifths according to the Shāfi'īs and Hanbalīs, and from the *khums* according to the Mālikīs, who in principle disapprove of such special allocations.

The rules for the *khums* apply in the first instance to moveable property, which includes the captured slaves of the non-Muslim enemy. In the case of combatants taken prisoner and captive women and children, the rule of the *khums* is applied most straightforwardly when these are enslaved and form part of the booty to be divided (cf. al-Ḍaṣūqī, *al-Hāshiyā 'alā al-sharḥ al-kabīr*, ed. Cairo, ii, 184). There is disagreement as to real property: the Shāfi'īs divide such property among the combatants and subject it to the *khums*; the Mālikīs do not, while the Hanafis and Hanbalīs leave the matter of division to the discretion of the ruler. Where the division is of the booty itself, rather than of its sale price, the determination of what constitutes the *khums* is made by lot, with a special designation for the *khums* (*li 'llāh, li 'l-maṣāliḥ, li-rasul Allāh*) (al-Wākidī, ii, 523-4; Ibn Abī Shayba, *al-Kitāb al-muṣannaḥ*, ed. al-Nadwī, Bombay 1402/1982, xii, 429-30; al-Ramlī, *Nihāyat al-muḥtādī*, Cairo 1386/1967, vi, 146; al-Ḥaṭṭāb, *Mawāhib al-djā'il*, ed. 'Umayrāt, Beirut 1416/1995, iv, 584).

There is disagreement as to what extent the ruler can avoid the application of the general rules for the division of booty, including that of the *khums*, by declaring that what each combatant takes is his as a reward (*al-Nawādir wa 'l-ziyādāt*, iii, 252; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *al-Istidhār*, ed. Kal'adǧī, Cairo 1414/1993, xiv, 102-3; Ibn al-Nahḥās, *Mashārī' al-aṣṭawāk*, ed. 'Alī and Iṣṭabūlī, Beirut 1410/1990, ii, 1035-6). According to many Hanafis, the booty taken pursuant to such a general offer of reward (*tanfīl 'amm*), in the case of a detachment (*sariyya*), but not the entire army, dispatched from within enemy territory, is not subject to the *khums* (al-Djaṣṣās, *Aḥkām al-kur'ān*, ed. Istanbul, iii, 55; Ibn 'Abidīn, *Radd al-muḥtār*, Cairo 1386/1966, iv, 155-7; cf. Ibn Nuǧaym, *al-Baḥr al-rā'ik*, ed. Cairo, v, 92; C. Imber, *Ebu 's-Su'ud: the Islamic legal tradition*, Stanford 1997, 87 [with reference to a declaration of this sort on the part of the Ottoman sultan in 948/1541-2]).

The institution of the *khums* appears to have fallen into neglect from an early date. The students of Mālik (d. 179/796 [q.v.]) already addressed questions concerning the purchase of slave girls from sellers suspected of not having paid the *khums* (*al-Nawādir wa 'l-ziyādāt*, iii, 215-6; *Mawāhib al-djā'il*, iv, 568-70) as well as the status of privately owned Andalusī estates on which *khums* was not known to have been paid at the time of their conquest and, according to the Mālikīs, irregular distribution to individuals (*al-Nawādir wa 'l-ziyādāt*, iii, 364-65). Even revivalist movements such as that of the Almoravids and Almohads found it difficult to ensure consistent implementation of the law of the *khums* (J.F.P. Hopkins, *Medieval Muslim government in Barbary until the sixth century of the hijra*, London 1958, 28-9; al-Taǧǧānī, *al-Iḥsān al-ilzāmī fī 'l-islām wa-taṭbīqātuhu fī 'l-Maghrib*, al-Muḥammadiyya 1410/



1990, 592). The Ottoman *muftī* Abū Su'ūd (d. 982/1547) took it for granted that the spoils of war were not being divided in accordance with the law and put the burden of paying *khums* on the purchasers of slave girls (Imber, 87; al-Ḥaṣḥāfi, *al-Durr al-muntakā*, on the margin of *Shaykhzāda, Maḍīma' al-anhur*, ed. Istanbul, i, 651; cf. *Radd al-muḥtār*, iv, 157-8).

Commonly treated by the jurists in connection with *zakāt* (cf. al-Zurkānī, *al-Sharḥ 'alā muwaṭṭa' al-imām Mālik*, ed. 'Awaḍ, Cairo 1381/1961, ii, 321) but regarded by the Hanafīs, Mālikīs and Hanbalīs as analogous to the one-fifth payable from booty, is the one-fifth due upon the discovery under certain circumstances unrelated to combat of pre-Islamic treasure, as enjoined by the *ḥadīth* (*fi 'l-rikāz al-khums*) (Mālik, *al-Muwaṭṭa'*, ed. 'Abd al-Bāqī, ed. Cairo, 170). The Shāfi'īs limit this obligation to gold and silver, to which they apply the same minimum amount (*niṣāb*) as that for *zakāt* on gold and silver. While the Hanafīs distribute this one-fifth as they do the *khums* of booty (*Radd al-muḥtār*, iv, 139), the Mālikīs and Hanbalīs class it as *ḥay'* to be expended on the needs of the community, and the Shāfi'īs treat it as *zakāt* (*Umdat al-kārī*, ix, 104) [see *ZAKĀT*, 5. iv]. The Hanafīs, and to a limited extent the Mālikīs, extend the rule of one-fifth on treasure to the products of mining (*ma'dīn*): malleable metals, according to the Hanafīs (al-Samarḳandī, *Tuḥfat al-fukahā'*, ed. 'Abd al-Barr, Damascus 1377/1958, i, 505-09), pure or virtually pure pieces of gold and silver (*nadra*), according to the Mālikīs (al-Dardīr, *al-Sharḥ al-saghīr*, i, 653). The opinions of certain early scholars that one-fifth was due on pearls, ambergris and other products of the sea, even fish, were not widely followed (Abū 'Ubayd al-Kāsim b. Sallām, *K. al-Amwāl*, ed. Fikī, ed. Cairo, 345-8; cf. *K. al-Kharāj*, 70).

The label *khums* is also found in other senses. Loosely related to the *khums* on booty is the early use of the term *takhmīs* in N. Africa for the taking of Berber captives for the service of the state, such slaves being termed *akhmās* (Hopkins, *Medieval Muslim government in Barbary*, 27-8; Dozy, *Suppl.*, i, 404). In Egypt the term *khums* was applied to a tax of variable percentage, apparently of Fātimid origin, that was imposed on the sale by foreign merchants of imported merchandise (H. Rabie, *The financial system of Egypt*, London 1972, 90-3).

Bibliography: In addition to references in the text, see Muḥammad al-Fāṭih, *Ahkām wa-āthār al-khums fi 'l-iktisād al-islāmī, dirāsa mukāwana*, Cairo 1988; Najib Abdul Wahhab al-Filī, *A critical edition of Kitāb al-Amwāl by Abū Ja'far b. Naṣr al-Dāwūdī* (d. 401/H), Ph.D. diss., Exeter University, 1989, unpubl., Arab. 3-24, English 78-94; Ibn al-'Arabī, *Ahkām al-Kur'ān*, ed. al-Bidjāwī, Cairo 1387/1967, ii, 823-8, 843-54; 'Uṭmān Ibn Fūdī, *Bayān wuḍūḥ al-hidjra 'alā 'l-ibād*, ed. El Masri, Khartoum 1978, 90-2, tr. 112-14; Ibn Hazm, *al-Muḥallā*, ed. al-Bindārī, Beirut n.d., v, 385ff.; Ibn Rushd, *Bidāyat al-muḍtāhid*, ed. Cairo, i, 332-3, tr. I.A.K. Nyazee, *The distinguished jurist's primer*, London 1994, i, 466-8; Faraj b. Ḥasan al-Imrān al-Kaṭīfī, *al-Khums 'alā 'l-madhāhib al-khamsa*, Nadjaf 1961 (elementary); *al-Mawṣū'a al-fikhiyya*, Kuwayt 1400-/1980-, xi, 59-62 (*takhmīs*), xx, 10-21 (*khums*), xxiii, 98-108 (*rikāz*); Ṭahāwī, *Sharḥ ma'ānī al-āthār*, ed. al-Nadjdjār and Dīād al-Hakk, Beirut 1414/1994, iii, 293-6 (epistle of 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz on *ḥay'* and booty, also in al-Mallā, *al-Kitāb al-djāmī li-sīrat 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz*, ed. al-Burnū, Beirut 1416/1996, i, 300-05; cf. Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, *Sīrat 'Umar b. 'Abd al-*

'Azīz, ed. 'Ubayd, Damascus 1385/1966, 96); N.P. Aghnides, *Mohammedan theories of finance*, New York 1916, 409-21; M. Ḥamīdullāh, *Muslim conduct of state*, Lahore 1945, 237-42; W.F. Madelung, *The Hāshimīyyāt of al-Kumayt and Hāshimī Shī'ism*, in *Stud. Isl.*, lxx (1989), 5-26; M.A.S. Siddiqi, *Early development of zakat law and ijtihad*, Karachi 1403/1983 (index); J.B. Simonsen, *Studies in the genesis and early development of the caliphal taxation system*, Copenhagen 1988, 63-7. (A. Zysow)

2. In Shī'ism.

Imāmī and Zaydī Shī'ī jurisprudence concerning *khums* differ in significant ways from those outlined in Sunnī *fiqh*. The wealth liable for *khums*, the means of its collection and distribution and the constitution of the recipient categories (*asnāf*) form the major topics of debate within both juristic traditions. The main Kur'ānic reference is VIII, 41 ("Know that what you acquire, a fifth is for God, his Prophet, the near relatives, orphans, the needy and the wayfarer"). Whilst Sunnī exegetes consider this verse to relate to war booty (*ghanima* [q.v.]), Imāmī and Zaydī writers associate the phrase *annamā ghanimtum* ("what you acquire") to refer to wealth more generally.

In the Imāmī tradition, there are reports to support such a definition. "Everything from which the people gain benefit is *ghanima*," the Imām al-Riḍā (d. 203/818) is reported as saying. A number of *akhbār* refer to the Imām's original ownership of the world and its produce (e.g. "all the earth is ours, and what God brings forth from it is also ours," al-Kulaynī [d. 328/939], *Kāfi*, i, 408). The *khums*, therefore, was analogous to a tenant's payment of a fixed percentage of the harvest to the landowner.

Since the Kur'ānic verse appears in the midst of a discussion of war, some exegetical effort was required to reinforce this interpretation. This normally began with a grammatical analysis of the term *ghanima* and the verb *ghanima* (see al-Tūsī [d. 460/1067], *Mabsūt*, ii, 64, where the verb means "acquiring something with the purpose of turning it to profitable use"). This was supported by other *akhbār* (e.g. "a fifth of the earth is ours, and a fifth of all things is ours," al-Tūsī, *Tahdhīb*, iv, 123).

The items liable for *khums* were defined in both collections of *akhbār* and works of *fiqh*. In the earliest works of *fiqh*, the discussions formed part of the *kitāb al-zakāt* or occasionally *kitāb al-ḥay' wa 'l-ghanima*; a separate *kitāb al-khums* (located after the *kitāb al-zakāt*) later became the norm (see e.g. Muḥammad b. Makkī, al-Shahīd al-Awwal (d. 786/1384), *al-Lum'a al-dimashkiyya*, 45-6). The earliest categorisation of taxable wealth comprised booty, produce of the sea, buried treasure, minerals and *malāḥa*. The last term, obscure in reference, was interpreted through juristic reasoning and the citation of other *akhbār* to refer to profit (from trade, agriculture and craft), *dhimmī* land bought by a Muslim and "ḥalāl goods mixed with ḥarām ones". This made seven categories in all (see such a categorisation in al-Muḥakkik [d. 676/1277], *Sharā'ī*, i, 179-81). These categories, once established, remained remarkably stable in the subsequent tradition.

When present, the Imām receives and distributes the *khums* (though he may, it seems, appoint a representative). The *khums*, following Kur'ān, VIII, 41, is distributed amongst the six categories mentioned (God, the Prophet, the near relatives, the orphans, the needy and the wayfarers). A minority of jurists argued that the shares of God and the Prophet were actually one (hence there are five not six recipients,



see Zayn al-Dīn 'Alī al-Shahīd al-Thānī [d. 966/1588], *Masālik*, ii, 470), but this opinion was not popular. The juristic reasoning (authoritatively summed up in the later tradition by al-Nadjafi's [d. 1266/1850] commentary on al-Muhakkik's *Sharā'i'*: al-Nadjafi, *Djawāhir*, iv, 1-102) proceeded as follows: God's share was clearly owned by the Prophet, and he could dispose of it as he saw fit. After the Prophet's death, the two shares (of God and the Prophet) were, through inheritance, due to the Imām. The share of the "near relatives" was also due to the Imām, since they were the heads of the *ahl al-bayt* after the Prophet's death. The Imām, when present, was, then, due half the *khums*. The remaining shares were distributed by the Imām. The verse might indicate that the orphans, needy and wayfarers were from the population generally (as argued by Ibn Ḥamza [living in 566/1170] in his *al-Wasīla*, 718), though most jurists argued that these three categories applied to the family of the Prophet (the Banū Hāshim). A minority also argued that descendants of Hāshim's brother (Muṭṭalib) were also included (analogous to the *sayyid* status of descendants of both al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn; see Zayn al-Dīn 'Alī al-Shahīd al-Thānī, *Sharh al-lum'a al-dimashkiyya*, 57-8), but this did not become the influential position.

The absence of the Imām through occultation provided the jurists with an opportunity to link the discussion with the vexed issue of community leadership during the *ghayba* [q.v.]. Was *khums* during the *ghayba* lapses (*sākūt*) because the Imām could not collect it in person (a view attributed to Salār al-Daylamī [d. 463/1071])? This position was rejected quite early on in the tradition. Other solutions were proposed, such as burying one's *khums* in anticipation of the Imām's return (attributed to Ibn Barrādjī [d. 481/1099]) or placing the *khums* in a perpetual will, until the Imām's return. Some jurists (Ibn Idrīs [d. 598/1202], *Sarā'ir*, i, 502-4) maintained that the option of a will applied only to the Imām's share (i.e. one half). The remaining three shares are distributed to the recipients (perhaps by the individual himself). Ibn Idrīs's assertion that the Imām's share must be preserved, pending his return, was not developed further. For al-Muhakkik, the Imām had given the Shī'a permission (*iḍhān*) to use his property generally, and his *khums* specifically, during his absence. This did not constitute using a person's property without permission. The *khums*, according to al-Muhakkik, was distributed by "the one who possesses authority through delegation (*niyāba*)" (*Sharā'i'*, i, 184). Al-'Allāma al-Hillī (d. 726/1325) identified the person as *al-hākīm* (a reference to *al-hākīm al-shar'i*, sc. a member of the *fukahā'*). These terminological shifts became more nuanced until the time of the Ṣafawid jurist, al-Sabzawārī (d. 1090/1679), who wrote that the *khums* should be given to "the worthy recipients through the auspices of the just *fakīh* who is qualified to give *fatwās*" (*Kāfīya*, 45); that is, the *muḍtahihs* should receive and distribute the *khums*. This continues to be the position up to the present day. Naturally, those '*ulamā'*' who were also *sayyids* benefited financially, but, more importantly, the authority of the *fukahā'* (as in other areas of *furū'*) was enhanced. The contributions obviously aided the independence of the '*ulamā'*' from the Kādjār state, and may have provided part of the financial base for the '*ulamā'*' opposition movement in 20th-century Iran.

Zaydī discussions of *khums* bear some similarities to both Imāmī and Sunnī views. The important work, *al-Azhār*, of the Zaydī Aḥmad b. Yaḥyā al-Murtaḍā (d. 836/1432), provides a useful summary of three categories of produce liable for *khums*: the produce of

the "land and sea" (*al-barr wa 'l-baḥr*), war booty and the ongoing revenue after a campaign. This represents an expansion of the Sunnī system of categorisation. In the subsequent commentaries on *al-Azhār*, Zaydī jurists (e.g. Ibn Miṭāḥ [d. 877/1472] and al-Shawkānī [d. 1250/1834]) elaborated on this brief explanation. The produce of the land and sea included the produce gained from fishing and farming (with some restrictions) as well as precious stones and metals obtained through mining. Also included was treasure (*kunūz*) found by the Muslim but buried during the *ḍiḥlī* period. War booty encompassed the booty from wars with both non-Muslims (*ahl al-ḥarb*) and non-Zaydī Muslims (*ahl al-baḥy*). The ongoing revenue after a campaign included produce from land seized from the enemy, the *kharāḍj* (land-tax) and the *ḍjūza* (the tax on non-Muslim communities living under Muslim control). It might be argued that Zaydī jurists envisaged an even larger amount of revenue as liable to *khums* than their Imāmī counterparts.

In Zaydī *fikh*, the *khums* is to be transferred to the Imām when he demands it. When there is no legitimate Imām in power, the *Azhār* records that the (Zaydī) Muslims must collect and distribute it themselves. The governance of an Imām does not affect the duty to give and distribute *khums*. The continued existence of a Zaydī Imām (though with limited suzerainty and disputed identity) did not encourage the discussion of delegation (*niyāba*) characteristic of the Imāmī tradition.

The distribution of *khums*, according to the Zaydīs, should be according to the established six categories of recipients. For al-Hārūnī (d. 424/1032), God's share is to be spent by the Imām on general benefits, such as mosques and roads (*maṣāliḥ*). The Prophet's share goes to the Imām who can spend it on his family, home and servants. The near-relatives' share is distributed, without regard for age, wealth or sex, to the descendants of the Prophets (with a broad definition of which lines of descent are to be included). The only restriction is that the descendants must recognise the Zaydī Imām (*mutamassik bi 'l-hakk li-imām al-muslimīn*). The three portions for the orphans, needy and wayfarers of the Prophet's descendants can be diverted if there are no such persons within the Prophet's descendants. First, the portions are available for the descendants of the Prophet. If unexhausted, the portions are distributed amongst the *muhājirūn*; if not, then amongst the *ansār*, and if not these last, then amongst the orphans, needy and wayfarers of the rest of the Muslim community (al-Hārūnī, *Tahrīr*, i, 166). Though Zaydī thought on *khums* bears some resemblance to Imāmī *fikh* (e.g. the expansion of the definition of goods liable for *khums*), it avoids the contentious issues of '*ulamā'*' authority present in the Imāmī tradition.

The Ismā'īlī Shī'ī tradition produced very little in terms of juristic literature, but one can conclude that, in terms of *khums*, it was much closer to the Sunnis than either Zaydī or Imāmī *fikh*. In al-Kāḍī al-Nu'mān's (d. 363/974 [q.v.]) *Da'ā'im al-Islām*, *khums* is discussed in the context of the *kitāb al-djihad*, mainly through citations of reports from Imām 'Alī. The implication is that *khums* is only due on war booty. The resultant jurisprudence could fit well within the Sunnī *ikhtilāf* [q.v.] on the issue.

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KHURĀFA [see **ḤIKĀYA**. I].

KHUWWA (colloquial A., said to be of Najdī origin, Barthélemy, 224), also *khāwa*, both from the root *kh-w* (Landberg, 71-2): terms used in the Syrian desert, its borderlands, and northern Arabia to refer to certain payments levied by the Bedouin (references in Henninger, 34-36). In these highly Bedouinised areas even tribute paid by one sedentary group to another was sometimes called *khāwa* (Musil, *Ar. Petr.*, iii, 67, 69; *Mid. Euphr.*, 72); in Syria the term *khūwva* might also refer to a relationship of mutual assistance between an urban notable and a Bedouin *shaykh* (details in Oppenheim, ii, 65).

Wallin (122, 129) reported that *khāwa* was levied by almost all "genuine Bedouin tribes". Like Zakariyyā he distinguishes three groups who paid it: villagers, weak nomadic tribes (especially those not considered to be true Bedouin, for instance the *shāwiya* [q.v.]), and people crossing the desert (merchants, carriers, travellers). The Bedouin look on the regions where they live as being divided into tribal territories, and Wallin suggested that the payments to a tribe were made in exchange for the right to be in the territory of that tribe and to enjoy its protection. The degree of protection offered varied greatly: a village might receive no more from its "protectors" than the temporary cessation of their depredations, while a client tribe or a caravan might receive not merely protection against robbery and other offences (when committed by members of the protecting tribe, and sometimes at least also in other cases), but even indemnification. *Khūwva* was paid (in cash or kind) to the *shaykh* or leading men of the Bedouin tribe. Some tributaries paid a fixed amount collected annually in an orderly fashion, but villagers often had nomadic "brothers" whose brutal *khūwva*-collecting visits were scarcely distinguishable from raids (Schumacher, 144, offers an eye-witness account). For certain tribes—or for certain tribesmen—tribute must have been an important source of income (see Musil, *Ar. Petr.*, iii, 52-3 for an example); and at least in some instances, the right to *khūwva* from a particular source was assignable (Lancaster, 122).

As governments became stronger during the 19th and 20th centuries, they were able to suppress exactions of this kind; and though *khūwva* was still being paid in a remote corner of Lebanon as late as the

1960s (al-Rā'ī, 46), it may now be assumed to be a thing of the past.

It seems that *khūwva* and words from the same root are, when used to refer to payments of some kind, confined to the Maṣbrik (though such terms are alleged to have been used in North Africa to refer to something related to tribute, see Abu-Lughod, 82, and Dunn, 76); but the practice of paying tribute to powerful nomadic tribes was once well-nigh universal in the Arab world [see **HIMĀYA**, ii (I) (3) (b)]. The terms most widely used in the Maṣbrik appear to be *khafāra* [q.v.] or *ghafāra* and other words from the same roots (Pröbster, 395); words from these roots in the same and related senses are also common in the Maṣbrik (Combe; Dozy, *Suppl.*, i, 386, ii, 217-18). Other terms are also attested in North Africa. Thus in the Western Desert of Egypt and in Cyrenaica, the Sa'ādī tribes, who claimed that the land was theirs, used to receive a payment called *sadaka* from the subordinate Bedouin known as the *mrāḥīn al-ṣudkān* (Djawharī, 172; Peters, 41), while in the Western Sahara the tribute paid by inferior to superior tribes went by the names of *hurma* and *gharāma* (and also *ghafar*), to say nothing of other words that referred to payments exacted from sedentary populations (Caro Baroja, 34-42; Stewart, 56-8).

Khūwva is not sanctioned by Islamic law, and the tribute paid by settlements and nomadic tribes to pious rulers such as those of the Ibn Rashīd dynasty of Ḥā'il was not called *khūwva* (pace Al Rasheed, 113-15), but rather *zakāt* [q.v.] (Euting, ii, index s.v. *zēkā*; Musil, *N. Negd.*, 4; Za'arūr, 99-100).

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KIRGIZSTAN, KIRGIZSTAN (official designations, Kyrgyzstan, Kyrgyz Respublikasy), the smallest of the five Central Asian republics emerging from the collapse of the Soviet Union, with an area of 198,500 km² (77,415 sq. miles), and with boundaries adjoining China 858 km, Kazakhstan 1051 km, Tajikistan 870 km and Uzbekistan 1099 km. Kyrgyzstan is landlocked, like most of its neighbours. In 1999 it had a population of 4,823 million, its ethnic composition at various points in the 20th century being shown in Table 1 as percentages of the whole population.

Russians are concentrated in the capital and in the north, Uzbeks in the south (Ösh and Djalälābād provinces). Changes in the ethnic composition of the Kyrgyzstani population are explained by much lower fertility among the Russians and other Europeans and massive outmigration of the "European" groups since the late 1980s. In the earlier Soviet period, the drop in the Kyrgyz population was linked to the crisis following collectivisation.

Kyrgyz, the official language, belongs to the north-western group of Turkic languages [see TURKS. II (v), and for Kyrgyz literature, III. 6 (e)]. Russian was declared an official language in territories and work places where Russian dominates in March 1996, and is now termed the "language of inter-ethnic communication". Uzbek is granted no official status. The capital has been called Bishkek since 1993 (750,000 inhabitants in 1999), Frunze in Soviet times since 1926, and Pishpek [q.v.] before then. Other towns include Talas [see TARĀZ] in the northwest and Ösh and Özkend [q.v.] in the Farghāna valley. Regarding natural resources, Kyrgyzstan, as a mountainous country, is rich in water and has a high potential in hydro-electric power (Toktogul dam on the Naryn river, built 1962-75). Coal was mined for Central Asian consumption. After independence, gold has been deemed to be worthwhile exploiting (the Komtur gold field).

The country is divided into two main geographic zones by the Tien Shan mountains, with their highest peaks in the far eastern corner (Pik Pobedy, Žengish Cokusu, 7,439 m), and the Pamir Alai range. To the north, the hills slope down to the great steppe zone of Semirečye [see YETI SU], to the south, they border on the Farghāna valley [see FARGHĀNA]. Most of Kyrgyzstan is thus mountainous (40% of it over 3,200 m/10,000 feet). Arable land makes up a mere 7% of the area, whereas pastures account for more than 40%.

1. Pre-colonial history.

The area where the Kyrgyz Republic is situated was never defined as a political unit before Soviet times. It was, however, at the centre of the Karakhānid khānate [see ILEK-KHĀNS] from the 4th/10th to the 7th/13th centuries, and the khāns had one of their capitals at Bālāsaghūn [q.v.] with an appanage centre at Özkend, both situated within the boundaries of present-day Kyrgyzstan. A first wave of Islamisation occurred during this period; before, Buddhism, Nestorian Christianity and local cults prevailed. After the Mongol invasions, the area was part of the Čaghatay ulus [see MOGHOLISTĀN], and Islam receded as a consequence, primarily in the northern part of the country, remaining strong, however, in the Farghāna valley. It is not altogether clear when ethnic Kyrgyz came to the region; this point depends on whether the different groups thus called can be

seen as ethnically and linguistically continuous [see KIRGHIZ]. At any rate, many of the former Moghol/Čaghatayid subjects now became known as Kyrgyz. The second wave of Islamisation among these people began in the late 16th century, but Islamisation was apparently still going on under the influence of Kokand [see KHOKAND] in the 19th century.

2. The Russian colonial period.

The Russian advance into what is now Kyrgyzstan was aided by a number of Kyrgyz delegations to St. Petersburg and to the Russian authorities in Siberia asking for help against the Khokand khānate, which, by 1830 had gained at least formal authority over the Kyrgyz tribes. In 1862, Kyrgyz contingents fought alongside Russian soldiers to take the fort of Pishpek, and when Russia liquidated the Khokand khānate in 1876, all of the Kyrgyz tribes had formally submitted to Russian rule (V.M. Ploskih, *Kirgizi i kokand-skoe khanstvo*, Frunze 1977). The area they inhabited fell into the Governorates of the Steppes and of Turkistan, and there was continuous reshuffling of the administrative organisation. Russian rule at first did not deeply affect local affairs, but this changed soon with the influx of settlers into the Semirečye region (northern Kyrgyzstan); migration reached its highest levels in the years immediately preceding World War I. In the Semirečye, between 1903 and 1913 about 4.5 million ha were allotted to settlers, thus provoking a drop of about one quarter in livestock. Land issues, as well as ethnic conflicts and accelerated social differentiation among the Kyrgyz, are seen behind the great steppe uprising in 1916, which was triggered by a decree to recruit local people as labourers in support of Russia's war effort. The rebellion was crushed, leaving an unknown number of Kyrgyz dead; about a third of the Kyrgyz population is said to have fled to China, partly returning after the Revolution in 1917. Again, the Kyrgyz herds decreased by about 60% (D. Brower, *Kyrgyz nomads and Russian pioneers. Colonization and ethnic conflict in the Turkestan revolt of 1916*, in *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas*, N.F., xlv [1996], 41-53).

3. Soviet times.

The Russian Revolution provoked the creation of new Kyrgyz and Kyrgyz/Kazak organisations; at first, locals were reluctant to participate in the institutions created by Russians. Local ("Muslim") organisations included the Alash Orda [see KAZAKSTAN, in Suppl.], *Shūrā-yi islāmiyya* (founded in Khokand in April 1917) and *Bukarā* (from Ar. *fukarā* "paupers"). National demands came to the fore, and federal structures were demanded in a number of meetings (e.g. the First All-Russian Muslim Conference held at Moscow in May 1917). All of them were intent on preserving local interests, above all regarding the land question, against Russian encroachments.

During the civil war, Kyrgyzstan changed masters several times. The "Turkistan Autonomy" (November 1917-February 1918) was a short-lived attempt at creating a state structure in the Farghāna valley and one of the origins of the Basmachi guerilla movement, which became strong enough to pose a threat to Ösh, Djalälābād and Naryn in late 1919. In the north, Alash Orda struggled between Whites and Reds to conserve a measure of regional autonomy. But in the end, Mikhail Frunze led the Red Army to success.

In April 1918 the territory of the Kyrgyz was included into the Turkestan Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic. Only in 1922 was the question of a separate representation of the Kyrgyz raised; until then, the ethnonym "Kyrgyz" had denoted those peo-



Table 1

Year	Kyrgyz	Russian	Uzbek	Other groups	Others
1924	63.5	16.8	15.4	Kazak 1.3	3.5
1970	45	30	11.3	Ukrainians 4	4.5
				Germans 3	
				Tatars 2.3	
1989	52.4	21.5	12.9	Ukrainians 2.5	7.7
				Germans 2.4	
				Tatars 1.6	
1999	64.9	12.5	13.8	Ukrainians 1.0	6.5
				Germans 0.4	
				Tatars 0.9	

ple whom we presently know as Kazak, whereas the "real" Kyrgyz were called either Karakyrghyz "Black Kyrgyz" or otherwise, but in any case, were linked to the Kazaks. First, some former Alash members (now within the Bolshevik party) worked for the creation of a "Kara-Kyrgyz Autonomous Mountain District", arguing that the splitting of the Kyrgyz over several administrative units was detrimental to their development as a nation. The district was to include the northern foothills as well. This move was at first viewed positively by party and state organs, but quashed later in 1922. Thus, the "Kara Kyrgyz" had to wait until the national demarcation (*razmeževanie*) in the second half of 1924 (the date retained was the decision taken by the Central Executive Committee of the USSR—TsIK SSSR—on 27 October 1924); this process provided them, for the first time in their recorded history, with a state-like structure in the form of an "autonomous district" (*avtonomnaya oblast*) within the Russian Federation (not the Kazak ASSR). Soon afterwards, the structure was promoted into an Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic (ASSR), still within the Russian Federation (1 February 1926). Status as a full member of the Soviet Union was achieved when the new Soviet Constitution was proclaimed on 5 December 1936, which counted eleven republics, among them the Kirgiz Soviet Socialist Republic.

Until then, the country had undergone significant change in line with the general evolution (for better or worse) within the Soviet Union. For the nomadic Kyrgyz the collectivisation of agricultural land (for which a ruthless campaign was launched in 1929) meant that they were forced to settle (R. Eisener, *"Konterrevolution auf dem Lande"*. *Zur inneren Sicherheitslage in Mittelasien 1929/30 aus der Sicht der OGPU*, Berlin 1999 [ANOR, no. 6]). This again meant a sharp drop in livestock (from 3.8 million to 2.3 million in 1931-2; sheep and goats dropped from 3.1 million in 1924 to just under 1 million in 1932; livestock reached the levels of the late 1920s again only by the 1950s or later) and widespread famine; though the Kazak steppe regions were hardest hit, Kyrgyzstan also was a disaster area. Repression was rampant; in 1932 during tax collection, more than 100 persons were shot (*U istokov kirgizskoy natsional'noy gosudarstvennosti*, Bishkek 1996, 121). No reliable figures are available for human losses in this period, but they must have been massive. Hence by 1940, almost all Kyrgyz farmers worked on collective or state farms.

In 1938, as in other parts of the Soviet Union, the local intelligentsia was physically destroyed together with the "old guard" of revolutionaries. This included

some of the former Alash members who were involved in the affairs surrounding the "Social Turan Party".

Industrialisation was one of the main targets of Soviet development policies, and during the first Five-Year Plans, coal mining was developed, but also metal working and industries related to the agricultural production of the country (textiles, foodstuffs, meat). Nevertheless, Kyrgyzstan has remained a largely agricultural country.

In the post-Stalin period (beginning with the XXth Congress of the CPSU in 1956), developments in Kyrgyzstan closely followed the general Soviet pattern. This meant that a precarious balance was established by the Republic's leadership between utter devotion to the centre and the slow but irresistible localisation of decision making, using patron-client relationships to a very large extent (O. Roy, *The new Central Asia. The creation of nations*, London 2000). These networks tend to have a regional basis; in Kyrgyzstan, this means the south-north divide. Whereas the last Soviet leaders were southerners, the new leadership is northern. During Turdakun Usunbaev's term as the party's first secretary (1961-85, when he was removed by the new leadership under Gorbachev), Kyrgyzstan was increasingly unable to attract new capital investment, and the republic was the second poorest part of the Soviet Union (after Tadjikistan).

4. Independence and after.

In the case of Kyrgyzstan, national independence was spurred by an outburst of communal violence in Osh between Kyrgyz and Uzbeks in the summer of 1990, with land shortages and poor representation of Uzbeks as background. This led to the election of an outsider as chairman to the Supreme Soviet (28 October 1990), Askar Akaev, who came to be the only president in the new Central Asian republics not to have held high party office before. Akaev was re-elected president on 24 December 1995 (75% of expressed votes) and again on 29 October 2000 (74.5% of expressed votes, but major competitors were prevented from running).

Kyrgyzstan won its independence on 31 August 1991. The country has made rapid moves towards democracy and a market-oriented economy, earning the label of "Central Asia's island of democracy"; this characterisation has been questioned since more autocratic features have appeared. Economically, crisis has bordered on collapse during the first years of independence, the GDP plummeting by around 45% in 1992-5, industrial production by nearly two-thirds and agriculture by around one-third. Again, as in other crises all through the 20th century, reduction in livestock numbers is a good indicator: sheep and goats



fell from 8,741,000 heads in 1993 to a mere 3,716,000 in 1997. Inflation has also been a major problem since the creation of a national currency, the *som*, in 1993; soaring up to more than 1000% in 1992-3, it has been down to 18% in 1998, rising again to 36% in 1999 in the aftermath of the financial crisis in Russia. In spite of this, the GDP was up by 3.6% in 1999, mainly due to over-average agricultural production. But economic prospects do not seem as bright now (2000-1) as in the latter 1990s.

Kyrgyzstan faces serious security problems, mainly in the Farghāna region. In 1999 and 2000, Islamists from northern Tadjikistan have made incursions into Kyrgyzstani territory. Previously, security had not been a priority issue for the Kyrgyzstani government, but in 2001, military expenditure was increased by 250%. Linked to this is the drug traffic (cannabis, but mostly opiates from Afghanistan and Tadjikistan), making Osh one of its major hubs in Central Asia. Other transnational problems include an increasing water problem (downstream Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan depend on water supplies from Kyrgyzstani sources; water demand has increased by over 25% during the last decade).

The nation-building process involves a re-interpretation of the past, focussing on attempts at statehood in the more distant past and a re-evaluation of the early Kyrgyz nationalists, including those who fell victim to the Stalinist purges.

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(J. PAUL)

KIRMĀNĪ, HĀDJDJ MUHAMMAD KARĪM KHĀN [see SHAYKHĪYYA. 2].

KISAKÜREK, Necip Fazıl (1905-83), Turkish poet who wrote metaphysical poems of anxiety, darkness, loneliness and death, and whose tone became progressively mystical and, at the end, dogmatically religious. Already a bohemian as a student of philosophy in Istanbul, he continued a life of gambling, drinking and womanising as he worked first as a bank inspector and then as a teacher at various post-secondary schools in Ankara. Meeting the Nakshbandī *sheykh* Abdülhakim Arvasi in 1934 became a turning point in his life by providing an answer in religion for his spiritual and intellectual crises. He quit his job in 1942 in order to devote all his time to writing and publishing. He published two journals: *Ağaç* ("Tree", 1936), and *Büyük doğu* ("The Great East", 1943-78). He was politically active in religious causes, and used especially *Büyük doğu* as an ideological platform.

Although he also wrote short stories, novels, monographs on as diverse topics as Imām 'Alī, 'Abd ūl-Hamid II and Nāmīk Kemāl, and plays of which the most noteworthy is *Bir adam yaratmak* ("To create a man", 1938), Kisaküre is first and foremost admired as a poet. With his first three books of poetry, he was hailed as a new voice in Turkish poetry. The tone of feverish nightmare in his early poems is created by striking, sometimes erotically charged images, by paradoxical metaphors of being and nothingness which dissolve into each other, and by experiments

with the lengths of syllables that play with the traditional syllabic measure of Turkish folk poetry. After his conversion, he publicly disowned all but a few of his previous poems. His lifelong goal was to create one definitive book which would include all of his poems. He achieved this with *Çile* ("Suffering", 1974), which has 385 poems. In his later poems, the tone is of impatient waiting for death because he believed that the terror of death and loneliness ended in dying and uniting with God. He defines a poem as a thought stated in emotional terms, and argues that the structure of a poem should be completely absorbed by the theme. Details of his life can be found in his two books of memoirs: *O ve ben* ("He and I", 1974) and *Babıali* (1975).

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(SİBEL EROL)

KİT'A (A.), pl. *kıta*, or *mukatta'a*, pl. *mukatta'āt*, literally "piece, part cut off from the whole, segment". As a literary concept *kıta* denotes a form of poetry.

1. In Arabic poetry

A *kıfa* or *mukatta'a* is a short monothematic poem or fragment of a poem, in contrast to the long (often polythematic) poem, the *kaşida* [q.v.]. The term *kıfa* can actually denote a piece or part of a longer poem (e.g. poetic quotes in anthologies) [see **MUKHTARĀT**]. However, it is, in particular, independent short poems that are named thus (in rare cases, they are also termed *kişār al-kaşā'id*; see al-Djāhiz, *K. al-Hayawān*, iii, 98). Western scholars usually equate *kaşida* and *kıfa* with polythematic and monothematic poems respectively, while indigenous Arab critics in general consider only the length of a poem as a criterion for distinguishing between the two forms (cf. van Gelder, *Brevity*, 79 f.). They could, however, never agree on the number of verses that determines the borderline between the two forms. Ibn Rashīk names seven or ten verses (*Umda*, i, 188-9) as the lower limit for a *kaşida*; other numbers are mentioned as well, however (cf. van Gelder, 79-80). According to the Arab, and in contradistinction to the Persian, critics, the non-existence, of an opening verse (*maftā'*) with internal rhyming (*tasrī'*) does not count as a criterion for the *kıfa*. As a matter of fact, there are more than enough *kıfas* containing such opening verses even in the earliest times. Thoughts as to the purpose for which the ancient Arabs preferred short poems have already been formulated within the context of pre-systematic criticism. Abū 'Amr b. al-'Alā' and al-Khalīl b. Aḥmad [q.v.] are said to have remarked on this: they were used whenever a poem had to be memorised. Others think that the *kıfa* is especially useful for expressing disputes, proverbs and jests (cf. Ibn Rashīk, i, 186).

Kıfas can be found in almost every *diwān* of poetry and in numerous other works dealing with poetry and other topics (*inter alia* in the *qyyām al-'Arab*, and also in many historical works, such as Ibn Hishām's *Sīra*, al-Tabarī's *Ta'rikh*, and al-Balādhuri's *Ansāb al-ashraf*). The *kıfa* is not subject to any thematic limitations. A classification and characterisation of the contents



of the *kifˆa* among the ancient Arabs has been offered by Alfred Bloch. His principle of classification is the degree of the poem's "distance from life or from specific situations in life". As a result, the different categories are: (1) work-songs or songs that accompany a certain action (no or little "distance from life"; poetry of the moment); (2) poems containing a proclamation or message (medium distance from life; poetry of the occasion); (3) poems expressing a sentiment of life and poems of remembrance (timeless artistic poetry). (A group of verses of categories nos. 2 and 3 may form the final part of category no. 4, the *kašida*.)

Category no. 1 is an impromptu poem of the moment, very often composed in the easiest metre, *radjˆaz*. Mainly war cries belong to this category, in addition to songs for round dances to which mothers let their children dance, and work-songs in the narrower sense that accompany real activities (rarely ever transmitted) (cf. Ullmann, *Untersuchungen*, 18 ff.). The contents of the war poems is mostly self-praise: "I am Ibn Wars, horseman without pusillanimity, who through his courage inspires admiration, who advances boldly when the weakling retreats, and on the day of horror with the sword I strike the towering (adversarial) hero until he falls" (al-Balādhuri, *Ansāb*, v, 268, 6).

Category no. 2 is most abundantly represented in ancient Arabic poetry and is, according to Bloch, its most characteristic genre. In proclamation poems the poet expresses his opinion on a certain event; they are occasional poems born out of daily life, "pamphlet verses", the contents of which are valid for a considerable amount of time. Since they are mostly disputes with distant opponents, many of them are composed as messages: (*a-lā*) *abligh banī fulān* "send word to the Banū X that . . .", or (*a-lā*) *man mublighˆam annī fulān* "who will send word from me to X that . . ."; numerous others present themselves as reactions to messages that have arrived: *nubbītu anna* "it has been brought to my knowledge that . . .". As to content, these are poems of warning, blame (especially for poor hospitality), triumph, justification, challenge to blood revenge, etc. "To the Banū Dhuhl bring now . . . the message, that, as an atonement for your slaying of al-Mukannā, we have slain ʿUbayda and Abu ʿl-Djulāh. If you consider the matter settled now, then so will we; if not, the points of our lances [will await you]—[they are] pointed—and sharp swords, shining bright, cutting off heads and fingers" (*Sharh Diwān al-Ḥamāsa*, recension of al-Marzūki, ii, 772, no. 259).

All poems in which the poet does not express his opinion on a certain event are subsumed by Bloch under category no. 3: the poems in which he puts in words, let us say, his view of life or remembers bygone pleasures and deeds of youth, or puts forward aphorisms about the transitoriness of life and all sorts of other practical wisdom (sententious poetry), or praises himself or his tribe without referring to a specific deed, etc. According to Bloch, most of the (monothematic) self-praise and praise poems are to be put into this category, because, in general, they have not been brought about by a specific event.

While this categorisation may still be sufficient for pre-Islamic and early Islamic poetry—it has, however, been criticised in that the dirge (*marthiya*) has not found its appropriate place therein (Wagner, *Grundzüge*, i, 68-9; Borg, *Mit Poesie*, 222-3)—it no longer covers the genres that came into being at the time of the Umayyads (and partly earlier) and unfolded their full potential at the time of the ʿAbbāsids. This new sys-

tem is composed of genres that have, with good reason, been classified and named by the indigenous critics and, subsequently, by Western scholars primarily according to their topics (*ghazal* = love poetry; *khamriyya* = wine poetry, etc.). However, the topic often has additional characteristics of a genre-differentiating nature (e.g. the metre *radjˆaz* in hunting poems). According to their purely formal definition, poems belonging to the new genres are divided by the indigenous critics and editors of *diwāns* into *kašidas* and *kifˆas*, depending on their length. This procedure shows up most prominently in Ḥamza al-Isfahānī's chapter headings of his recension of Abū Nuwās's *diwān* (e.g. *al-bāb al-sābiʿ fi ʿl-zuhdiyyāt wa-fīhi 20 kašidarˆum wa-mukattaʿatˆum*; *al-bāb al-tāsiʿ fi ʿl-khamriyyāt . . . yašhtamilu ʿalā 323 kašidarˆum wa-mukattaʿatˆum*, etc.). The poems of the new genres are often short; there are, however, also very long poems, sometimes even containing several parts, which can especially be found among the *khamriyyāt*. These poems may also be seen as approaching the praise *kašida* in their structure (they have—albeit seldom—a *nasīb*, or—very often—a parody of a *nasīb* as a prologue; the *raḥil* can also be found). Among the so-called neo-classical poets (Abū Tammām, al-Buḥturī and al-Mutanabbī) the short poems, although abundant, stand entirely in the shadow of their *kašida* poetry. However, there are cases like Abū Tammām's *ghazaliyyāt*, whose importance should not be underestimated (see Bauer, *Abū Tammām's Contribution*, 13 ff.). Most of them are short and it is noteworthy that pieces consisting of four verses are particularly numerous (cf. *ibid.*, 18-19; Seidensticker, *Die Herkunft*, 920). In al-Mutanabbī's *diwān* one can find numerous short poems addressing more than one theme; al-Wāhidī, in his commentary, criticises two *kifˆas* that contain sundry descriptions—a genre not mastered by al-Mutanabbī, according to him (*Diwān*, ed. Dieterici, 774). The themes of *kifˆas* from the 3rd/9th to the 5th/11th century are extremely varied. Next to the short poems of the now established new genres one can find pieces that in their themes are close to the epigrams of late antiquity: descriptions (Ar. *awṣāf*; sing *waṣf* [q.v.], Greek *ekphrasis*) of a large variety of objects (especially in Ibn al-Rūmī, Kuṣṣādīm, al-Sarī al-Raffāʿ and al-Maʿmūnī), descriptions of flowers and gardens (*zahrīyyāt* [q.v.] (in Ibn al-Rūmī, Ibn al-Muʿtazz and al-Ṣanawbarī; especially in the latter, one can also find long garden poems), reflective poetry (especially in Ibn al-Rūmī), jesting, riddles, requests for gifts, mockery, blame, excuses, thank-you notes, requests, invitations, etc. In Ibn al-Muʿtazz's praise poetry one can find a remarkably large amount of short pieces; al-Maʿarri, finally, in his philosophical poems (*luḏūmiyyāt*) chooses the short form of the *kifˆa* as often as its long form.

2. In Persian literature

The Persian critics define the *kifˆa* or *mukattaʿa* as a poem that has the same metre and rhyme throughout, and the opening verse (*matlaʿ*) of which does not contain internal rhyming (*taṣrīʿ*). Most often, two verses are named as the minimum amount whereas there is no upper limit as to the number of verses (Dihkhudā, s.v. *kifˆa*; Rückert-Pertsch, 64). This means that the length of a poem, which for the Arabs is its decisive feature, has been completely abandoned as a criterion. As with the Arabic *kifˆa* the choice of topic is arbitrary.

As can be expected, *kifˆas* are found already among the poems of the oldest Neo-Persian poets (from Muḥammad b. Waṣīf via Rūdākī up to Manūčīhrī). A sizeable number of the short poems of these old



poets, however, begin with a *maṭla'* that contains a *layrī*, hence cannot be counted as *kiṭ'as*. Such is the case with the whole of Manūčihri's wine and love poems (ed. de Biberstein Kazimirski, nos. 3, 4, 34, 69-75, 77-83, 85, 90, 92). Terminological *kiṭ'as* occur much more rarely in Manūčihri. In the *diwāns* of poets beginning in the 5th/11th century the *kiṭ'as* often occupy their own more or less voluminous chapter. Famous for their *kiṭ'as* are Anwarī (d. 587/1191 at the latest [q.v.]) and especially Ibn-i Yamīn (d. 769/1368 [q.v.]). Anwarī's *diwān* contains a very large chapter comprising them. These are of extraordinary variety in their topics: in addition to praise, blame, mockery, threat, request (especially frequent is the request for wine), thanks, mourning, congratulation, complaint, description of personal circumstances (*ḥasb-i ḥāl*), one finds advice, admonishment, maxims, and reflective poems (occurring very frequently), jesting, epistles, riddles, chronograms, *munāzaras*, and many others, among them very unusual topics, for instance, a poem about toothache, in which the word "tooth" occurs in every verse. Descriptions are remarkably rare; there are, however, a few descriptions of banquets and palaces. Poems containing 20 and even 30 verses do occur. As for the *kiṭ'as* of Ibn-i Yamīn who, all in all, is considered the most important Persian *kiṭ'a* poet, see the article on this poet. The *diwān* of Ḥāfiẓ [q.v.] also contains a small section of *kiṭ'as*; in addition to the usual themes (praise, mourning, longing, wine, chronograms, maxims, congratulations, request for a reward, etc.), there are also some more remarkable poems like the one in which Ḥāfiẓ describes in many verses the loss of his poetic powers, which can only be restored by the ruler's grace. Kamāl Khudjandī's and Djamī's [q.v.] *kiṭ'as* are predominantly short. Most of them consist of only two verses, a peculiarity that is not found in the *kiṭ'as* of Kamāl's contemporary Ḥāfiẓ. Djamī's three *diwāns* contain altogether only 128 *kiṭ'as*; thematically, these do not offer anything out of the ordinary. It has been remarked, however, that Djamī's "advice and admonishments" (*pand u mau'izā*) are mostly of a sarcastic and pessimistic character, since, in any case, the *kiṭ'as* of this epoch are critical of society and complain about the upheavals of the day (H. Riḍā, in his introduction to the *Diwān-i kāmīl-i Djamī*, Tehran 1341/1962, 84).

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KITĀBA [see *INSHĀ'*; *KĀTIB*; *KHATT'*].

KOČO (Khocho, Chotscho, Kōsō) (Uyghur; in Chinese Kao-Ch'ang), also known as Idikut-shahri, and locally as "Asus (Ephesus), the town of Dakyānūs", i.e. the Roman emperor Decius (regn. 249-51) [see *AṢḤĀB AL-KAḤF*] (cf. A. Von Le Coq, *Auf Hellas' Spuren*, 41), the name of an Uyghur state (850-1250) and of an ancient, walled city, now in ruins,

adjoining Karakhodja in the desert to the east of Turfan [q.v.] in Eastern Sinkiang Uyghur Autonomous Region, China.

According to Von Gabain, the name is neither Turkish nor Chinese, but an ancient, indigenous one, meaning "highly brilliant". In the 7th century A.D. the Kočo state reached as far east as Tunhuang in Kansu [q.v.], famous for its "Cave of the Thousand Buddhas", and its "Jade Gate" (Chin. Yü-mön-kuan), where all the traffic between China and the West had to pass. In the north this state included the so-called "Four Garrisons", i.e. Bishbalik [q.v.], Kuča, Karashahr and Kočo town itself, all on the northern branch of the Silk Route and described by the 7th-century Chinese traveller and monk Hsüan-tsang. In 791 the Tibetans, in alliance with the Karluk [q.v.] and the Sha-t'o ("the People of the Sandy Desert"; see Chavannes, *Documents*, 96-9), defeated the Chinese and the Uyghur, and occupied the Tarim Basin [q.v.]. In 840 the Kirgiz [q.v.] put an end to Uyghur power in Mongolia. Uyghur groups fled southward and settled in the Turfan region, where they established a state, with Kočo as its capital, which was recognised by the Chinese in 856. The earliest record of a Muslim presence in the oases along the northern branch of the Silk Route so far known seems to be the travel account which Sallām al-Tardjūmān [q.v. in Suppl.] dictated to Ibn Khurradādhbih (Ar. text 164, Fr. tr. 126) of his journey from Sāmarrā' to Sinkiang in 230-2/842-4. Before reaching Ha-mi [see *KOMUL*, in Suppl.], he met followers of the Prophet who apparently had settled there more or less permanently since they had mosques and *madrasas*.

In 848 Chang I-ch'ao, the Chinese regent of Shachou, "the town of the sands" as Tun-hang had been renamed under the T'ang dynasty (618-907), began to oust the Tibetans from northwestern Kansu, and in 855 the Kočo Uyghur followed his example. In the 10th century they entertained good relations with the Tibetans, as they did with the Kitai (Liao) [see *KARĀ KHITĀY*], who in 924 toppled the Kirgiz state of which Kočo had become a vassal. In 1001 the *khakan* of Kočo requested the emperor of China to wage war against the Tangut or Hsi Hsia, a people of Tibetan origin who lived in the great loop of the Yellow River [see *HAMĀSA*. iv; *KANSU*]. He boasted to the emperor about the large extension of his state. At that time the Kočo Uyghurs had moved their residence further westward to Kuča. In 1125 the Liao were overcome by the Jüchen, who until 1234 ruled over Manchuria, much of Central Asia and all of North China. With these new overlords, too, the Kočo Uyghurs had friendly relations. In 1209 King Barčuk of Kočo surrendered peacefully to Čingiz Khān in order to rid himself of pressure from the Naiman of Western Mongolia. He was adopted as "the fifth son". After the Mongolian conquest, Kočo was added to the Čaghatay khānate [q.v.]. The Mongols were instructed in Buddhism by the Kočo Uyghurs, Buddhism being strongly established in the region. But the famous Turfan finds also include fragments of Syrian manuscripts, most of them with texts from the Peshitta, while von Le Coq also found in Kočo a wall painting of Mani, the founder of Manicheism, dated to the 9th century A.D. The towns along the Silk Route thus had a rather mixed population of merchants who professed various religions. Over the centuries, Kočo seems to have adapted itself to its respective overlords in order to continue its lucrative trade.

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(E. VAN DONZEL)

KOMUL (Uyghur; Chin. Ha-mi), a town and oasis in Eastern Sinkiang Uyghur Autonomous Region, China (42° 47' N., 93° 32' E.). The Chinese name Ha-mi is derived from Khamil, the Mongolian rendering of Uyghur Komul.

This important stage on the northern branch of the Silk Route was occupied by the Chinese under the Han dynasty (206 B.C.-A.D. 220) in A.D. 73 and again in 86. In the 5th century the Tarim Basin [q.v.], probably including Komul, was dominated by the White Huns or Hephthalites [see HAYĀṬĪLA]. During the so-called "forward policy" towards the west under the Chinese T'ang dynasty (618-907), Komul, and subsequently Turfan [q.v.], were wrested from Turkish supremacy, though the Turkish nomads kept looking for grazing grounds, thus causing disturbances. Komul became the seat of a regular prefecture under the name I-chou. In the 7th century the famous Buddhist monk and traveller Hsüan-tsang was hospitably received by the Uyghur or Toghuzghuz [q.v.] ruler of Komul, then a principality subordinate to the kingdom of Koço [q.v. in Suppl.]. In 763 the town was taken by the Tibetans and in 840 it came under Uyghur rule. In 231/843 Komul was visited by the Arab traveller Sallām al-Tardjūmān [q.v. in Suppl.] who calls it İkkū (إكك) (Ibn Khuradādhbih, *Ar. text* 164, *Fr. tr.* 126; cf. Beckwith, *The Tibetan empire*, 149) after the Chinese name I-chou. Sallām describes it as having a circumference of ten parasangs, with iron gates which were closed by letting them down; inside the enclosure were fields and mills. This description seems to correspond with a Chinese *kuan*, i.e. a large, walled-in fortification with barracks, arms depots, fields, and two gates (see Luo Zhewen, *The Great Wall*, 39-41). According to Sallām, the distance between this town and Dhū 'l-Karnayn's barrier (*Ar. sadd*), perhaps the famous "Jade Gate" in the western extension of the Great Wall of China (see Sir Aurel Stein, *On ancient Central Asian tracks*, 189), is three stages. The real distance is 350 km (Von Le Coq, *Buried treasures*). Sallām adds that Dhū 'l-Karnayn camped in İkkū, but this remark is probably part of what he thought he should report to the caliph al-Wāṭḥik [q.v.], who had sent him on his mission. During his journey to İkkū/Komul along the northern branch of the Silk Route, Sallām, before reaching İkkū/Komul, met a community of Muslims who spoke Arabic and Persian and had mosques and *madrasas*. He was astonished that they did not know who the caliph was.

In the 13th century, Komul was Čingiz Khān's temporary capital. After the Mongol domination, it became one of the small Uyghur states in the region. At the end of the 13th century it was visited by Marco Polo, who describes it as a place known for its hospitality and where it is good to live. In 1473 Komul was annexed by the sultanate of Turfan. In the late 16th century, Komul town and region came under the control of the Dzungars, a western

Mongolian people who conquered Central Asia and gave their name to Dzungaria and the Dzungarian Gate, at present the northern part of the Sinkiang Uyghur Autonomous Region. In 1696 the Chinese Ch'ing emperor defeated the Dzungar chief Dga'-Idan. After the death of the latter's grandson Dga'-Idan Cereng in 1745, internal Dzungarian strife led to their complete destruction in the war against China (1755-8), during which the Chinese used Komul as a base. After the fall of the Dzungars, the Muslims of the Tarim Basin staged an independence movement, but by 1760 this was suppressed by the Ch'ing, who established control over the Basin by granting official status to the former rulers of its oasis states. In the 18th century, China's boundaries reached as far as Lake Balkhash [q.v.] and parts of the Kazakh steppe. During the great Muslim rebellion of 1862-78 under Ma Hua-lung [q.v.], Komul was badly damaged. It was visited by Col. Mark Bell in 1886, by A.H. von Le Coq in 1904 and by Cable and French in 1940. Von Le Coq describes the riches of the palace of the Muslim khān of Komul: Chinese and Bukhārā carpets, porcelain, Khotan [q.v.] jade-carvings, silk embroideries, a cuckoo-clock and even French champagnes and Russian liqueurs. In 1932, after an abortive uprising, the town suffered terribly at the hands of the Chinese. Its population in 2003 is estimated at ca. 118,000.

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(E. VAN DONZEL)

KONKAN, the coastal region of the western Deccan or Peninsular India lying roughly between Thālnēr and Bombay in the north and Goa in the south, i.e. between latitudes 19° 30' and 15° 30' N., and extending for some 560 km/350 miles. It has been known under this name in both mediaeval Islamic and modern times. Within British India, it was formerly in the Bombay Presidency, later Province, and is now in Maharashtra State of the Indian Union. It comprises a highly-forested, low-lying plain between the Arabian Sea and the inland mountain barrier of the Western Ghats.

In mediaeval Islamic times, the Tughluḳids in the 14th century and then the Bahmanids [q.v.] in the course of the 15th century, endeavoured without much success to extend their authority from the Deccan plateau down to the ocean, until in 876/1472 the general Maḥmūd Gāwān [q.v.] finally established Bahmanid control over the Konkan strip. Konkan was subsequently divided between the Nizām Shāhīs of Aḥmadnagar [q.v.] (the northern part) and the 'Adil Shāhīs of Bidjapur [q.v.] (the more southern part) in the 16th and early 17th centuries, then divided between the Mughals and the 'Adil Shāhī sultans before the latter succumbed to the advance of the Mughal Awrangzib [q.v.] in 1097/1686. By the 18th century, Konkan was in the hands of the Śivādī and the Marāṭhās [q.v.], but after the peace settlements of



1816-17 with Britain at the end of the Marāthā Wars, the region was in 1818 incorporated into the Bombay Presidency. The local language, Konkani, is a dialect of Marāthī containing Dravidian elements probably borrowed from Kanarese.

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KÖSZEG, German Güns, a small Hungarian town near the Austrian border with a mediaeval castle which was sieged and symbolically taken by the Ottomans in 1532.

In the first decades of his reign, mainly under the influence of the Grand Vizier Ibrāhīm Pasha, Süleymān the Magnificent cherished world-conquering ambitions. To achieve this goal, he intended, among other things, to defeat the Austrian Habsburgs by occupying their capital. After the unsuccessful 1529 campaign, he undertook another military operation in 1532 with the aim of marching against Vienna.

The Ottoman army proceeded slowly, holding sophisticated parades to imitate Charles V's shows of power and wealth. This time they followed a lesser known route, along which the castle of Köszeg was situated that did not seem to constitute a major obstacle. However, the garrison of approximately 1,000, mostly local peasants inexperienced in warfare, commanded by Miklós Jurisics (Nikola Jurišić), a Croatian landlord and the envoy of the Emperor Ferdinand I to Istanbul in 1529 and 1530, withstood the battle between 10 and 30 August. After long negotiations, the defenders surrendered, stipulating that, though Ottoman standards would be hoisted on the walls, none of their contingents would be stationed within the fort. One reason for procrastination was that the Ottomans wanted to avoid a pitched battle with the main forces of the Empire; similarly, the Habsburg side was reluctant to force a decisive clash.

For his valour, Jurisics was nominated royal councillor and received Köszeg as his hereditary property.

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KU'AYTĪ, a South Arabian tribal group and sultanate, the latter eventually becoming part of the Eastern Aden Protectorate prior to the departure of the British from South Arabia in 1967. The full area of the sultanate was the whole of the coastal plain between the Wāhidī [q.v.] in the west and Mahra in the east, the mountainous region north up to Wādī Ḥaḍramawt [see ḤAḌRAMAWT], the western end of the Wādī and some tribal lands north of the Wādī. One should add the area of the Wādīs Daw'an (sometime spelt Daw'an in the Arabic sources) and 'Amd. The major towns of the sultanate were: al-Mukallā, the capital, and al-Shihr [q.v.] (both ports on the Indian Ocean), Ghayl Bā Wazīr on the southern coastal plain, and Shihām [q.v.] and al-Kaṭn in the Wādī itself (Government of Bombay, *Account*, 119).

It was the Kathīrī [q.v.] Badr b. 'Abd Allāh b.

'Umar Ibn Abī Ṭuwayrīk about the year 1270/1853 who began to bring in tribal mercenaries of Yāfi' [q.v.] from their lands in the west, as he strove to expand his territories in Ḥaḍramawt. Thereafter, there was a constant flow of Yāfi' immigration into the area (al-Shāṭirī, *Adwār*, ii, 401). The Ku'aytī were a tribal group (*baṭn*) of Yāfi' and they first settled in Wādī 'Amd where 'Umar b. 'Awaḍ al-Ku'aytī, the founder of the dynasty, was born. In about 1246/1830, he went for the first time to Ḥaydarābād in South India where the *Nizām* employed Ḥaḍramīs and South Arabians as mercenary soldiers. 'Umar did return to Ḥaḍramawt, but he died in India in 1282/1865 and was succeeded by his son, 'Awaḍ b. 'Umar, as *djāmā'dār* (*jemadar* in the British sources). 'Umar's three sons, Ṣalāh (called Barak Jung in India), 'Awaḍ and 'Abd Allāh, in particular, built fortunes in India and Arabia and had much influence on the later development of the dynasty.

During the 1280s/1860s and 1290s/1870s, full-scale wars were fought for control of Ḥaḍramawt between the Kathīrī and the Ku'aytī (Government of Bombay, *Account*, 125; al-Shāṭirī, *Adwār*, ii, 405; Gavin, *Aden*, 160-62; Burrowes, *Dictionary*, 290-1; Dresch, *Yemen*, 21). In 1283/1866, the ports of al-Mukallā and al-Shihr were both controlled by Yāfi', and when the latter called for help, Ṣalāh and 'Abd Allāh sent funds from India and both Yāfi' and Indian troops were despatched to the area. In the following year, both ports were taken by the Ku'aytī, and the British became involved directly in the inter-dynasty struggles. The British, also fearing Turkish encroachment in the area, became apprehensive. In the confused situation, British policy was to cut off supplies and monies from India (Gavin, *Aden*, 162-8). In 1298/1881, they sanctioned Ku'aytī control of the southern coast and in 1299/1882 a treaty was drawn up between the two, the latter agreeing to accept British advice in exchange for an annual sum of 360 Maria Theresa dollars (Gavin, *Aden*, 171-2; for the text of the treaty, Government of Bombay, *Account*, 169-70).

In 1307/1888 a full protectorate treaty was signed between the Ku'aytī and the British, one of a number of such treaties. The British government agreed "to extend to Mokalla and Shehr and their dependencies which are under their authority and jurisdiction the gracious favour and protection of Her Majesty the Queen-Empress". In return, the Ku'aytī agreed "to refrain from entering into any correspondence, agreement or treaty with any foreign nation or power except with the knowledge and sanction of the British Government..." (Government of Bombay, *Account*, 186-7 for the full text). The Ku'aytī were in control of Shihām and the western end of Wādī Ḥaḍramawt, as well as the coastal region in the south, and were able to deny the ports to the Kathīrī. A generally cordial relationship developed between the British and the Ku'aytī (*ibid.*, 145; Gavin, *Aden*, 172-3; Ingrams, *Arabia*, 10).

In 1320/1902 the title of *jemadar* was finally abolished and 'Awaḍ b. 'Umar became Ku'aytī *sultān*. He died in India about 1325-7/1907-9 and was succeeded by his son Ghālīb who himself died in 1340/1921. Ghālīb was followed as *sultān* by his brother 'Umar, who died in 1354/1935. Ṣālīh b. Ghālīb became *sultān* in 1354/1935 and died in 1375/1955. 'Awaḍ b. Ṣālīh reigned from that date until his death in 1386/1966 and 'Awaḍ's son, Ghālīb, was the last Ku'aytī *sultān* until the withdrawal of the British from the area about a year later (al-Shāṭirī, *Adwār*, ii, 407-8).

The year 1933 and the visit to Ḥaḍramawt of the



Political Resident in Aden, Sir Bernard Reilly, marks the beginning of the widespread development of the two sultanates, the Ku'ayŪ and the Kathīrī, the peace which was negotiated among the tribes and the much closer involvement in their affairs by the British government, manifest in the establishment of an Eastern Aden Protectorate (EAP), quite separate from the Western Aden Protectorate (WAP). The peace, widely known as "Ingrams Peace" after its architect, Harold Ingrams, was finally brought about in 1355/1937 and was to last for three years. In 1937 also, an advisory treaty was signed between the Ku'ayŪ and the British in which an adviser was to be appointed, Ingrams himself (Smith, "Ingrams Peace", 6-7, 21; for the text of the advisory treaty, see Ingrams, *Records*, ix, 236-7).

The Ku'ayŪ, along with the Kathīrī, never entered the Federation which was formed and fostered by the British in the WAP. At the time of the withdrawal of the British in 1967, the Ku'ayŪ sultanate became a part of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen. In 1990, with the unity of north and south Yemen, the whole of what had been the EAP became a part of the Yemen Republic [see AL-YAMAN. 3 (b)] with its capital at Ṣan'ā'.

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(G.R. SMITH)

KUČŪK 'ALĪ OGHULLARĪ, a line of Turkmen *derebeys* [q.v.] or local lords who controlled the region round Payās [q.v.], which was strategically situated near the head of the Gulf of Alexandria (and now in the modern Turkish *il* or province of Hatay), and, for a while, Adana in Cilicia [q.v.] for almost a century.

The founder, Khalīl Bey Kūčūk 'Alī Oghlu, appears ca. 1770 as a bandit chief based on Payās, preying on shipping (including the ships of European powers) in the Gulf and on the land traffic which had to pass through the narrow gap between the Gāvur Dağı mountains and the sea, levying dues on the Pilgrimage caravans from Anatolia to Syria and the Hicjāz, and even in 1801 capturing and imprisoning for ransom the Dutch consul-general in Aleppo. The efforts of the Porte in Istanbul at humbling him all failed, and it was obliged to come to an accommodation with him and accord to him the dignity of a *pasha* of three *tugh*s.

When Kūčūk 'Alī died in 1807, his equally rapacious son Dede Bey succeeded him, continuing to make a living by preying on shipping in the Gulf. An expedition sent against him under a rival *derebey*, Čapan Oghlu Amīn Pasha of Yozgat, failed to dislodge him, but in 1818 the governor of Adana managed to capture him, and he was sent to Istanbul and executed.

His young son Mustuk (apparently a hypocoristic from Muṣṭafā; to be written as Muṣṭuk?) took refuge

in Mar'ash for nine years, out of the reach of the governors of Adana, but returned to Payās in 1827. During the 1830s he supported the Ottomans' enemy, Ibrāhīm Pasha, son of Muḥammad 'Alī [q.v.], but rallied to the Sultans after the withdrawal of the Egyptian forces in 1840. William Burckhardt Barker, son of a British consul in the Levant, praises Mustuk for his polished manners and generous nature, a sharp contrast to his forebears, and Mustuk did try to discourage brigandage in his region. But the long-term policy of the Sultans at this time was the reduction and ending of the power of all *derebeys*. Mustuk fought off an attack by the governor of Adana in 1844, and it was not until 1863 that the then governor in Adana secured his capture. He was exiled, but the Payās region continued to be disturbed for another two years through the activity of two of his sons.

Bibliography: Barker's account of the family is the main Western source; see his *Lanes and penates: or, Cilicia and its governors*, ed. W.F. Ainsworth, London 1853, 73 ff. Of modern studies, see A.G. Gould, *Lords or bandits? The derebeys of Cilicia*, in *IJMES*, vii (1976), 487-90; C.E. Bosworth, *William Burckhardt Baker's picture of Cilicia in the early 19th century*, forthcoming in *Graeco-Arabica*, ix (2003), with further references; and the *Bibl.* to DEREBEY.

(C.E. BOSWORTH)

KUFR [see KĀFIR].

AL-KŪHĪ or AL-KŪHĪ, ABŪ SAHL WAYḤJĀN b. Rustam, mathematician and astronomer who was originally from Ṭabaristān.

He worked in the second half of the 4th/10th century under the Būyid *amīrs* 'Aḍud al-Dawla and Sharaf al-Dawla [q.v.] and collaborated with the chief scholars of the time, notably Abu 'l-Wafā' al-Būzadjānī, al-Sidjzī, al-Šāghānī and 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Šūfī. Under the latter's direction, al-Kūhī took part in observation of the winter and summer solstices at Šīrāz (15 December 969 and 16 June 970), by means of a meridian circle 1.4 m in diameter having gradations of 5 in 5'. Subsequently, he built at Baghdād an observatory equipped with instruments made after his own devising (a spherical segment with a diameter of ca. 13.5 m) and made observations of the entry of the Sun into the signs of Cancer and Libra on 16 June and 18 September 988. A certain Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Maghribī (sc. 'Alī b. Abi 'l-Ridjāl; cf. H. Suter, *Mathematiker*, no. 219) took part in these latter observations. At this time, urged on by his patron Sharaf al-Dawla, who wished to emulate the achievements of the caliph al-Ma'mūn, he seems to have devoted himself enthusiastically to astronomy.

However, the greater—and best—part of his work was in the domain of mathematics and especially geometry. The number of his works here has increased over the years to the figure of 28 (Sezgin). One may mention his *Risāla fi 'l-birkār al-tāmm* (cf. Fr. Woepke, *Trois traités arabes sur le compas parfait*, in *NEMBN*, xxii/1 [1874], 1-21, 68-111, 145-75) and treatises on the construction of the heptagon (see Y. Dold-Samplonius, *Die Konstruktion des regelmässigen Siebenecks*, in *Janus*, 1/4 [1963], 227-49) and of the pentagon. He also wrote on the trisection of the angle (see A. Sayılı, *Al-Kūhī's trisection of the angle*, in *Actes du X^e Congrès internat. d'Histoire des sciences*, i, Ithaca 1962, 545-6) and on the measurement of paraboloids (ed. Haydarābād 1947, Ger. tr. Suter, *Die Abhandlungen Thābit b. Qurra und Abū Sahl al-Kūhīs über die Ausmessung der Paraboloides*, in *SBPMS Erl.*, xlviii-xlix [1916-17], 182-227). Others of al-Kūhī's works have titles analogous to those of certain treatises of Archimedes—of whom he was a good



continuator—considered as apocryphal (e.g. *Marākiz al-dawā'ir al-mutamāssa; al-Masā'il al-handasiyya; K. al-Ma'khūdhāt*), or else are commentaries on Euclid or determinations of the value of π . The treatises on astronomical topics are much less numerous: on the construction of the astrolabe and of verticals (*dawā'ir al-sumūt*) on the tympanum of this last, preserved by Abū Naṣr Maṣṣūr b. 'Irāk, al-Bīrūnī's master (cf. J. Samsó, *Estudios sobre Abū Naṣr* . . ., Barcelona 1969, 63-4); on the determination of the *kibla* [q.v.]; on the position of the Earth and the planets; etc. He was also the author of a *risāla* on kinetics (Eng. tr. Sayılı, *A short article . . . on the possibility of infinite motion in finite time*, in *Actes du VIII^e Congrès internat. d'Histoire des sciences*, Florence 1956, 248-9).

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KULUZ, the Ottoman Turkish name for the Greek town of Vólos, a port on the northern shore of the Pagasetic Gulf or Gulf of Vólos in east-central Thessaly [see **TESALYA**] (lat. 39° 22' N., long. 22° 57' E.). The name probably stems from Slavonic *golosh* "seat of administration" and may be associated with the Slav presence in the area during middle Byzantine times.

Situated on the site of ancient Iolcos, the area received in ca. 1277 refugees from the Byzantine capital Constantinople who opposed the emperor Michael VIII Palaeologus's attempts at church union with the West, and in the late Byzantine period Vólos was known as a relatively new settlement. Together with neighbouring Demetrias (2 km to the south-west of modern Vólos), which had remained in Catalan hands until ca. 1381, Vólos experienced two Ottoman conquests, firstly between 1393 and 1397/796-800 and then ca. 805/1403, and passed definitively into Turkish hands ca. 826/1423. The conquerors strengthened the fortifications of the castle there in order to fend off an impending Venetian attack, and an Ottoman governor and garrison were installed, together with fresh Muslim settlers from Anatolia, whilst the local Christians moved to the slopes of Mt. Pélion to the north (refs. in A. Savvides, in *Thessalikó Hemerológio*, xxviii [1995], 51-2, 59-60).

In the early Ottoman period, the region of the Vólos fortress (but not Demetrias) is mentioned in the surviving testaments of the Turkish governors of Thessaly Turakhān Bey [q.v.] (850/1446), 'Ömer Bey (889/1484) and Hasan Bey (937/1531), whilst it was also described in Pīrī Re'īs's [q.v.] *Kitāb-i Bahriyye*. The first settlements outside the fortress grew up in the late 16th-early 17th centuries, a growth which stimulated local commerce and the transit trade. This was helped by a famed local fair held twice a week and the first works along the shore at the fortress beach, later to become Vólos's commodious port. In 1665 the fortress was attacked by Francesco Morosini and a Venetian force (P. Coronelli, *Memorie storico-geografiche* . . ., Venice 1692, 229), but soon recaptured and re fortified by the Ottomans.

During the Greek Revolt of the early 19th cen-

tury, the rebel Greeks of Pélion failed in May 1821 to capture the strongly-held fortress, although on 8 April 1827 the British naval commander and Philhellene Frank Abney Hastings seized five Turkish vessels in Vólos harbour and forced the Ottoman garrison temporarily to evacuate the fortress (see Tsopotós, *History*, 202 ff.). However, the region remained under Turkish rule till 1881 when, following the Berlin Conference, it passed between 2 and 22 November to the Kingdom of Greece and Turkish forces left the town (the citadel was unfortunately demolished a few years later). It was in this last phase of Ottoman rule that the initial settlements of the modern town of Vólos were established (1833-50), with consulates and commercial installations set up by Greeks, Austrians, British, French and Italians between 1838 and 1870 (see *ibid.*, 240 ff., 250 ff.).

Modern Vólos is now a major commercial and industrial centre (population in 1981: 70,000; in 2003: 83,600) and is the chef-lieu of the prefecture of Magnesia.

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(A. SAVVIDES)

AL-KÜMMĪ, ḤASAN B. MUḤAMMAD b. ḤASAN, the author of a local history of the town of Kūm [q.v.] in northern Persia, fl. in the 4th/10th century. He is said to have compiled his history originally in Arabic at the instigation of his brother, Abū 'l-Kāsim 'Alī, governor of Kūm for the Būyids, aiming to gather together and record all the traditions about the arrival of the Arabs in Kūm and the town's subsequent history. He dedicated the book to the famous vizier, the Šāhib Ibn 'Abbād [see **IBN 'ABBĀD**]. The Arabic original has not survived, but a Persian translation was made by one Ḥasan [b. 'Alī] b. Ḥasan b. 'Abd al-Malik Kūmmī in 806/1403-4, though this seems to contain much less material than the original Arabic text did (ed. Djalāl al-Dīn Tihirānī, Tehran 1313/1934).

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KÜRUS (present-day Shaykh Khuruz), the Classical Cyrrhus, capital of the Cyrrhēstia, a stronghold in the north of modern Syria on the Sabun-suyu, a right-bank affluent of the Nahr 'Afrīn.

As a Seleucid colony, it took the name of a place in Macedonia and remained a stronghold under the Romans. Three ancient bridges, still visible, allowed crossing of the Sabun-suyu and the 'Afrīn. Archaeological researches have revealed several monuments, including an amphitheatre. In the necropolis to the southeast of the town is an ancient tomb which mediaeval Islamic tradition attributed to Uriah the Hittite and which includes a cenotaph of Mamlūk times.

Kūrus enjoyed a fresh lease of life under the emperor Justinian I, who rebuilt its fortifications. The Muslims took it in 16/637, and later considered it as one of the marches of the empire, guarding the Antioch and Aleppo roads. Its military role thereafter declined. At the end of the 11th century it came under the



domination of the Armenian Bagrat (Pakrad), brother of Gogh Vasil, before being taken by the Franks ca. 1114-15, who included it within the County of Edessa. It became the seat of a Latin bishopric, and had also a Jacobite one till at least 1042.

It was taken and destroyed by Nūr al-Dīn b. Zangī in 1150, but ca. 1165-6 ceded to the Armenian prince Mleh. In the 7th/13th century, Kürus, coming within the territories of Aleppo, was ruinous but still gave its name to a district whose agricultural revenues formed an *iktā'* [q.v.] supporting 40 cavalymen.

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(ANNE-MARIE EDDÉ)

KUWAYK, NAHR, the name given by the Arabs to the ancient Chalos river in northern Syria. This stream, whose valley makes a shallow notch in the plateau of the Aleppo region, rises at the foot of the last outliers of the Taurus, to the east of al-Rāwandān [q.v.] in present-day Turkey. Fed by various springs, notably in the 'Azāz region, it skirts Aleppo to the west, and to the south of this city receives the waters of the Blessed Spring (al-'Ayn al-Mubāraka). After a course of some 110 km/70 miles, it peters out in the vicinity of Kinnasrīn [q.v.] in a swampy depression called al-Matkh.

This river, with an average flow of waters which is very feeble, enabled several mills up stream and below stream of Aleppo to turn, and it irrigated gardens to the north and west of the capital. Occasionally there were significant floodings from melting snows or violent rains, but it dried up in summer through absence of rainfall and because the villagers upstream used the little water which it carried for irrigating their fields.

In the mid-4th/10th century, the Hāmdānīd Sayf al-Dawla [q.v.] diverted the river so that it might flow through the palace he had had built in one of the western suburbs of Aleppo. At the beginning of the 8th/14th century, a canal was dug to carry part of the waters of the Sādjūr into the Kuwayk and thereby increase the latter's flow, but these works were

destroyed by an earthquake in 1544, restored in 1644, but definitively abandoned in 1723.

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(ANNE-MARIE EDDÉ)

KUZMĀN, BANŪ, a family of literary men of al-Andalus and connected with the city of Cordova. The name Kuzmān (Span. *Guzmán*, a personal name of Germanic origin) suggests an Iberian or Romance origin. As well as the most famous member of the family, the author of *ṣaḍīḡs* Ibn Kuzmān [q.v.], there are four other interesting members.

1. Abu 'l-Aṣḡagh 'Īsā b. 'Abd al-Malik, poet and littérateur (4th/10th century), appointed by al-Manṣūr Ibn Abī 'Āmir [q.v.] tutor of the young Hishām II al-Mu'ayyad [q.v.] proclaimed caliph in Cordova in 366/976.

2. Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Malik b. 'Ubayd Allāh (d. 508/1114), called al-Akbar "the eldest" in order to distinguish him from his nephew Ibn Kuzmān al-Aṣḡagh "the youngest" [q.v.], a famous poet, and secretary to the vizier of the Aftasid prince Abū Ḥafṣ 'Umar al-Mutawakkil [q.v.] of Badajoz, a colleague of Ibn 'Abdūn [q.v.] and of Abū Bakr Ibn al-Kabṭūrnūh [see KABṬŪRNŪH, BANŪ 'L-, in Suppl.]. After the advent of the Almoravids, nothing more is known of him.

3. Abū Marwān 'Abd al-Rahmān (479-593/1086 or 1087-1169), son of 2., a famous *ḥakīm* and jurist, and one of the last traditionists of al-Andalus. He functioned as a *kādī*.

4. Abū 'l-Ḥusayn 'Ubayd Allāh (ca. 518-93/ca. 1124 to 1196-7), son of 3., poet, jurist and *kādī* in various districts of the province of Cordova.

Other possible members of the family are mentioned in Lévi-Provençal's article, see *Bibl.*

Bibliography: A genealogical tree in Ibn al-Abbār, no. 1517; Dabbī, *Bughyat al-multamīs*, Cairo and Beirut 1989, nos. 992, 1151; Ibn Sa'īd, *Mughrib*, i, 99, 210; Ibn Bassām, *Dhakhīra*, ed. Ihsān 'Abbās, 8 vols. Beirut 1989, i/2, 774-86; Ibn Bashkuwāl, *Sila*, Cairo 1966, nos. 757, 1255; Ibn Khākān, *Kalā'id*, ed. M.Ṭ. Ibn 'Ashūr, Tunis 1990, 451-2; E. Lévi-Provençal, *Du nouveau sur Ibn Kuzmān*, in *And.*, ix (1944), 347-69; E. García Gómez, *Todo Ben Quzmān*, Madrid 1972, ii, 889-99.

(I. FERRANDO)

L

LAFZ (لَا), lit. "to spit out" (see *WbKAS*, letter L, ii/2, 989).

1. In grammar.

Here it denotes primarily the actual expression of a sound or series of sounds, hence "articulation" and, more broadly, the resulting "linguistic form". It has

always been distinct from *ṣawṭ* "[individual] sound" (cf. Troupeau, *ṣ-w-t*, and see Bakalla, 39 ff. and 49 ff., for its use in Ibn Ḍjinnī (d. 392/1002 [q.v.]), which provides the base for the modern Arabic terms for phonetics, *ʿilm al-aswāt*, and phonology, *ʿilm waṣāʾif al-aswāt* (and note also the neologism *ṣawṭiyya* [q.v.] for



the collective description of Arabic sounds). *Lafz* occurs mostly in morphological and syntactic contexts, but always indicates an actual acoustic event or a real utterance, usually at the word or sentence level, and thus often contrasts with implicit or semantic features of speech.

Definitions of speech using the term *lafz* may specify that it excludes elements which are not in the Arabic phoneme inventory [cf. ḤURUF AL-ḤIḤĀ], as well as non-linguistic modes of communication such as gestures and context of situation and even writing, *khaṭṭ* [q.v.], when necessary; cf. Bakalla, 69. It was also established very early (Sibawayhi, *Kitāb*, ch. 4) that the lexical relationship between form (*lafz*) and meaning (*ma'nā* [q.v.]) was of three kinds, viz. (1) identity of form with difference of meaning (homonymy), e.g. *waḡḡada* "to find" and "to feel passion", (2) difference of form with identity of meaning (synonymy), e.g. *dḥahaba* and *inṭalaka* "to go away", and (3) difference of both form and meaning, e.g. *dḥahaba* "to go away" and *djalasa* "to sit".

In morphological contexts, *lafz* will typically contrast with *ma'nā*, i.e. opposing the phonological to the semantic properties of an element. For example, a distinction is made between absolute objects (*maṣ'ūl muṭlak*) which are composed of the same radicals as their operating verb and are thus termed *lafẓī* "formal" (e.g. *djalastu dḡulūṣ* "I sat right down") and those which are derived from a synonym of their operating verb and are thus termed *ma'nawī* "semantic" (e.g. *djalastu ku'ūd* "I sat down with a squatting action").

At the syntactical level, the opposition is usually between the formal realisation (*lafẓī*) versus the implied, *mukaddar* [see TAKDİR, where *lafẓī* is translated "literal"]], i.e. the surface realisation is contrasted with some equivalent word or words assumed to underlie the forms actually expressed. This is not to be confused with modern notions of deep and surface structure, since the underlying forms are invariably stated as verbal paraphrases of the surface realisations and the question of transformation therefore does not arise. In this connection, it is worth mentioning that there are other, similar oppositions recognised by the grammarians, notably the explicit (*ẓāhir*) versus the suppressed (*muḍmar*), for the contrast between overt and implicit elements generally, and the visible (*bāriẓ*) versus the concealed (*mustatir*), for the pronouns in particular, to which must be added elision (*ḥadhf*) and the restoration of elided elements in the shape of "additions", *zīyādāt*, all of which point to a complex understanding of the relationship between the outward verbal features of speech and its inner contents. Understandably, the scrutiny of what was sometimes called the *kalām lafẓī* "the formal utterance" in the light of its internal implications, the *kalām naṣfī* "mental or spiritual utterance", became a dominant pre-occupation of the sciences of rhetoric, exegesis, law and theology.

Bibliography: Sibawayhi, *Le livre de Sibawayhi*, ed. H. Derenbourg, Paris 1881-9 (repr. Hildesheim 1970), *Kitāb Sibawayhi*, ed. Būlak 1898-1900 (repr.) (the first seven, and also the last seven chapters of the *Kitāb*, which deal with phonological issues, are published in a hypertext version at <www.hf.uio.no/east/sibawayhi/HomePage>, general eds. M.G. Carter, A. Matveev and L. Edzard; G. Troupeau, *Lexique-index du Kitāb de Sibawayhi*, Paris 1976; M.G. Carter, *Arab linguistics, an introductory classical text with translation and notes*, Amsterdam, Philadelphia and New York 1981; M.H. Bakalla, *Ibn Jinnī, an early Arab Muslim phonetician. An inter-*

pretative study of his life and contribution to linguistics, London and Taipei 1982/1402; G. Bohas, J.-P. Guillaume and D.E. Kouloughli, *The Arabic linguistic tradition*, London and New York 1990, index s.v. *lafz*; K. Versteegh, *Landmarks in linguistic thought. III. The Arabic linguistic tradition*, London and New York 1997, index s.v. *lafz* and *ma'nā*.

(M.G. CARTER)

2. In theology.

Here it refers to the pronunciation of the *Kur'ān*. The term was introduced by Husayn b. 'Alī al-Karābīsī (d. 245/859 or 248/862 [q.v.]), a disciple of al-Shāfi'ī who, in theology, shared the position of Ibn Kullāb [q.v. in Suppl.]. Reacting against the Mu'tazilī doctrine of *khalḳ al-Kur'ān*, the latter had distinguished between *kalām Allāh*, God's speech which is eternal, and *kirā'a*, the recitation of the *Kur'ān* which occurs in time. Al-Karābīsī replaced *kirā'a* by *lafz* (or *nuṭḳ*) which was broader and meant any quoting of the *Kur'ān*, including beyond formal recitation. During the later phase of the *mihna* [q.v.], his doctrine spread widely, to the *Djazira* (Mawṣil, Nišībīn and Ṭarsūs) and possibly even to Damascus, through Hishām b. 'Ammār al-Sulamī (d. 245/859), who served as *khaṭīb* at the Umayyad Mosque. In Baghdad, however, al-Karābīsī encountered heavy opposition from Ibn Hanbal and his adherents, who denounced his approach as *Djahmism*, i.e. they equated it with the belief in the createdness of the Word of God, or at least banished any mention of it. In Persia, the situation was quite different. Hanbalī radicalism came under attack by al-Bukhārī (in his *K. Khalḳ al-qf'āl*) and Ibn Qutayba (in his *Iḥṭilāf fi 'l-lafz*) who both virtually shared al-Karābīsī's opinion without explicitly referring to him. The so-called *Fikḥ akbar II* names the createdness of *lafz* as part of the creed. Theologians like Makhūl al-Nasafī and al-Qhazālī adhered to it, as did even Hanbalīs like Ibn 'Aqīl or Abū Ya'lā Ibn al-Farrā'. This broad acceptance of the general idea was counterbalanced by an avoidance of the term *lafz* as such; al-Karābīsī's authorship was forgotten.

Bibliography: Ash'arī, *Maḳālāt al-Islāmiyyīn*, 602 ll. 7-8; Wensinck, *The Muslim creed*, 189 §3; Makhūl al-Nasafī, *Radd 'alā 'l-bida'*, ed. M. Bernard, in *Ann. Isl.*, xvi (1980), 113 ll. 7 ff.; H. Bauer, *Die Dogmatik al-Qhazālī's*, Halle 1912, 58-9; D. Gimaret, *La doctrine d'al Ash'arī*, Paris 1990, 317-18; J. van Ess, *Theologie und Gesellschaft im 2. und 3. Jahrhundert Hidschra*, iv, Berlin 1997, 210-18.

(J. VAN ESS)

LAHN (A.). In music. This is one of the basic terms of secular music in Islamic times, used in Arabic and Persian [see MŪSĪQĪ]. In its early terminological sense, *lahn* (pl. *luḥūn*, rarely *alḥān*) denoted a musical mode, comparable to the later terms *naghma* (pl. *anḡām*) and *maḳām* [q.v.]. It was a loan from the Byzantine Greek concept of *ēchos*, adopted probably in Umayyad Syria. A *Kitāb al-Luḥūn al-thamāniya* ("Book on the modal system called *oktōēchos*"), wrongly attributed to Ptolemy, was known to Ibn al-Kalbī [q.v.], according to a quotation in Ibn 'Abd Rabbih's *al-Iḳd al-farīd*, Cairo 1949, vi, 27. Al-Kindī [q.v.] equated *lahn* with *ṭanīn* (= Greek *tónos*) in the same sense of musical mode. In its more general and more common meaning *lahn* (pl. *alḥān*, *luḥūn*) stands for melody. Here it corresponds to the Greek term *mēlos*. The notion of music (*mūsīqī*) was therefore defined either as the "science of the modes" (*ilm al-luḥūn*) or as "composition of melodies" (*ta'līf al-alḥān*). In the latter sense, the term was used and defined by many writers on music theory from al-Kindī to al-Lādhikī

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(see titles below). Al-Fārābī devoted several chapters of his *Kitāb al-Mūsikī al-kabīr* to an exhaustive treatment of melodies. "Reciting the Qur'ān with secular melodies" (*kirā'a* [q.v.] *bi* 'l-*alḥān*) was one of the crucial points in the discussion on decent music in Islamic society. The notion of *lahn* (melody) has survived the centuries, as have its derivatives *lahhana* ("to chant; to set to music"), *talhīn* ("chanting; composition"), *mulahḥin* ("composer") and *mulahḥan* ("set to music").

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2. Studies. M. Ullmann, *Wa-ḥairu l-hadīṭi mā kāna laḥnan*, Munich 1979, 15; idem, *WKAS*, ii/1, Wiesbaden 1983, 376-89 (extensive references); M. Sitāyishgar, *Wāḥanāma-yi mūsikī-yi Irānzanān*, Tehran 1995-7, ii, 344-6; I. El-Mallah, *Arab music and musical notation*, Tutzing 1997, index 404, 406 (*lahn* and *mulahḥin* today); E. Neubauer, *Zur Bedeutung der Begriffe Komponist und Komposition in der Musikgeschichte der islamischen Welt*, in *ZGAW*, xi (1997), 307-63, esp. 310, 313, 319-20, 328, 356, 357, 360; idem, *Arabishe Musiktheorie von den Anfängen bis zum 6./12. Jahrhundert*, Frankfurt 1998, index 379-80.

(E. NEUBAUER)

LĀLĀ, LALA (P.), a term found amongst the Turkmen dynasties of Persia and, especially, amongst the Safawids, with the meaning of tutor, specifically, tutor of royal princes, passing also to the Ottoman Turks.

Under the Ak Koyunlu [q.v.], both *atabeg* [see ATABAK] and *lālā* are found, but after the advent of the Safawids (sc. after 907/1501), the latter term becomes more common, with the Arabic term *mu'allim* "instructor" also found. Such persons were already exalted figures in the state. The *lālā* of Shāh Ismā'il I's second son Sām Mīrā was the *ishāk-ākāsī* [q.v.] or Grand Marshal of the great *diwān*, Durmish Khān Shāmlū, whilst the *mu'allim* of the first son, and succeeding ruler, Tahmāsp (I) Mīrā, was a member of the religious classes, Mawlānā Nizām al-Dīn Aḥmad Ṭabasī (R.M. Savory, *The principal offices of the Safawid state during the reign of Ismā'il I (907-30/1501-24)*, in *BSOAS*, xxiii [1960], 98; idem, *The principal offices of the Safawid state during the reign of Tahmāsp I (930-84/1524-76)*, in *ibid.*, xxiv [1961], 125). In the later Safawid period, we hear also of *lalas* for the young eunuch pages of the royal court, the *ghulamān-i khāṣṣa*, such as the (non-eunuch) Muhibb 'Alī Khān, whose importance was such that he was in 1029/1620 commissioned by Shāh 'Abbās I to examine the possibility of diverting the headwaters of the Kārūn river [q.v.] in the Zagros mountains into the Zāyanda-rūd and the Iṣfahān plain. The tutor of Tahmāsp Mīrā

(the future Tahmāsp II, 1135-45/1722-32) when he was made *walī* 'ahd or heir to the throne, Muhammad Ākā, head of the royal *ghulamās*, was, on the other hand, obviously a eunuch himself (*Tadhkirat al-mulūk, a manual of Safawid administration* (circa 1137/1725), tr. V. Minorsky, London 1943, 56 n. 3, 57).

The title *lālā* passed, through Persian cultural influence, to the Ottoman Turks, amongst whom it was used for tutors attached to young princes, both at court and when, usually at the age of fourteen or fifteen, they were assigned provincial government (see I.H. Uzünçarsılı, *Osmanlı devleti teşkilatına medhal*, Istanbul 1941, 291-2; idem, *Osmanlı devletinin saray teşkilatı*, Ankara 1945, 124-5; Pakalın, ii, 354; A.D. Alderson, *The structure of the Ottoman dynasty*, Oxford 1956, 18, 117). Again as in Persia, such tutors were prestigious figures, and could become senior *wezīrs* or leading commanders like Lala Muṣṭafā Paṣṣa (d. 988/1580), tutor to the future Selīm II [see MUṢṬAFĀ PAṢṢA, LALA].

It also made its way to the Muslim India of the Mughals, and in British Indian times, acquired a wider meaning of "child's tutor" in general and also, in northern India, became the title of a clerk or secretary in the local, vernacular languages (see Yule and Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson, a glossary of Anglo-Indian words and phrases* [London 1903, 501-2]).

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(C.E. BOSWORTH)

LĀSHĪN, MAHMŪD ṬĀHIR (1894-1954), Egyptian

writer of novels and short stories.

While neither the most famous nor the most productive of a group of Egyptian writers that came to prominence during the 1920s as the *Ḍjamā'at al-madrasa al-hadītha* ("The new school group"), Lāshīn was undoubtedly one of the first to display genuine mastery of the short story genre. Born into a family of Turko-Circassian origins, he studied engineering and then served in the Department of Public Works. While other colleagues in the group, such as Mahmūd Taymūr (1894-1973) and Yahyā Hakkī (1905-93), went on to illustrious careers in Egyptian literary life, Lāshīn appears to have become disillusioned with the reception of his work and published little after 1940. As critics have begun to appreciate the importance of his place in the development of modern Egyptian fiction, his relative obscurity among members of succeeding generations is being replaced by a deeper understanding of the extent of his achievement.

Lāshīn's family background allowed him to serve as a host for the early gatherings of the *Ḍjamā'at al-madrasa al-hadītha*. Already fascinated by the potential of the short story genre, the group soon became deeply influenced by the Russian school of writers, including Gogol, Turgenev, Chekov, and Dostoevsky. Lāshīn was writing stories as early as 1921, but it was the foundation in 1925 of the literary weekly *al-Fadīr* that afforded an outlet for his creativity. His first published collection, *Sukhrīyyat al-nāy*, appeared in 1926, and he followed it with a second one, *Yuhkā anna*, in 1929; a third, *al-Nikāb al-tā'ir*, was published in 1940.

Like the short stories of his contemporaries, Lāshīn's examples focus on the environment with which he was most familiar, that of the urban middle class. Eschewing the more idealised and homiletic tone of his predecessors, he manages to create a convincing social reality through his gloomy portraits of the lives and struggles of various professional types—lawyers, merchants, and civil servants—utilising the short story genre to provide glimpses into both their public careers and family tensions. By contrast, *Hadīth al-karya*

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("Tale of the village") is set in the countryside; in an accomplished manner it explores the tension between rural and urban values that is such a frequent theme of modern Arabic fiction.

Lāshīn's novel, *Hawwā' bi-lā Ādam* ("Eve without Adam", 1934), is also a major contribution to the development of that genre in the Egyptian context. While its date of publication places it within a decade during which most of Egypt's prominent littérateurs made initial attempts at penning novels (among them Tawfīq al-Hakīm, Ibrāhīm 'Abd al-Kādir al-Māzinī, 'Abbās Maḥmūd al-Akḥād and Maḥmūd Taymūr), Lāshīn's work stands out both for the characteristically subtle way in which he portrays the tensions involved when a female tutor falls in love with her much younger charge and for the fact that the very fictionality of his narrative stands in marked contrast to the apparently autobiographical contexts of most of the efforts of his contemporaries. Like its author, however, *Hawwā' bi-lā Ādam* has, at least until recently, resided in an unmerited obscurity.

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2. Studies. Yahyā Haḳkī, *Faḍīr al-ḳiṣṣa al-miṣriyya*, Cairo 1960; Šabrī Ḥāfīz, *Maḥmūd Tāhir Lāshīn wa-milād al-uḳṣūṣa al-miṣriyya*, in *al-Maḍjalla*, Cairo (Feb.-March 1968); Hilary Kilpatrick, *Hawwā' bi-lā Ādam. An Egyptian novel of the 1930's*, in *JAL*, iv (1973), 48-56; Aḥmad Ibrāhīm al-Hawārī, *Maṣādir naḳd al-niṣāya fi 'l-adab al-'Arabī al-ḥadīthī fi Miṣr*, Cairo 1979; Jad Ali, *Form and technique in the Egyptian novel, 1912-1971*, London 1983; Sabry Hafez, *The genesis of Arabic narrative discourse*, London 1993.

(R.M.A. ALLEN)

LEWNĪ, Ottoman miniature painter, born ca. 1680, died 1145/1732. Lewnī, meaning "colourful", and "varied", was the pseudonym used by the artist, whose real name was 'Abd ūl-Djēlīl Celebī. He was the most influential figure of early 18th-century Ottoman miniature painting, active during the reigns of Muṣṭafā II and Aḥmed III [q.v.]. He came to Istanbul from Edirne after 1707. Since his name does not appear in the records of court artists, the *ehl-i hīref*, of this period it is thought that he either held a higher position at the imperial court or worked freelance. Lewnī was not only a painter but also a folk poet whose compositions have a close affinity to

diwān literature [see 'OTHMĀNLĪ. III. Literature]. His poetry treated the themes of love, heroism and war, and his admonitory epic poem consisting of proverbs inspired other folk poets.

The unsigned engravings portraying Ottoman sultans that illustrate Demetrius Kantemir's [see KANTIMĪR, DEMETRIUS, in Suppl.] *Ottoman history* are thought to be based on early works by Lewnī. His series of Ottoman sultan portraits (Topkapı Palace Museum A 3109) display an innovative style characterised by an informal approach to his models, natural facial expression, and the use of colour shading and chiaroscuro to lend volume to the figures. Lewnī may have trained under the celebrated late 17th-century portraitist Muṣawwır Ḥüseyn.

Another of Lewnī's major works is the series of miniatures illustrating the *Šunāme-i Vehbī*, an account of the festivities for the circumcision of the sons of Aḥmed III in 1720 (Topkapı Palace Museum A 3593). These miniatures depict trade guild parades and public entertainments in a consistent narrative style, and the figures are portrayed with a vigorous sense of movement and suggestion of depth. An album containing forty-two full-length portraits signed by Lewnī magnificently reflects the atmosphere of the time (Topkapı Palace Museum H 2164). These portraits of men and women largely symbolise aspects of life during the so-called Tulip Era [see LĀLE DĒVRİ] and were probably intended to illustrate the protagonists in contemporary stories.

At a time when Western influence was beginning to make itself felt, Lewnī masterfully rejuvenated Ottoman pictorial art without any loss of its essential character, and his work is regarded as a turning point in both style and approach.

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(A. GÜL İREPOĞLU)

M

MĀ'. 10. Irrigation in Transoxania.

The rivers of Inner Asia, extending from *Kh*^wārazm in the west through Transoxania to eastern Turkistān (the later Sinkiang) and northwards to the Semirečye, have all been extensively used for irrigation purposes in the lands along those rivers and in oasis centres, providing a possibility for agriculture in favoured spots which were not too open to attack from the steppe nomads or more northerly forest peoples. Hence, as elsewhere in the Old World, the maintenance of irrigation works, surface canals and *kārīzs* or subterranean

channels (these last to be found as far east as the Tarim basin and the fringes of China proper; see *KANĀT*) depended on injections of capital from strong local rulers, on the mass mobilisation of labour for construction and maintenance work, and on vigorous defence policies to protect the settled lands. Such river systems as those of the Oxus, Zarafšān and Syr Darya to the west of the Tien Shan mountains, and those of the Tarim river and its tributaries coming down from the Kun-Lun mountains, to the east of the Tien Shan, must have had irrigation works long



antedating the coming of Islam, even where specific information is lacking and their existence can only be inferred from the sparse archaeological investigations in such regions.

Thus ground surveys and the results of aerial photography have enabled scholars like the late S.P. Tolstov to show how irrigation in Kh^hārazm depended on a complex system of canals and channels from the lower Syr Darya and extending westwards towards the Caspian (these last, along the old channel of the Uzboi [see ĀMŪ DARYĀ], were investigated in an expedition of 1947; see Tolstov, *Auf den Spuren der altchoresmischen Kultur*, East Berlin 1953, 318 ff.).

The irrigation systems of what was the pre-Islamic Iranian region of Sogdia [see AL-ṢUGHḌ] are especially well known from the mediaeval Arabic and Persian geographers and local historians and were the subject of a special monograph by W. Barthold (*Īstori oroshē niyya Turkestana*, St. Petersburg 1914, repr. in his *Soī-neniya*, iii, Moscow 1965, 99-233). The river which flowed through the heart of Sogdia, the Nahr al-Ṣughd or Zarafshān [q.v.], watered an extensive agricultural region in which were located the great cities of Bukhārā and Samarkand [q.v.] and many significant smaller urban centres; under Islam, the zenith of their prosperity was reached under the local dynasty of the Sāmānids [q.v.] (3rd-4th/9th-10th centuries). The left bank tributaries of the Zarafshān coming down from the Buttāmān mountains (in what is now northern Tajikistan and the eastern part of the Kashkadarinskaya oblast of Uzbekistan) were fed by large quantities of melted snow in spring and early summer. There were along them diversionary dams which divided up the river flows and led them into irrigation channels, called from later mediaeval Islamic times onwards by the term used in Turkish *arık*/*arigh* (but probably of non-Turkish origin, G. Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*, Wiesbaden 1965-83, ii, 52-3 no. 469; Sir Gerard Clauson, *An etymological dictionary of pre-thirteenth century Turkish*, Oxford 1972, 214). A dam constructed four *farsakhs* from Samarkand gave its name to the locality Waragh^hsar, lit. "head of the dam". The irrigation waters from there were regulated by an official resident in Samarkand who had a staff of subordinates responsible for the upkeep of the banks of the channels, etc., whilst the inhabitants of Waragh^hsar itself were exempt from paying *kharaḍj* in return for maintenance work on the dam (Ibn Hawkal, ed. Kramers, ii, 496-7, tr. Kramers and Wiet, ii, 475-6; Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 465-6). The largest channels in the region were navigable, but probably for rafts rather than for boats, and timber was floated down along them to Samarkand. Within the city itself, water was brought into the *shahristān* or inner city along a channel which crossed the defensive ditch formed by excavating material for the walls, hence the channel was carried on an aqueduct into the *shahristān* at the *ra's al-fāk* "head of the arch". Alongside the channel, the properties were constituted as *aukāf* for its upkeep, and the local community of Zoroastrians were free of the *ḡizya* or poll-tax in return for maintaining the channel in good repair (Ibn Hawkal, ii, 492-3, tr. ii, 473).

Such constructions and arrangements in Sogdia were undoubtedly of pre-Islamic origin. An early Arab governor of Khurāsān, Hishām's nominee Asad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Kasīr, in 117/735 tried to deprive the inhabitants of Samarkand of water by blocking the channel at Waragh^hsar and diverting it from the city, at a time when Sogdia had thrown off short-lived Arab

control and temporarily recovered its independence under the local king Ghūrak, and had now to be reconquered by the Arabs (al-Tabarī, ii, 1586; H.A.R. Gibb, *The Arab conquests in Central Asia*, London 1923, 78-80). The dam at Waragh^hsar was obviously an ancient work. Further information on the irrigation system of Samarkand, this time in the Karakhānid period, is given by the local historian Abū Hafṣ 'Umar al-Nasafī (early 6th/12th century) in his *Kitāb al-Kand fī ta'rīkhī Samarkand*; he enumerates the various *arīks* and gives the total area of irrigated land (Barthold, *Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion*, London 1968, 89, and on the irrigation system at Samarkand in general, *ibid.*, 82-92).

The Arab geographers likewise give detailed information on the situation at Bukhārā, at the western end of the Zarafshān basin, and this can be supplemented by items from the local historian Narshakhī [q.v.]. According to the latter, the main irrigation channel through the city was known as the *rūd-i zar* "golden, or gold-bearing river" (*Tārīkh-i Bukhārā*, tr. R.N. Frye, *The history of Bukhara*, Cambridge, Mass. 1954, 31-2). Al-Mukaddasī, 331-2, and Ibn Hawkal, ii, 484-7, tr. ii, 465-7, describe how locks and sluices along the *arīks* through the city controlled the water flow at times of the river's spate and inundation; see also Barthold, *op. cit.*, 103-6.

There was a continuously-cultivated strip of agricultural land along the left bank of the Oxus from Amul [q.v.] to Kh^hārazm, with *arīks* led off the main channel of the river, some big enough for boats to sail on, until the extensive network of canals in Kh^hārazm itself was reached (see above). Irrigation canals in the Syr Darya basin began in the Farghāna [q.v.] valley, into which the river's most voluminous source, the Nahr Djidghil (probably the modern Naryn), began; then as now, the Farghāna valley was a land of intense cultivation, and the towns there, such as Akhsikath and Khudjand [q.v.], derived their water supplies from conduits leading off the irrigation canals (see Le Strange, *op. cit.*, 477 ff.). Further down the Syr Darya basin, irrigation channels were a feature of such provinces as Shāsh [see TASHKENT], Ilāk and Isfīdjāb [q.v. in Suppl.] until Sawrān and the frontier with the Oghuz steppes were reached.

The Murghāb river in northern Khurāsān (now mainly in Turkmenistan) had numerous canals and dams along its course, controlling the waters which came down from melted snows in the Paropamisus mountains of northern Afghānistān. The situation there has been mentioned in section 6. above, at Vol. V, 868b, but one should add here that we possess especially valuable information for the very complex irrigation system in the Marw oasis from some of the Arab geographers and from the section on the terminology of the *diwān al-mā'* in al-Kh^hārazmī's concise encyclopaedia of the technical terms of the various sciences, the *Mafātīh al-ʿulūm*, composed in the later Sāmānid period by an author closely connected with the Sāmānid bureaucracy in Bukhārā; part of this last author's information on irrigation terminology deals specifically with conditions at Marw (see C.E. Bosworth, *Abū 'Abdallāh al-Khwarazmī on the technical terms of the secretary's art*, in *JESHO*, xii [1969], 151-8). Ibn Hawkal, ii, 436, tr. ii, 421-2, characterises the *mutawallī* or *muḥassim al-mā'* at Marw as a high-ranking *amīr* who had under him over 10,000 men, each with a specific task to perform, for keeping the irrigation system in repair. Al-Mukaddasī, 330-1, mentions that the *amīr*'s staff included guards (*hurrās*) to keep watch over the canal banks and 4,000 divers



(*ghawwāṣūn*) who watched the channels night and day and had to be ready to turn out for running repairs in all weather conditions; the allocation of water to its various users was determined by a special measure or gauge (*mikyās*).

For all these hydraulic systems, the devastations of the Mongols must have had an adverse effect, although agriculture gradually revived and the systems were brought back into repair and use. Tīmūr took steps at restoration of the Sogdian irrigation system, especially when he made Samarkand his capital. Under the succeeding lines of Özbek Turkish *khāns* in Transoxania and *Kh**ārazm, internal prosperity continued to rest substantially on an agriculture supported by centrally-organised irrigation systems. Hence every canal and rural community dependent on it had its *mīrāb*, the official in charge of the construction and upkeep of the dams and channels. Some of these were comparatively humble local functionaries, but the vital importance of the irrigation systems for maintaining the economic health of *Kh**ārazm, in later times the *khānate* of *Kh**iwa [*q.v.*] was ruled by the 'Arabshāhid ruler Abu 'l-Ghāzī Bahādur *Khān* (r. 1054-74/1644-63 [*q.v.*]), who introduced various administrative reforms, including the appointment of four *mīrābs* as members of his central council of ministers or 'amaldārs. The historian of the dynasty, Shīr Muḥammad Mu'nis (1192-1244/1778-1829 [*q.v.*]), held the hereditary post of *mīrāb*, in succession to his deceased elder brother, until his death, and his *History* shows that he was indeed personally concerned with the practical affairs involved; his nephew and continuator Muḥammad Ridā Āghāhī [*q.v.* in Suppl.], likewise functioned as a *mīrāb* (Yu. Bregel [tr.], *Firdaus al-iqbāl. History of Khorezm*, Leiden 1999, pp. xviii-xix, xxi). Some of the highest personages in the state gave personal attention to these matters. Mu'nis describes how the *amīr* 'Awad Biy Ināk in 1216/1802 supervised the dredging of the *Kh**iwanik canal (the term for such operations being *kāzū*, apparently from *kazmak* "to dig") the actual work being done by corvée labour (*hashār*, *bigār*); and the *Khān* himself, Muḥammad Raḥīm, came personally in 1225/1810 for the re-opening of the head of this canal (Bregel, *op. cit.*, 162-3, 299).

Bibliography: Given in the article, but see also A. Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islams*, Heidelberg 1923, Eng. tr. 449-50; D.R. Hill, in *The UNESCO history of the civilizations of Central Asia*, iv/2, Paris 2000, 265 ff. (C.E. BOSWORTH)

MĀ' AL-WARD, rose water (sometimes also found in the single word form *al-māward*, which suggests that among doctors and apothecaries, this commodity was perceived as something very specific), an essential preparation in Arab pharmacology.

Use of rose water is to be seen in the context of the knowledge professed by the Arabs of the medicinal and cosmetic properties of the rose and, clearly, their mastery of the technique of distillation. While the treatises evoke numerous varieties of rose, the generic term for which is *ward* (a word originally denoting, in classical Arabic, any flower of shrub or of tree) or indeed the Persian *gul*, they are not immune from ambiguity. Thus the red rose is sometimes called *ward aḥmar*, sometimes *hawḍjam*, a term reserved by some for the damask rose. The varieties most frequently attested are three in number, if the wild rose is excluded (*nasrīn*: *Rosa canina*); white rose (*Rosa alba*: *ward abyad*, *waḥḥū*); five-leaf rose (*Rosa centifolia*: *hawḍjam*); damask rose (*Rosa damascena*: *ward ḡūrī*, *ward ḡūrī*, *ward baladī*, *ward shāmī*). Rose water was extracted from the petals of the last-named, pale red in colour and

flowering from the spring to the end of summer. It may be noted that the rose was among the ingredients of various other concoctions such as rose honey (*ḡulandjūbīn*) or julep (*ḡulāb*).

Rose water was thus obtained by the distillation of the damask rose (*ward ḡūrī*, the *nisba* referring to the town of *Djūr* in the south-west of Persia [see *FIRUZĀBĀD*], a technique described in detail by al-Nuwayrī (*Nihāyat*, xii, 123, 126-8), with reference to several recipes, on the basis of his usual source, namely the *Kitāb al-'Arūs* of al-Tamīmī. But, contrary to what might be supposed, the majority of recipes for rose water blended this flower with other medicinal herbs such as aloes, saffron, musk, camphor or even cloves. This essence could be obtained from the petals (*wardaḡ*) of the fresh flower (*ward tarī*) or of the dried flower (*ward yābis*), when they had been ground and set to macerate in the cucurbit (*kar'a*, i.e. lower part of the alembic; then, by means of the alembic (*al-anbīk* [*q.v.*], here the coil) and its heating, the rose water was collected by distillation (*taḡṭīr*). The procedure of sublimation (rudimentary distillation, *taṣ'ūd*) was also in use, according to al-Nuwayrī.

As regards the medicinal properties, the sources attest that distilled rose water was used, internally or externally, in the treatment of migraine, nausea and anxiety, but, especially, in eye-washes, to combat ophthalmia (Maimonides, *Shārḥ*, 59; Ibn Sīnā, *Kānūn*, i, 299-300). Mediaeval treatises on pharmacology and of ophthalmic medicine lay particular stress on the salutary properties of rose water as a wash for the treatment of numerous conditions of the eye, as well as for their prevention (*yamma' kurūh al-'ayn*, writes Dāwūd al-Anṭākī, *Tadhkira*, i, 339). The emollient and stabilising properties of rose water, often combined, in this case, with egg white, were appreciated after operations for cataract (Ibn Kassam al-Ghāfiqī, *Kitāb al-Murshid*, 154; Hunayn b. Ishāq, *K. al-'Ashr makālāt fi 'l-'ayn*, 158, 160). Use of this essence as an eye-wash is still common today and traditionally-inclined doctors readily prescribe it (H. Ducros, *Droguier*, 66-7; G. Honda, *Herb drugs*, 19, 90; J. Bellakhdar, *Médecine traditionnelle*, 302). Besides the purely medical use of this commodity, a number of texts refer to its benefits in the sphere of cosmetics and aesthetics, especially as a deodorant and as a cooling agent.

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MADHHAB (A., pl. *madhāhib*), inf. n. of *dh-h-b*, meaning “a way, course, mode, or manner, of acting or conduct or the like” (Lane, i, 983b); as a term of religion, philosophy, law, etc. “a doctrine, a tenet, an opinion with regard to a particular case”; and in law specifically, a technical term often translated as “school of law”, in particular one of the four legal systems recognised as orthodox by Sunnī Muslims, viz. the Ḥanafīyya, Mālikīyya, Shāfi‘īyya and Ḥanbalīyya [q.vv.], and the Shī‘ī Dja‘farī and Zaydiyya legal schools [see *ITHNĀ ‘ASHARĪYYA*; *ZAYDIYYA*].

For an exposé of *madhhab* development, see the second section of *FIKH*, at Vol. II, 887b ff.; for recent writings questioning the Schachtian explanation of the “ancient schools of law” and for further bibliography on this, see N. Hurwitz, *Schools of law and historical context: Re-examining the formation of the Hanbali madhhab*, in *ILS*, vii (2000), 37-64 and W.B. Hallaq, *From regional to personal schools of law? A reevaluation*, in *ILS*, viii (2001), 1-26. For new secondary studies on the *madhhab* since the *Bibl.* given in *FIKH*, see the important publication of *Islamic Law and Society (ILS)*, i (1994); N. Calder, *Studies in early Muslim jurisprudence*, Oxford 1993; C. Melchert, *The formation of the Sunni schools of law, 9th-10th centuries C.E.*, Leiden 1997; Nurit Tsafir, *The beginnings of the Hanafi school in Isfahān*, in *ILS*, v (1998), 1-21; eadem, *The history of an Islamic school of law. The early spread of Hanafism*, Cambridge, Mass., in press [2004]; C. Adang, *From Mālikism to Shāfi‘ism to Ṣāḥirism: the ‘conversions’ of Ibn Ḥazm*, in Mercedes García-Arenal (ed.), *Conversions islamiques. Identités religieuses en Islam méditerranéen*, Paris 2001, 73-87; Hallaq, *Authority, continuity and change in Islamic law*, Cambridge 2001; Eyyup S. Kaya, *Mezheblerin tesekkulunden sonra fihri istidlal* (“Legal reasoning after the formation of madhhabs”), unpubl. Ph.D. diss., Marmara University, Istanbul 2001; the forthcoming [2004] volume *The Islamic school of law. Evolution, devolution, and progress*, eds. P. Bearman, R. Peters and F.E. Vogel (Cambridge, Mass.) and the extensive bibliography there. See also G. Makdisi, *The rise of colleges. Institutions of learning in Islam and the West*, Edinburgh 1981; idem, *The rise of humanism in classical Islam and the Christian West*, Edinburgh 1990; E. Chaumont, *En quoi le madhhab šāfi‘ite est-il šāfi‘ite selon le Muḡit al-ḥalq de Ḡuwaynī?*, in *AI*, xxxv (2001), 17-26; and Maribel Fierro, *Repertorio bibliográfico de derecho islámico*, Murcia 1999, s.v. “escuela”. For the Shī‘ī *madhhab* in particular, see Hossein Modarressi Tabātabā‘ī, *An introduction to Shī‘ī law: a bibliographical study*, London 1984, 23-58; D. Bredi, *I sistemi giuridici non sunniti: l’islamizzazione del diritto e l’alternativa ja‘farita in Pakistan*, in *Annali di Ca’Foscari* (Rome), xxxv (1996), 313-34. For a list of *El* articles on the schools and their jurists, see the entry *Law* in the *Encyclopaedia’s Index of Subjects* (Leiden 2002), and the sub-entries there. (Ed.)

MADĪNA (A.), urbanism, the structure and planning of the Arab town and city.

This can be reconstructed as an historical reality from a vast body of literature, including chronicles and archival documents. It embodies enlightened ideas which seem to be commented on, as it were, by the remains of all the great Arab cities that can still be seen. The concept of a Muslim “city” was formulated chiefly by French orientalist (on this subject see R.S. Humphreys, *Islamic history: a framework for inquiry*, Princeton 1991, 228) between 1920 and 1950; in particular see G. and W. Marçais, J. Sauvaget and J. Weulersse. However, the most accomplished expression of this concept can be attributed to G. von

Grunebaum in *The structure of the Muslim town*, in *The American Anthropologist*, lvii [1955].

It would be unnecessarily tedious to trace in detail the causes and conditions underlying the development of this concept (see J. Abu-Lughod, *The Islamic city*, in *IJMES*, xix [1987]; A. Raymond, *Islamic city, Arab city: orientalist myths and recent views*, in *IJMES*, xxi/1 [1994]). The importance accorded to it derived almost exclusively from religious factors, for Islam was assumed to underlie any form appearing in the Muslim domain.

The conception of a Muslim town *ne varietur*, scarcely affected by vicissitudes in the long history of Islam, was broadly extrapolated from Maghribī and Syrian examples. Furthermore it was supposed to be independent of the extremely diverse geographical conditions evident in the immense expanse of Muslim territory. It is altogether a very negative conception. The Muslim town, a structure devoid of any logical order, is said to have replaced the ancient organisation and model of regularity: it was irregular; its streets were winding cul-de-sacs; it was a maze, a labyrinth (R. Le Tourneau, *Les villes musulmanes de l’Afrique du Nord*, Algiers 1957); it was a dilapidated version of the ancient town; it had neither its own institutions nor administration (different, of course, not only from the cities of the ancient world but also from western mediaeval cities, which were endowed with communal institutions); and it had no legal existence. Thus Aleppo was like “a negation of urban order”, a place where the influence of Islam had been “essentially negative”; the town had become “an inconsistent and inorganic collection of districts” (for these remarks see Sauvaget, *Alep*, 247-8). Weulersse describes such an internal dislocation in Antioch: the city is an amalgam of religious and national communities, a foreign body and a parasite in a country that it was exploiting (Weulersse, *Paysans de Syrie*, Paris 1946).

In the absence of any real precise information on Muslim town planning in any of the basic texts (the Kur’ān, *sunna* or *fikh* [q.vv.]), it is not surprising that the positive characteristics retained by such a “non-city” were reckoned to be few in number and, moreover, barely significant. It was inhabited by Muslims; as the seat of Muslim institutions (*kādī* [q.v.], *muhtasib* [see *HISBA*]), it comprised a Friday mosque, normally located at its centre; it had a market (*sūq* [q.v.]), which was situated near the mosque and organised according to a strict professional specialisation; it was provided with public baths; and it was generally surrounded by ramparts. It is interesting to note that Arab researchers who are interested in the problem have generally adopted such a negative vision.

No further time will be wasted on the conditions under which a revision of this concept took place (the end of the colonial era, a more reasonable appreciation of the Arab cultural context and the “Turkish” period, and the discovery of Ottoman sources). A certain number of orientalist pre-suppositions have been submitted to an excruciating revision, and a better acquaintance with later ancient cities has tempered any illusion about their supposed perfection (H. Kennedy, *From Polis to Madina*, in *Past and Present* [1985]). It was recognised that the variety of historical conditions should be taken into account (J.-Cl. Garcin, *Habitat médiéval et histoire urbaine*, in *Palais et maisons du Caire*, i, Paris 1982), as also the diversity of geographical and cultural conditions prevailing in the Muslim world (O. Grabar, *Reflections on the study of Islamic art*, in *Mugarnas*, i [1983]). Attention was drawn to the fact that the absence of administration in the Muslim town was not as absolute as had been



suggested (see, for example, the role played by communities, *ṭawāʾif*, in the conduct of urban affairs). It was suggested that Muslim law and its interpreters were not silent on the subject of the town (see the early remarks of R. Brunschvig, in *Urbanisme médiéval et droit musulman*, in *REI*, xv [1947], which find an echo in the works of B. Johansen, *The claims of men and the claims of God*, in *Pluriformiteit en verdeling van de macht in het midden-oosten*, MOI publ. 4, Nijmegen 1980). It was admitted that the religious egalitarianism that characterised the *umma* did not preclude strong differentiation on socio-economic grounds, and traces of this could be found in urban organisation.

By concentrating on the modern, historically coherent period and by staying within the limits of the Arabo-Mediterranean region, which is both homogeneous and clearly identifiable within the Ottoman domain, it is possible to define the major principles of the structure of traditional Arab towns at the beginning of the 19th century, just at the time when modernisation was beginning to alter their characteristics irretrievably (see Raymond, *La structure spatiale de la ville*, in M. Naciri and Raymond (eds.), *Sciences sociales et phénomènes urbains dans le monde arabe*, Casablanca 1997).

Through a study of the structure of the "traditional" Arab town we are able to demonstrate the existence of a coherent urban system. The fundamental characteristic of this system was a marked separation between the central "public" zone, where the principal economic, religious and cultural activities were developed, and the "private" zone, which was chiefly devoted to residence. This separation becomes apparent when a study is made of the localisation of urban functions. It is equally visible on street plans, where the relatively broad and regular road network of the centre is contrasted with the maze of narrow, irregular streets which had been seen to be a general feature of these towns; about 50% of the total length of the streets is represented by cul-de-sacs. This distinction has been recognised at length by jurists of the Ḥanafī school (B. Johansen).

The central region encloses the great markets (*sūks*), which are generally very specialised and assigned particular locations, and also the caravanserais, *funduqs*, *khāns* and *wakālas*, according to the region and the period. It is here that big international business and wholesale trade took place and the centre of it was often the *ḡaysāriyya/bedestān*, devoted to the luxury trade (as in Fez or Cairo). This zone is assembled around the great university mosques (such as the Karawīyīn, the Zaytūna, al-Azhar and the Umayyad mosque), which are the centres of religious and cultural activities.

The surface area of this zone varies according to the importance of the towns and the extent of their commercial activity; it is about six hectares in Tunis, twelve in Aleppo and sixty in Cairo. The characteristics of the zone are so strongly marked that it sometimes has a particular name, such as "Mdīnch" in Aleppo. Normally one or more main streets cross it, depending on the scale of traffic, which at that period consisted exclusively of transport on the backs of animals. At the beginning of the 19th century, 6 m represented an optimal breadth, according to the opinion of the Egyptian *ʿulamāʾ*. Some of these streets date back to ancient times, such as the "Street called Straight" in Damascus and the main street in Aleppo; others have been traced back to the Arab foundation (such as the Kaṣaba in Cairo). This zone is generally very stable, probably because it has a very strong

structure and because it is closely linked with the principal mosque. In modern times there is only one case of a change of location known, at Mawṣil (D. Khouri, *Mosul, 1540-1834*, Cambridge 1997).

The areas spreading outside and around this central zone are chiefly devoted to housing, and from Morocco to Afghānistān these are organised into a system of neighbourhoods; in the Maghrib they are called *ḥawma*, in Egypt *ḥāra* and in the Near and Middle East *maḥalla*. They have a very consistent structure: there is one entrance point, which can be shut by a gate, and if necessary guarded; one main street, on to which alleys and cul-de-sacs are grafted. There are no specialised markets in these districts, only the *suwaykas*, which have been analysed by Sauvaget and where the many activities necessary to daily existence take place. The life of the district is that of a community that is quite closed in upon itself; it is open only toward the centre, where the local inhabitants undertake their activities and towards which the network of roads leads in a hierarchically organised scheme (N. Messiri, *The concept of the Hara*, in *AI*, xv [1979]); this consideration, as well as the concern for security, justifies the statistical importance of the cul-de-sacs in this area. There does not seem to be any rule about homogeneity according to the origin or activity of the inhabitants, except in those cases where a district was inhabited by a community of a distinct religious or ethnic minority.

These general characteristics lead to a structure which may be described as doubly concentric, an arrangement such as is well known in the field of economic activities. Big international businesses and the main activities of craftsmen are located in the central regions, in the area near to the large mosque; nearby can be found in particular the markets for precious metals (*sāgha*) and the money changers (as noted by L. Massignon, *Enquête sur les corporations d'artisans*, in *RMM*, lviii [1924]). In Cairo the 62 caravanserais where the coffee trade took place were located in the area near the Kaṣaba. In Tunis, Damascus and Aleppo, the *sūks* for cloth and spices occupy a prominent place in the area immediately surrounding the mosque. From the centre outwards, activities spread over an increasingly great distance as their order of importance diminished, and also according to the growing inconvenience of particular trades. There could be found on the periphery of the town those domestic activities that needed space (such as the straw workers); those linked to the countryside (grain markets in the large squares, *raḥba*, *ʿarṣa* and livestock markets); those that were embarrassing and polluting (ovens of all sorts, abattoirs, tanneries). The moving of such trades to a more remote location could, moreover, be an indication of urban development, as was the case for the transfer of the tanneries in Aleppo (1570), Cairo (1600) and Tunis (1770) (see Raymond, *Le déplacement des tanneries*, in *REMM*, lv-lvi [1990]).

By contrast, the orientalist vision of a fundamentally egalitarian, Muslim society was a factor in imposing a scheme according to which the rich and poor lived together in the same urban space, using a unique type of habitat qualified as "Muslim", although the house with a central patio may be found in Classical Antiquity, also, an idea strongly expressed by A. Abdel Nour, *Introduction à l'histoire urbaine de la Syrie ottomane*, Beirut 1982. Reality is quite different and corresponds logically to a strongly unequal socio-economic structure. Studies on this subject carried out in Cairo (Raymond, *Artisans et commerçants*, Damascus 1974),



Damascus (C. Establet and J.-P. Pascual, *Familles et fortunes à Damas*, Damascus 1994) and Algiers (T. Shuval, *La ville d'Alger*, Paris 1998) have shown a remarkable inequality in the range of wealth, insofar this can be measured through the successions registered in the courts: fortunes are in a proportion of 1 : 10,000 in Cairo and 1 : 3,000 in Damascus around 1700 (Establet, Pascual and Raymond, *La mesure de l'inégalité sociale dans la société ottomane*, in *JESHO*, xxxvii [1994]). It is therefore not surprising in these conditions that in the large Arab towns the population would be distributed according to a rather rigorous "classification": the comfortable residences occupied the zone near the centre (where the *'ulamā'* preferably lived near to the mosque and traders near the *sūks*); then there were the middle-class areas with increasingly poor living conditions, until one reached the often wretched housing for the common people on the periphery and in the suburbs. This roughly concentric arrangement can be clearly deduced from studies on Tunis (J. Revault, *Palais et demeures à Tunis*, Paris 1967-78), Cairo (N. Hanna, *Habiter au Caire*, Cairo 1991) and Aleppo (J.-Cl. David, *Alep, dégradation et tentatives actuelles de réadaptation*, in *BEO*, xxviii [1975]).

However, the central patio house only appears to be "unitary", and great differences evidently exist with regard to dimensions, whether there are one or more storeys, interior amenities and decoration between houses with courtyards of the rich, middle-class and poor (for Tunis, see G. Cladel and P. Revault, *Medina, approche typologique*, Tunis 1970). Moreover, examples of "atypical" houses are plentiful. There is the collective accommodation of the caravanserai type, the collective accommodation of the *rab'* type found in Cairo, vertical accommodation (Rosetta, Yemen), middle-class accommodation without a patio, poor community accommodation of the *hauṣṣa* type, and cellular accommodation; mediaeval examples of this have been studied by Scanlon and Kubiak in their excavations of Fustāt.

Naturally, no existing town corresponds to this model of a round town, arranged in concentric rings around the centre, with its economic and residential activities classified according to a decreasing order of importance. There are a number of factors (natural, historical, economic and social) that explain the irregularities that are noted. The decentring of al-Kāhira, in the northeast quarter of ancient Cairo, is justified by natural considerations such as the presence of the Muqāṭṭam Hills, which prohibited expansion towards the east; also by historical reasons, such as the construction of the citadel by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn [q.v.], which favoured expansion towards the south, and the custom of dumping the rubbish from Cairo into the region today called "The Tells", which has restricted any expansion towards the northeast.

A similar analysis could be applied to Tunis, where the geography of the site dictates that expansion should develop only towards the north and the south, since expansion to the east and west is prevented by the two lagoons (*sabkha*). It could be applied also to Aleppo, where for a long time the presence of the river Kuwayḡ has hindered any development of the city towards the west and the existence of cemeteries prevented expansion to the north and south. Mawṣil had the appearance of a round town until economic reasons, like the special attraction of the markets because of the commercial potential of the river Tigris, and probably also political reasons (the research into the proximity of the citadel) brought about the displacement of the centre towards the river, far from the great

mosque. On the other hand, the locations of the districts for the minorities and for the élite followed a particular logic, which often led to their remoteness from the centre.

There is indeed good reason for emphasising the importance of the segregative factors in the way the "traditional" town is organised. The inegalitarian nature of Muslim society explains this discrimination by the standard of wealth and the difference in living conditions between the centre and the periphery. In Cairo, however, collective rented accommodation, the *rab'* [q.v.], allowed the middle classes to reside near the centre (Raymond, *Le rab', un habitat collectif au Caire*, in *MUSJ*, 1 [1948]). Districts for the élite were often located on the periphery, where the powerful could find the space they needed for their houses and a certain isolation from the rest of the population. The vigour with which the "national" and/or religious Muslim minority communities regrouped depended on the degree of their differences with regard to the rest of the population: in Cairo, the Maghribis and the Syrians regrouped less than the Turks; a Kurdish district had been in existence for a very long time in Damascus; while in Antioch, the Alawites were at one and the same time very much regrouped and pushed far from the centre. The non-Muslim minority communities (the People of the Book subject to the status of *dhimmi*, "protected") were generally subjected from the point of view of space to strict segregation, expressing in terms of spatial location the discriminations and disabilities imposed upon them, despite the remarkable tolerance which these communities enjoyed under the Ottomans.

There were in all of the large towns Christian and Jewish districts, the location of which varied according to local conditions. The Jews of Tunis lived in a district (*al-hāra*) situated out of the way; those in Cairo were very close to the centre. The relative dispersion of the Copts in Cairo bore witness to the tolerance from which they benefited, but their districts were in the main situated to the west of Khalfūj, in a region that was occupied by Muslims only at a fairly late date. The evolution of the Christian district of Aleppo is significant from this point of view. There, from the end of the 16th century, the community experienced a remarkable development, and this expansion was marked by an eastwards advance of the Christians in the northern suburb of the town which was progressively occupied by them. The gradual retreat of the Muslims towards the east, a community that was none the less dominant, certainly tends to confirm that the religious groups preferred, for reasons of convenience, a segregated, collective life rather than a confessional mix, even though such a mix could exist in limited zones (Raymond, *Une communauté en expansion. Les chrétiens d'Alep*, in *La ville arabe*, Alep, Damascus 1998).

The traditional Arab cities were therefore strongly structured, an observation that seems self-evident, for one can hardly imagine how an anarchical town without an administration would have been able to continue in existence and even experience a strong expansion in modern times. Investigation into the constitutive elements of this specific urban system, the identification of the para-administrative structures which allowed the conduct of urban affairs, and the recognition of the major role played by the *wakf* [q.v.] in urban organisation and development (R. Deguilhem [ed.], *Le waqf dans l'espace islamique*, Damascus 1995) all lead to more positive conclusions than a discreditable comparison with other urban systems which were judged to have been more perfected.



However, an investigation such as this can be complete only when more can be learned about the origins of this urban system. Research on pre-Islamic towns in the Yemen (J.-F. Breton, *Le site et la ville de Shabwa*, in *Syria*, lxxviii [1991]) and in Arabia (A.T. al-Anṣārī, *Qaryat al-Fāw*, London 1981) have brought important insights in this field. There is also a need for better information on the time of transition between the ancient period and the beginnings of the Muslim era (see the traces of Umayyad town planning discovered in the ancient sites of Palmyra and Beit Shean) and on the period of the foundation (for Fustāt, see R.P. Gayraud, *Iṣṭabl 'Antar*, in *AI*, xxv [1991]).

The other crucial question is that of knowing to what extent the data on urban structure suggested by the study of the sources and the examinations of the remnants of ancient towns are equally valid for the "classical" Arab town, which we know from texts but which has to be the subject of reconstruction on the ground, since the urban tissue which subsists in the "madīnas" of Arab towns dates only from the modern Ottoman period.

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(A. RAYMOND)
MADĪNAT AL-NUḤĀS, "The city of brass," a story within the *Thousand and one nights* [see ALF LAYLA WA-LAYLA].

This story, that found its way, somewhat variably, into the 19th-century editions of the *Nights* (on the 18th-century manuscripts in which it appears, see the excellent discussion by D. Pinault, *Story-telling techniques in the Arabian Nights*, Leiden 1992, 150-80), is the most elaborate narrative about a city of copper, brass or bronze (on the proper meanings of *nuḥās* and *sufr*, and their indiscriminate use in non-scientific discourse, see M. Aga-Oglu, *A brief note on Islamic terminology for bronze and brass*, in *JAOS*, lxiv [1944], 218-23). Fabulous reports about such a place, set in remote reaches of the Maghrib or al-Andalus, appear already in the 3rd/9th century. In Ibn Ḥabīb's (d. 238/853 [q.v.]) *Kitāb al-Ta'rīkh* (ed. J. Aguadé, Madrid 1991, 144-5; authentic in the editor's view), Mūsā b. Nuṣayr's [q.v.] adventures include finding jars in which Solomon imprisoned rebellious demons, and a copper fortress (*madīna 'alayhā ḥisn min nuḥās*) inhabited by *ḡinn*, which renders those who enter it unaware of their condition. Al-Mas'ūdī tells us (*Murūj*, i, 369 = ed. Pellat, i, 195-6, § 409) that beyond al-Sūs al-aḳṣā (southern Morocco) one comes to the River of Sand, then to the Black Castle, and at length to the sandy desert in which the City of Brass (*nuḥās*) and Domes of Lead are found. He also refers to a book in wide circulation dealing with the wondrous things that Mūsā b. Nuṣayr saw there. In another place (iv, 95 = § 1423) he refers to the same city (here as *madīnat al-sufr wa-kubbat al-raṣās*), and says that those who flung themselves from the walls tasted (so they report) the pleasures of this world and the next. The *Mukhtaṣar* of Ibn al-Faḳīh's [q.v.] *Kitāb al-Buldān* is in several respects close to the *Nights* story, although the city is called al-Baht and no mention of metallic walls is made. After travelling through the "deserts of al-Andalus" Mūsā finds a city without an entrance, grim with brilliant battlements. Those who scale the walls laugh uncontrollably, and hurl themselves to their deaths below. (Mad laughter leading to death is the effect of the *baht* stone, cf. al-Bīrūnī, *K. al-Djāmāhir fī ma'rifa al-djāwāhir*, Haydarābād 1355, 101.) A memento mori inscription (of which there are many in the *Nights* tale) refers to the mortality of Solomon, mightiest of kings. Mūsā renounces entering the City and moves on to "the lake". This lake is visited by al-Khaḍir [q.v.] once a year. Mūsā's divers recover a bronze (*sufr*) jar, from which, when opened, a brazen man



escapes with the cry “O Prophet, I will not relapse!” Later it is explained that such bottles hold the rebellious *djinn* imprisoned by Solomon. The *Nights* story adds further Solomonic motifs to the journey and the City itself (cf. A. Hamori, *The art of medieval Arabic literature*, Princeton 1974, 149-53), as well as some other new details. The essential innovation is that in the *Nights*, Mūsā ultimately enters the City, to find it full of dead people who look deceptively alive. One of the leaders of the expedition, Ṭālib b. Sahl, is killed by robots when he tries to despoil the dead queen of her jewels.

The motifs in these narratives have their now inextricably tangled roots in Islamic (and Jewish) legends about Solomon, the Alexander Romance, Iranian legend, and, of course, in marvelling at ancient structures laid in massive desolation. Indeed, the sources show disagreement as to whether the builder of the City was Alexander or Solomon. Brazen or iron walls and palaces are a feature of many texts from Antiquity, and often occur in Iranian legend and poetry (cf. M. Barry, *Le Pavillon des sept princesses*, Paris 2000, 680-4, on Nizāmī's *Tale of the red pavilion*). The principal source of the malefic City of Brass may well be the Iranian legend of the Brazen Hold, a subterranean (but brilliant) place of evil in the Avesta (cf. J. Darmesteter, *Le Zend-Avesta*, repr. Paris 1960, i, 111), which surfaces as the evil Ardjāsp's redoubt in the *Shāh-nāma* (ed. Mohl, iv, 493 and index). The Solomonic motifs became easily associated because of the Qur'anic reference (XXXIV, 12-13) to the ‘ayn al-kuṭr, mostly understood as a fountain of copper or brass, that God made to flow for Solomon, and to the *djinn* that built him palaces and statues. The journey to the ends of the world, cautionary inscriptions, automata and the overall memento mori mood are characteristic of all recensions of the Alexander Romance. In addition, as Ch. Ganequand has pointed out (*Autour de la ville de bronze: d'Alexandre à Salomon*, in *Arabica*, xxxix [1992], 328-30), in his section on the Maghrib Ibn al-Fakīh relates, before describing the City of Baht, versions of such details of the Alexander Romance as the River of Sand (which appears in some recensions) and Alexander's conversation with the gymnosophists (who are here an *umma* of the Banū Isrā'īl). Ganequand suggests that Ibn al-Fakīh's mysterious lake (in the *Nights*, the sea of Karkar) associated with al-Khaḍir derives directly from the Water of Life episode in the Alexander Romance via the traditional association of al-Khaḍir with Qur'ān, XVIII, 61-5 (cf. also Pinault, 180-6); and that the City of Brass itself derives from an episode in a late Byzantine recension (dated by its editor to the early 8th century A.D.) in which the gymnosophists' women live on an island surrounded by a brilliant brazen wall which no man can penetrate and live. The Water of Life episode is, indeed, likely to have been a major contributor to the shaping of the story. Whether the same is true of the women's island is harder to say, since this episode is itself an adaptation of the Amazons' self-segregation in the older recensions, and may have been elaborated under oriental influence.

Some commentators have considered the *Nights* story a clumsy grab-bag of motifs. At a minimum, one must agree with those who see in it a *zuhdī* homily (e.g. Pinault, 231-39). It has been suggested (Barry, 167-8, and Hamori, *loc. cit.*) that, in view of the mystical symbolism often attributed to various episodes in the Solomon legend, to dead bodies only seemingly alive, to spiritual famine, to al-Khaḍir, etc., an interpretation of the *Nights* story that assumes such symbolism

to have been intended makes sense of some otherwise unmotivated details and offers the most coherent reading. It may be more prudent to say that, whatever the various narrators had in mind, in ages of deep popular Šūfism, such symbolic understanding would have been part of the reception of the story.

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AL-MADJĀDHĪB, a leading “holy family” among the Sudanese *Djā'aliyyūn* [q.v.]. Their ancestors emerged in the 16th century as a family of religious specialists (*fugara*, sg. *fakī*) in the area of al-Dāmar. In 1117/1705-6, Muḥammad al-Madjdhūb (“the Enraptured”), the first of the family to bear this epithet, may have participated in the first revolt of the northern Sudanese provinces against their Fundj [q.v.] overlords. Under his son, *Fakī* Ḥamad wad al-Madjdhūb (1105-90/1694-1776), the family strengthened its position by accumulating private land titles and engaging in long-distance trade. Well trained in Mālikī law, Ḥamad adopted the *Shādhiliyya ṭarīqa*. He and his sons—known since ca. 1800 as *awlād wad al-Madjdhūb* or *al-Madjādhīb*—taught Qur'ān and *fikh*, provided medical services, and mediated between peasants and nomads. Both their fame as scholars and their political importance grew rapidly. They maintained contact with al-Azhar, and their schools were of regional significance. The Turco-Egyptian conquest (1821-3) and economic hardship during the 19th century dispersed the *Madjādhīb*. Some returned to al-Dāmar; others remained in the Ethiopian borderlands or founded settlements in al-Ḳaḍārif, the *Djāzīra* and the western Sudan.

Most important religiously was Ḥamad's grandson, Muḥammad *Madjdhūb* (b. 1210/1795-6, d. 1247/1831). After spending eight years in the Ḥidjāz where he was influenced by Aḥmad b. Idrīs [q.v.], he moved to Sawākin in 1829 to propagate his *ṭarīqa*. A prolific writer, *Madjdhūb* did much to spread Islamic knowledge beyond the confines of the urban scholar-jurists. His nephew and *khalīfa* al-Ṭāhir *Madjdhūb* (1248-1307/1832-90) gained many followers in the eastern Sudan. In 1883 he joined the Mahdī [see *AL-MAHDIVYA*], and his influence among the eastern tribes was an important factor in their rallying behind the Mahdist cause. Al-Ṭāhir's son “al-Shaykh” b. al-Ṭāhir *Madjdhūb* (ca. 1860-1930) served as commander in the Mahdist army and was later venerated for his piety, poetry and learning. His successors moved the centre of the eastern *Madjādhīb* to Erkowit.

In 20th-century al-Dāmar, the heritage of *Shaykh* Muḥammad *Madjdhūb* was promoted by *Madjdhūb* Ḍjalāl al-Dīn (1305-96/1888-96). Although efforts to create a centralised *Ṭarīqa Madjdhūbiyya* failed, the *Shaykh* gradually displaced the clan ancestor, *Fakī* Ḥamad, as focal point of communal identification. A domed tomb was erected over his grave in 1996.

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(A. HOFHEINZ)

AL-MADJĪDHĪBIYYA [see AL-MADJĀDHĪB].

MADURA, MADURĀ'Ī, in mediaeval Islamic times a town, now the city of Madurai, in South India. It lies on the Vaidai river in lat. 9° 55' N., long. 78° 07' E. in the region known to the mediaeval Muslims as Ma'bar and to later European traders as Coromandel. For the historical geography and Islamic history of this coastal province, roughly extending from Cape Comorin northwards to Madras, see MA'BAR.

In 734/1334 Sharīf Djalāl al-Dīn Aḥsan [q.v.], governor for the Dīhlī Sultan Muḥammad b. Tughlūk [q.v.], renounced his allegiance, and he and some seven of his successors ruled over a short-lived Muslim sultanate before it was overwhelmed in ca. 779/1377 by the rising Hindu power of Viḍḡayanagara [q.v.], (see on the Madura sultanate, H.K. Sherwani and P.M. Joshi (eds.), *History of medieval Deccan (1295-1724)*, Haydarābād 1973, i, 57-75; C.E. Bosworth, *The New Islamic dynasties*, Edinburgh 1996, 318 no. 166; and for numismatics, E. Hultsch, *The coinage of the Sultans of Madura*, in *JRAS* [1909], 667-83). Thereafter, Madura remained under Hindu control till the early 18th century, when the Nawwābs of Arcot [q.v.] or Ārkāt extended their power over it, provoking Marāṭhā [q.v.] intervention and then that of the British in favour of the Nawwābs. In 1801 the administration of the Madura region passed to the British East India Company as part of a treaty with the Nawwāb of Arcot, and then in 1855, to complete British control.

The modern city of Madurai, a municipality since 1866, is the chef-lieu of a District of the same name in the Indian Union State of Tamil Nadu; in 1971 it had a population of 548,000, and in 2003 its population totalled 959,200.

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MAFRAK, lit. "place of separation, junction", a settlement, now a town, in the northeastern part of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan [see URDUNN]. It lies in lat. 32° 20' N., long. 36° 12' E. at an elevation of 600 m/1,960 feet in an arid area whose average rainfall is 150 mm per annum. The region lacks running water, hence local people have always depended on pools and reservoirs for water, and the settlement grew up near the "white pool" (*al-ghadīr al-abyad*).

Archaeological investigations nevertheless show that the area was once well populated, and a large number of what were Greek Orthodox churches and their mosaics have been found; the Roman emperor Trajan in A.D. 108 had built a road passing south of the site of Mafrak. In Umayyad times, there may have been a *bādiya* [q.v. in Suppl.] there. The place had a certain importance in Islamic times from its position on the caravan and Pilgrimage route from Damascus to the Ḥijāz, and the sources explain its name by saying some pilgrims used to separate there from the main road and go their own way, or that friends from Damascus used to accompany pilgrims southwards but return home from Mafrak. But the place only assumed real importance when the Ḥijāz railway [q.v.] was built and a station opened there. After the Italian occupation of Libya, Libyan refugees, described as Maghāribā, settled there, and the city still

has a quarter bearing their name. After 1918, it became an Arab Legion base. Economically, the place received an impetus in 1931 when the Iraq Petroleum Company established itself there, built an aircraft landing-ground and brought in labourers to construct a road to Baghdād and pipe lines and generators. A pipe line brought crude oil from Iraq via Mafrak to Haifa and the Mediterranean coast. The population further expanded with the settlement of Bedouin tribesmen, and the discovery of underground water supplies made a growth of industry as well as of population possible. In 1985 the region was promoted administratively from being a *mutasarrifiyya* to being a *muhāfaẓa* or province. In 1994 the Āl al-Bayt University was established in the town's suburbs, bringing further expansion and development, and in 2003 the town had an estimated population of 67,400.

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(M.A. BAKHTT)

MAHAMMAD B. AḤMAD b. 'Abd Allāh **AL-HUḌĪĠĪ** al-Sūsī al-Djazzūlī (1118-89/1706-75), Moroccan scholar and ascetic.

After a classic-type education in his native region of the Sūs, he left on the Pilgrimage in 1152/1739, en route following the courses of famous teachers, notably at Cairo; he gives details of these stays in his unpublished *Rihla ḥijāziyya*. On his return to Morocco, he spent the remainder of his life in his *zāwiya* [q.v.] of Wādī Isī in the Sūs.

His main work, the *Manākib* or *Ṭabaqāt al-Huḍġī* (2 vols. Casablanca 1936-9) groups together alphabetically the names of personalities who lived essentially in the 11th-12th/17th-18th centuries. These comprise above all the scholars and mystics of the Sūs, but also persons from the rest of Morocco, though only rarely from neighbouring lands. The work contains important notices on persons otherwise unknown, increasing its value for the historian. Al-Huḍġī also compiled several commentaries on manuals of *ḥadīth* and *fikh*, on poetry and on grammar; an important number of responsa; and a larger-scale *maǧmū'a* in which he mentions his masters, in the Maghrib and the Mashrik, the licenses to teach which he himself received and which he issued to others, and a few other sparse personal details. Apart from the *Manākib* mentioned above, the ensemble of his works, comprising some 20 titles, remains still unpublished. Al-Huḍġī's intellectual progeny were numerous in the Sūs, but his fame as a Sūfī was equally great amongst his compatriots, with his asceticism and scrupulous orthodoxy impressing his contemporaries; numerous miracles and acts of intercession were attributed to him.

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AL-MAHDĪ LI-DĪN ALLĀH, AL-ḤUSAYN, Yamanī Zaydī Imām.

He was born in 378/988-9 as one of the younger sons of Imām al-Manṣūr bi'llāh [q.v.] al-Kāsim b. 'Alī al-'Iyānī. In Ṣafar 401/September-October 1010 he proclaimed his imāmate at Kā'a in al-Bawn and gained the support of tribes of Ḥimyar, Hamdān and



the Maghārib region. He faced the opposition of the Husaynī 'Alid Muḥammad b. al-Kāsim al-Zaydī, based in Dhamār, and of the descendants of Yahyā al-Hādī, the founder of the Zaydī imamate in Yaman, whose stronghold was in Ṣa'da. In 402/1011-12 he gained control of Ṣa'nā' from Muḥammad al-Zaydī and installed his elder brother Dja'far as governor there. In the following year, al-Zaydī re-entered Ṣa'nā' and destroyed the houses of some of al-Mahdī's partisans. Al-Mahdī defeated and killed him in al-Haḳl. He also thwarted the efforts of Muḥammad al-Zaydī's son Zayd, who received financial backing from the Ziyādī ruler of Zabīd, to avenge his father's death. Next, al-Mahdī seized Ṣa'da, where Yūsuf b. Yahyā b. Ahmad al-Nāsir, the claimant to the imamate there, had died, and destroyed some houses of his opponents. Because of his severity in punishing dissent, however, he soon lost most of his tribal support. He suffered a serious defeat by the Hamdānī chief Ahmad b. Kays b. al-Daḥḥāk near Dhībīn and was forced to seek refuge in the Dja'wī. When he returned with some hundred horsemen to recover al-Bawn, he was killed fighting fiercely by the Hamdān at Dhū 'Arār near Rayda on 4 Šafar 404/15 August 1013.

Al-Mahdī's death was at first denied by his brother Dja'far, who thus became the founder of the Husayniyya sect which expected his return as the Mahdī. The activity of the sect reached its peak during the successful resistance of Dja'far's sons al-Šarīf al-Fāḍil al-Kāsim (d. 468/1075) and Dhū 'l-Šarafayn Muḥammad (d. 478/1085) in Šahāra against the Šulayḥīd rule. It survived until the 9th/15th century.

Al-Mahdī had himself claimed to be the Mahdī whose advent was predicted by the Prophet. In the quarrels with his opponents, who impugned his scholarship, he is said to have made extravagant claims of being more learned than all former Imāms and more excellent even than Muḥammad. He denounced his critics with coarse abuse and curses. After repudiating one of his wives, he prevented a suitor from marrying her, relying on the Qur'ānic prohibition (xxxiii, 53) for anyone to marry a wife of the Prophet after him. Because of such conduct, his imamate was widely denied by Zaydis, apart from the Husayniyya, during the two centuries following his death, and aspersions were cast on his sanity. Later, he was, however, generally recognised as an Imām on a par with others, and the accusations made against him by his opponents were considered as unfounded polemics. The Sayyid Humaydān b. al-Kāsim (7th/13th century) composed a treatise defending his record.

Al-Mahdī is said to have left as many as 73 works, including a Qur'ān commentary. Only a few succinct treatises and pamphlets are extant, and it has been suggested that his writings may have been purged by his supporters. In religious law and theology he explicitly backed the authority of the Imāms al-Kāsim b. Ibrāhīm and Yahyā al-Hādī. He did not recognise the Caspian Zaydī Imāms and ignored their teaching.

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(W. MADELUNG)

MĀHIR, 'ALĪ, Egyptian jurist and politician. Born on 9 November 1881 in Cairo, the son of Muḥammad Māhir Paṣḥa, he was educated at the Khedivial Secondary School and the School of Law. 'Alī Māhir held several posts in the Egyptian court system in the years before and during World War I, and briefly served as Dean of the School of Law (1923-4).

He began his active political career during the Revolution of 1919 as one of the organisers of civil servant petitions and protest. Made a member of the Waḳd [q.v.] in November 1919, Māhir broke with the movement in March 1922, gravitating thereafter into the orbit of the Egyptian Palace. In 1922-3 he served on the commission which drafted the Egyptian Constitution of 1923. He sat briefly in the Chamber of Deputies (1925-6) and was a member of the Senate from 1930 to 1952. He held several ministerial posts in non-Waḳdist governments in the 1920s and early 1930s.

Māhir's influence in Egyptian politics was greatest in the later 1930s, when as Royal Chamberlain he helped articulate the strategy of consolidating royal autocracy around the person of the young King Fārūḳ [q.v. in Suppl.]. Māhir twice served as Prime Minister at the close of the interwar era (January-May 1936 and August 1939-June 1940). He was forced out of office by the British in June 1940 because of presumed pro-Axis sentiments and was under house arrest from April 1942 until October 1944. He again headed a pro-Palace government in January-March 1952, after the king's dismissal of a Waḳdist ministry. Partially because of his non-party status, Māhir was selected to serve as Prime Minister immediately after the military coup of July 1952. He was dismissed in September 1952 because of his opposition to agrarian reform, and died in Geneva on 24 August 1960.

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(J. JANKOWSKI)

MAḤKAMA.

4. xi. Algeria

When the French began their occupation of Algeria in 1830 there existed multiple legal traditions. The predominant Islamic tradition was the Mālikī one which had taken root in North Africa a thousand years earlier.

In the 10th/16th century, Algeria's Ottoman rulers had introduced the Ḥanafī tradition, which prevailed in the heartland of the empire. The Turkish military elite, and their offspring from marriages with local women, the *Kulughlīs* [see *KUL-OGHLU*], tended to follow the Ḥanafī tradition. Appeals, and particularly difficult cases, might be referred to a *maḳlis* or council of legal scholars.

In areas beyond firm Ottoman control, local traditions persisted. In the Mzāb [q.v.] oasis, some 500 km/250 miles south of Algiers, the Ibāḳī legal tradition [see *IBĀḌIYYA*] was applied. Immigrant Mzābī merchants in cities along the coast applied this tradition in their own internal matters. In the densely populated, Tamazight-speaking Kabylia mountains, just to the south-east of Algiers, local customary law was applied.

Under French colonial rule, the mix of different



legal traditions was maintained, but Islamic and customary jurisdictions were gradually subordinated to the French courts. Areas of critical concern to the French, penal and commercial law, were annexed outright to the jurisdiction of French courts. Starting in the 1850s, the French sought to introduce their own principles of uniformity and hierarchy to the Muslim court system. In 1854, they instituted a standard, four-member *madjlis* as the court of appeal for all Islamic legal matters. The measure aroused opposition from settlers, and in some regions ran counter to traditions of negotiation over the size and composition of the *madjlis*. The *madjlis* was dismantled temporarily in 1859, revived in 1866, and permanently abolished in 1873, leaving French courts as the sole appeal jurisdiction.

In the 1850s and 1860s, the French promoted the reform of Islamic law by establishing a council of Muslim jurists to support change in areas of family law that either ran against humanitarian standards (the marriage of girls before they were capable of bearing children), or that seemed to run counter to scientific reason (the "sleeping baby" doctrine which held that a woman, abandoned for up to five years by her husband, might still produce his legitimate offspring). But as an autonomous institution at the national level, the council aroused the ire of French jurists and settlers and was soon dismantled. The French introduced an examination system for the selection of judicial personnel, and eventually required that all those entering the judiciary be graduates of one of three government-run provincial *madrasas*.

The most prominent urban Muslim spokesmen of this period were associated with the judicial system. These include al-Makkī Ibn Bādīs, long-time *kādī* of Constantine, and a forceful defender of the autonomy of the Muslim courts in the 1860s, and 'Abd al-Ḳādir al-Madjdjāwī, who made his career as a teacher in the law schools of Constantine and Algiers. Al-Madjdjāwī was one of the first exponents of Islamic modernism in Algeria.

Though penal matters were early on entrusted to the French courts, colonial authorities concluded that they were not adequate to the task of maintaining order and that a more expeditious and severe form of justice was required. Thus was born in the 1870s the Code de l'Indigénat, a penal code administered by local French authorities. It focused on punishing the least hint of rebellious attitude on the part of Algerian Muslim subjects and on suppressing any action that might be construed as a threat to French economic interests. It was this aspect of French judicial policy, not only oppressive but also humiliating, that drew the most fire from the emerging nationalist movement starting in the 1920s.

In the early 20th century, Algeria-based French jurists with knowledge of Islamic law sought to produce a code of Islamic family law, known after its principal author as the Code Morand. Though the proposed code was published, it was never given official status. This was the result of opposition from powerful rural Muslim leaders, on whom the French leaned more and more for political support in the 1920s.

While the Muslim courts and law schools produced some outstanding figures in the period from the 1850s to 1914, they fell into eclipse after that time. With their jurisdiction restricted, the Muslim courts offered little prospect of reward for ambitious young men. Thus Malek Bennabi entered the court system in the mid-1920s but soon became disaffected. By 1930 he was studying at a technical school in Paris, launch-

ing what would be a career as one of Algeria's most original and prolific Islamic thinkers.

The turmoil of war in 1940-43 weakened French domination of Algeria. Two courses of action were possible for the French. One was to address Muslim grievances, including eliminating the Code de l'Indigénat. The other was severe repression, including the use of arbitrary detention, torture and execution. The period from 1943 to 1954 was one of competition between these tendencies. After the outbreak of revolution in November 1954, the repressive impulse quickly got the upper hand. It was this flouting of civilised legal standards, dramatically revealed by such incidents as the 1961 trial of Djamilia Boupacha, that decisively eroded the French public's will to hold onto Algeria. But this severe repression also contributed to the development of a culture of extra-legal violence in Algeria that would dramatically resurface in the 1990s.

With independence in 1962, the new Algerian government's immediate concern was to restructure the court system so that it reflected the values of national unity and socialism. Toward this end, all Islamic and customary jurisdictions were absorbed into a unified national court system easily accessible to all citizens.

The next task was codification of law, beginning with the Penal Code, issued in 1966. An Economic Offences Ordinance, eventually incorporated into the code, upheld the socialist ideal of workers' participation and provided severe penalties to managers of state-run enterprises who let their own interests come before selfless dedication to the state. It also provided for the monopoly of the state in control of foreign trade and arranging contracts for the services of foreign enterprises. The notion that private individuals might serve as intermediaries was anathema in the socialist doctrines that guided these policies.

Even in areas where Islamic law might have appeared to have a clear-cut application, it was subordinated to the practical economic interests of the state, especially when they coincided with popular habit. Thus gambling on the state-run football pool was declared legal, while betting privately on horse races in France was not. Algerians were allowed to consume beer and wine produced by state-run enterprises. By the mid-1970s, the sale of alcohol was restricted by local authorities in those areas where there was strong public opposition.

Algeria had been independent for nearly a decade when the government finally began to deal with legal issues that were mainly cultural in character. As part of a larger campaign of Arabisation [see TA'RĪB] launched by the Boumédiénne régime in 1971, it was declared that court proceedings should be conducted in Arabic which, in practice, meant Algerian colloquial Arabic. By this time, the first law students whose training had been in Arabic graduated from the law school in Algiers. But as in many areas of the Algerian system, those with fluency in French, who tended to come from more affluent urban families, continued to have better opportunities. The question of opportunities in the court system for those proficient only in Arabic remained a smouldering issue that erupted in protests on Algerian campuses in 1976 in Constantine, and in 1980 in Algiers. The latter protests helped to launch an organised Islamist movement in Algeria, and resulted in President Chadeli's seeking to accommodate Arabic student grievances by intensifying the Arabisation of the judicial system.

This point also marks a change in orientation toward the task of codifying family law. Throughout the mid-1970s, the ideology of Algeria had been one of Islamic



socialism, in which the interests of the state were paramount. Islam was given a place of honour, but this was still one subordinate to the state. This ideology was embedded in the National Charter, endorsed in a referendum in 1976. On family matters and the rights of women, the Charter pointed in a progressive direction, endorsing the principle of gender equality.

By the time intensive discussions of a family law code got under way in the early 1980s, the socialist emphasis of the charter was under attack from the emerging Islamist movement. But the debates were also shaped by economic questions, such as the acute shortage of urban housing—which made it costly to ensure the rights of a divorced wife—and the rapid growth in population. The Family Law Code finally passed in 1984 was a mix of conservative interpretations of Islamic law and the priorities of an embattled bureaucratic state facing the challenge of rapid population growth and high unemployment. Women were not protected against being married without their own freely-given consent, nor against being left economically helpless following divorce, nor against their husband deciding unilaterally to bring another wife into the household. Yet at the same time, in an effort to stem rapid population growth, the Code raised the minimum age of marriage to eighteen for women and twenty-one for men.

The late 1980s, rather like the 1940s, saw a relaxation of controls on political expression and the media. An important development in the legal realm was the founding of the Ligue Algérienne des Droits de l'Homme, founded in 1985 and given legal recognition in 1987. With the suppression of the Islamist opposition starting in 1992, many controls were restored and there was a resurgence of extra-legal violence on the part of both Islamic rebels and government forces. In dealing with the challenge of establishing clearly who was responsible for given violent incidents, the courts have often proved ineffective. Yet the glimmer of hope that they may occasionally rise to this challenge has sustained a small, dedicated group of Algerian human rights lawyers.

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(A. CHRISTELOW)

4. xii. Tunisia

In the mid-19th century, Tunisia had a pluralist legal system. Although the respective spheres of competence and the various interrelations of the system's components were far from being clearly and strictly defined, the broad lines of its structures can be delineated as follows. There was a religious legal sphere covering matters of personal status and, in most cases, civil law, sc. a *shar'ī* jurisdiction for the Muslims (that of *kādīs*, Mālikī or Hanafī according to the defendant's rite, sitting as sole judges, plus *maǧālīs*, plural jurisdictions made up of *kādīs* and *mufṭīs*) and a rabbinical jurisdiction for the Jews. Alongside these was a jurisdiction of the central administration and its

local agents, the *kā'ids* [q.v.], who heard matters involving penal law and, in part, civil law. At the head of this structure was the Bey, the supreme authority according to the double principle of a delegated justice and one held in reserve. Disputes involving the representatives and subjects of foreign powers were the province of the consular courts [see *IMTIYĀZĀT*].

In 1857 the Fundamental Pact (*'ahd al-amān*), which proclaimed the equality of all subjects before the law, began a slow process of legal reform. Hence in 1861 there were promulgated at the same time a Constitution and a code of criminal and customary law (*kānūn al-dīnāyāt wa 'l-ahkām al-'urfīyya*). The Constitution set up a hierarchic schema of new tribunals which were to be created within the entirety of the Regency. A tribunal for commercial cases organised under a code of commercial law had to be set up. However, although this last was actually promulgated on 1 April 1864, it could not be put into effect because of the outbreak of the rebellion in that year, which brought in its train the abrogation of the Constitution and the code of criminal and customary law. The idea of legal reform and codification was taken up again in the 1870s under the reformist Prime Minister Khayr al-Dīn (1822-90 [q.v.]), but without his efforts being fully accomplished.

In short, the modifications in the legal system attempted before the installation of the Protectorate were either of short duration or only touching upon the formal aspects of the existing legal jurisdictions. There was on one hand a reorganisation of the *shar'ī* jurisdiction at Tunis in 1856 and then in the interior of the Regency in 1876. Also, there were measures undertaken, notably between 1870 and 1873, to define more clearly the jurisdictions reserved to the central administration and its local representatives.

The installation of the French Protectorate in 1881 was to bring profound changes in the Tunisian legal system. By the Convention of La Marsa (1883), the Tunisian state undertook to "proceed to administrative, judicial and financial reforms as judged useful by the French government". In practice, French control over the beylical state was to be assured by the bias of the Resident-General as well as by the presence of French officials at all levels of the administration.

In the first place, following the doctrine of "double sovereignty", the protecting power undertook to install for its own nationals a French legal structure (law of 18 April 1883), comprising justices of the peace and courts of first instance; not till 1941 was an appeal court created. Furthermore, the French legal system thus installed was to replace, until 1884, the various consular jurisdictions of the European Powers. With the land law of 1885 there was set up a mixed court for land questions, an original jurisdiction (inspired by the Australian model) aimed at promoting the registration of land and buildings. This court, made up of a French president, with one-half French judges and the other half Tunisian judges, was at the same time to reduce the sphere of the *shar'ī* courts to embrace merely cases involving non-registered landed property.

Regarding the reform of justice dependent on the authority of the Tunisian state, apart from the regulation of the jurisdiction dependent on the central administration (the so-called *Ouzara* = *Wuzarā'*), whose competence was extended beyond the criminal law to all civil and commercial cases between Tunisians (except for personal status and matters connected with it), this was not really tackled till 1896, when an office



for judicial affairs (*idārat al-umūr al-ʿadliyya*) was set up. At the same time regional courts of common law were created with an organisation modelled on that of the French courts of first instance. If the magistrates were Tunisians, they had nevertheless to be "assisted" from 1906 by "government commissioners" (French officials knowing Arabic). In 1921 a Commission of Pleas playing the role of an appeal court, as well as a Supreme Appeal Court and a criminal division with jurisdiction over the whole land, were installed at the side of the court of *Ouzara* in Tunis. Also in 1921 a real Ministry of Justice was created and the principle of delegated justice came formally to replace that of justice held by the Bey. Only the right of pardon was henceforth reserved to him. The year 1938 was marked by the multiplying of courts in the various counties of the land, with a wide sphere of competence largely replacing that of the *kāʾids*. From 1896, a commission was set up to prepare codifications based at one and the same time on French and on Muslim law and which were intended to become the laws applicable by the courts of common law. Codes of obligations and contracts (1906), of civil procedure (1910), of criminal law (1913), as well as for criminal procedure (1921) were successively promulgated. In certain spheres of economic life, French laws became directly applicable.

It was only much later that the *sharʿi* courts were remodelled. However, because of the reforms already in operation, their spheres of competence became reduced to cases of personal status and inheritance and also to those concerning family or private habous or *hubus* [see *WAKF*. II. 3] and landed property which had not been registered. It was not till 1948 that a code of "procédure charaïque" governing the organisation and exact competence of these courts was set up. They then consisted of two *kādīs* and of two courts (*maḥkālīs*) (for each of the two law schools, *Ḥanafī* and *Mālikī*) sitting in Tunis, with similar jurisdictions (with one or more judges) in the interior of the country where, however, the *Ḥanafī* law school was not represented. The demands by certain reformist circles seeking a more radical reform of the *maḥkām sharʿiyya*, as well as of the education system of the *Zaytūna* [q.v.], which trained future personnel for the legal system, were hardly taken into account by the Protectorate authorities.

A few months after the proclamation of independence in March 1956, the new Tunisian state issued a series of decrees aimed at reorganising and unifying the legal system. The jurisdiction of the *sharʿi* courts was transferred to the courts of common law and their members integrated within the framework of the state magistrature. In May 1956, the French commissioners attached to the Tunisian courts were relieved of their functions, and in March 1957 the Franco-Tunisian Legal Convention ended the French courts. In September 1957 it was the turn of the Rabbinical court to be suppressed.

After the installation of the republican régime in July 1957, Tunisia in 1959 acquired a Constitution which, in section IV devoted to legal powers, proclaimed notably the independence of judges and laid down that they should be appointed by presidential decree on the proposal of the Higher Council for Judges. The formal functioning of this unified and centralised legal system was embodied in Law no. 67-29 of 14 July 1967 concerning judicial organisation, the Higher Council for Judges and the position of the judiciary. This law fixed the Tunisian judicial hierarchy as follows: county courts, courts of first instance,

a court for land questions, appeal courts and a supreme appeal court based at Tunis. Furthermore, alongside a High Court for cases of high treason, the 1959 Constitution equally made provision for an administrative court; this was effectively set up in 1974 and considerably reorganised in 1996.

In regard to the law applied by its courts, the Tunisian state undertook, from the time of independence onwards, to set up a new structure of national codifications. From among the legal texts dating from the colonial period, only the codes for obligations and contracts and the criminal code remained essentially in force. It is appropriate to mention that although the first article of the 1959 Tunisian Constitution made Islam the state religion, Islamic law does not appear amongst the formal sources of Tunisian law. Regarding the code of personal status, largely drawn from Islamic law, the legislating power showed a remarkable will for innovation, notably in abolishing polygamy, introducing judicial divorce and authorising adoption. However, an analysis of judicial practice in Tunisia has been able to show that there is a tendency amongst judges to refer, in certain cases, to non-codified Islamic law.

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(BETTINA DENNERLEIN and L. ROGLER)

5. The Indo-Pakistan subcontinent

After a century and a half of trade, the last few decades of which were characterised by increasing involvement in political intrigue and military adventurism—inspired initially by rivalry with European competitors (most particularly the French, with whom England was twice at war in the mid-18th century)—the East India Company emerged as a major political and military power in the subcontinent in the context of the disintegration of the Mughal empire into a collection of feuding regional powers. After the battle of Buxar (1764), which pitted the Company troops against the remnants of the Mughal army, the Company was in a position to conclude a treaty (*farman* [q.v.]) with the titular head of the Mughal empire, Shāh ʿĀlam II [q.v.], who in 1765 ceded to the Company in perpetuity the *dīwānī* (civil and revenue administration) of three eastern provinces—Bengal, Bihar and Orissa—in exchange for an annual tribute of £260,000 (payment of which only continued until 1773). The Company thus became ruler of lands and peoples, ostensibly in the name of the emperor.

The modern period of judicial administration in South Asia commenced with the establishment by



Warren Hastings (Governor of Bengal, 1772-3; Governor-General of India, 1773-85) of courts serving the indigenous population of these three provinces; and the virtually simultaneous establishment by the Crown of a Supreme Court in Calcutta. Hastings' courts in the *mofussil* (the territory outside the seat of the Presidency, Ar. *mufaṣṣal* [q.v. in Suppl.] "separated") were creations of the East India Company. Hastings' plan—frequently revised during his own term, further modified by Lord Cornwallis (Governor-General, 1786-93), and cast by the latter in the Code of 1793—set the pattern for judicial administration in the territories subsequently acquired. Hastings proceeded to establish a *Diwānī 'Adālat* (civil court) and a *Faujdārī 'Adālat* (criminal court) in each revenue district or Collectorate (the number of these courts was subsequently increased and their geographical jurisdiction decreased; courts subordinate to the *Diwānī 'Adālat* were also subsequently established). The Collector himself initially presided over the civil court; later judges were appointed from among the Company's covenanted civil servants. Indian Law Officers (Hindu *pundits* and Muslim *maulwīs*) were appointed to each *Diwānī 'Adālat* to expound the Hindu or Muslim law applicable to the case. The District *Kāḍī* and *Muḥtī* presided over the *Faujdārī 'Adālat*, in which Muslim criminal law continued to be administered. Appeals from the *Diwānī 'Adālat* lay to the *Ṣadr Diwānī 'Adālat* (chief civil court, initially comprised of the Governor-General and members of his Council), and, after 1781, to the King in Council. Appeals from the *Faujdārī 'Adālat* lay to the *Ṣadr Nizāmat 'Adālat*, initially headed by an appointee of the Nizām.

The early bifurcation between civil and criminal jurisdiction derived from the terms of the 1765 grant, under which criminal jurisdiction remained with the representative of the Mughal emperor. In 1790 criminal justice was (unilaterally) brought under the direct control of the Company; the *Faujdārī 'Adālat*s were abolished and replaced by criminal courts, headed by covenanted servants of the Company, assisted by *kāḍīs* and *muḥtīs*. Although some of the rules of Muslim criminal law and evidence were gradually modified by government regulations, it was not until the Penal Code of 1860, the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1861, and the Evidence Act, 1872, that Muslim law in these respects was completely superseded. After 1790 the *Ṣadr Nizāmat 'Adālat* was comprised of the Governor-General and members of his Council, assisted by the Chief *Kāḍī* and two *muḥtīs*. In 1801 the Governor-General and his Council members were relieved of judicial responsibilities in both *Ṣadr 'Adālat*s: the two appellate courts were united in a single *Ṣadr 'Adālat* with civil and criminal sides, presided over by judges appointed from the ranks of the Company's covenanted servants.

In the Company settlements themselves, there had been courts established by royal charter since the Mayors' Courts of 1727. (Prior to this, what justice there was in the Company towns and factories was a very rough and ready, and often brutal, affair.) The Mayor's Court was a civil court of record, with compulsory jurisdiction only over Europeans to whom they applied English law; final appeal lay to the King in Council. (Although not compulsorily subject to the court, indigenous inhabitants might agree to such disposal of the dispute, in which case it would be adjudicated according to English law.) The Mayor's Court in Calcutta (the English town that had grown up around the Company's factory) was replaced by a Supreme Court, established by Royal Charter (1774)

and Act of Parliament (1773, as amended in 1781 and 1784). The Supreme Court (after its jurisdiction had been more carefully defined by the latter acts) possessed civil jurisdiction over all British-born subjects and their descendants resident in the Bengal Presidency, and all persons residing in Calcutta, including its Indian inhabitants.

In Madras and Bombay, the Mayors' Courts were superseded in 1798 by Recorders' Courts, which possessed powers similar to those of the Supreme Court in Calcutta (and were subject to similar restrictions). The Recorder's Courts were upgraded to Supreme Courts in 1802 (Madras) and 1824 (Bombay). As these two Presidencies acquired *mofussil* territories—Bombay following the third Marāṭhā War (1818) [see MARĀṬHĀS]; Madras with the annexation of approximately half of Mysore after the defeat of Tīpū Sultān [q.v.] in 1799, followed by the annexation of the Carnatic—the establishment of *mofussil* courts in these territories followed the pattern of Hastings' plan as refined and codified by Cornwallis in 1793.

Bombay was in many ways unique. The island was ceded to the Crown by the Portuguese in 1661 and leased to the Company in 1668 on payment of £10 a year; the rights of the Company over Bombay thus derived from the British Crown, not from the Mughal sovereign, or regional potentate, or military conquest. Further, the island of Bombay had, previous to being handed over to the English, been under Portuguese rule for over a century, and the territory conquered in 1818, was taken over not from Muslim but from Hindu rule; consequently, Muslim law did not enjoy in Bombay the pre-eminence that it did in Bengal and Madras. The Bombay *'Adālat* system underwent several changes and refinements until 1827, when all previous Regulations were repealed and replaced with a series of Regulations which came to be termed the Elphinstone Code. One of the interesting things contained in Elphinstone's Regulations was a Criminal Code for the Presidency, which was only superseded by the Indian Penal Code of 1860.

The dual system of courts—Royal Courts, whose judges were appointed by the Crown, in the Presidency headquarters (Calcutta, Bombay and Madras); and Company Courts, created by the East India Company and staffed by its officers, in the *mofussil*—persisted until, in the aftermath of the 1857-8 uprising, the Crown assumed all rights that the East India Company had acquired and exercised on Indian soil. One consequence was the integration of the Company and Crown courts and rationalisation of the judicial structure. In each presidency, the *Ṣadr* (appellate) Company Court was amalgamated with the Supreme Court to constitute a High Court.

Significantly, under the British—Company and Crown—there were not in South Asia separate religious courts for the religiously-derived personal laws; personal law of both Muslims and Hindus was administered as an integral part of their civil jurisdiction by both the *mofussil* civil courts and the Supreme Courts and, subsequently, the High Courts. Whether the litigation came before the Supreme Courts or the Company *mofussil* courts, the indigenous peoples of South Asia were guaranteed the application of their own system of personal law in a wide variety of civil matters. The phraseology of Hastings' formulation of 1772 and the Regulation of 1780 preserved to Muslims in the *mofussil* "the laws of the Koran" when the litigation concerned "inheritance, marriage, caste, and other religious usages and institutions". (The wording used in the Act defining the jurisdiction of the



Supreme Court was different but of similar import.) A Regulation of 1781 added "succession" to the topics concerning which the *mofussil* courts were to apply the personal law. The Regulation further provided that in the absence of statutory law, and in situations not covered by the earlier Regulation, the *mofussil* courts were to have recourse to "justice, equity and good conscience", with the result that the personal (Hindu or Muslim) law was often applied in matters other than those specifically enumerated. In essence, "justice, equity and good conscience" was used in numerous situations to render applicable the relevant personal law as the "proper law" of the contract or transaction; reference was to the law which the parties could be presumed to have expected would apply to the transaction. On the other hand, statutes took precedence over, and could and did oust, Muslim law. By the end of the 19th century, applicability of Muslim law was confined essentially to family law, inheritance and certain transfers of property. Even in these areas, the secular law made inroads; e.g. a Muslim father could be compelled by the magistrate to maintain his illegitimate child (a provision repealed in Pakistan in 1981); the apostate from Islam [see MURTADD] was not deprived of his share as an heir intestate (a provision repealed in West Pakistan in 1963).

Because the company officials appointed to judicial duties in the *mofussil* courts (and the barrister-judges of the Supreme Court) were not, at least initially, knowledgeable in the indigenous legal lore, Muslim Law Officers (*maulwīs*) and Hindu Law Officers (*pundits*) were appointed to every civil court, original and appellate. These officers functioned, not as judges, but as resource personnel, to whom specific questions of law might be referred by the judge during the course of the proceedings before him. In order to displace the monopoly of specialised knowledge possessed by the Law Officers, work was undertaken to make authoritative source material directly available to lawyers and judges in English. The first Muslim text thus treated was the *Hidāya*, a 12th-century text by Burhān al-Dīn al-Marghīnānī [q.v.], translated by Charles Hamilton in 1791. This was followed in 1792 by William Jones' translation of the *Sirāḍjīyya*, together with an abstract of the *Sharīfīyya*; and by Neil Baillie's volumes on *Moohummadan law of inheritance* (1832) and *Moohummadan law of sale* (1850), the former an abridgement of the *Sirāḍjīyya* and *Sharīfīyya*, and the latter based on relevant chapters of the *Fatāwā-i-Ālamgīrī* [see AL-FATĀWĀ AL-ĀLAMGĪRIYYA]. In 1865 appeared Neil Baillie's translation and abridgement of those portions of the *Fatāwā-i-Ālamgīrī* likely to be relevant to litigation in India. This was followed in 1874 by Baillie's translation of the major *Iḥnā Ash'arī Shī'ī* text, the *Sharā'ī al-Islām*. A collection of the questions submitted to Muslim Law Officers by judges of the Company Courts, together with their responses, was published by William Macnaghten in 1825 as the second part of his *Principles and precedents of Moohummadan law*. And toward the end of the century, Mahomed Yusoof, in his Tagore Law Lectures, 1891-2, translated the portions of the *Fatāwā-i-Kāḍī Khān* [see KĀḌĪ KHĀN] dealing with marriage and divorce. It was not until 1914 that E.C. Howard's English translation of the *Shāfi'ī* text *Minhaj et-talibin*, prepared for administrators and judges in Southeast Asia, became available. Textbooks and compilations by Indian scholars and scholars of Indian law also appeared. Ameer Ali's two volume work was first published in 1880 and 1884; Roland Knyvet Wilson's *Introduction and Digest* in 1894 and 1895, respectively. The first edition of

Dinshah Fardunji Mulla's *Principles of Muhammadan law* was dated 1906; the first edition of Tyabji's learned tome, 1913. Meanwhile, systematic reporting of legal decisions of the High Courts, Judicial Commissioners' Courts and Chief Courts began in 1876 (under a statute of the previous year). The availability of published decisions enhanced the role of judicial precedent: a decision on a point of law by the Privy Council was binding on all British Indian Courts; and a decision of the High Court was binding on the subordinate Presidency Courts.

As part of the judicial reorganisation in the 1860s, the posts of Hindu and Muslim Law Officers were abolished; judges themselves, assisted by the lawyers appearing before them, were deemed capable of dealing with questions of Muslim and Hindu law, which continued to be dealt with as integral components of the civil jurisdiction. By the turn of the 20th century, virtually every superior provincial court of a province with a significant Muslim population had a Muslim among its sitting judges; the first two such High Court appointments were those of Justice Mahmood (son of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan [see AHMAD KHAN]) to the Allahabad High Court in 1887, and Ameer Ali [see AMĪR 'ALĪ], appointed to the Calcutta High Court in 1890. From 1909 a series of distinguished Indian jurists sat on the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council (the ultimate court of appeal prior to independence and the establishment of national Supreme Courts); Ameer Ali, the first (and the only Muslim) Indian Privy Councillor, served from 1909 until his death in 1928.

Extremely significant is the fact that to this date Muslim law remains virtually entirely uncoded; this contrasts not only with the massive codification of Hindu law undertaken by India in the first decade of Independence, but also with the general trend in the Muslim world. (Major exceptions are the Dissolution of Muslim Marriages Act, 1939; the Pakistan Muslim Family Laws Ordinance, 1961; and the Indian Muslim Women [Protection of Rights on Divorce] Act, 1986.) Being uncoded, Muslim law is amenable to interpretation and/or reinterpretation by the court. This occurred during the British period, as in decisions holding that the post-pubescent *Shāfi'ī* girl could not be contracted in marriage without her permission; and that the pre-pubescent *Hanafi* girl contracted in marriage as a minor by a guardian other than father or paternal grandfather could extra-judicially renounce the marriage on attainment of puberty. (Incidentally, it was Ameer Ali who had proposed, in his *Mahomedan law*, the interpretation of *Shāfi'ī* and *Mālikī* law that was adopted by the courts in the former instance; and it was the same individual, in his capacity of judge of the Calcutta High Court, who delivered the decision establishing the point in the latter instance.) In the first decades of Independence, the new State of Pakistan appeared committed to a policy of *ijtihād*, as exemplified by the dramatic decisions, endorsed by the Supreme Court of Pakistan, holding that, within the *Hanafi madhhab*, wives are legally entitled to recover arrears of maintenance (1972); and that a Muslim woman is entitled to a judicial dissolution of her marriage (in spite of her husband's objection) merely on the ground that she finds the situation intolerable, provided that she is willing to return or forego her *mahr* [q.v.] and other "benefits" she may have received from her husband (1967).

Although the documents of the late 18th century reflect an assumption that "the laws of the Koran" constitute a single entity to which all Muslims owe



allegiance, Muslim law is not a unified entity even at the textual level. The overwhelming proportion of South Asian Muslims are Hanafī Sunnīs, but on the southwestern coast of the subcontinent another Sunnī school, the Shāfi'ī, is locally significant. More important in British India was Shī'īsm (brought to the subcontinent by the Persians), which had a considerable following, particularly in Oudh (annexed by the British in 1856 [see AWADH]). In spite of fact that since the mid-18th century the Nawāb Wazīr of Oudh had been a Shī'ī, Sunnī law, as the law of the Mughal empire, applied in the territory until 1847, when (three decades after the Oudh dynasty had assumed the title of "King," and nine years prior to the annexation of Oudh by the British) a Shī'ī *muftī* was appointed, and (Iṭhnā 'Asharī) Shī'ī law began to be applied to Shī'īs within the kingdom. Ironically, Shī'ī law was recognised by the Privy Council as the law applicable to Shī'īs in British India six years before it was recognised by the indigenous government of the Oudh Kingdom; and by the Bengal *Ṣadr 'Adālat* more than three decades before the matter reached the Privy Council. However, given the numerical prominence of the Hanafīs, the assumption of the South Asian courts is that a person, if a Muslim, is a Hanafī Sunnī; consequently, the term "Muslim law" or "Islamic law" as used in judicial decisions is usually synonymous with "Hanafī Sunnī law". The burden is on the person claiming to be a follower of another Muslim school or sect to plead and establish this fact. Similarly, once it is established that a party is a Shī'ī, the assumption is that he is a member of the major sect, Iṭhnā 'Asharī. Information on the law of the minority Shī'ī sect, the Ismā'īlīs, is much less readily available, although a significant difference that was of some importance during the British period (and overlooked by the Privy Council in an 1890 case) is that the Ismā'īlīs do not discriminate against the childless widow in matters of inheritance in the same way that Iṭhnā 'Asharīs do. It was not until 1969 that Professor A.A.A. Fyzee published his *Compendium of Fatimid law*. The terms "Shī'ī" and "Shī'ī law" as used in South Asian judicial decisions are synonymous with "Iṭhnā 'Asharī" and "Iṭhnā 'Asharī law".

Textual Muslim law, of course, does not recognise customs in derogation of the law; but rural agrarian communities, particularly in North India, did. Customary law, applicable to Muslim (and Hindu) agrarian families in vast regions of the north-west (particularly the Punjab, the heartland of customary law and a province which was under Sikh, not Muslim, rule before conquered by the British in 1849) was essentially a retention and continuation of their pre-existing practices in "secular" matters, particularly succession and dealings with property, by converts to Islam (and their descendants); even those Muslim tribes—e.g. Pathans—who claimed to be descended from Muslim invaders had long ago fallen into line with the local practices. At the same time, these local practices were not consistent with Hindu law (and may well have predated the formal statement of Mitakshara Hindu law). Most of these people never had observed or been subject to Muslim law (or orthodox Hindu law), knew little if anything about it, were quite happy with the way things had always been managed in regard to succession and property and saw no reason to change—at least until well into the 20th century, when religious revivalists and political leaders trying to define a Muslim constituency and organise a Muslim political movement attempted to

convince them to change, and eventually legislation in the new Muslim state forced them to submit to a new legal order.

Also problematic were communities whose ancestors had converted from Hinduism to Islam but retained many of their Hindu practices. Both Hinduism and Islam purport to govern more than an individual's religious devotion; both lay down rules concerning marriage, divorce, and other domestic concerns, as well as more "secular" matters, most importantly dealings with property and inter-generational transmission of property. Individuals and communities who converted to the faith of Islam from Hinduism not infrequently continued Hindu patterns of property holding and transmission: matters which may have struck them as having little to do with religious profession, and matters which the ancient practice managed entirely to their satisfaction. Such a course was undoubtedly facilitated by the fact that Sūfīs, who were responsible for much conversion to Islam in South Asia, were not particularly concerned with mundane things like worldly property and its inter-generational transmission. Prominent examples of groups which adopted Islam as a religion but continued their former Hindu practices were two commercial groups from western India, the Khōdjas and the Menons; both were judicially held amenable to Hindu law in regard to matters of inheritance in the mid-19th century. Further, an individual family (perhaps connected with or seeking favour from the Mughal court) might convert for political reasons, while at the same time continuing their previous practices concerning property dealing and succession. Other individuals or groups, most prominently exemplified by the Hindustani Kayasthas, who performed important roles in the Mughal administration, adopted many outward Muslim observances and customs (e.g. of dress, language, literature, and even burial) without converting; they remained Hindus by religion and followed Hindu law (although depreciated by their co-religionists as "half-Mussalmans").

Distinct both from those subject to agrarian custom in North India and from groups or families who converted from Hinduism without changing their practices (particularly concerning inheritance and property dealings) to conform to Muslim law were those aristocratic Muslim landowning families who, although unambiguously subject to Muslim law, observed "family customs" designed to keep the landed estate intact and/or control its devolution (e.g. primogeniture, exclusion of female heirs, appointment of an heir).

As the importance of "custom"—or behaviour and practices inconsistent with the religious affiliation of the parties—became more apparent, it was explicitly recognised in statutes governing the subsequently established courts, and in practice by all the courts. The burden of proving a custom in derogation of the (otherwise applicable) personal law was on the person pleading custom. To be accepted as a rule of law, a custom had to be ancient, certain, reasonable, and neither repugnant to morality or public policy nor contrary to any statutory law. It was usually sufficient to establish that the custom had been regularly and consistently observed in the family, tribe or locality for at least fifty years. Once judicially recognised, custom could not be altered by anything short of legislation.

One of the indirect (and doubtless unintended) effects of British policy in India was that anomalous communities and families became more aware of and conscious of their status and often moved to identify



more closely with one or other orthodox tradition. The pressure to identify with one of the two great communities became more intense with the advent of rudimentary democratic institutions and the prospect of eventual self-government in which numbers would count. Both sides launched missionary activities; in addition to seeking fresh converts, the Muslim *tabligh* movement [see *TABLIGHI DĪMĀ'AT*] attempted to complete the conversion process in the case of anomalous communities and to induce groups following practices and customs inconsistent with the true faith to renounce such customs; the Hindu *shuddi* movement (launched by the reformist Arya Samaj) sought to "reclaim" descendants of former converts to Islam to the true faith of their more ancient ancestors.

In 1937, Muslim political leaders managed to secure enactment of the Muslim Personal Law (Shariat) Application Act, which substituted Muslim law as the rule of decision in preference to custom previously applicable, either by virtue of regulations specifically recognising custom and usage as the governing rule, or by virtue of the "justice, equity, and good conscience" clause. At the same time, the terms of this very statute demonstrate the importance of custom to a particular class of Muslims: the Muslim families of northern India holding large estates and frequently claiming aristocratic descent, whose support was essential to the Muslim League, insisted on being able to retain the control of the inter-generation transmission of family property—a right which "family custom" often guaranteed and Muslim law largely negated. It was at the insistence of this particular class that the Shariat Application Act, 1937, did not compulsorily cover either adoption (i.e. appointment of an heir) or testamentary disposition of property. By a fortuitous circumstance, however, the rural landlords were totally exempt from the terms of the Act as far as their agricultural land was concerned. The Government of India Act, 1935, had come into effect before the Bill which became the Act of 1937 was actually passed. Under the scheme of the Government of India Act, succession to agricultural land was a topic exclusively within the legislative competence of the provinces and the Central Legislature could not deal with it. (The 1937 statute did, of course, cover non-agriculture property and e.g. brought the urban property of the *Khōdjas* and *Menons* under the rule of Muslim law, as far as intestate succession was concerned.)

(West) Pakistan acted shortly after independence totally to negate custom as a rule of law applicable to Muslims, affirming in its stead Muslim law (of the appropriate sect). Several Indian states have passed supplementary legislation amending the 1937 Act to cover succession to agricultural land. The scope for the application of rules of custom to Muslims has considerably decreased in South Asia and has been totally ousted in Pakistan.

The new States of the subcontinent inherited, and very largely retained, the judicial structure as developed during the British period (with obvious exceptions; e.g. the ultimate court of appeal is no longer the Privy Council and High Court judges are not appointed by London), as well as procedural law and the major statutes enacted during the previous era. In every province a High Court sits at the apex of a hierarchy of subordinate civil and criminal courts, with ultimate appeal to the national Supreme Court. The most important post-Independence administrative development in regard to disputes to which Muslim law is applicable has been the introduction in each of the three countries of South Asia of special Family

Courts with exclusive jurisdiction in regard to certain areas of matrimonial and family litigation. Pakistan took the lead with the (West Pakistan) Family Courts Act, 1964; India followed two decades later, 1984; and Bangladesh in 1985. Simplified and less formal procedures, designed to expedite the litigation, govern proceedings in the Family Courts, particularly in Pakistan and Bangladesh; and the rigorous requirements of the Evidence Act, 1908, have been mitigated in family litigation in India and Bangladesh. Although the Bangladesh statute itself declared all *Munshif's* Courts (civil courts subordinate to the District Court) to be Family Courts and all *Munshifs* to be Family Court Judges, and Pakistan had within two years appointed judges to function as Family Courts throughout the country, the Indian legislation only mandated Family Courts for urban areas of population one million or more, and implementation has proceeded slowly.

In Pakistan, General Zia-ul-Haq [see *ZIYĀ' AL-HAQ*], having seized power in July 1977 with the promise of elections within 90 days, justified holding power for eleven years (until his mysterious death in 1988) in the name of "Islamisation". His patronage of the Islamists—to whom he increasingly looked as providing some sort of "constituency" and creating the appearance of at least some popular support for his government, and whom he brought into a political prominence they had not previously enjoyed—received a tremendous international boast with the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan (1979) and United States' support of the "*mujahideen*" opposition. Money and arms poured into the region; thousands of *madrasas*, many of them training schools for Islamic warriors, sprang up in Pakistan. The Russians withdrew a decade later; the U.S. lost interest; and Afghanistan descended into civil war, which Pakistan thought it could control to its advantage.

The Zia era left his successors with a heady legacy, including the continuing fall-out of involvement in Afghanistan in the form of weapons, drugs, refugees and Islamic militants. Institutionally, the Zia legacy is represented by the Shariat Courts, created in 1978. These special courts possess jurisdiction to examine the Islamic vires of "any law", and if such law is found contrary to the "Injunctions of Islam, as laid down in the Holy Quran and the Sunnah of the Holy Prophet," to strike it from the statute book. Most recently this jurisdiction has been exercised (23 December 1999) to order that interest in all forms be abolished in Pakistan by June 2001; and (5 January 2000) to strike down many of the reforms achieved four decades previously by the Muslim Family Laws Ordinance 1961. (The Shariat Bench of the Supreme Court, affirming the 1991 decision of the Federal Shariat Court on *ribā*, set 30 June 2001 as the deadline for the conversion to a *ribā*-free system. On 15 June 2001, the same court extended the deadline by twelve months. The decision of the Federal Shariat Court on the various provisions of the Muslim Family Laws Ordinance has been stayed pending an appeal to the Shariat Bench of the Supreme Court, which may not be heard for some time, and which will probably not fully endorse the position of the Federal Shariat Court. For a concise introduction to and assessment of the *ribā* decision, see the booklet *Moving toward an Islamic financial regime in Pakistan* by P. Hassan and A. Azfar, available at www.law.harvard.edu/programs/ilsp/publications.html.) In terms of substantive law, Zia's program of "Islamisation" resulted in the promulgation in 1979 of the four *hudūd* ordinances (includ-



ing the draconian *Zinā* Ordinance), introducing into Pakistan law the criminal offences (illicit intercourse, false imputation of unchastity, theft and consumption of alcohol), together with their respective punishments, defined in the *shari'a*; imposition (1980) of *zakāt* and *ushr* levies; promulgation (1982) of a blasphemy ordinance (defining an offence which carries a mandatory death sentence); repeal (1981) of the provision of the Criminal Procedure Code granting the illegitimate child a right to maintenance from his/her putative father; and the provisions in Pakistan's new Evidence Order (1984) which reintroduced the two-year period of gestation recognised by classical Hanafi jurists and devalued the evidence of women.

Other dimensions of the Zia legacy are the enhanced politicisation of Islam and a dramatic increase in sectarian violence, between one sect or community of Islam and another, as well as between Islamists and non-Muslims (including Ahmadis, who were constitutionally defined as non-Muslims by Zulfikar Ali Bhutto's government in 1974). Religion is opportunistically invoked by each of the major parties; implementation of the *Shari'a* is held forth as a panacea for the serious problems facing the country, and not merely by the Islamic parties on the fringe of electoral politics. The 15th Constitutional Amendment Bill, as projected by Nawaz Sharif during his second (and abruptly terminated) tenure as Prime Minister (1997-9), would have somehow ushered in an era of communal peace and social justice; ended corruption, maladministration, police excesses, judicial delays and economic problems, and would have created an "Islamic welfare state". Significantly watered down before being passed by the National Assembly (in which the Prime Minister had a comfortable and tame majority), the Bill declared the "Holy Quran and Sunnah of the Holy Prophet" to be the supreme law of Pakistan, above the Constitution itself and beyond the reach of judicial decrees, and it obliged the federal government "to take steps to enforce the Shariah, to establish *salat*, to administer *zakat*, to promote *amr bil maroof* and *nahi anil munkar* (to prescribe what is right and to forbid what is wrong), to eradicate corruption at all levels and to provide substantial socio-economic justice in accordance with the principles of Islam, as laid down in the Holy Quran and Sunnah." An unambiguous commitment to theocracy—but with all the relevant terms left undefined. The urban industrialist, the Prime Minister elected with a "heavy mandate" (because of low voter turnout as disillusioned Pakistan Peoples' Party cadres stayed at home) appropriated a page out of Zia's handbook in an attempt to consolidate power absolutely in his hands, without comprehending that it was a Pandora's box which he proposed to open. The Bill was pending before the Senate (where the Prime Minister had not yet mustered the requisite votes) at the time of the military take-over.

On 12 October 1999—after an eleven-year post-Zia interregnum, which had seen four civilian governments elected, and three of them prematurely (and constitutionally) removed—General Pervez Musharraf removed the fourth in a bloodless coup. The General appears to be following the same path as his predecessor, General Zia-ul-Haq. Banning political activities has created a vacuum which the Islamists (who have consistently failed dismally in electoral contests) are anxious to fill. At the same time, many of the announced intentions of General Musharraf (who initially expressed his admiration for Kemal Atatürk)—de-weaponising society, modernising the curriculum in

madrasas, amending the blasphemy law, restoring the joint electorate and improving the human rights record—have floundered in the face of opposition from Islamists, and sectarian violence continues unabated.

In India, although the first decade of Independence saw the massive reform and codification of Hindu family law, nothing at all has been done in terms of reforming Muslim law and improving the position of Indian Muslim women. Pakistan's Ordinance of 1961—which, *inter alia*, requires that prior permission should be obtained for a polygamous marriage; renders all *talāk* pronouncements (even the triple pronouncement) revocable; and denies legal effectiveness to any *talāk* until a period of three months had passed following notification of the *talāk* to a local official, who is to use the intervening time to attempt reconciliation—had no echoes in the neighbour to the south. The Congress party, which ruled India without interruption for its first thirty years (including seventeen years under Jawaharlal Nehru and eleven years under his daughter Indira Gandhi), was committed to secularism and democracy but was also pleased to have the Muslim "vote bank" securely on its side. When Mrs. Gandhi was assassinated in 1984, the Congress mantle passed to her son Rajiv Gandhi. It was on his watch (1986) that the (misnamed) Muslim Women (Protection of Rights on Divorce) Act was rushed through Parliament, over objections of his own Congress parliamentarians and by virtue of a three-line whip. The Act of 1986 reversed the (1985) *Shah Bano* judgment and deprived destitute divorced Muslim women (simply on the basis of their religious identity) of the minimal succour that section 125 of the (secular) Criminal Procedure Code, 1974, afforded to all such women. A harsh blow was struck against secularism (and against women). The dynastic link was broken with Rajiv's assassination in 1991 and—ruderless, faction-ridden, and tainted with scandal—the Congress party lost much of its appeal. The gathering clouds of Hindu activism, demanding an end to a policy of appeasement of minorities and emphatic affirmation of the Hindu-ness of India, broke over the North India city of Ayodhya when in 1992 the 16th-century Babri mosque was destroyed by a mob of Hindu militants, setting off a wave of Hindu-Muslim violence across the country. The Bhartiya Janata Party (BJP), with its "Hinduvta" (Hindu-ness) philosophy and agenda, rose to prominence on the rubble of the Babri mosque and emerged as the largest parliamentary party in the national elections of 1996, 1998, and again in 1999. A centre-left coalition (the United Front) managed to bring down the BJP government after only thirteen days in office in 1996, but itself fell seventeen months later. The BJP is the dominant member of the coalition (National Democratic Alliance) which has governed India since 1998. Although the exigencies of coalition require some dilution of the Hinduvta program, India under the BJP (1998 to the present) has seen a disconcerting amount of rhetoric and violence directed against religious minorities, Muslim and Christian.

In both countries, pseudo-revisionist historiography has subjected the discipline of scholarship to the service of cultural myth-making and political indoctrination.

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7. Singapore, Malaysia and Brunei

These three states share a common history of British colonial control. Colonial legal policy was founded on the principle that English law was the law of general application to all subjects. However, where the "religions, manners and customs" of the subject populations were concerned, an exception might be made consonant with (English notions of) "equity, justice and good conscience". This principle was established in 1781 in India and carried through into the Malayan possessions. The results for Islam was the development of a hybrid "Anglo-Muhammadan" law which had and still has family law and trusts as its area of jurisdiction. It was not until after the Second World War, and approaching independence, that any real effort was made to establish a separate Islamic court system. Prior to this time, the *syariah* (*shar'ā* [q.v.]) or the English law version of *syariah* was a matter for the general courts. The colonial policy legacy remains important both for substantive law and for the structure of the contemporary *mahkama* in each of the three states.

i. Singapore

The first religious court (Syariah Court) was formally established in 1957 under the Muslims Ordinance of that year. At this time, Singapore was still a Crown Colony and the main motive for the court's foundation was to attempt control over the very high divorce rates among Singaporean Muslims. For this reason, its jurisdiction was restricted to marriage, divorce, nullity of marriage, judicial separation, division of property on divorce, and maintenance. While the basic causes of action in these matters remain as in the *syariah*, the particular form in which they are put in the statute is derived from English law. The *syariah* has been reformulated. Further provisions in the statute reinforce this position. The language of the court could be English, professional advocates might appear, the laws on evidence were English, powers to compel attendance were the same as those applicable in the secular Magistrates Court, precedent was wholly English and the qualifications and appointment of judges was established by the Governor. Appeals lay to an Appeals Board over which the Governor exercised a general power of revision. Most important, the Ordinance did not exclude the overriding jurisdiction of the secular High Court. In a series of cases from the late 1950s, the High Court did not hesitate to overturn or amend Syariah Court decisions. There were severe criticisms of Syariah



Court procedure, lack of record keeping and misunderstanding of the rules of evidence. While justified, such criticisms could also be seen as somewhat unfair given that the *kādīs* were not formally trained in English law.

The Ordinance was replaced in 1966 by the Administration of Muslim Law Act which repeats and elaborates the 1957 Ordinance. The same subjects on family law are included and the 1966 Act, with later amendments, remains the law for Muslims in Singapore today. However, Singapore also has the "Women's Charter" of 1961. This is an Act intended to set out the law for marriage, divorce, guardianship and maintenance. It is essentially a copy of English matrimonial laws of the late 1950s, and thus does not sit all that well with the version of *syariah* which the Syariah Court in Singapore is supposed to administer. By copying an English statute, the government of Singapore had also imported all other English legislation on family laws, for example, the laws on maintenance, guardianship, matrimonial property and so on. The Syariah Court has been placed in an impossible position. On the one hand, it is constrained by statute, and on the other it is obliged to apply "Islamic" law. It is the definition of "Islamic" law which is the difficulty. It now means four things. (a) The Anglo-Muhammadan laws derived from British Indian precedent and elaborated in the colonial period. Textbooks of these laws remain authorities for the secular courts. (b) The classical textbooks of the *Shāfi'ī* school which are the primary reference for the Singaporean *kādī*. (c) The regulations made under the 1966 Act which are binding on the *kādī*. (d) The decisions of the *kādī* reported and followed by later *kādīs*—that is, a precedent. It is this last (d) which is likely to determine the future of the Syariah Court. While the *kādīs* derive their decisions from the classical texts (see (a) above), they also follow the earlier *kādīs* in an organised way through law reporting and analysis of the earlier judgements. In short, there is now a Muslim internal reformulation of *syariah* within the Syariah Court. While the substance of a rule may be *fiqh*, the legal reasoning as to what it means and its application is English. This should occasion little surprise. Most if not all members of the Appeal Board have an English or English-derived legal education. For them, recourse to a precedent is perfectly normal. The fact that the structure and precedent of the court is English-derived merely reinforces this position. In extreme cases, the *syariah* presence is confined to quotations from the *Qur'ān*, not infrequently irrelevant. The result is an eclecticism of source of law in both the court and at the Appeal Board level. For example, a survey of recent Appeal Board decisions (1988-95) has shown recourse to (i) English principles of statutory interpretation, (ii) Anglo-Muhammadan rules from British India, (iii) citation from the *Qur'ān*, (iv) administrative rules on registration of marriage and divorce, and (v) earlier Syariah Court precedent. There is nothing from *fiqh* as such; the whole complex is English. Even the *sūras* cited are not decisive but seem to be put in so as to provide "Islamic" colouring to a method of reasoning which is wholly outside the canons of Muslim jurisprudence. This is not to say that *fiqh* does not play a part, at least at the lower level. It does, but increasingly now in a secularised form. At the Appeal Board level, however, the secularised form is dominant.

This state of affairs should come as no surprise. The intention of the Singaporean legislation was and is to control the family law of Muslims. This means

that it has to approximate the secular family laws as closely as possible, consonant with the religion of Islam. The colonial legislation showed how this could be done. The Syariah Court, therefore, is limited in its function and jurisdiction and is ultimately answerable to the Supreme Court of Singapore which will apply an Anglo-Syariah law.

ii. Malaysia

This state [see MALAYSIA] is a Federation and under the Constitution (1957 and amendments), Islam is a state matter, not a federal matter. The result is that each of the states in the Federation has its own "Islamic" (or "Muslim") law legislation. However, the Malaysian Constitution also says (Art. 3) that "Islam is the religion of the Federation". Unlike Singapore, therefore, Islam has a constitutional presence at both the federal and state level in Malaysia and this has important implications for both the structure and jurisdiction of the Syariah Courts.

(a) A note of caution is necessary about structure. While all the states of the Federation have a Syariah Court with the same general structure, this does not mean that the courts have precisely the same jurisdiction. Details vary from state to state. To be fully informed, one must therefore reach each state enactment. The following description is taken from the Federal Territory Administration of Islamic Law Act, 1993, something of an exemplar Act for Malaysian Islam. Part IV (§§ 40-57) establishes a three-tier system, consisting of Syariah Subordinate Court, High Court and Appeal Court. The Appeal Court is headed by the Chief Syariah Judge who must be a citizen and who has had ten years Syariah Court experience, or "is a person learned in Islamic law". This last qualification is undefined. A quorum for the court is the Chief Judge plus two judges drawn from a panel of seven judges. Decision is by a majority and the Appeal Court is the final court in matters of family law, *wakf* [q.v.], offences against religion, inheritance and *bayt al-māl*. The Syariah Subordinate Court has a limited jurisdiction in the same matters. Appeals go to the Syariah High Court and, finally, to the Appeal Court, which also exercises a general supervisory jurisdiction over the lower courts. The Act also provides for the appointment of *syariah* prosecutors. Persons in proceedings in the Syariah courts may be represented by a *Peguam Syarie*, an advocate who has a sufficient degree of Islamic knowledge and who is admitted to practice in the Syariah courts. The procedure in all the courts is based on the secular model. It is government policy to standardise the Syariah court system nationwide on the Federal Territory model, but there is still some way to go at the moment.

(b) Islamic jurisdiction. The jurisdiction of the state Syariah Courts is as set out in their respective enactments. From the 1950s it has become increasingly elaborated to the extent that there is now a comprehensive jurisdiction which coexists with the secular court system (High Courts and Court of Appeal [formerly Federal Court]). Concurrent jurisdictions always raise the issue of which is superior, or more exactly, which forum decides the issue. The question only really arose in the 1950s and was not definitively decided in Malaysia until 1988. Before that date, it was the secular courts which had overriding jurisdiction because these courts derived from the Federal Constitution and not, as did the Syariah courts, from state legislation. This was always a matter of resentment in Syariah court circles, and in 1988 a new article, 121 (1A), was introduced into the Federal Constitution; which reads: "The courts referred to [the



secular courts] shall have no jurisdiction in respect of any matters within the jurisdiction of the Syariah courts.”

However, this does not really solve the issue; it merely puts it back one stage. It is still the secular courts, here the Court of Appeal of Malaysia, which actually decides whether a course of action is “within the jurisdiction of the Syariah Courts”. There are a number of reported cases (1990s; see *Bibl.*) which demonstrate this; the Syariah courts have an inferior jurisdiction and have no power to determine the limits of that jurisdiction. It is the secular courts that interpret the Constitution just as they are the heirs to Anglo-Muhammadan jurisprudence.

Given the structure of the Syariah courts and the issue of jurisdiction, it is not surprising that the judgments in the courts show an increasing degree of secularisation of *fiqh*. This has taken place in the area of family law, and the decisions are a case study of the fate of the *syariah* in the contemporary nation state. Fundamental to this is the fate of the classical text books themselves and here one can discern a consistent pattern from the late 1980s. Passages are cited as *hukum syariah* and then interpreted with reference to Malaysian legislation and, in some cases, Malay custom (*adat*) as to land. The Arabic texts (standard books and *hadith* collections) get quite new meanings which derive from *adat*, from legislation, and from earlier Syariah court precedents. These new meanings are now what *fiqh* means; thus the Arabic sources are beginning to be interpreted and distinguished on the basis of English-derived principles.

A second feature of the contemporary Syariah courts is the recourse to “modernist” legal reasoning with occasional but important recourse to Middle East authorities. Thus, from the late 1970s we find references to Syed Sabiq (his *Fikh al-Sunna*) and Ibn Kudāma (the latter’s discussion of Abū Dāwūd).

These two trends seem now to be almost irreversible. The only surprising feature is the depth of penetration of secular (English) legal reasoning into the substantive *fiqh* rules. There seem to be three reasons for this.

First, while it is true that the *syariah* in its “pure” form (*fiqh* and *hadith*) is now commonly cited, it is also true that the form of judicial records is in judicial precedent. Given that this is the form of the law, it is inevitable that the technical rules of English law will apply, and the result will be an Anglo-Syariah. Such has, of course, occurred before in British India and pre-independence British Malaya. The only difference in the present case is the greater quality of *fiqh* in the *kādīs* jurisdiction. Even here, however, a lot of repetition appears. In short, the precedent law is decisive.

Second, the members of the Appeal Board are, almost without exception, trained in English and English-Malay universities and practice at the secular Bar or the judiciary. This, apart from being Muslim, is their primary qualification. When this is combined with the precedent form, it is not surprising that an increasingly secular form of judicial reasoning is apparent. This is not to say that judgements are “un-Islamic”. Such would not be true in the substance (result) of a decision. It is certainly arguable, however, in terms of legal reasoning.

Third, the prevailing political climate for Islam in Malaysia is dictated by the Federal Government. It is one which encourages progress, “modernisation”, “development” and the like. Whatever the rhetoric, Islam is controlled in all its aspects so far as possi-

ble. The religion must accommodate itself to the state and not the other way around. The same principle applies to *kādī* jurisdiction, and an increasing secularisation of Islam through administration and through the Syariah courts now seems inevitable.

iii. Brunei

The state of Brunei [*q.v.* in Suppl.] (independent in 1984) describes itself as a “Malay-Islamic-Sultanate” (*Melayu-Islam-Beraja*). The Sultan is Head of State and Head of Government; he is also the Head of the Religion of Islam which is thus entrenched in the Constitution. Prior to 1955, the laws as to Syariah courts were minimal, though a basic Kadi Court did exist. In 1955 Brunei adopted the Religious Council and Kadis Court Act which was based on the then Kelantan (Malaysia) Enactment. The Brunei Act has been amended and the current version is now cap. 77 of the Revised Laws (1984) with some later amendments.

The Act establishes a Court of Chief Kadi in the capital and subordinate Kadi Courts in outlying districts. The extent of jurisdiction is determined by the Sultan but is in fact specified in detail in the Act. These include family law, *wakf* and, in criminal matters, offences against religion. The latter include gambling, consumption of alcohol, sex outside marriage, preaching Islam without permission and the unlawful construction of mosques. Appeals are dealt with in the Chief Kadi’s Court and above that by the Judicial Committee, which consists of the State Mufti and two other members appointed by the Sultan. This Committee also has authority to write an opinion on any question of Muslim law for a non-Islamic court if requested. Ultimate authority, however, still lies with the Sultan who, as Head of the Religious Council (one of the Councils of State), makes the final decision.

The language of the Courts is Malay and records are kept in Malay. Advocates may not appear if an appearance is “contrary to the provisions of Muslim law” but may be permitted at the discretion of the Court. Procedure is based on secular court procedure. So far as evidence is concerned, Muslim law is followed only with respect to witnesses. All other matters of evidence are governed by English law as adopted in Brunei. The Courts may summon non-Muslims to give evidence. Matters of arrest and search in relation to criminal activity, especially breach of the peace, are governed by the secular criminal proceedings in the Kadis Court. The execution of judgements is likewise governed by the Subordinate Courts Act. Generally, in civil matters the practice and procedure of the Magistrates Courts is followed in the Kadis Courts.

In essence, the Brunei Act repeats the Malaysian and Singaporean provisions. This is true for judicial process. However, it is important to realise that the constitutional position of Islam in Brunei and the position of the Sultan provides a unique context for the operation of the Kadi Courts. Unfortunately data on their actual working are not as yet available.

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MAI, the official title of the Sayfuwa rulers of Kanem [q.v.], later Bornū [q.v.], an African kingdom situated in the area of Lake Chad. Arab geographers (al-Yaʿqūbī, al-Muḥallabī) depicted the ruler of pre-Islamic Kanem as a divine king. Although the rise to power of an Islamic line of rulers in the second half of the 11th century resulted in a number of radical changes in the political structure, some basic elements of divine kingship continued to shape the royal institution during the period of the Sayfuwa. Among the features of divine kingship which resisted the secularising tendencies of Islam were the seclusion of the king, shown by his concealment in a pavilion behind a silk curtain; the prevailing influence of women of the royal family in court life (queen-mother, principal queen and princesses); and the notion of a legendary protectress of the king during his youth (Aīsa Kili Ngirmaramma). Traditions associate the latter with the upbringing of the greatest rulers of Kanem-Bornū: Dūnāma Dibalemi (1203-48), ʿAlī Gadīr (1455-87) and Idrīs Amsāmi (1564-96). The court ceremonies and institutions derived from divine kingship were abolished by *shaykh* al-Amin al-Kānīmī, who founded a new dynasty in Bornū in the first half of the 19th century. By adopting the Arabo-Islamic *shaykh* as a royal title instead of the earlier *mai*, he gave expression to his more strictly Islamic preferences.

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MAI TATSINE (d. 1980), a nickname given to Muhammadu Marwa, a *mallam*, or Muslim religious leader in Kano, Nigeria, whose followers were involved in violent clashes from 18 to 28 December 1980. Over 4,000 people died in these disturbances.

He came from the region of Marwa in northern Cameroon, from a group classified as Kirdi. These are hill dwellers and followers of traditional religions, while the Muslim Fulani dominate the plains. Famine drove the young Mai Tatsine out of the hills, along with many fellow Kirdi, in the 1930s. In the city of Marwa he took up Islam.

He came to Kano in 1945 and began a career as a *mallam*. His teaching was evidently inflammatory for in 1962 he was jailed by Kano's chief Muslim judge for the offence of *shatima*, or verbal abuse. Following his sentence, Emir Sanusi deported him to Cameroon.

Such traditional forms of control were weakened following the abolition of the emirs' judicial authority in 1966. Mai Tatsine was able to return to Kano and establish a popular following by the late 1970s. The disturbances began when the police were overwhelmed by sect members in a confrontation near the emir's palace on December 18. Fighting continued for ten days until the Nigerian army finally dislodged the ʿYan Tatsine from their stronghold in a neighbourhood just outside the old walled city. Mai Tatsine was killed at this time. The sect survived and

was involved in clashes in Maiduguri and Kaduna in following years.

The sect bears some resemblance to the Ḥamāliyya [q.v.], an offshoot of the Tidjāniyya [q.v.] that began in Mauritania in the 1920s. Both movements emphasised living as a separate community which regarded other Muslims as impure. Many of its followers were recent immigrants to Kano, drawn by the city's oil boom driven expansion, but it also had followers in rural areas.

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MAḤŞİD AL-SHARĪʿA (A.), literally, "the aims or purposes of the law".

The term is used in works of legal theory (*uṣūl al-fikh* [q.v.]) and refers to the idea that God's law, the *Sharʿa* [q.v.], is a system which encompasses aims or purposes. If the system is correctly implemented, these aims will be achieved. From such a perspective, the *Sharʿa* is not merely a collection of inscrutable rulings. One who claims that the *Sharʿa* has *maḥşid* is, therefore, making a statement concerning the rational nature of the *Sharʿa*: that God intends to bring about a certain state of affairs by instituting particular laws. Most Sunnī legal theorists subscribe to the view that the *Sharʿa* has aims, and principal amongst these is the promotion of the "benefit for the believers" (*maṣāliḥ al-ʿibād*). As al-Shāṭibī (d. 790/1388), probably the most sophisticated of the classical exponents of the doctrine of *maḥşid al-sharʿa*, states, "the laws were instituted only for the benefit of the believers in this world and the next" (*Muwāfaqāt*, ii, 2). The laws themselves are only the means of achieving God's aims and intentions. They hold no intrinsic value, and if, on occasions, the strict application of the law compromises the aims of the *Sharʿa*, then for some supporters of the doctrine of *maḥşid*, the law can be set aside or modified so that God's intentions might be fulfilled. This possibility has made an appeal to *maḥşid al-sharʿa* particularly popular amongst modern legal reformers in the Muslim world, as it enables them to alter some long-held elements of the law which they consider to be impracticable in a contemporary setting.

The doctrine of *maḥşid al-sharʿa* has its roots in early Muslim attempts to rationalise both theology and law. In terms of theology, the ideas of the Muʿtazila [q.v.] undoubtedly influenced the emergence of the *maḥşid* doctrine. The Muʿtazilī doctrine that God's decrees are subject to, rather than the origin of, the ideas of good and evil (*al-taḥṣīn wa ʿl-takḥīḥ* [q.v.]) ultimately resulted in an assertion that God is compelled to act in the interests (perhaps the best interests) of humankind. His law must be of benefit to his creation, for if it was not, his qualities of justice and goodness would be compromised.

In legal works, a bundle of related doctrines can be seen as precursors to al-Shāṭibī's elaboration. The development of *kiyās* [q.v.] as a legal tool provided the impetus for the doctrine of *maḥşid al-sharʿa*; for, if rulings known to be true in one situation can be transferred to novel situations, then the law must, in some sense, be coherent. If it is coherent, then it must express the will of the Lawgiver. It is this underlying assumption (that the intentions of the Lawgiver could be known) that was so vehemently rejected by the Zāhirī Ibn Ḥazm (d. 456/1064 [q.v.]).



The Shāfiʿī jurist Abū Hamīd al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111 [q.v.]), on the other hand, asserted that one way in which the *ratio* (*illa* [q.v.]) of a ruling might be known is by comparing the candidate for the role of *illa* with the general aim (*maḳṣūd*) of the law to “promote benefit and reduce harm”. This means of identifying or verifying the *illa* (known as *munāsaba*) rested upon the idea that the aims of the law were discernible (through reason or revelation).

The Ḥanbalī Najm al-Dīn al-Tūfī (716/1316 [q.v.]) went further than this, arguing that all rules derived from analogy (bar those not open to rational scrutiny such as the ritual *ibādāt*) are susceptible to change and development if the aims of the Lawgiver are not fulfilled. Discussion over the legitimacy of *istiḥsān* and *istiḥlāh* amongst Ḥanafīs and Mālikīs also rested on an acceptance that there were overall “aims” in the *Sharīʿa*. *Istiḥsān* [q.v.], originally used as an accusation of arbitrary preference, was rationalised by Ḥanafīs such as al-Sarakhsī (d. 483/1090 [q.v.]) to refer to the rejection of the strict application of *kiyās* in favour of a ruling which better promotes the benefits of the believers (*maṣāliḥ al-ʿibād*).

Istiḥlāh [q.v.] was discussed extensively by Mālikīs, in part because Mālik himself is reported to have advocated it; it refers to a jurist’s ruling which has no precedent in the revelatory texts, and is based on the calculation of some benefit (*maṣlaḥa mursala*) [see MAṢLAḤA] to the individual or communities concerned. Mālikīs, such as al-Ḳarāfī (d. 684/1285 [see ʿUṢŪL AL-DĪN AL-ḲARĀFĪ]), recognised the theologically problematic nature of basing a ruling not on textual support but on a benefit perceived by a jurist. It is perhaps unsurprising then, given the Mālikī history of discussions of *istiḥlāh*, that the greatest exponent of *maḳāṣid al-sharīʿa* should come from the Mālikī school, sc. Abū Ishāq al-Shātibī [q.v.], the 8th/14th-century Granadan jurist. Al-Shātibī, in his *Muwāfaqāt*, takes the analysis of “benefits” accruing from the institution of the *Sharīʿa* used by previous jurists in relation to *kiyās*, *istiḥsān* and *istiḥlāh*, and declares, uncompromisingly, that the whole *Sharīʿa* exists to promote the welfare of the believers. The benefits which are promoted and preserved when the *Sharīʿa* is instituted are of three basic types. There are those elements which are necessary (*darūra* [q.v.]) for human existence to prosper (there are, al-Shātibī argues, five of these: the preservation of life, property, progeny, mind and religion); there are those which are needed (*ḥāḍja*) in order to make obedience to the *Sharīʿa* less demanding; and there are those which, whilst not necessary or needed, improve (*taḥsīniyya*) the benefits already enjoyed by the believers. Each ruling in the *Sharīʿa* can be said to benefit the believers in one of these three areas. For example, it is necessary (*darūra*) to human existence to preserve life, and God has instituted (in the *Sharīʿa*) rules concerning punishment and compensation for murder. In order to make the *Sharīʿa* easier to follow (*ḥāḍja*), the law permits sick people to miss prayer. Finally, the benefits to the believers are improved (*taḥsīniyya*) by supererogatory manumission, though community welfare would be maintained if this act was not performed.

Al-Shātibī’s schema, which was innovative within the deeply conservative tradition of Sunnī *uṣūl al-fiqh*, undoubtedly influenced subsequent writings, but it is in the modern period that these ideas have been developed and enhanced, and a genre of *maḳāṣid* writing can be said to have emerged. In particular, North African (Mālikī) jurists, such as Muḥammad Ṭāhir b. ʿAshūr (d. 1973) and ʿAllāl al-Fāsī (d. 1973), com-

posed works devoted to *maḳāṣid al-sharīʿa* which draw heavily on al-Tūfī and al-Shātibī. Ibn ʿAshūr, for example, adds equality and freedom to al-Shātibī’s list of the five elements necessary for human existence to prosper. The modern emergence of a theology reminiscent of Muʿtazilī doctrine has enabled jurists to consider the *Sharīʿa* as more adaptable to change and distinguish between the unchanging aims of the law and mutable particular regulations.

Bibliography: 1. Sources. Ibn Ḥazm, *al-Iḥkām fī uṣūl al-ahkām*, Cairo 1978; Sarakhsī, *al-Uṣūl*, Cairo 1973; Ghazālī, *al-Mustasfā min ʿilm al-uṣūl*, Beirut 1996; Tūfī, *ʿĀlam al-ḥadīth fī ʿilm al-ḥadīth*, Wiesbaden 1987; Ḳarāfī, *Sharḥ al-tanḳīh al-fuṣūl fī iḥṭisār al-maḥṣūl fī ʿl-uṣūl*, Cairo 1973; Shātibī, *al-Muwāfaqāt fī uṣūl al-sharīʿa*, Cairo 1969-70.

2. Studies. ʿAllāl al-Fāsī, *Maḳāṣid al-sharīʿa al-islāmiyya wa-maḳārimuhā*, Casablanca 1963; A.-M. Turki, *Polémiques entre Ibn Ḥazm et Bāḡī sur les principes de la loi musulmane*, Algiers 1973; Muḥammad Ṭāhir Ibn ʿAshūr, *Maḳāṣid al-sharīʿa al-islāmiyya*, Tunis 1978; K. Masood, *Islamic legal philosophy. A study of Abū Ishāq al-Shātibī’s life and thought*, Islamabad 1977; A. Zysow, *The economy of certainty. An introduction to the typology of Islamic legal theory*, Harvard Univ. Ph.D. thesis 1984, unpubl.; B. Weiss, *The search for God’s law. Islamic jurisprudence in the writings of Sayf al-Dīn al-Amīdī*, Salt Lake City 1992; W. Hallaq, *A history of Islamic legal theories. An introduction to Sunnī uṣūl al-fiqh*, Cambridge 1997. (R.M. GLEAVE)

MAḲBARA. 4. In Iran.

Islamic cemeteries in Iran, Transoxania and Afghanistan were generally located, in accordance with the practices of Zoroastrian, Christian or Jewish communities, *extra muros* of existing settlements and along main roads exiting from the city gates (al-Muḳaddasī, 438; al-Iṣfahānī, *Aghānī*³, xix, 114 (for Iṣfahān, see Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Beirut, xi, 28; Harāt: T. Allen, *A catalogue of the toponyms and monuments of Timurid Herat*, Cambridge 1981, 165; Ray: H. Karīmān, *Ray-i bāstān*, Tehran 1345 A.S.H., i, 366-479; C. Adle, *Constructions funéraires à Rey circa X^e-XII^e siècle*, in *Akten des 8. Internationalen Kongresses für iranische Kunst und Archäologie*, Berlin 1979, 511-12; Samarkand: N.B. Nemceva, *Etappen der Herausbildung der Ensembles Shah-i Sinda in Samarkand*, in *ZA*, N.S. xii [1978], 51-68). Al-Muḳaddasī, however, remarks on the noteworthy exception of Tustar where the cemetery was established on higher ground within the city because of frequent river floods (*ibid.*, 409). For a mediaeval visitor, the sight of cemeteries evoked feelings of sadness and a sense of disorientation (Abū Shāma, *Tarāḍīm riḍjāl al-kam al-sādīs wa ʿl-sābiʿ*, ed. M.Z. al-Kawtharī, Beirut 1974, 16). Nevertheless, tombs were often located as close as possible to the roads in the hope that compassionate passers-by would stop to offer prayers (Sibt Ibn al-Djawzī, *Mirʿat al-zamān*, Ḥaydarābād 1951, viii, 442). Not wanting to be constantly reminded of the inevitability of death, the Būyid ʿAduḍ al-Dawla issued orders to enclose cemeteries with high walls (Djūdjdjānī, *Tabakāt-i Nāsiri*, ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥayy Ḥabībī, Kābul 1342/1963, 223). Visits to grave sites in Hamadḥān or Shīrāz included not only recitations of the Kurʿān but also offerings of food and drink (*zalla wa nawāla*) for the dead (Rāwandī, *Rāḥat al-sudūr*, ed. M. Iqbāl, London 1921, 300; Ibn Baṭṭūta, *Rihla*, Beirut 1968, 209-10).

When Muslims lived with the indigenous population of Iran immediately after the conquest, they used existing pre-Islamic cemeteries and seem soon to have adopted local funerary customs. Muslim burials on



Tepe no. 2 at Bayram 'Alī near Marw make use of earlier structures, so-called *nawāwīs* (M.E. Masson, *Materiali po arkheologii Merva*, in *Trudi YuTAKe*, xiv [1969], 7-12; O.V. Obel'chenko, *Nekropol' drevnego Merva*, in *ibid.*, 95-9). Burials in ossuaries and jars are mixed with regular Muslim graves in a 7th-10th century cemetery outside Tarāz near Dzhambul (Kazakhstan) (L.I. Rempel', *Nekropol' drevnego Taraza*, in *Kratkie Soobshcheniya Instituta Material'noy Kul'tury*, lxix [1957], 102). The best-known site for these hybrid practices, however, is the "Monumental Cemetery" (Site O) in Sirāf [q.v.], situated on a spur of land overlooking the city's west end, that also had its own funerary mosque (D. Whitehouse, *Excavations in Siraf*, in *Iran*, xii [1974], 23-30). Dating back to the pre-Islamic period, the 100 × 150 m cemetery was dominated by a group of about forty monumental tombs (5 × 5 m to 9.5 × 10 m), built between the 9th and the 10th centuries, with graves grouped around them. Most appear to have been used for the collective disposal of the dead, who were buried inside without coffins and without separating the corpses according to gender. Most bodies were aligned in an orthodox manner north-south, with their heads turned towards the west, i.e. Mecca. The deceased, who appear to have been members of the wealthier society of Sirāf, were buried with rings, beads, bracelets and ceramic jugs (*ibid.*, 25). Similar cemeteries are known from literary sources to have existed in Paykand, modern Karakul in Turkmenistan (anon., *Hudūd al-'ālam*, tr. Minorsky², 113) and Yazd (Djā'fari, *Ta'rikh-i Yazd*, ed. I. Afshār, Tehran 1337 A.S.H./1958, 130).

Cemeteries *intra muros* were often established in ruins or in buildings that were partially torn down for that purpose (Whitehouse, *ibid.*, 9; A. McNicoll, *Site G. Islamic Cemetery*, in McNicoll and W. Ball (eds.), *Excavations at Kandahar 1974 and 1975*, Oxford 1996, 214, 234-6), while growing settlements were laid out around pre-existing cemeteries, respecting and carefully enclosing the tombs (Whitehouse, *ibid.*, 12).

Local pre-Islamic cemeteries continued in use, but cemeteries also opened up in greater Iran around tombs ascribed to legendary *shuhadā'* of the Muslim conquest of Iran (Yāqūt, iv, 418; E. Cohn-Wiener, *A Turanic monument of the twelfth century A.D.*, in *Ars Islamica*, vi [1939], 88-91); to saints (A.S. Melikian-Chirvani, *Remarques préliminaires sur une mausolée ghaznévide*, in *Arts Asiatiques*, xvii, 59-60) or to former rulers (Cohn-Wiener, *Die Ruinen der Seldschukenstadt von Merv und das Mausoleum Sultan Sandschahs*, in *Festschrift F. Sarre*, Leipzig 1925, 116).

Only scarce documentation exists on remnants of some nomadic cemeteries in the Atrak valley in north-eastern Iran and in southwestern Iran dating from the 17th to the 19th centuries. The Turcoman Göklen tribe possessed a common burial ground 60 km/40 miles north of Djurdjān, scattered over hills, slopes, and plateaux of the Gökcheh mountain, to which the deceased were brought often from far away, after a preliminary burial for some time in the area around seasonal camps (D. Stronach, *Standing stones in the Atrak region. The Hālat Nabī cemetery*, in *Iran*, xix [1981], 147-51). In contrast to this, cemeteries of the Lur nomads in Luristān were established along the annual tribal migratory routes and may coincide with old camp sites. Tombs in these cemeteries were marked by pictorial stelae with gender-specific images and inscriptions (I.D. Mortensen, *Women after death. Aspects of a study on Iranian nomadic cemeteries*, in B. Utas [ed.], *Women in Islamic societies*, London 1983, 26-47; idem, *Nomadic cemeteries and tombstones from Luristan, Iran*, in J.-L. Bacqué-

Grammont and A. Tibet [eds.], *Cimetières et traditions funéraires dans le monde islamique*, Ankara 1996, ii, 175-83).

In contemporary Iran, modern and efficiently-administered cemeteries have been established, often at some distance from major cities and pilgrimage centres, as more orderly alternatives to older, more scattered burial places. Between the 1970s and late 1980s, the city of Mashhad inaugurated the cemeteries of Bihisht-i Ridā and Djawād-i A'imma 20 miles southwest of the city in the vicinity of an old cemetery named after the tomb of the 9th century Imāmzāda Kh'ādja Abu 'l-Salt. Simultaneously, modern extensions to the Timūrid shrine of Imām 'Alī al-Ridā now include underground burial vaults, named al-Kuds and Mashhad-i Djumhūrī, for civilians and soldiers killed during the Revolution and the Iran-Iraq War.

Used as a burial ground since the 1950s and opened officially in 1970, the sprawling Bihisht-i Zahrā' cemetery (Paradise of [Fātima] the Radiant) south of Tehran along the highway to Kum is today the city's main cemetery. During the late 1970s and early 1980s, Bihisht-i Zahrā' gained the reputation as a national symbol of the Revolution, as many of those killed during demonstrations against the Shāh or in post-Revolutionary factional fighting were buried there as martyrs. During the eight years of war with Iraq, a vast, separate section was added for soldiers killed in action, whose tombs are typically surmounted by cases that exhibit a portrait photo of the deceased and Islamic and Revolutionary paraphernalia. The impressive visual expression of Bihisht-i Zahrā' as a cemetery dedicated to the commemoration of martyrs, a fountain that spouts red water, has been copied throughout Iran (Hamid Algar, art. *Behesht-e Zahrā'*, in *EIr*, iv, 108-9; D. Hiro, *Iran under the Ayatollas*, London 1985, 77).

Bibliography: Given in the article, but on the graveyards where British travellers, traders, missionaries, etc., were buried, see Sir Denis Wright, *Burials and memorials of the British in Persia*, in *Iran*, xxxvi (1998), 165-73, and *further notes and photographs*, in *ibid.*, xxx (1999), 173-4, xxxix (2001), 293-8. See also, on cemeteries in Persian folklore, *EIr* art. *Cemeteries* (Mahmoud Omidshah). (T. LEISTEN)

MAKTŪBĀT (A.), literally "letters", a term used especially in Muslim India for the epistles of Šūfī leaders.

Apart from epistolary collections of political and literary significance (like *I'djāz-i Khusrāwī*, *Mukātabāt-i Rashīdī*, *Riyād al-Inshā'*, *Inshā'-i Abu 'l-Fadl*), there are collections of letters written by mystic teachers to their disciples. This epistolary literature, which throws valuable light on the mystic ideology and institutions of the period, may broadly be classified under four categories: (i) sundry correspondence limited mostly to one or two letters dealing with some religious problem, e.g. letters attributed to Shaykh 'Abd al-Kādir Gīlānī, Kh'ādja Kuṭb al-Dīn Bakhūyār Kākī, Shaykh Farīd Gandj-i Shakar, Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' and others; (ii) collections of letters in the nature of mystic lucubrations without any indication of the addressees, e.g. letters of 'Ayn al-Kuḍāt Hamadānī, Kādī Hamīd al-Dīn Nāgawrī and Sayyid 'Alī Hamadānī; (iii) collections of letters bearing on mystical or religious themes addressed to disciples to resolve their difficulties, e.g. the letters of the Imām al-Ghazālī, Sanā'ī, Rifā'ī, Yahyā Manerī, Bū 'Alī Kalandar, Ashraf Djahāngīr Simnānī, Gīsū Darāz, Nūr Kuṭb-i 'Ālam, Djā'far Makkī, Shaykh 'Abd al-Kuddūs, Shaykh 'Abd al-Hakk Muḥaddīh, Shāh Muḥibb Allāh of Allāhābād



and others; and (iv) collections of letters having the consistent exposition of a specific ideological position and controlling the organisational direction and ideological drift of the disciples. The Nakshbandī saints, particularly from the time of Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindī, used letters as a regular channel for the communication of their trends of thought. His successors, Kh^hādja Muhammad Ma'sūm, Muhammad Nakshband-i Thānī, Kh^hādja Sayf al-Dīn, Mīrzā Maẓhar Džān-i Džānān, Shaykh Muhammad Sa'id, Shāh Ghulām 'Alī, Shāh Ahmad Sa'id, 'Abd al-Ra'ūf and others, wrote large number of letters which are a veritable source for the study of Nakshbandī thought and its reaction to different socio-religious situations. The thought of the *silsila* was so consolidated on their basis that, during the last three hundred years, the Nakshbandīs have drawn spiritual guidance from these letters.

Taken as a whole, the Suhrawardī, the Kādirī and the Shattārī saints do not seem to have adopted correspondence as a regular means of communicating their ideology. Except for the *Maktūbāt-i Kādī Shattār* (ms. in Manēr Khānakāh) no saint of these orders seems to have left any significant collection of letters. The Nakshbandīs, the Firdawsīs and the Čishtīs made use of this medium effectively. In Nakshbandī discipline, the *maktūbāt* of Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindī [q.v.] and his descendants assumed the same significance which *maḥfūzāt* [q.v. in Suppl.] like *Fawā'id al-fu'ād* and *Khayr al-maḥjālīs* assumed in the Čishtī *silsila*. Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' used to write letters on a large scale (Shaykh Muḥarak Gopamawī had collected his hundred letters—*Siyar al-awliyā'*, Dihlī 1302, 310—and Amīr Khusrāw also received a large number of letters which he had buried with him [ibid., 302-3], but these were of personal nature and were not collected in any compendium. Among the Čishtī saints, the most effective collections of *maktūbāt* are those of Nūr Kuṭb-i 'Ālam, 'Abd al-Kuddūs Gangōhī and Shāh Kalīm Allāh of Dihlī. The last-mentioned saint controlled and guided the Čishtī organisation in the Deccan through correspondence, at a time when Awrangzib [q.v.] was showing his definite preference for the Nakshbandī order. Perhaps Shāh Kalīm Allāh was influenced by the practice of his contemporary Nakshbandī saints in giving importance to correspondence in organising the affairs of the *silsila* and in controlling its ideological slant.

Among the Firdawsīs, the letters of Shaykh Sharaf al-Dīn Yahyā succeeded in boosting the mystics' morale after their setback at the hands of Muḥammad b. Tughluq [q.v.].

The available *maktūb* literature throws light on the thought and activities, as also the problems and preferences, of the saints of different periods and different orders. Though some of the letters of the Imām al-Ghazālī are addressed to *waẓīrs* and government officials, they help us in assessing the position of religion in the administration of those days. His communications to the *kādīs*, the jurists and theologians throw light on the nature of the religious problems and tensions of the period and have a sermonising tone. The letters of Sanā'ī, only seventeen in number, help us in understanding the mental climate of the late Ghaznawid period as much as his mystical poetry. The letters of Nūr Kuṭb-i 'Ālam throw light on the socio-political crisis in Bengal in the 8th/14th century. The letters of Shaykh Sharaf al-Dīn Yahyā reveal the anxiety of the Firdawsī saint to salvage mystic institutions from ruin. The *Maktūbāt* of Shaykh 'Abd al-Kuddūs of Gangōh [see GANGŌH, in Suppl.] bring into focus the atmosphere immediately preceding the

rise of the Bhakti movement. The letters of Shaykh Ahmad Sirhindī provide material for the study of reactions against Akbar's religious experiments. So also the letters of 'Abd al-Hakk Muḥaddith reveal the anxiety of Muslim minds at the anarchy prevailing in Muslim religious life. The letters of Shāh Muḥibb Allāh, particularly those addressed to Dārā Shukōh [q.v.], show his anxiety to retrieve pantheistic thought from condemnation and conflict. When read with the letters of Kh^hādja Ma'sūm and other Nakshbandī saints, they reveal the nature of conflict in mystical thought at this time. Kh^hādja Ma'sūm's letters highlight the atmosphere of religious revival that took place during the time of Awrangzib. The letters of Shāh Walī Allāh [q.v.] illuminate his efforts to bridge the gulf between the devotees of *waḥdat al-wuḍūd* and its critics on one side and his political activities, involving correspondence with Ahmad Shāh Abdālī, Muhammad Shāh and Nadjīb al-Dawla [q.v.], on the other. The letters of Mīrzā Maẓhar show significant religious trends of the period which led to his declaration of *Vedas* as a revealed book and his according the status of *Ahl-i Kūtāb* to the Hindus.

For a study of the actual application of mystic ideology to concrete socio-religious situations, the importance of *Maktūbāt* literature cannot be over-emphasised.

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MALA' (A.), lit. a "group (of people)", or a "host", or a "crowd", like *ḡamā'a*, *kaum* [q.v.], *naḡar*, *raḡt*, and more generally, "the public", and hence, *fi mala'*, *fi 'l-mala'* "publicly" (e.g. al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 9 vols., Cairo 1958, ix, 148 = *kitāb* 97, *bāb* 15). The word also denotes decisions taken as a result of collective consultation, as in the phrase '*an [ḡhayrī] mala' minnā*' "[not] as a result of our consultation" (Ahmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, 6 vols., Cairo 1313/1895, repr. Beirut n.d., i, 463). Since collective decisions are usually taken by the leaders of the group, *al-mala'* very often denotes the notables and leaders of the community (*wuḡḡūh*, *ashrāf*, *ru'asā'*) (e.g. Ibn Hishām, *al-Sira al-nabawiyya*, ed. Muṣṭafā al-Sakḡā *et alii*, 4 vols., repr. Beirut 1971, ii, 297-8; Lane, s.v.).

1. In the Kur'ān.

In II, 246 the *mala'* of the Children of Israel demands that a king be raised up for them by their prophet. The word is explained here in the sense of *al-kaum* "the people" (e.g. Ibn al-Djāwzī, *Zād al-masīr fi 'ilm al-tafsīr*, 9 vols., Beirut 1984, i, 291-2 [from al-Farrāḡ]); al-Kurṭubī, *al-Djāmi' li-ahkām al-Kur'ān*, 20 vols., Cairo 1967, iii, 243), although others perceived it in the sense of "the notables" (e.g. al-Zadīdjādī, *Ma'ānī 'l-Kur'ān wa-rābuhū*, ed. 'Abd al-Djalīl Shalabī, 5 vols., Beirut 1988, i, 325).

In most of its Kur'ānic occurrences the word *mala'* stands indeed for the notables of a given group, and they often represent the royal council, like that of the Queen of Sheba (XXVII, 29, 32), and of King Solomon (XXVII, 38). The *mala'* in the Kur'ān is often involved in the persecution of the messengers of God, as with the royal *mala'* of the Pharaoh. It denounces Moses as a sorcerer (VII, 109; XXVI, 34), incites the Pharaoh against him (VII, 127), and plots to kill him (XXVIII, 20). Other prophets who were persecuted by the *mala'* of their own peoples were Noah (VII, 60; XI, 27, 38; XXIII, 24), Hūd (VII, 66; XXIII, 33) Ṣāliḥ (VII, 75), and Shu'ayb (VII, 88, 90). In one instance, the contemporary *mala'* of Muḥammad's own people is mentioned as leading the opposition against him (XXXVIII, 6).

In two places the Kur'ān mentions the "upper" *mala'* (*al-mala' al-a'lā*). In XXXVII, 8, it is stated that the rebellious devils may not listen to the upper *mala'*, and in XXXVIII, 69, the Prophet declares that he has no knowledge of what the members of the upper *mala'* are disputing about. In Kur'ānic exegesis, it is held that the upper *mala'* are the angels who have thus been named because they dwell in heaven, which differentiates them from the earthly *mala'*, i.e. the human beings (e.g. al-Kurṭubī, *Ahkām al-Kur'ān*, xv, 65). According to this perception, *al-mala' al-a'lā* denotes "the heavenly host" [see MALĀ'IKĀ]. On the other hand, *al-mala' al-a'lā* of Kur'ān XXXVIII, 69, was also explained as though standing for the Kuraysh (al-Kurṭubī, *op. cit.*, xv, 226-7), which sets the term in an earthly context, meaning "the supreme council" (see below).

As a heavenly group consisting of angels, *al-mala' al-a'lā* is considered superior to the earthly one which consists of the sons of Adam (*ibid.*, i, 289). This is indicated in a tradition of the Prophet stating that whenever a believer mentions God's name in public (*fi mala'm*), God mentions his name in a better public (e.g. Ahmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, ii, 251). A *mala'* of angels met the Prophet on his nocturnal journey to heaven (*ibid.*, i, 354), and in fact every human soul is about to pass by a *mala'* of angels at the time of death (*ibid.*, iv, 287).

Closely associated with *al-mala' al-a'lā* in its heavenly significance is the expression *al-raḡḡk al-a'lā* (the "upper company", cf. Kur'ān IV, 69). It appears in a widely current tradition in which the Prophet, on his death-bed, asks God to place him with *al-raḡḡk al-a'lā*, and these constitute his last words (e.g. al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, vi, 18-19 = *kitāb* 64, *bāb* 84). According to one of the interpretations, this expression stands for angels belonging to *al-mala' al-a'lā* (al-Kaṣṣallānī, *Irshād al-sārī li-sharḡ Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*, 10 vols., Cairo 1305/1887, viii, 358).

2. In early Tradition.

In accounts containing episodes from Muḥammad's life, the *mala'* of Kuraysh [q.v.] is often mentioned, and the context indicates that it consists of Meccan notables. In most cases, this *mala'* is involved in acts of persecution perpetrated against Muḥammad. In a typical episode, it is related that the *mala'* of Kuraysh once told Muḥammad that they were ready to embrace Islam provided he turned away believers of the lower classes (Ahmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, i, 420). The episode is usually recorded in the commentaries on Kur'ān VI, 52, in which the Prophet is instructed not to reject those who call upon their Lord in the morning and in the evening. Occasionally, the *mala'* of the Meccans is said to have convened in the Ḥiḡjr (a sacred enclosure and a meeting place near the Ka'ba [q.v.]) to discuss how to treat Muḥammad (*ibid.*, i, 303), and they are also said to have interrogated Muḥammad, offering him medical treatment to cure his supposed madness (al-Kurṭubī, *Ahkām al-Kur'ān*, xv, 338). In another instance, specific names of the hostile *mala'* of Kuraysh are enumerated, in a tradition in which Muḥammad prays to God to punish them for having thrown a camel's placenta on him when he was prostrating during prayer. This was done to invalidate his prayer by causing him physical impurity (al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, iv, 127 = *kitāb* 58, *bāb* 21, v, 57 = *kitāb* 63, *bāb* 29).

According to modern scholars, the word *mala'* became a fixed term denoting the elected "senate" of the tribe of Kuraysh in pre-Islamic Mecca (e.g. W. Montgomery Watt, *Muhammad at Mecca*, Oxford 1953, 8. See also MAKKA. 1). It was described as "a kind of urban equivalent of the tribal *majlis* [see MAJLIS. 1], consisting of notables and family chiefs elected by assent to their wealth and standing" (B. Lewis, *The Arabs in history*, repr. London 1983, 31). However, there is no evidence that a process of election to the *mala'* ever took place in pre-Islamic Mecca. That *mala'* essentially denoted no more than an occasional group of notables is evident from the fact that it is also used with reference to a group of Kuraysh acting in Medina after the Ḥiḡjra (e.g. al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, ii, 133 = *kitāb* 24, *bāb* 4; Ahmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, v, 160).

The *mala'*, i.e. the notables, of the Arab tribes of Medina (of the Banu 'l-Nadīdjār), are also mentioned in the sources, and they are described as being in contact with Muḥammad upon his arrival in Medina (al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, v, 86 = *kitāb* 63, *bāb* 46). A more



typical form of a consultative body in Islamic times was, perhaps, the *shūrā* [q.v.].

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(U. RUBIN)

MALAWI, Muslims in.

Historical background.

Islam is not a recent phenomenon in the interior East African state of Malawi (the former British protectorate of Nyasaland), since traders from Arabia, the Persian Gulf, India and Indonesia had dealings with the East African Coast since time immemorial and Islam was carried into the interior by such traders. The name Malawi was first used by the Portuguese to denote a variety of distinct ethnic groups. Amongst these, the Marawi established a hegemony over a considerable area, including the Makua on the coast around Mozambique [q.v.]. The penetration of Islam took place from two directions, i.e. along the Rovuma after the Portuguese occupation of Kilwa [q.v.] in 1505, and from Angoche, which, although it declined after 1530, remained an important centre for the spread of Muslim-Swahili influence into the interior.

The political turbulence on the northern parts of the East African coast during the 16th century did not affect the coastal region of the Mozambique channel. This comparatively peaceful area became conducive to new economic developments, particularly that of ship building at Mozambique and the local production of textiles which had implications for the influence of Islam in Malawi, the one enabling the building of boats to ply on Lake Nyasa, the other as gifts to or for the purchase of slaves, ivory and other goods from the local rulers. In the wake of ever-widening commercial enterprises between the coast and the interior from the end of the 16th century onwards, the Makua and Yao [q.v.] were the main traders, although agents from the coast had already settled in the interior at this time.

During the early part of the 18th century, the struggle between the Portuguese and the 'Umānīs on the one hand, and the 'Umānīs and the local population on the other, undermined the place of Islam along the coast and along the trade routes. Mozambique displaced Kilwa as the main centre of relations with Malawi. During the early 1750s, the Portuguese were making common cause with the *shuyūkh* of Sanculo and Quitangonha against the Makua, penetrating deep into Makua country. At around this time also, Indian trading interests on the coast, centred on Mozambique, began to penetrate inland; thus in 1727 the Viceroy granted a special license to a number of wealthy Indian Muslims that allowed them to trade with the Makua.

The next development of Islam in Malawi is connected with Sayyid Sa'īd of the Bū Sa'īd [q.v.] dynasty of 'Umān (1806-56), who established himself as ruler of the coast in the early part of the 19th century and encouraged trade with the interior by establishing "forts" on the Kilwa-Lake Nyasa route. By 1861 Muslims had settled at the southern end of Lake Malawi and were operating west of the lake in 1863. In the 1870s Islamic influence could be seen in that petty chiefs were being addressed as *hakimu*. The first Yao chief to adopt Islam around 1870 was one Makanjila II Banali, who employed a Qur'ān teacher, and children were taught to read the Qur'ān and to write Swahili in Arabic script. Chief Mataka I Nyambi of Mwembe dressed like an Arab and built his houses in rectangular form representing a clear coastal influence.

The caravans from the coast usually had with them

what has been termed "Muslim teachers", who taught the Qur'ān, instructing people in Islamic beliefs and practices and encouraging literacy in Arabic and Swahili in Arabic script. They are said to have disseminated commentaries and other literature dealing with the observance of customs connected with marriage, eating and drinking, the mode of killing animals, the efficacy of charms and the making of medicines, and encouraged the building of mosques. They also became involved in the training of young men, particularly the sons and nephews of the chiefs, as *walimu* on religious scholars. Some of them were sent to the coast for further training. Through such teachers, Swahili became the language predominantly spoken by Muslims in Malawi. Another spin-off of this work has been the number of Malawi Muslims acting as *imāms* and *muezzins* in South African mosques.

The anti-slavery campaign from 1873 onwards led to a revival of Islam, since Muslim slave traders who were suffering an economic recession, were as a consequence determined to extend their moral and religious influence. There was a growing self-consciousness and reaction to the colonial and mission presence.

When the British protectorate was established in 1889, the Muslim presence in Malawi can be said to have been represented by such chiefs as Mlozi, a half-caste Arab at the north end of the lake; by Salīm b. 'Abd Allāh in the central region, where Nkota Kota had become an important centre; by Makanjila, who was established on the east side of the lake, where in 1891 an Arab said to have come from Aden originally owned a house at Saidi Mwazungu's town in the southern part of Makanjila's country; and by Mponda at the south end of the lake, where there were twelve *madāris* each with its own *muwalimu*.

The Islamic renaissance in Malawi in the early part of the 20th century was linked to the Maji-Maji disturbances in German East Africa in 1905-6. The so-called "Meccan Letter" purportedly sent by the head of the Uwaysiyya [q.v.] *tarīka* in Mecca giving instructions to the faithful to prepare for the final apocalyptic battle, played its part in the unrest in Muslim circles in Malawi in 1908. Rumours among the Yao were claiming that the Arabs would come and kill Europeans and Africans alike who refused to accept the Muslim faith. In Malawi, this was intensified by the appearance over Mua of Halley's Comet in 1910. The hostilities in East Africa connected with the First World War also played their part in deepening the commitment to Islam in Malawi. Letters from the German officer Count Falkenstein to Mwalimu Issa Chikoka at Losewa indicated to him that the Ottoman caliph, Sultan Mehmed V (1909-18), was the enemy of the British, and called on Mwalimu Issa to lead a *jihād* against the British during Ramaḍān. The growth of Islam was also encouraged by the recruitment of Muslims for the Nyasaland Police and the King's African Rifles. The general impact of these trends can partly be seen in the establishment of a Muslim boarding school for boys at Malindi and the proliferation of mosques from 1911 onwards.

During the early years of the Protectorate, Qur'ān schools offered the only education acceptable to Muslims. In 1918, the Governor recommended the establishment of Muslim schools in parallel to those run by various Christian mission societies. This development was encouraged by the Phelps-Stokes Commission and Ormsby-Gore reports of 1925 and led to the opening of a Muslim school in Liwonde



in 1930. From 1946 Muslims were able to establish their own schools. Independence in 1964 brought major changes in the educational system. Islamic literature in English, particularly from South Africa, became more readily available. This and closer links with Muslims and Muslim institutions in East Africa and the wider Muslim world brought about a deeper awareness of the requirements of the faith. By the late 1950s, some Malawi Muslims were able to attend the teachers' college in Zanzibar.

The nature of Islam.

The Muslim community in Malawi is not homogeneous. The differences are not only ethnic but also due to membership of various *tunk*. Nearly all people in the Kawinga, Liwonde, Jalasi and Nyambi chiefdoms are Muslims, and a group in the Jalasi chieftainship has been known as *twaliki* (Ar. *ṭarīka*). They represent the Qādiriyya order. The *twaliki* believe that their devotions should be accompanied by loud singing and chanting of Arabic texts and by vigorous dancing. Another group, the *sukutis*, centred around the Kawinga and Liwonde chieftainships, advocate a more orthodox type of Muslim devotion in which a quiet and restrained manner is emphasised (Ar. *sukūt* "quietness, silence"). The *sukutis* represent the stricter orthodoxy of the Shādhiliyya order. They are also known as *ahl al-sunna*. These differences undoubtedly reflect the variations in Muslim mystical practice involving both *dhikr ḡalī*, audible remembrance of God, and *dhikr khafī*, silent remembrance. Beside these differences regarding audible and silent *dhikr*, the *sukutis* also differ from other groups in their funeral practices, such as eating food before a funeral, singing and dancing and carrying flags on such occasions, as well as the propriety of dancing at the annual visits (*ziyala*, Ar. *ziyāra* [q.v.]) to the graves. They also differ regarding the legality of eating hippopotamus meat, the building of new mosques where there already are other mosques, and special prayers. The *ziyala* are also connected with the commemoration of the Prophet's birthday (Swa. *maulidi*) on 12 Rabī' I, which takes the form of feasting, *sikiri* (Ar. *dhikr*) and exhortations. The term *ziyala* is also used for the celebration of the anniversary of the founder of the *ṭarīka*. The Qādiriyya order, which was predominant until the 1930s, celebrates the birthday of the Prophet, the two main festivals and some other occasions, with sumptuous feasting and night-long *sikiri*, sometimes referred to as *zikara* and *bayan* (*ahd*), sc. an oath of loyalty to the *shaykh*.

Muslims of Indian origin fall into various categories. The Sunnis among them follow the Hanafī *madhhab*, whereas the African Sunnī Muslims follow the Shāfi'ī school. Among the Indian Muslims, there are also a number of Shī'a belonging to the Twelve, and the Khodja Isma'īlī and Bohorā traditions. The majority of these arrived as traders from 1928 onwards, and some of them set up large commercial establishments.

The only ordinance in Malawi that directly concerns Muslim marriage (*nikāh* [q.v.]) is the Asiatics (Marriage, Divorce and Succession) Ordinance of 1929. Its wording allows for the application of the different systems of law followed by the various sects (*firak*) and law schools (*madhāhib*). It also includes any local variants that may become customary. Another particularity regarding marriage appears in the Marriage Ordinance of 1903 which, contrary to the Shāfi'ī, allows a Christian man to marry a Muslim girl. When it comes to a Muslim wife's rights in a marriage, particularly in relation to divorce, she has almost identical rights to those of her husband.

The month of fasting, has been observed for many years in Malawi. In 1889-90 Mponda II insisted on a proper observation of Ramaḍān, although it seems that the appropriate *ṭarāwīh* prayers were not observed. Muslims speak of *kumanga namasani* "binding on Ramaḍān", and though proud to observe the restrictions, many seem to *kumasula namasani* "to loosen the bonds of Ramaḍān" before the end of the month of fasting. The fast reaches its climax in the *ʿId al-Fiṭr* (*Bayram*) referred to as *Idi Balak* (Ar. *baraka*). The *ʿId al-Adhā* (*Kurbān*), the feast of sacrifice, is known as *Idi Bakali*, a name adopted from the Indian sub-continent, where it is known as *Bakara ʿId* (Ar. *baḳara* "cow", hence "the cow festival") an indication of an early Indian influence on Islam in Malawi, but also a local emphasis and appreciation of the significance of the festival. *Zakāt* is acknowledged, but is not strictly observed except in connection with the *ʿId al-Fiṭr*.

Noon prayers on Fridays, known locally as *juma* prayers are held at a central place, originally at the village of the main chief. Women join in the *juma* prayer, usually in a separate section of the mosque. Muslim headmen wear scarlet headbands around their white skullcaps known as *mzuli*. This may reflect the practice among Muslim scholars, who wear different colours to signify their status or the religious order to which they belong.

A number of traditional ceremonies have survived and have been given orthodox Islamic names. Thus the term *sadaka* in Malawi has nothing to do with alms but refers to a funeral feast. It is associated with a special dance, known among the Yao as *cindimba* and is connected with the brewing of a special beer. It has been partially Islamised through the *sikiri* (*dhikr*), which is now perceived purely as a dance. The *akika* (Ar. *ʿakika*) ceremony is observed in some areas.

When a Muslim dies, the *shaykh* is invited to bless the body and delivers an oration. The body is prepared for burial by having a hole cut in the neck and the intestines squeezed empty. It is then wrapped in long lengths of white cloth and taken to the graveyard on a stretcher, usually the bed on which the person died turned up-side down. The prayers and oblations (*ukana wacisoka*) offered to ancestral spirits at the root (*lipaka*) of a shrine tree has also taken on an Islamic air. It is explained by the more zealous Muslims as the gift of food to passers-by in order that God may forgive and bless the spirit of one's ancestors. Magical charms and talismans proliferated in the pre-Independence years. One of these was the *kirisi* (amulet; Swa. *hirizi* < Ar. *hīrz*). Another is the charm called *alibadiri* consisting of Qur'ānic verses wrapped in leather.

Muslim organisations.

Formal organisations are a fairly recent phenomenon in Malawi, although the Muslim Association of Malawi (MAM) was founded in the 1940s by Asian Muslims. There have been associations concerned with the provision of *madrasa* education. The *walimu* as well as the heads of the *tunk* owing allegiance to their *shaykh*, *murshid* or *pīr* also have their "informal" organisations, some of which co-operate over 'id celebrations. Some organisations, however, are supra-national, such as the *Tablighī Djamā'at* [q.v.]. Muslims of Asian origin group together according to their particular trading or geographical background such as the Sunnī Memon, Punjabi, Surti and Khatri groups and the various Shī'a communities. They make substantial contributions to the building of local mosques and Qur'ān schools. Mosques and *madāris* are often named after the person who organised and contributed to their



construction. There are no *awqāf* [see *WAKF*] but trusts for mosques are registered under the Trustee Incorporation Act, and properties vested in Trustees and Office Bearers of the Associations. The socio-economic conditions of Muslims in Malawi have on the whole not enabled them to undertake the obligation of the Pilgrimage, and there has been no organisation looking after the welfare and travel arrangements for the pilgrims until recently. In 1981, 22 Malawians performed the Pilgrimage, and since then the number has grown.

Muslims expressed an interest in better educational facilities within the context of the Protectorate as early as 1916. A Department of Education was set up in 1926, but not until 1928 were three government schools established to cater primarily for Muslim children; these had to be closed after a few years due to lack of children and parental support. The following year an education ordinance was passed opening the schools to all regardless of religious affiliation. By 1962 there were, however, 29 schools under Muslim administration and owned by the Muslim community, seven of these grant aided. Today, all schools in the country are under government control through the Ministry of Education, both with respect to policy and standards. Muslim teachers instruct Muslim pupils in the basics of Islam at the times set aside in the timetable for Religious Education. The government has also encouraged schooling in predominantly Muslim areas through support for the building of classrooms and teacher accommodation. Contemporary-style education is pursued in the mornings in schools managed by Muslims. In the afternoon they become *madāris*, where *Kur'ān*, *ḥadīth*, *fikh* and *lughā* are taught; but Arabic is not taught. The Yao use their own language, including a fair amount of Swahili expressions; the reformists use Chewa or English, the two official languages of Malawi, employing some Arabic greetings and formulae. The Muslim Students' Association founded in 1982, which represents the reform movement and opposes the *ṭuruk*, and is supported by donations from Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, produced a syllabus in Islamic education for Muslims in primary and secondary schools in 1987. In 1988 Muslims were able to establish the first Islamic institute of higher learning, the Islamic Centre. Some young people have had the opportunity to study at Arabic institutions abroad. Contacts with the Muslim Youth Movement in South Africa from 1977 onwards led to the holding of the Southern Africa Islamic Youth Conference in Blantyre in 1981, and this met again in Malawi in 1987 when the Islamic Medical Assembly, a branch of the Muslim Association of Malawi, was formed. The Muslim Association of Malawi with its headquarters in Blantyre evolved out of a central Board for Muslim Education which was set up in the 1950s to co-ordinate the work and represent the interests of the Muslim community as a whole. The Association has received financial help from Kuwait in the form of a financial director as well as teachers from various parts of the Muslim world. Through its representations, time has been allocated on Radio Malawi for programmes on Islam in Chichewa. The organisation has also enabled women to hold regular conferences since 1982.

Local publications are limited. Some Muslims read the *Muslim digest* and *al-Kalam* published in South Africa. A pamphlet entitled *Tarību 'l-salat* in Chichewa has been widely distributed. Publications by the International Islamic Federation of Student Organisations with its headquarters in Kuwait, and the writings of

Abū 'l-A'la Mawdūdī of Pakistan are also to be found.

The only outside links Muslims in Malawi had for long were with Muslims and Islamic institutions on the East African coast. Particularly important were the contacts with the late Shaykh Abdullah Saleh al-Farsy (d. 1982), Chief *Kādir* of Zanzibar and later of Kenya. Through the migrant labour force, contacts were also established with various organisations in South Africa that more recently have sought to help Muslims face the growing challenge presented by the socio-economic situation in Malawi. Contacts with the wider Muslim world began with a visit from representatives of the *Dār al-Ifṭā'* from Saudi Arabia in 1965. The African Muslims Committee, a charitable organisation based in Kuwait, has made considerable contributions to the Blantyre Islamic Mission which was founded in 1982 and has organised youth camps. The election and re-election of Bakili Mulunzi as president of Malawi in 1994 and 1999, reflects the degree Muslims have come to play in the country, and will strengthen and enhance the community's position.

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(S. VON SIGARD)

MALFŪZĀT (A.), literally "utterances", in Sūfī parlance denotes the conversations of a mystic teacher.

Though some compilations of Sūfī utterances were made earlier in other lands, e.g. the *Ḥalāt wa-sukḥanān-i Shaykh Abū Sa'īd* (Rieu, i, 342b ii) and *Asrār al-tawḥīd* (ed. Ahmad Bahmanyār, Tehran 1934) [see *ABŪ SA'ĪD B. ABĪ 'L-KHAYR*], it was Ḥasan Sidjīzī of Dihlī who gave it a definite literary form. In 707/1307 he decided to write a summary of what he heard from his spiritual mentor, Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' [q.v.], and completed it under the rubric, *Fawā'id al-fu'ād* (Lucknow 1302). It marked the beginning of a new type of mystical literature, known as *malfūzāt* (sing. *malfūz*). A few years later, in 711/1312, Sultān Bahā' al-Dīn Walad [q.v.], son of the famous Mawlānā Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī [q.v.], completed a record of his father's utterances under the title *Fihī-ma-fihī* (ed. 'Abd al-Mādjīd, A'zamgarh 1928). But Bahā' al-Dīn prepared this record on the basis of memory, some 39 years after the death of his father, without reference to dates on which specific discussions took place. Ḥasan Sidjīzī gave dates of every discourse and referred to the queries and quests of the audience. Bahā' al-Dīn perhaps aimed at providing a philosophic basis for the *mathnawī*; Ḥasan presented through the conversations of his Shaykh the accumulated wisdom of the mystical creed with reference to specific problems of the people. Ḥasan's example inspired saints of different mystical orders, and a considerable *malfūz* literature appeared in India from Uḥḥ to Manēr and from Dihlī to Deogīr.

The new genre of mystical literature developed mainly in India, but some collections of Sūfī utterances were prepared elsewhere also, e.g. the *Nūr al-'ulūm*, utterances of Shaykh Abū 'l Ḥasan Khirḳānī (ed. E. Berthels, Leningrad 1929), *Malfūzāt-i Naḍīm al-Dīn Kubrā* (ms. As. Soc. of Bengal 1250-3), *Mastūrāt* (discourses of Sayyid 'Alī Hamadānī, ms. I.O. 1850) and *Anīs al-tālibīn* (conversations of Kh'ādja Bahā' al-Dīn Naqshband, Lahore 1323).

Several disciples of Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā' emulated Ḥasan in compiling conversations of the Shaykh, e.g. *Anwār al-maḍjālīs*, *Tuḥfat al-abrār wa-karamāt al-akhḳār*, *Ḥasrat-nāma* and *Durar-i nizāmī*. Except the last one (ms. Buhār 183 and Salārdjang Museum, Haydarābād) all are no longer extant. Conversations of Shaykh Burhān al-Dīn Ḡharīb, a *khalīfa* of Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā', were compiled in the Deccan under the titles *Aḥsan al-akwāl* (ms. 'Uthmāniyya, Haydarābād 478 and 1479), *Nafā'is al-anfās* (ms. Nadwat al-'Ulamā', Lucknow), *Shamā'il al-atkiyā* (lith. Haydarābād 1347), etc. In Dihlī, Ḥamīd Kalandar compiled his *Khayr al-maḍjālīs* (ed. K.A. Nizami, 'Alīgarh 1959), which contains conversations of Shaykh Naṣīr al-Dīn Ġirāgh, chief *khalīfa* of Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā'. In Nāgawr [q.v.] the conversations of Shaykh Ḥamīd al-Dīn Sūfī Nāgawrī were compiled in *Surūr al-ṣudūr* (ms. Ḥabīb Gandj, 'Alīgarh). The Firdawsī saints produced *Ma'dīn al-ma'ānī* (2 vols. lith. Bihār 1301-3/1884-6). *Mukḥḳḳ al-ma'ānī* (lith. Agra 1321/1903-4), *Rāhat al-kulūb* (lith. Agra) and a few other works containing the conversations of Shaykh

Sharaf al-Dīn Yahyā Manērī. Several saints of the Suhrawardī *silṣila* produced conversations of their spiritual teachers. The conversations of Sayyid Djalāl al-Dīn Bukhārī were compiled under the titles *Sirāḍ al-hidāya* (ed. Kādī Sadjjād Ḥusayn, Dihlī 1983), *Djāmi' al-'ulūm* (ed. Kādī Sadjjād Ḥusayn, Dihlī 1982), etc. Even the utterances of a *maḍdhūb* of 'Alā' al-Dīn Khaldjī's period, Kh'ādja Karak of Kara, were collected in *Asrār al-maḥdūmīn* (lith. Fathpur-Haswa 1893).

The production of *malfūz* literature in India during the 8th/14th century synchronised with Shaykh Nizām al-Dīn Awliyā's decision to convert the mystical movement—hitherto confined to individual spiritual salvation—into a movement for mass spiritual culture (*Siyar al-awliyā'*, Dihlī, 346-7). This led to proliferation of *khānḳāhs* [q.v.] in South Asia and the adoption of local dialects for the communication of ideas (see 'Abd al-Ḥakk, *The Sufis' work in the early development of Urdu language*, Awrangābād 1933). The *malfūz* literature differed from literature produced earlier in the form of mystical treatises which dealt with mystical thought or mystical litanies and lucubrations. The *malfūz* literature was intelligible to people at all levels and had a space-time context. Since the discussions contained in *malfūzāt* took place before people belonging to different sections of society and referred to specific problems (see *Khayr al-maḍjālīs*, 83, 185, 240, etc.; *Ma'dīn al-ma'ānī*, 3), this literature has assumed great historiographical significance. It acts as a corrective to the impressions created by the court chroniclers who, nurtured as they were in Persian traditions, restricted the conspectus of history to courts and camps. This literature views the historical landscape from a different angle and fills a gap in historical knowledge by providing a glimpse into the life of the common man, his problems, his hopes and fears. For example, the economic worries of the masses during the time of Firuz Shāh Tughluq, and the efforts of the Sūfīs to reorient mystical thought to meet the situation created by the ideology of Ibn Taymiyya [q.v.], can be read in the *Khayr al-maḍjālīs*.

Malfūz literature continued to be produced in India all through the centuries. The conversations of Shaykh Ahmad Maghribī of Khattū (*Tuḥfat al-maḍjālīs*, I.O. Persian Collection DP 979) give an insight into the economic and cultural efforts that preceded the foundation of the city of Ahmadābād. The utterances of Gīsū Darāz [q.v.], *Djāwāmi' al-kalīm* (ed. Ḥamīd Siddīqī, Kānpūr 1356/1937-8), give a lively picture of mystical activity in the South.

Widespread interest in *malfūz* literature encouraged the production of some apocryphal collections, e.g. *Anīs al-arwāḥ* (lith. Dihlī 1312), *Daḥīl al-'arīfīn* (lith. Lucknow 1311/1893-4), *Fawā'id al-sālikīn* (lith. Lucknow 1311/1893-4), *Asrār al-awliyā'* (lith. Kānpūr 1890), *Rāhat al-kulūb* (lith. Lucknow 1311/1893-4), *Rāhat al-muḥibbīn* (ms. personal collection), *Afḍal al-fawā'id* (lith. Dihlī 1304/1886-7), *Miftāḥ al-'ashīqīn* (lith. Dihlī 1309/1891-2), etc. Critical scholarship has rejected this literature as spurious. The use of the term *malfūzāt* for the apocryphal memoirs of Tīmūr is the solitary example of the application of the term to political literature.

The *malfūz* literature produced during the 9th/15th and 10th/16th centuries contains valuable information about the social, religious and literary activities of the people in the period preceding and following the foundation of the Mughal Empire. Particular reference may be made to the *Anwār al-'ayūn*, conversations of Shaykh Ahmad 'Abd al-Ḥakk (lith. 'Alīgarh 1905), *Latā'if-i Kuddūsī*, conversations of Shaykh 'Abd



al-Kuddūs Gangohī [*q.v.* in Suppl.] (lith. Dihlī 1311/1893-4), *Kalimāt-i tayyibāt*, conversations of Kh^ā‘adja Bakī billāh (lith. Dihlī 1332/1914) and *Malfūzāt-i Shāh Mīnā* (Hardoi n.d.).

In the subsequent centuries appeared the conversations of Shaykh Muḥammad Čiṣṭī (*Maḍālis al-ḥasanīyya*, ms. ‘Alīgarh), Shāh Kalīm Allāh Shāhjahānābādī (*Maḍālis-i kalīmī*, lith. Haydarābād 1328/1910), Shāh ‘Abd al-Razzāk (*Malfūzāt*, lith. Firūzpur 1303/1885-6), Shaykh Burhān Shāṭṭārī (*Thamarāt al-hayāt*, ms. As. Soc. of Bengal 448), Shaykh ‘Isā of Burhānpur (*Malfūzāt*, ms. As. Soc. of Bengal 462), ‘Abd al-Rahmān of Lucknow (*Anwār al-Rahmān*, lith. Lucknow 1287/1870-1), and Shāh ‘Abd al-‘Azīz of Dihlī (*Malfūzāt-i ‘Azīzī*, lith. Meerut 1314/1896-7). This literature supplies background information about the intellectual and social crisis in a period of transition. For example, the *Anwār al-Rahmān* throws invaluable light on the decadent culture of Awadh [*q.v.*], and the utterances of Shāh ‘Abd al-‘Azīz reveal reaction and response to Western culture. In *Nāfi‘ al-sālikīn* (conversations of Shāh Sulaymān of Taunsa, Lahore 1285) the socio-religious scenario of the Panjāb before 1857 is seen in all its details.

In the early decades of the 20th century, Mawlānā Ashraf ‘Alī of Thanā Bhawan made effective use of the *malfūz* medium in propagating his teachings, but his orations are more in the nature of *mawā‘iz* (sermons) than *malfūz* (table talk). In short, no study of Sūfism as a popular movement in India is possible without an intensive and critical use of the *malfūz* literature.

Bibliography: Important *malfūzāt* collections are cited above. For assessment, see K.A. Nizami, *On history and historians of medieval India*, Dihlī 1988, ch. “Historical significance of the Malfuz literature”, 163-97; idem, *The Ahsan al-Aqwal—a fourteenth-century Malfuz*, in *Jnal. Pak. Hist. Soc.* (Jan. 1955), 40-4; idem, *The Saroor-us-Sudur—a 14th century malfuz*, in *Procs. Indian Hist. Congr.*, Nagpur 1950, 167-9; idem, *The life and times of Shaikh Farid Ganj-i Shakar*, ‘Alīgarh 1955, 118-20; idem, *Malfūzāt ki tāvīkhī ahammiyyat*, in *Arshi presentation volume*, Dihlī 1966; M. Habib, *Chishtī mystic records of the Sultanate period*, in *Medieval India Quarterly*, i/2, 15-42; Riaz ul-Islam, *Collections of the Malfuzat of Makhdum-i Jahaniyan*, in *Procs. Pak. Hist. Conf.*, Karachi 1951, 211-16.

(K.A. NIZAMI)

MALKOČ-OGHULLARĪ, a line of Ottoman raiders from Bosnia who were active from the late 14th to the 17th centuries.

The origin of the name Malkoč is unclear. The suggestions that it derived from the Greek Markos or Serbian Marković are not satisfactory. The Malkoč-oghullarī were probably Christian converts to Islam. A Malkoč is apparently first mentioned in the *Short chronicle of Ioannina* (ca. 1400) in connection with a war between two Epirot lords, perhaps in 1388-9. Murād I supposedly sent Malkoč from Thessaloniki/Selānik [*q.v.*] to help one of them, in the event, successfully. The first Ottoman chronicler to mention the name, Neṣhrī (d. before 1520), seemingly refers to the same person as commander of 1,000 archers on the right wing of the Ottoman army at the Battle of Kosovo [see *koşowa*] (June 1389). He may also have participated in the Battle of Nicopolis (1395). Later, Malkoč appears as the commander (*beg*) of Siwās. He was captured by Tīmūr in 1402 but was subsequently sent as a messenger to Bāyezīd I.

The family held lands in northern Bosnia at the time of Meḥmed II (second reign, 1451-81). They

were given land there as march *begs*. The most renowned member of the line was Bālī Beg Malkoč-oghlu, who in 1444 fought the Hungarians under John Hunyádi outside Varna but fled the field. In 1462, he commanded the right wing of the army of Meḥmed II against Vlad Tepesh in Wallachia, and during the next decade was the provincial military chief (*sandjak beg*) of Smederovo in Serbia, burning the Croatian city of Varaždin in 1474. In 1475-6, he was the *sandjak beg* of Bosnia, and in 1478, he led 3,000 raiders (*akindjī* [*q.v.*]) before Scutari/Ishkodra [*q.v.* in Suppl.] in Albania. The following year he led another large force of raiders into Hungary and Transylvania. He became the governor of Silistria in the 1490s, raiding Ak Kirmān in 1496 and in 1498 twice raiding Poland and threatening Krakow. He had three sons, two of whom were killed at Čaldirān [*q.v.*] in 1514, whilst the third became *sandjak beg* of Kilīa near the mouth of the Danube.

Subsequently, in the early 16th century, we hear of Kara ‘Othmān Beg Malkoč-oghlu as a leading landholder in Bosnia. The last known member of the dynasty was Yawuz ‘Alī Pasha, governor of Egypt, who became Grand Vizier in 1603 and died the following year at Belgrade. After this, the family seems to have lost its power and influence.

Bibliography: The basic study is F. Babinger, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Geschlechtes der Malkoč-Oghlu’s*, in *AISO Napoli*, N.S., i (1940), 117-35, repr. in idem, *Aufsätze und Abhandlungen zur Geschichte Südosteuropas und der Levante*, Munich 1962, i, 355-69; Branislav Đurđević et al., *Historija naroda Jugoslavije*, Zagreb 1959, ii, 117; Dimitri Bogdanovich et al., *Historija Srbska naroda*, Belgrade 1982, ii, 518; K. Setton, *The papacy and the Levant, 1204-1571*, Philadelphia 1984, iv, 694-5; C.H. Imber, *The Ottoman Empire 1300-1481*, Istanbul 1990, 48, 134, 228, 244-5; *Türk Ansiklopedisi* and *Yeni Türk Ansiklopedisi*, arts. *Malkočoğulları*.

(G. LEISER)

MAMLŪKS.

(iii) ART AND ARCHITECTURE

(a) Architecture

Within the history of Islamic art, the architecture of the Mamlūk period (648-922/1250-1517) occupies an intermediary position between what might be termed the early period predating the Mongol invasion and the later imperial arts of the Tīmūrīds, Šafawīds, Ottomans and Mughals. Unlike its Tīmūrīd counterpart, with which it is partly contemporary, Mamlūk architecture did not substantially impact on the later history of Islamic art once Egypt and Syria had become provinces of the Ottoman Empire. It lingered on in a reduced scale in Ottoman Egypt, until it was revived in modern times as a manifestation of a national style of mosque architecture.

Apart from the prestige accruing from their victories over the Mongols and the Crusaders, the Mamlūks were celebrated as guardians and patrons of orthodox Islam, an image they fostered by sponsoring religious foundations and creating centres of scholarship and Šūfī activities and other philanthropic institutions. The sheer number of mosques, *madrasas* and *khānqāhs* which they established in Cairo proved without parallel in the Muslim world at the time, and is even believed to have exceeded the genuine requirements of the population. All the while remaining careful to cultivate the exclusive character of their ruling aristocracy, one based on their military slave origins, the Mamlūks directed their patronage at the man in the street. Instead of promoting an inward-looking

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court life, their chief concern was to obtain the enduring support of the religious establishment. The Mamlūk sultans ruled their capital in a very direct manner, involving themselves closely in the minutiae of religious and social policy. Sultans and *amīrs* themselves inspected monuments during the construction phase and, as supreme overseers of the *awḳāf*, ensured the maintenance of the buildings of their predecessors.

Mamlūk patronage was essentially religious, and one of its most significant aspects lay in the architecture and in the decorative arts which it helped to foster. Moreover, urban development was a major concern of the Mamlūks and the motivation behind the intensive building activity for which they became responsible in Cairo. Since sultans and *amīrs* incorporated their own lavish mausoleums within religious foundations, thereby setting up memorials for themselves in their capital, Cairo as a whole soon became an vast arena for Mamlūk art patronage. Most of the Mamlūk architectural legacy in Cairo was created by such sultans and *amīrs*, and only to a lesser extent by local dignitaries.

Although the Mamluks ruled over a territory including Egypt, Greater Syria and the Ḥijāz, Mamlūk architectural identity is mainly discernible in Cairo. Even more decidedly than under other Islamic régimes, the metropolitan style of religious architecture rarely re-occurs outside the capital. The rulers' direct involvement in the building activity of the province of Egypt was confined to infrastructures, fortifications and commercial buildings, leaving the foundation of mosques and colleges to the governors and the local notables. The scarcity of significant royal mosques in the provinces accounts for a discrepancy in religious architectural style between the capital and the outlying regions. Religious architecture in Syria and the Ḥijāz kept faith on the whole with the predominant regional building tradition, as was the case of the Egyptian province itself, where the cities of Kūṣ and Alexandria, in spite of their economic importance, retained a provincial type of architecture. Occasional mutual influences between Cairo and Syria were confined to decoration or individual elements that did not involve the architecture generally. The builders who erected the imperial mosques in Cairo were rarely employed beyond the confines of the capital. The exception confirming this rule is that of a late-9th/15th century initiative by Sultan Ḳāyitbāy, who is reported by chroniclers to have sent entire teams of craftsmen from Cairo to Jerusalem, Mecca and Medina. These reports themselves attest the singularity of this initiative. Indeed, *wakf* descriptions of his *madrasas* in Jerusalem and Medina, as well as the remnants of his *madrasa* in Jerusalem, confirm that such patronage remained exceptional.

Moreover, the enormous quantitative discrepancy between Mamlūk architecture in Cairo and in Syrian cities, as well as the supremacy of the metropolitan religious foundations which functioned as the intellectual centres of the Mamlūk state, contributed to the stylistic singularity of Cairene Mamlūk architecture. With a few exceptions, such as the buildings of Tankiz al-Nāṣirī in Jerusalem (Burgoyne 1987, 223-48), urban schemes do not seem to have been a major concern of Mamlūk patrons in Syrian cities.

The evolution of Mamlūk architecture in Cairo shows an increasing tendency to adapt and adjust the layout of the buildings to the urban environment rather than to impose a large-scale or symmetrical architecture on the city. The portal, minaret and mausoleum dome were assigned a location that best

responded to the specific aesthetic needs of the site rather than being forced to conform to a preconceived canon. A major factor in the architectural design was the founder's mausoleum dome, which was assured maximum visibility both through its position in the building and an increasingly lofty exterior transitional zone between the drum and dome (Kessler 1972; L. Ali Ibrahim 1975; and see *ḲUBBA*). This increased visibility required the builder to adjust both layout and architecture to the site. The patrons' challenge was to balance the status-enhancing placement of the mausoleum to the street with a juxtaposition with the mosque sanctuary. If the latter requirement could not be ensured because of the location, the preference was to place the mausoleum on the street side. In the city centre, royal foundations built round a courtyard were preferably located to the west side of the street so that the south-east, Mecca-oriented sanctuary could be on the street side. This allowed the mausoleum to lie adjacent to the sanctuary and overlook the street at the same time. Like their mosques, Mamlūk *madrasas* and *khānḳāhs* were built along the axis of the orientation towards Mecca, as were the mausoleums which, with rare exceptions, included a *mīhrāb* (Kessler 1984). Owing to the aforementioned constraints, it often transpired that the orientation of the mosque's *mīhrāb* diverged from that of the mausoleum. Unlike in Syria, the minaret in Cairo was to be found not only in Friday mosques but in *madrasas*, *khānḳāhs* and minor oratories as well.

This interaction with the urban fabric, together with the pre-eminence of the metropolitan religious institutions housing Mamlūk mausoleums, created an architecture exclusively suited to Cairo. Furthermore, the overriding focus of Mamlūk monumental patronage in Cairo was in fact a response to the historical situation. It should be remembered that the history of Mamlūk Cairo begins at the same time as the fall of Baghdad from where Baybars transferred the 'Abbāsid caliphate to his own capital [see MAMLÜKS. i. History], a symbolic gesture that designated Cairo as Baghdad's successor. Already the possessor of a long undisturbed metropolitan tradition, unrivalled at that time by any other city in Egypt or in Syria, the Egyptian capital was the natural candidate to perpetuate Baghdad's glorious history.

Like any other architecture, that of the Mamlūks was based on that of its predecessors; and as such it inherited architectural devices and decorative techniques from the Fāṭimid and Ayyūbid periods. Far more monuments were erected than during the Ayyūbid era, however, and over a much longer period of time. Already al-Ẓāhir Baybars waived the Shāfi'ī rule applied by his predecessors which allowed only one Friday mosque to each agglomeration. Moreover, the inclusion of Syria and territories as far north as Cilicia, the migration of craftsmen escaping the Mongol invasions and others who came from al-Andalus, as well as the contacts with the Il-Ḳhānids and with Christian kingdoms, introduced international features into the arts of the 7th-8th/13th-14th centuries.

A. Religious architecture in Cairo

(i) The Bahṛī period

From *Shadjar al-Durr* to al-Ẓāhir Baybars. The first building that can be securely attributed to the Mamlūk era is the funerary *madrasa* of Shadjar al-Durr [*q.v.*], the widow of the last Ayyūbid sultan al-Šālih Naḍīm al-Dīn Ayyūb, of which only the mausoleum is today extant. It was built in 648/1250 in the cemetery of Sayyida Nafīsa north of Fuṣṭāṭ [*q.v.*] as part of a complex that included a palace, a *ḥammām* and gardens.



In the same year, the short-lived sultana also added a mausoleum to her husband's *madrasa* in the heart of the Fāṭimid al-Kāhira, thus bringing to the city a tradition of princely funerary architecture which subsequently became a significant feature of Mamlūk Cairo (Creswell 1959, ii, 135f.-6; Behrens-Abouseif 1983). The profile of the mausoleum dome and its stucco decoration remain faithful to the tradition of the Ayyūbid period.

The *madrasa* of al-Mu'izz Aybak, Shadjar al-Durr's second husband and her successor on the Mamlūk throne, was built in 654/1256-7 in the commercial centre of Fustāt (al-Makrīzī, *Sulūk*, iv, 302); it seems to have been part of an urban project which integrated pre-existing commercial structures. As it is not included in al-Makrīzī's *Khīṭaṭ*, it must have disappeared with the decline of Fustāt as al-Kāhira took over as Egypt's definitive capital during the 8th/14th century. It was the first and, indeed, only royal Mamlūk foundation within the city of Fustāt.

Sultan al-Zāhir Baybars I's [*q.v.*] first religious foundation—a *madrasa* next to that of his master al-Šāliḥ Naǧm al-Dīn—was built in al-Kāhira in 660-2/1262-3. The building itself, which was demolished in the last century, is reported to have consisted of four *iwāns* built around a courtyard to accommodate the four *madhhabs* of Islamic law. It possessed no mausoleum. Nineteenth-century drawings and paintings convey some idea of the former exterior. The portal formed the shape of a semi-dome on *muqarnas*, a pattern already applied in Ayyūbid Syrian architecture but the earliest of its kind to be documented in Cairo, a distinction that applies equally to the four-*iwān* plan. (Creswell 1959, ii, 142ff.)

When al-Zāhir Baybars built his monumental mosque on the site of his polo-ground in the northern outskirts of Ḥusayniyya (665-7/1266-9), it was the first Friday mosque to be founded in the Egyptian capital for some 150 years. The mosque, with its pointed arches and monumental entryways, contains references to the Fāṭimid mosque of al-Ḥākim. The major innovation and the most spectacular feature of the building was the size of the wooden dome over the *miḥrāb*, which covers the *makṣūra* of nine bays and is borne by piers. The space between the courtyard and the domed zone is furthermore emphasised by a transept running perpendicular to the arcades of the sanctuary. Creswell maintains that the dome was influenced by the Artukid mosque of Mayyāfāriḳīn [*q.v.*] built in the 6th/12th century. The building materials for Baybars' mosque had been seized as spolia from Crusader monuments during Baybars' triumphal campaign in Yaffa. The mosque was already falling into ruin during the mediaeval period (Creswell, 1950, ii, 155ff.; Bloom 1982). Baybars also founded in 671/1273 another monumental Friday mosque at Manṣhā' at al-Maharānī, between al-Kāhira and Fustāt, of which no trace exists today (Ibn Duḳmāk, iv, 119.). Baybars' reign produced a significant number of other secular and religious buildings in Egypt and Syria (Meinecke, ii, 6-51).

From al-Manṣūr Ḳalāwūn to al-Ashraf Ḳhalīl. The buildings of al-Manṣūr Ḳalāwūn [*q.v.*], his wife Fāṭima Ḳhātūn and his son al-Ashraf Ḳhalīl [*q.v.*], cannot be connected directly to those of their predecessors, neither do they seem to have had a marked impact on their successors'. Ḳalāwūn was the first Mamlūk sultan to build a religious complex with his own mausoleum in the city centre. The complex (683-4/1284-5) which included a *madrasa*, a mausoleum and a great hospital, displays many unprecedented features: the

verticality of the façade and its decoration, the plan of the mausoleum centred on an octagonal domed baldachin, the basilical plan of the prayer *iwān*. Most remarkable is the treatment of the façade with pointed-arch recessed panels which include the windows, the upper ones forming a triple composition consisting of a pair of arched openings surmounted by a bull's eye. This treatment recalls the architecture of Norman Sicily, the façade of the Ḳalāwūn complex in fact exhibiting a striking resemblance to the original frontage of the Cathedral of Palermo. The marble mosaics decorating the opulent interior are once again closely related to those of Norman Sicily and southern Italy (Creswell 1959, ii, 190ff.; Meinecke 1971; Behrens-Abouseif 1995, *Sicily*). The adjustment of the Ḳalāwūn complex façade to the alignment of the streets—so deviating from the Mecca-oriented axis within—is a device of urban aesthetics created in the Fāṭimid period and faithfully maintained under the Mamlūks. The complex was erected on the street side to the west, with a passage between the mausoleum and the *madrasa* leading to the hospital. The massive masonry minaret stands at the northern edge of the complex, juxtaposing harmoniously with the mausoleum dome. The *madrasa* is built around a courtyard with two unequal axial *iwāns* and two lateral recesses between which the multi-storied dwelling units were located.

The mausoleum is one of the most lavishly decorated monuments of mediaeval Cairo, displaying the entire repertoire of techniques of that time: carved and painted wood, stucco, inlaid and carved marble as well as, in the *miḥrāb*, conch-glass mosaic. The hospital, no longer extant, was not visible from the street; it is described in its *wakf* deed as a lavish construction built in two perpendicular axes around a courtyard (see Herz's plan, in Creswell 1959, ii, 207). The plan of the mausoleum and the massive shape of the minaret of Ḳalāwūn remained unique in Cairene architecture.

In the cemetery of Sayyida Nafisa are the remains of a funerary *madrasa* attributed to Fāṭima Ḳhātūn (682-3/1283-4), a wife of Ḳalāwūn. Today only the funerary chamber with the gateway and the first storey of the rectangular minaret are extant. A photograph published by E. Diez (*Kunst der islamischen Völker*, Munich 1915) shows that this *madrasa* had arched recesses with the same triple-window composition that occurs on Ḳalāwūn's façade. Next to it, Ḳalāwūn's son, al-Ashraf Ḳhalīl, a ruler who left no architectural work in the city centre, built his own funerary *madrasa* of which only the mausoleum is extant (687/1288). The three domes of Ḳalāwūn, his wife and his son Ḳhalīl, have in common a high octagonal drum with windows set in recessed arches, and an oval profile, whereas the interior treatment of the transitional zones is different in each case (Creswell 1959, ii, 180-1, 214-15; Meinecke 1992, i, 42ff.).

Al-Nāṣir Muḥammad and his immediate successors. Al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Ḳalāwūn [*q.v.*] was the greatest builder of the Bahrī Mamlūk sultans. His long reign (693-741/1293-1341), interrupted by two interim periods (694-8/1294-99 and 708/1309) coincided with a period of relative peace and prosperity which was also the most fruitful for architectural achievement. Al-Nāṣir encouraged his *amīrs* to build mosques and palaces not only in the city itself but also in the outskirts on new land added to Cairo by the receding of the course of the Nile. Al-Nāṣir's second reign was already displaying the versatility characteristic of the architecture of the 8th/14th century (Meinecke-Berg 1977; J.A. Williams 1984; al-Harīthy 2000).



In 703/1304, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad completed the *madrasa* next to his father's during the first interval of his reign by Sultan Lādīn [q.v.]. The construction possesses a narrow façade whose total width in the upper reaches was occupied by the minaret and the mausoleum dome. The dome, which like the top part of the minaret is no longer extant, has an octagonal drum similar to that of the previous Kalāwūnids. The *madrasa* is built with four axial *iwāns* with multi-storied living quarters between them. The Gothic portal is a spoil from a church in Palestine (Creswell 1959, ii, 234ff.; Meinecke 1992, i, 49).

Once the mausoleum dome became an integral part of the façade design, the evolution of urban religious and/or funerary architecture during the 8th/14th century stimulated the builders to display their versatility in the individual treatment of the minarets and the mausoleum domes, and most of all to create a consistently harmonious composition incorporating these two elements. At the funerary foundations of Salār and Sanḡar (703/1303-4), which could have been a *madrasa* or a *khānqāh*, the minaret is juxtaposed with a pair of unequal-sized mausoleum domes that formed a singular silhouette when viewed from the street. Here the mausoleums are Mecca-oriented, but, exceptionally, not the *madrasa/khānqāh*.

At the *khānqāh* of Baybars II al-Dīshankīr (706-9/1306-10), too, the funerary dome adjoins the minaret harmoniously, leaving the prayer hall on the other side of the courtyard because of the placement of the four-*iwān khānqāh* on the eastern side of the street. The mausoleum chamber, richly decorated in marble mosaic, contrasts with the rather plain interior of the Ṣūfī institution. In addition to the living units overlooking the courtyard, there was a separate dwelling compound (Fernandes 1983).

The funerary *madrasa* of Sunḡur al-Sa'dī (715-21/1315-21), of which only the façade with the mausoleum and the minaret remain extant, presents further variation on the shape of minaret and dome. The rectangular brick shaft is particularly slender and has lavish *muqarnas*, while the dome, whose drum is decorated with stucco bands around the windows, stands on an elliptic base (Creswell 1959, ii, 267f.-8; M. 'Abd al-Raḥmān Fahmī 1970). The small funerary mosque of Ayḡumūr al-Baḡlawān (747/1346), with one of the earliest masonry domes, is of the same composition.

Neither of the two major monuments of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad survives, sc. a great *khānqāh* planned with his mausoleum at Siryākūs (a village to the north of Cairo) and his great mosque in the southern outskirts of al-Kāhira to the north of Fuṣṭāṭ (J.A. Williams 1984). However, his mosque at the Citadel completed in 735/1335 attests to artistic achievement under his patronage. The dome of its *makṣūra*, which is similar to but of lesser proportions than that of Baybars, was revetted in green tiles. Similarly, two unusual masonry minarets, one flanking the main entrance and another at the south-eastern corner, have a ceramic tilework mosaic in the Il-Khānīd style decorating their upper part, which must have been the work of the Tabrīzī craftsmen reported to have come to Cairo at that time and to have been involved in the decoration of the no longer-extant mosque of Kawṣūn. Except for the use of ceramic on the dome and the minarets, the exterior is plain, in marked contrast to contemporary urban mosques.

Subsequent examples demonstrate that, due to urban constraints, the hypostyle courtyard mosque could no longer be accommodated within the city without sacrificing its symmetry. The Friday mosque of the *amīr*

Almās al-Nāṣirī (729/1328-9), which also included the founder's mausoleum, has an irregular configuration (Karīm 2000). The Friday mosque of Alinbughā al-Māridānī (739-40/1339-40), which in principle follows the plan of al-Nāṣir's mosque in the Citadel with three axial entrances and a large dome above the *mīhrāb*, has a corner of its sanctuary cut off to follow a bend of the street. At the mosque of Aḡsunḡur (747-8/1346-7), the façade is not parallel to the *kibla* wall but instead projects with the minaret out into the street. The minaret, originally with four instead of the usual three stories, could thus announce the mosque from an even greater distance (Behrens-Abouseif 1985, *Minarets*, 92-3). The heavily damaged interior of the mosque is characterised by cross-vaulted bays carried by piers, indicating Syrian influence (Meinecke 1973).

The funerary mosque (750/1349) of the *amīr* Shayḡkhū is also laid out according to an irregular plan. Together with Shayḡkhū's great *khānqāh* built six years later across the street (757/1355), it forms an urban composition embracing the Ṣalība street with two symmetrical minarets and two similar portals. The *khānqāh* has only the sanctuary with the *riwāk* or hypostyle plan, with living units on the three other sides of the courtyard. The enormous dwelling compound behind the prayer hall is the only one of its kind extant in Cairo. The use of the hypostyle sanctuary of traditional mosques in a *khānqāh* had occurred already at the foundation of the *amīr* Kawṣūn (736/1335), built in the cemetery to the southeast of the Citadel. Today, only a stone minaret and a mausoleum dome stand. A reconstruction, however, shows that it had a double mausoleum on each side of the hypostyle sanctuary with the dwelling units most likely occupying the other sides of the court (Alī Ibrahim 1974).

The idea of building a religious complex on both sides of a street had been applied previously by the *Amīr* Baṣṭāk (736/1336) with a *khānqāh* connected to a mosque with a bridge; only a monumental minaret is extant.

The late Kalāwūnīd period. Despite the political decline under the sons of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad and the devastation brought about by the Black Death (749/1348), the second half of the 8th/14th century was very productive and creative in terms of an architecture that continued to integrate exotic foreign patterns.

The *madrasa* of Ṣarḡhitmish (757/1356) displays the unusual combination of a four-*iwān* plan with a dome over the main *iwān*. The mausoleum dome projects boldly onto the street across the courtyard. The two domes are unexpected on the Cairene skyline; bulbous and with a high drum, their profile recalls Tīmūrid architecture, which, however, they pre-date. The mausoleum dome has a double shell, while that of the prayer hall was rebuilt with only one. Similarly recalling Tīmūrid dome profiles are the two ribbed onion-shaped masonry domes of the anonymous mausoleum known as Sulṭāniyya, which also have a double shell. The building has been assigned to the 750-60s/1350-60s. Despite the similarities, a direct influence from Samarkand can be excluded on chronological grounds, but a common Iranian prototype from Western Persia or 'Irāk must surely have influenced the Samarkand and the Cairo domes (Meinecke 1976).

It is paradoxical that the mosque of Sultan Ḥasan, the most monumental of Mamlūk mosques and even of all mediaeval mosques at that time, was founded in the decade following the depredations of the Black Death. Although it took from 757/1356 to 764/1362



to build, its decoration was never completed. The funerary complex which includes a *madrasa* for the four *madhhab*s is the first Mamlūk teaching institution to be at the same time a Friday mosque, a combination that was subsequently adopted in all princely foundations. The complex stands beneath the Citadel, where it dominated an open square with the hippodrome, plainly visible from the palaces of the sultans at the Citadel. It is the only Mamlūk mosque to present a mausoleum behind the prayer hall that occupies the same width. The original dome, which collapsed in the 18th century, was described by an eyewitness as bulbous; it might have been similar to the wooden dome of the ablution fountain in the courtyard that has a rounded profile and no drum, or to the domes of Şarhitmish and the Sulţāniyya mausoleum that possess a high drum, the latter with a pointed profile. Only one original minaret is extant, that flanking the mausoleum at the eastern corner. At ca. 80 m it was the tallest of its time, though the other one was replaced by a smaller structure in the Ottoman period. The placement of a dome between two minarets created a new perspective on the Cairo skyline (Kessler 2000). Two more minarets were planned at the entrance, according to al-Makrīzī, and as the buttresses themselves show; one was built and collapsed shortly afterwards so that the ambitious project of four minarets had to be abandoned. Like the design of the portal itself, the pair of minarets betray an Anatolian Saldjūk influence, albeit more than a century after the end of the Rūm Saldjūk period (Rogers 1972). The vestibule is roofed by a masonry dome flanked by three half-domes suggesting Byzantine inspiration, while remnants of glazed tile decoration in the lunettes of the mausoleum windows show the continuity of the Tabrizī workshop. All the three-storey living units are arranged so as to overlook the street on the northern and southern façades of the complex. The interior has four gigantic vaulted *iwāns* around the courtyard, the sanctuary being the largest vault in the mediaeval Muslim world. The four sections of the *madrasa*, which are accessible from the corners of the courtyard have an analogous layout, with their cells overlooking the street on two sides. Although craftsmen from different parts of the Muslim world are reported to have worked at this monument, it is in essence and spirit a Mamlūk building.

The architecture of the Bahri Mamlūks maintained an experimental and innovative character till the end of this period. Dome profiles, minarets and portals were not fully standardised; instead a variety of forms coexisted. The classical hypostyle courtyard mosque or *ruwāk* mosque was gradually replaced by the more flexible *iwān* plan. This type of plan, whose exterior was not reflected in its interior of four unequal *iwāns* built around a courtyard, could better accommodate irregularities in the plot. Since Sultan Ḥasan the *madrasas* and *khānqāhs* of the subsequent sultans and *amīrs* functioned as Friday mosques as well. Beside the rectangular-octagonal-cylindrical minaret (Salār and Sandjar, Baybars al-Djashankīr, Sunkur al-Sa'dī, Kawṣūn) built in brick or masonry or in both materials with a ribbed domed pavilion (a disposition the Mamlūks inherited from their predecessors), the Bahri period created a new, more slender type with a stone shaft, either octagonal (Māridānī) or cylindrical (Aksunkur, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad at the Citadel), and surmounted by an eight-sided pavilion crowned with a bulb on *muqarnas*. Before masonry domes made an appearance in the mid-8th/14th century, Mamlūk domes were built either of brick or plastered wood.

Two types of profiles were used for the domes, one that curves from the base (Baybars al-Djashankīr, Sunkur al-Sa'dī) with a plain surface, and another that starts straight and curves at about one-third up the elevation. The second shape was used for ribbed and for carved masonry domes and is the characteristic form of later funerary architecture. During the Bahri period, initial experiments with masonry domes were undertaken. At first ribbed like their brick predecessors, they later appeared in other varieties. With the dome of Tankizbughā (769/1359), its surface carved with alternating concave-convex ribs, and that of Ildjāy al-Yūsufī (774/1373), carved with twisted ribs, Mamlūk dome builders opened up a new era in the design of masonry domes (Kessler 1976). For the transitional zones of brick or wooden domes, squinches and pendentives were used. The squinches were structured into niches with several tiers resembling a large *muqarnas*. The pendentives of the domes of al-Nāṣir's mosque at the Citadel and of Sultan Ḥasan are made of wood. Stone domes were built mostly with angular pendentives carved with *muqarnas*. Bahri Mamlūk decorators used largely stucco decoration on minarets and dome exteriors and in interiors, along with polychrome marble.

(ii) *The Circassian period*

Early Circassian (784/1382 to the mid-9th/15th century).

Notwithstanding economic decline and monetary instability, the sultans and *amīrs* of this period continued to build religious foundations on a large scale. The Circassian period sets out with the reign of Sultan Barkūk (784-91/1382-89 [q.v.]), whose funerary religious complex in the heart of the city does not make use of any novelties. Its sanctuary, however, has a tripartite basilical composition with a wooden flat ceiling. The funerary *khānqāh* of his son Faradj (801-15/1399-1412 [q.v.]) is the first to be built by a sultan in the northern cemetery and its layout takes full advantage of the available space, deploying perfect symmetry with a double mausoleum and a double minaret. Its zigzag carved stone domes are the largest built by the Mamlūks, with a diameter of over 14 m. It is built on the hypostyle courtyard plan with piers supporting domical bays. Living units occupying two storeys were placed along the lateral arcades of the courtyard (Lamei Mostafa 1968).

Sultan al-Mu'ayyad Shaykh's [q.v.] monumental, multifunctional complex of *madrasa-khānqāh*-mosque (821/1418) possesses a similar layout to that of Faradj. This mosque became a Cairo landmark because of its twin minarets erected on top of the Fātimid towers of the Bāb Zuwayla, which bear the only builder's signature to be found in Mamlūk architecture. The mosque also had a third minaret at the northeastern entrance.

The reign of Barsbāy (825-41/1422-38 [q.v.]) introduced masonry domes with carved star patterns. His funerary *khānqāh* (835/1432) in the northern cemetery includes three star-carved mausoleum domes which exemplify the progress made in dealing with the difficult task of adapting a geometrical symmetrical design to a domical surface (Kessler 1976). The unique architecture of this *khānqāh* demonstrates that the cemetery at that time had become an urban environment necessitating other than purely symmetrical layouts. Instead of being built around an inner courtyard, the elements of the complex are juxtaposed along the road. The mosque has a lateral format with the mausoleum chamber juxtaposed to it, occupying the same width and similarly overlooking the road. Further south is the *khānqāh* proper with the living quarters. Other



structures were built on the opposite side of the road, including a one-dome *zāwiya*.

Late Circassian (mid-9th/15th century to 923/1517).

Although the hypostyle courtyard mosque never totally disappeared, in the 9th/15th century, Friday mosques were increasingly built without an open courtyard (e.g. those of Ināl, Kāyitbāy and Kāṣawh al-Ḡhawrī), adopting instead the plan of the *kā'a* or reception hall current in Cairene residential architecture since pre-Mamlūk times. Already, the 8th/14th century had produced small covered mosques with an irregular plan which included *iwāns* around a covered courtyard, the adoption of the *kā'a*, however, allowed the building of small covered mosques of a standard configuration. A major factor in the disappearance of the courtyard is the fusion of the functions of the *khānqāh* with the *madrasa* and the Friday mosque; at the same time the abandonment of the original residential function of the *madrasa* and the *khānqāh* rendered the cells around the courtyard superfluous (Behrens-Abouseif 1985).

The funerary mosque of Kīdīmas al-Ishākī (885-6/1480-1) is a genuine jewel of late Mamlūk architecture. It is remarkable not only for the refinement of its interior and innovative exterior decoration, but most of all for its almost triangular plan inserted between three streets, displaying an ingenious adaptation to the urban setting.

The reign of Kāyitbāy (827-901/1468-96 [see KĀ'IT BĀY]) stimulated and refined architectural decoration, ushering in novel designs and techniques in both carving and marble inlay. The façade of his free-standing *sabīl-maktab* (879/1474) on Ṣalība Street and that of the mosque of Kīdīmas al-Ishākī present polychrome marble inlay of unprecedented intricacy.

During the 9th/15th century, domed *zāwiya*s and mosques were built. The earliest known belong to Barsbāy's funerary complex, two others were founded by Yaṣḥbak min Maḥdī, the Great *Dawādār*, in the northern outskirts; the larger one, known as *Kubbat al-Fadāwiyya* (884-6/1479-81) was lavishly decorated with stucco, an unexpected choice at this period. Their architecture differs from that of funerary domes, built in brick and on squinches, the exterior being plain and lacking the conventional transitional zone (Behrens-Abouseif 1981, 1982, 1983).

The reign of Sultan Kāṣawh al-Ḡhawrī [q.v.] heralded a new era in the concept of architecture, with an emphasis on monumentality rather than minute decoration, at the same time bringing a new taste for ceramic revetment. At the Sultan's funerary complex (915/1501), the dome and the upper storey of the minaret were once entirely covered with lapis-blue tiles. This period also brought about an important change in the shape of minarets; the double bulb at the top was a new device and was used twice in combination with an entirely rectangular shaft at the two mosques of Kānibāy (908/1503, 911/1506), and once in combination with a faceted shaft at al-Ḡhawrī's tall minaret at the Azhar mosque. Al-Ḡhawrī's rectangular minaret at his own funerary mosque had four bulbs at the top. Kānibāy's funerary mosque (903/1503) beneath the Citadel unfolds a façade with an unusual broad format, inspired by its location overlooking the *maydān* from an elevated ground.

Kāṣawh al-Ḡhawrī managed to acquire a plot in the very centre of the city which allowed him to construct his foundation on both sides of the street, an unprecedented layout which may be considered as the peak of the urbanistic approach of Mamlūk religious architecture. The mosque and the minaret on the

west side of the street face a monumental mausoleum, as deep as the *kibla iwān*, situated on the other side of the street and attached to a *khānqāh* without dwellings and a *sabīl-maktab* projecting with three façades on to the street. A wooden roof covered the street, which widened to the north into a small piazza with booths and shops (Behrens-Abouseif 2002).

Although its layout is comparable to that of Kāyitbāy, the large funerary *khānqāh* of the *amīr* Qurkūmās in the northern cemetery (911-13/1506-7) differs by its substantial proportions that make it one of the most monumental constructions in all Mamlūk architecture.

In the Circassian period, the harmonious juxtaposition of minaret and mausoleum dome continues to characterise the silhouette of funerary foundations. The increasing number of foundations of sultans and *amīrs* in the northern cemetery led to the urbanisation of its architecture that adopted the same street-oriented aesthetic criteria as in the city centre. This period maintained the tradition established in the late 8th/14th century of attaching to the religious foundation a *sabīl-maktab*, a structure consisting in a combination of fountain house with a primary school; the double structure was placed at a corner with the *sabīl* at ground level surmounted by the *maktab*. During the reign of Kāyitbāy, free-standing *sabīl-maktab*s were built, a tradition which was taken over in the Ottoman period. The reign of Kāyitbāy produced the domed *sabīl* recalling funerary architecture, such as the *sabīl* of Ya'kūb Shāh al-Mihmandār (901/1495-6) in Cairo and that of Kāyitbāy in the *haram* of Jerusalem.

In the late Mamlūk period, the forms of portals, minarets, and domes were standardised, displaying a variety in their carved decoration, however, and reaching the peak of refinement at Sultan Kāyitbāy's mausoleum (877-9/1472-4).

Stucco decoration disappears from late Mamlūk architecture except for a short-lived revival in the reign of Kāyitbāy, namely at the Dome of Yaṣḥbak, albeit in a very different style. Stone-carving is more extensively used than in the past, and now adorns also *mihrab* conchs. Groin vaults become fashionable in the late 9th/15th and early 10th/16th century, also characterising portal vaults.

B. Residential and domestic architecture in Cairo

Mamlūk residential architecture [see KĀ'A; RAB'] is less well preserved than religious (see Gracín *et al.* 1982). Half-a-dozen *kā'as* and the vestiges of four monumental palaces, those of Ālīn Āk, Kawṣūn, Baṣṭāk and Tāz, date from the Bahrī period. These great princely residences were continuously restored and remodelled, making it difficult to assess their original form. Our knowledge of the different types of residential architecture has to rely on the enormous resources of *wakf* documents.

The courtyard of Cairene residences, to which the main entrance leads, is generally surrounded by stables and service rooms. Cairene residential architecture was not "inward-facing" in the sense that it overlooked the courtyard and remained blind to the street. The courtyard was not the centre of the house, as in Syrian or North African constructions, but simply a semi-private space. There was a general preference for giving the main rooms a view over the street or the available scenery, depending on the site. There could be more than one courtyard according to the size of the *dār*, and in large mansions a courtyard could fulfil the function of a garden.

The main reception hall or *kā'a* lay on the first floor, occupying the height of several storeys where



the smaller units or apartments (*riwāk* [q.v.]) were located. In the 9th/15th century, the *maḥad* becomes a salient feature of residential architecture. It is a loggia facing north and overlooking the courtyard on the first storey. Its origin seems to be associated with the architecture of 8th/14th century princely stables. The 9th/15th century presents another category of residences of less monumental, middle-size type of dwellings, such as the house of Zaynab *Khātūn*.

The palaces of the Citadel, which had undergone continuous restoration and refurbishment work by all Mamlūk sultans, are no longer extant. The most remarkable were the *ṭwān kabīr* and the *ḡaṣr* built by al-Nāṣir Muḥammad and maintained by all subsequent sultans (see Garcin *et alii* 1982, 41ff.; Behrens-Abouseif 1985; Rabbat 1995). The first was a basilical construction of gigantic dimensions employing Pharaonic columns. It had a ceramic green dome, as did the Sultan's mosque nearby.

As is to be expected, the decorative repertoire of residential architecture did not differ particularly from that of religious monuments. The royal palaces of the early Bahri period, however, did make use of murals depicting figures.

C. Religious architecture in Syria

As mentioned above, Mamlūk architecture of Greater Syria, including Palestine, followed regional schools autonomous from the capital, hence need to be dealt with separately. (The following brief summary is based on Meinecke for Aleppo and Damascus and Burgoyne for Jerusalem.) Whereas Cairene builders emphasised the verticality of their monuments with recessed panels around the windows, their Damascene colleagues stressed the horizontal configuration of their buildings with striped (*ablaḡ*) masonry as the essential exterior ornamental device. The use of recesses remained exceptional. In Damascus, the *madrasa* with the mausoleum of al-Zāhir Baybars built by his son Baraka *Khān* (676-8/1277-9) continues Ayyūbid traditions, with its four unequal-sized halls overlooking a courtyard; the prayer hall is connected to the domed funerary chamber. It is entirely decorated in glass mosaic, emulating the mosaics of the Great Mosque of Damascus (Meinecke 1992, i, 37-8). More characteristic, however, was a type of funerary foundations without a courtyard featuring two equal domes placed symmetrically on either side of the entrance, one of them with a *mihrāb* to be used as a gathering and prayer hall, the other for funerary purposes. The *madrasa* of Fāridūn al-ʿAdjamī (744/1343-4), that recalls Cairene architecture with its four *ṭwāns* around a courtyard, was a special case. In the 9th/15th century, *madrasas* with two axial *ṭwāns* across a courtyard were constructed; plain Syrian *madrasas*, unlike the Cairene, were mostly built without a minaret, and Syrian minarets themselves were essentially rectangular with a sole balcony. Whereas octagonal shafts were also built throughout the Mamlūk period in Aleppo, in Damascus they appear only in the 9th/15th century. The Syrian dome profile remained close to the pattern established under the Ayyūbids, being rounded and occasionally ribbed.

In Aleppo, the plan of the hypostyle *riwāk* mosque built on piers supporting cross-vaulted bays, with or without courtyard, prevailed. The *madrasas*, built around a courtyard, have a lateral sanctuary roofed by a series of domes; cells and rooms of various sizes occupy the three other sides.

The holy city of Jerusalem enjoyed the most intensive Mamlūk patronage in Syria. Although no new Friday mosque was founded in this period, beside the

one already existing at the Citadel, Mamlūk *amīrs* surrounded the Haram on three sides with *madrasas*, *khānkāhs* or *ribāts*, or multifunctional institutions, most of them with mausoleums, usually domed, attached to them (Burgoyne 1987). The mausoleums attached to buildings around the *haram* were always placed on the *haram* side. There was no standard plan, most religious foundations possessing a covered courtyard surrounded by a varying number of *ṭwāns* and rooms. The complex of the mighty governor of Syria Tankiz (729/1328-9) had a four-*ṭwān* *madrasa* with a vaulted courtyard. It is the most important Mamlūk foundation in Jerusalem, since it served urban needs with two *ḡammāms*, a dwelling complex and a covered market called *sūḡ al-ḡaṭṭānīn*. The only *madrasa* built by a Mamlūk sultan is the *Aṣḡrafiyya* started by Sultan *Khushkadam* [q.v.] and rebuilt under the auspices of *Kāyitbāy* by Cairene craftsmen, hence its metropolitan style (Walls 1990).

In Jerusalem, unlike in other Syrian cities, minarets were attached to *madrasas* and *khānkāhs*; six extant ones are attributed to the Mamlūk period.

The city of Tripoli has a number of well preserved handsome Mamlūk monuments founded after Sultan *Kalāwūn* liberated it from the Crusaders in 688/1289. Throughout the following century, the city witnessed an intense building activity (Salam-Liebig 1983). Al-*Aṣḡraf Khālīl*, the son of *Kalāwūn*, founded the Great Mosque which was completed by his successor al-Nāṣir Muḥammad in 714/1314-15. The architecture of the city is characterised by its masonry domes and vaulted spaces. In mosques and *madrasas* the larger dome is often not the one over the *mihrāb*, but the central dome that covers the courtyard space (*Djāmī* of Taynāl, 1336; *Madrasa* of al-Burṭāsī, 1320s). The portals display half-domes on elaborate *mukarnas* combined with carvings and *ablaḡ* masonry. Syrian *madrasas*, unlike those in Cairo, often lack living units.

An interesting feature of Mamlūk religious architecture in Syria is the carving of foundation deeds (*waḡfiyya*) on the external wall of the monument.

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A comprehensive collection of plans of Mamlūk monuments in Egypt and Syria is to be found in the first volume of Meinecke's *Mamlukische Architektur* (1992); the second volume lists all monuments known from the sources or from physical evidence to have been constructed in the Mamlūk period.



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(b) *The decorative arts*

Mamlük art was less centralised than the other late imperial arts of the Muslim world as far as the decorative arts were concerned, a phenomenon due mainly to the absence of an equivalent of the Timūrid *kitābhāna* or the Ottoman *nakkaşhāna*. These royal workshops were in the first place set up to serve the arts of the book and thereby to fulfil the requirements of dynastic bibliophile patrons. While creating a repertory of designs for the illustration and illumination of books, they were involved in, and inspired, other media as well, the result being an interdisciplinary princely style. The Mamlük rulers were not renowned as great book-lovers; the libraries which they sponsored were primarily part and parcel of their religious foundations in the city. However, in the Bahrī period some crafts such as metalwork, glass and sgraffito were advertised the aesthetic of titular epigraphy as the major decorative motif in art objects. Once the preponderance of titular epigraphy was no longer a characteristic feature of Mamlük objects, i.e. by the end of the Bahrī period, the decorative arts began to show different approaches to decoration across crafts as well as within the same craft.

A. Metalwork

The first period of Mamlük metalwork continues the tradition established under the Ayyūbids. Zodiac and courtly themes (hunting and musicians) combined with animal friezes, along with epigraphic, geometric and floral designs, to decorate vessels in the second half of the 7th/13th century. At the same time, one final flowering of figural compositions rendered in an unprecedented monumental style and with great individuality occur shortly before figural themes were to disappear altogether from metalwork at the beginning of the 8th/14th century. This is apparent on the two vessels signed by Ibn al-Zayn, the so-called Baptistère de St Louis and the Vasselot bowl, both in the Louvre.

Mamlük metalware is also strongly indebted to the Mawṣil tradition of silver inlay, as indicated by the large number of craftsmen signatures with the *nisha* of *al-mawṣilī* inscribed on objects until the mid-8th/14th century. Craftsmen from Mawṣil are believed to have migrated to the Mamlük lands in order to escape the Mongol invasion. The continuity of *mawṣilī* signatures over a century after the end of the tradition in Mawṣil itself is a remarkable feature. During the first three quarters of the 8th/14th century, corresponding to the reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad and his sons, the Mamlüks produced a large number of exquisite brass objects with silver inlay decoration (and sometimes also with gold) with monumental epigraphic bands in *thuluth* script as main theme, delineating royal or

princely titles combined with blazons. During this period chinoiserie floral patterns were integrated into the Mamlük floral repertoire, along with the occasional Chinese dragon or bird motif. Among the objects produced were candlesticks, incense-burners, Qur'ān boxes with Qur'ānic inscriptions, trays and tray bases, pen-boxes, ewers, bowls and basins. The shapes tended to vary little; Islamic metalworkers in general were more interested in surfaces than in creating new forms.

The Mamlüks also produced various types of suspended lighting implements unparalleled in the Muslim world, most of which are in the Islamic Museum in Cairo. There is a group of large open-work polycandelons (*tannūrs*) in cast bronze. Among them those bearing names of Amīr Kaṣṣūn, Sultan Ḥasan and Sultan Kaṣṣawh al-Ghawrī are remarkable. There are also polycandelons of pierced sheet-brass from the 9th/15th century. Composite lamps made of sheet-brass consisted of a tray, into which the glass lamps were inserted, surmounted by a spherical shade. The shade is densely pierced so as to form a translucent background against which inscriptions naming a sultan or an *amīr* stand out. Another group of lamps made of pierced sheet-brass was made in the shape of a truncated hexagonal pyramid, the base being the tray; it was produced throughout the entire Mamlük period. Some metal lamps are signed but none has the Qur'ānic Verse of the Light which is so current on glass mosque lamps.

Very few metal art objects are known to have been produced between the last quarter of the 8th/14th century and the late 860-early 870s/1460s. With the revival of the production of metalware, a variety of new and disparate styles appear, without the monumental titular inscriptions characteristic of their Bahrī predecessors. One group consists of dishes, bowls, basins, and lunch boxes made of tinned copper, and engraved with a series of interlocking bands forming cartouches and medallions filled with alternating inscriptions, knotted motifs and tight scrolls; the inscriptions are mostly benedictory verses, though princely names occasionally occur. This group, which lacks the calligraphic aesthetics of the earlier period, is indebted to Western Persian metalwork.

Another group consists of bowls with a rounded profile; their surface is plain except for a triple engraved band near the rim with inscriptions of a somewhat vernacular style with poetry and homilies. This group, too, harks back to some very similar Persian prototypes from 8th/14th century Shīrāz.

A group of spherical hand-warmers, lidded bowls and ewers with predominantly knotted and braided motives are attributed to late Mamlük Syria. Some of the vessels combine a Mamlük decoration with a European vessel, which indicate that objects were sent from Europe, mainly Italy, so as to be decorated in Egypt or Syria.

The group formerly known as Veneto-Saracenic and wrongly attributed to a Muslim workshop in Venice, has been now convincingly attributed to a late Mamlük production (J. Allan 1986). The group differs strongly from mainstream Mamlük metalware; their decoration is minutely engraved with unmatched refinement, recalling some Timūrid jugs, with new forms of scrolls and floral patterns against which silver-inlaid curved lines interlock to form neo-arabesques or lobed cartouches. The most famous of these vessels, many of which seem to possess European bodies, are signed by Mu'allim Maḥmūd al-Kurdī, one of about half-a-dozen identified craftsmen.



There is also a group of high-quality, luxurious basins with shallow faceted forms mentioning the name of Sultan Kāyitbāy. The facets and the relief patterns also point to Persian influence. A magnificent piece in Istanbul is inlaid with silver and gold.

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B. Ceramics

Mamluk pottery can be divided into seven decorative and technical categories: sgraffito, slip-painted, underglaze-painted, overglaze-painted lustre, celadon imitations, unglazed moulded and unglazed painted ware.

The Mamluks both imported and also imitated China celadon ware, and it is this imitation product, comprising a buff body with copper or red glaze in Chinese-inspired forms, that forms the largest group of wares unearthed at Fustāt. Sgraffito forms the most characteristic group of Mamluk pottery. It is made of a coarse red clay, the design being scratched through the slip to reveal red lines from underneath a brownish or green glaze. The forms are related to those of metalwork, as is the decoration, which consists essentially of titular epigraphy with benedictions and blazons, which date them to the first half of the 8th/14th century. Some of these objects were made for the

kitchen, as is attested by an inscription on a bowl in the al-Ṣabāḥ Collection in Kuwait. Another type of coarse red bodied vessels show a white slip painted in brown, green or yellow.

Underglaze-painted ware constitutes a very different case. Produced in Egypt and Syria in large quantities, this group is rarely inscribed. Syrian ware is supposed to possess a firmer and finer body with a sharper executed design, and some pieces are made of red earthenware. The vessels (jars, albarelli, bowls, dishes, and goblets) have a porous greyish white frit body covered with a white slip painted in blue, black, green and turquoise under a transparent glaze. Their designs are mostly geometric, dishes and bowls displaying an interior radiating motif centred at the bottom of the vessel. The geometric design is filled in with floral motifs and sometimes adorned with calligraphic decoration. They can easily be, and are sometimes, confused with Persian Sulṭānabād ware. They also include representations of animals (birds, rabbits, fish and horses), and fragments with figural representations were also found. As mentioned above, craftsmen from Tabriz worked in 8th/14th century Cairo in the production of ceramic for architectural decoration.

In the 9th/15th century, a new style of underglaze-painted ceramic was developed, imitating the Chinese Ming blue-and-white wares imported in large quantities to the Mamluk lands. The vessels of this period very often bear craftsmen's signatures, which show that the same workshop could turn out a variety of styles. Some *nisbas* of craftsmen (*al-hurmuzī*, *al-tawrizī*) point to a Persian connection. In the early 9th/15th century, ceramic revetment was used in Syria and in Egypt in the form of underglaze-painted tiles decorated similarly to contemporary vessels. The Mosque of Ghars al-Dīn al-Tawrizī in Damascus (826/1424) contains a tile-clad *mihrāb* signed by Ghaybī al-Tawrizī, who also produced vessels and tiles in Cairo. Epigraphic blazons of supreme workmanship, inscribed with the name of Sultan Kāyitbāy set in a tympanum with blue-and-white floral decoration patterns, used to decorate a building of this sultan. The drum of al-Ghawrī's mausoleum dome, itself once covered with blue tiles, also presents a blue-black and white underglaze-painted inscription along its drum (Prost 1916, 11ff.). The mausoleum of the *amīr* Sulayman dated 951/1544 is adorned with a similar inscription on its drum; the tympanums of its exterior door and windows include ceramic tiles with underglaze painted epigraphic and floral patterns.

Although lustre-painted ware is generally attributed to Syria, wasters found at Fustāt confirm the existence of Egyptian production (A. Yusuf 2000). Mamluk lustre-painted ware which was exported to Europe is characterised by its beautiful golden lustre in blue, turquoise and brownish red.

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C. Glass

Like metalwork, Mamlük enamelled and gilded glass continued the tradition of the Ayyūbids, using the same techniques and forms. After the craft reached its apogee, the production eventually came abruptly to an end in the late 8th/14th century. Although scholars have assigned the production of enamelled and gilded glass to Syria, where the technique was born, more recent research attributes a more preponderant role in this craft to Egypt, in light of the fact that the bulk of the consumption was there and that most of the objects concerned have been found in that region (Scanlon 1998). Tīmūr's sack of Damascus in 803/1401 is usually considered the reason for the abrupt end of this craft in Syria. However, Alexandria could have been another centre of production; a *wakf* document of Sultan al-Nāṣir Muḥammad (published by Muḥammad Amīn in his edition of Ibn Ḥabīb's *Tadhkirat al-nabih*, ii, Cairo 1982, 432) refers to a glass factory in Alexandria belonging to the Sultan's *wakf* for his religious complex at Siryākūs. Unfortunately, it does not specify what kind of glass was produced there. The sack of Alexandria by Pierre de Lusignan of Cyprus in 1365 had a catastrophic effect on its economy. It may have had repercussions on its glass production and explain the fact that the few objects known to have been produced in the 770s/1370s show a marked decline in the quality and extent of enamelled decoration. Certain objects, such as beakers made for export, are not documented after the 770s/1370s. A short revival took place under Sultan Barkūk, to whom about forty enamelled and gilded lamps are attributed. One should

not exclude the presence of more than one centre of production. An enamelled lamp mentioning the name of Sultan Kāyitbāy (Wiet 1937), entirely different in style and techniques, testifies to endeavours during the artistic revival that took place under the auspices of this sultan.

Mamlük glassmakers used a variety of shapes, sometimes in highly unusual large sizes, such as mosque lamps, goblets, bowls, flasks, bottles and vases, some of which are reminiscent of metalware. The glass was white or tinted, and never of perfect clarity. An outstanding group of enamelled and gilded vessels was those made of deep-blue glass, such as the famous Cavour vase (Newby 1998). The colours of the enamel—blue, red, yellow, green, brown, white and black—were applied as a vitreous paste, along with the gold, which fused with the surface upon firing.

As in metalwork, figural representations on secular objects were used until the 8th/14th century when they were replaced by epigraphy and blazons. The patterns, drawn with hair-thin lines, are extremely intricate. The mosque lamps made for Cairene religious buildings are among the most spectacular specimens of Mamluk glass; they bear a verse from the *Sūra of Light* (xxiv, 35) around the neck; whenever a patron's name is inscribed, it appears on the belly.

The Mamlüks also produced marvered and colourless vessels, as well as other types, moulded and/or with applied threads. Mamlük glass was widely exported to all of Europe and to China.

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(DORIS BEHRENS-ABOUSEIF)

D. Arts of the book

Although little remains from the previous Fātimid and Ayyūbid periods, for the Mamlüks we have a wealth of material, both religious and secular, indicative of extensive book production and patronage. In fact, Mamlük book production is comparable in volume and quality with that of major contemporary centres such as Il-Khānīd Tabriz and Tīmūrid Harāt. Many illustrated and illuminated examples survive, and we also have several original bindings.

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(i) *Kur'āns*

Despite the evident connections between *Kur'āns* and secular books in terms of illumination and binding, for the sake of clarity they are best approached separately. As James (1992, 150) has pointed out, the particularly fine and grand *Kur'āns* that survive, the best dating from the 14th century and the first decade of the 15th, were made under the patronage of a sultan who then endowed them as *wakf* to a particular religious foundation or mosque, where they were generally reserved for ceremonial use. They are mostly in single volume form; few multi-volume *Kur'āns* withstood the intensive everyday use to which they were generally exposed.

One of the earliest outstanding Mamlūk *Kur'āns* that we possess is, however, in seven volumes (London, B.L., Add. 22,406-22,413). It dates from 705/1305-6 (Lings and Safadi 1976, nos. 66-9, James 1988, no. 1) and was copied for Sultan Baybars by Ibn al-Wāhid, an outstanding calligrapher of the early 8th/14th century (al-Safadi, *Wāfi*, no. 1104, and Ibn Hajar al-ʿAskalānī, *al-Durar al-Kāmina*, Ḥaydarābād 1348-50/1929-32, no. 3740). The illumination was the work of three artists, Muḥammad b. Mubādir; the famous Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr, known as Ṣandal, who lived in Cairo at the beginning of the 8th/14th century; and his pupil Ayduḡdhī b. ʿAbd Allāh al-Badrī, through whom Ṣandal's style maintained its influence until the 1330s. (see James 1988, ch. 3 for other works by these illuminators and for a discussion of the question of Il-Khānīd influence; for Ṣandal, see Safadi, no. 4843). Although there are evident differences between their individual styles, the general consistency of design indicates that one artist, almost certainly Ṣandal, had overall control. As is general in Mamlūk *Kur'āns*, the illumination is concentrated in the frontispieces, opening pages of text and the final colophon page. Marginal ornaments in the main body of the text consist of the words *khamisa* and *ʿashara* in gold Kufic over a piece of arabesque scroll. But one may also argue that illumination is projected onto the text itself, for in contrast to the normal use of *naskh* in this period, its large *ṭhuluth* unusually written in gold letters outlined in black, makes it visually special and rich.

Another *Kur'ān* signed by Ṣandal as the illuminator (Dublin, Chester Beatty Library, Is 1479; see Arberry 1967, no. 59; James 1980, no. 25; James 1988, no. 3), and datable to between 704-10/1305-10, has a similar type of illumination, but with the striking addition of the use of relief. On the two carpet-like opening pages, the geometric figures of the decoration are given an impression of three-dimensionality by the fact that alternating pentagons are in relief. The equally innovative carpet-like design consists of a central block with a geometrical formation interrupted by borders surrounded on three sides by a thick band, from which protrude thin spikes almost like the fringes of a carpet.

It also occurs in combination with relief in other examples such as that dated 735/1334 and copied in Cairo by Aḥmad al-Mutaṭṭabbib (Cairo, Dār al-Kutub, *Kur'ān* ms. 81; see Aṭīl 1981, no. 3, also James 1988, nos. 15-18). Both scribe and illuminator, he was responsible for a new type of *Kur'ān*, introduced by ca. 720/1320, which is characterised by a larger format with illumination of high quality, and in which the preferred script is *muhakkak*.

From the 1330s to the 1360s, Damascus, too, was an important centre of manuscript production (for a discussion of illustrated secular manuscripts from

Damascus, see below). It seems, moreover, to have been stylistically innovative, and a distinctive feature in *Kur'āns* of this period that may have originated there (James 1992, 172-5) is the star polygon style, where the page is dominated by a large central starburst made up of symmetrically enmeshed small polygons. One such *Kur'ān* (London, Khalili Collection, Qur807; see James 1992, no. 43), datable to ca. 730-40/1330-40, has a colophon (fol. 296b) stating that the scribe worked on it in the Umayyad Mosque, and there is a stylistically related Arabic translation of the Four Gospels, copied in 741/1340 for a Damascene cleric (Cairo, Coptic Museum, Ms. 90; see Simaika Pasha 1939, pls. XVIII-XX). Like several other Christian manuscripts of the period, it was illuminated in the manner of contemporary Islamic manuscripts, so that it also has other features in common with the Khalili *Kur'ān*, and there are another two such manuscripts with similar illumination that are also known to have been produced in Damascus, one, a Gospel in Arabic, now in Istanbul (Topkapı Sarayı Library, Ahmet III, 3519; see Leroy 1967), the other, the Epistles and Acts of the Apostles in Arabic, in St. Petersburg (Academy of Sciences, D-228; see Khalidov, in Petrosyan (ed.) 1994, no. 23). The latter was commissioned by a certain "Jakomo", thought to have been an Italian Consul to Syria, and was copied by the monk Thomas (*Tūmā al-mutarahhib*), known as Ibn al-Saṭī, in 742/1341 (for a list of eight manuscripts with some evidence of provenance from Damascus, see Contadini 1995, n. 8). To be noted also, from the 8th/14th century, is the diffusion of Mamlūk styles of illumination and binding from Damascus to Anatolia (see Tanındı 1991 and 2000).

There are also some superbly illuminated later *Kur'āns* in the star polygon style from Cairo, datable to the reign of Sultan Sha'bān II (r. 764-78/1363-76). During the latter part of his reign, however, between 770/1369 and 778/1376, an entirely new style of painting was introduced in Cairo by Ibrāhīm al-Amīdī. Its most important departure was the abandonment of the preceding norm of infinite recursivity in geometric patterning, so that there could now be large blocks incorporating irregular figures. But he was also innovative with regard both to his subtle use of colour reversal and to the wider range of his palette, which was much more like that of Irāk and Persia in the first half of the 8th/14th century (Cairo, Dār al-Kutub, *Kur'ān* mss. 9, 10 and 15; see James 1988, nos. 31, 32, 34 and 35). This style was to be followed until the early 9th/15th century.

(ii) *Secular manuscripts*

Abundant evidence for the arts of the book is also provided by the numerous illustrated and/or illuminated secular manuscripts that survive. They represent various literary genres, some continuing earlier traditions, as, for example, scientific manuscripts and the great literary cycles of the *Maḳāmāt* and *Kalīla wa-Dimna*, others reflecting the particular interests of certain strata of Mamlūk society, as witnessed, for example, by the revival of the *Furūsiyya* [q.v.] genre.

The illustrated manuscripts show a variety of pictorial sources. Several contain what may be termed "classical" elements that link them to 7th/13th century styles as exhibited, for example, in the Syro-Irākī al-Ḥarīrī *Maḳāmāt* in the Bibliothèque Nationale (Arabe 6094) dated 619/1222, and thus ultimately to Byzantine models of portraying the human figure and dress. Although incomplete, the al-Ḥarīrī *Maḳāmāt* in the British Library (Add. 7293), dated Rabi' II 723/April 1323 allows us to see the prolongation of



this style into the Mamlūk period. (For both manuscripts see Grabar 1984, no. 2, pp. 8-9 and no. 9, pp. 14-15 respectively.)

Equally noteworthy is their frequent combination with elements of Saldjūk origin which provide links with North Djaziran 7th/13th-century manuscripts. They affect especially the human face, which is typically round, with narrow eyes, small mouth, straight, small nose and long hair, often with a curl in front of the ear (for lists of manuscripts with "classical" and Saldjūk influences, see Contadini 1988-9, nn. 29, 40). An early Mamlūk example showing strong Saldjūk influence is the Ibn Buṭlān *Risālat Da'wat al-aṭibbā'* in the Ambrosiana Library in Milan (Ms. A. 125 Inf.) dated Djumādā I 672/December 1273 (see Mihriz 1961; also Löfgren and Traini 1975, vol. i, no. LXX, col. pls. I-VI).

The pictorial repertoire also includes features of Il-Khānīd origin as, for example, in a particularly striking early 8th/14th-century al-Kazwīnī *ʿAdjā'ib al-makhlūkāt*, where they are combined in a masterly fashion with "classical" elements (see Carboni and Contadini 1990; for Mamlūk/Il-Khānīd relationships, see Rogers 1972). But it is essentially the integration of "classical" and Saldjūk features that characterises Mamlūk style, whereas the Il-Khānīd element, consisting of landscape features such as large lotus flowers, recessed planes to provide depth, and the use of free brush strokes (e.g. for leaves), normally affected specific features without resulting in a similar stylistic fusion.

There were doubtless several centres of production of illustrated manuscripts, but very few colophons identify a place. However, we can at least be certain about Damascus and Cairo. Damascus again comes to the fore at the beginning of the 8th/14th century, as demonstrated by a *Maḳāmāt* in the British Library (Or. 9718), which contains the name of the scribe and illuminator (fol. 53a), Ghāzī b. ʿAbd al-Rahmān al-Dimashkī, who lived and worked there and died in 709/1310 (see Mayer 1942; Grabar 1984, no. 7, p. 13. For al-Dimashkī, see Ibn Ḥaǧǧar al-ʿAskalānī 1929-32, vol. ii, p. 134).

A provenance from Damascus can also be argued for a further four illustrated manuscripts dated between 734/1334 and 755/1354 on the basis of stylistic affinity, allied to documentary evidence concerning the compiler of one of them, the Ibn Bakhtīshūʿ *Kitāb Manāfiʿ al-hayawān* in San Lorenzo del Escorial dated 755/1354 (Ar. 898; see Contadini 1988-9, with bibl.). Their illustrations have very similar characteristics, not all, however, shared by other Mamlūk manuscripts, such as the solid gold background of their miniatures and the frame consisting of one or more blue lines with decorative additions. At the same time, they conform to Mamlūk norms by containing pronounced Saldjūk features and, if in differing degrees, Il-Khānīd ones. Further, the illumination in all four is very similar, when not identical, to that of the Khalīlī Qurʾān and the two Christian manuscripts mentioned above which also come from Damascus. This style of illumination will survive in Damascus until well into the 9th/15th century, as demonstrated by a copy of *Fakihāt al-khulafāʾ wa-mufākahāt al-zurafāʾ* (St. Petersburg, Academy of Sciences, C-651; see Khalidov, in Petrosyan (ed.) 1994, no. 32) by the Damascene Abu l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. ʿArabshāh, copied by Ismāʿīl b. ʿAbd al-Rahmān al-ʿIṣfahānī in Rabīʿ I 852/June 1448 under the author's supervision.

For Cairo, on the other hand, we lack direct evidence for production, although it is generally thought that those manuscripts that have a more "classical",

conservative style might have been produced there rather than in the more innovative Damascus.

The little that survives of late Mamlūk painting exhibits a rather striking stylistic blend which also absorbs Djazirid, Turkmen and Ottoman influences, especially with regard to the depiction of landscape and costume. Representative examples are the late 8th/14th-century *Kashf al-asrār* by Ibn Ghānim al-Makḍīsī (Istanbul, Süleymaniye Library, Kara Ismail 565; see Ettinghausen 1962, pp. 158-9), the mid-9th/15th-century *Kitāb al-Zardaka* (Istanbul, University Library, inv. no. 4689; see Bittar 1996, 158), the *Iskandar-nāma* of Aḥmadī datable to 872/1467-8 (Istanbul, Univ. Library, T6044; see Atl 1984) and the early 10th/16th-century *Shāh-nāma* (Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Library, Hazine 1519; see Zajaczkowski 1965 and Atasoy 1966-8) made for Sultan Kānsawh al-Ghawrī (r. 906-22/1501-16).

(iii) Bindings

Numerous Mamlūk bindings have survived, consisting predominantly of leather with blind tooling, although often features are highlighted in gold.

There are resemblances between Mamlūk and Ottoman bindings of the 8th/14th and early 9th/15th centuries (Raby and Tamind 1993, 7-11 and ch. 1), while at the same time 8th/14th-century examples may resemble contemporary Persian bindings, as is shown by two Qurʾāns in the Chester Beatty Library in Dublin, one (of ca. 746/1345, Is 1465, see James 1980, no. 33) made in Cairo, the other (dated 738/1338, Is 1470, see James 1980, no. 49) in Marāgha. Both have bindings in light brown leather with a pointed star in the centre of an empty field with a scalloped decoration at its outer border, the whole decorated with blind tooling. In other examples, the central ornament is an oval medallion, and in either case related designs appear in the four corners of the field.

This type of composition was to remain important, but more examples survive of a second type in which the whole field is covered. There are examples with arabesque or floral designs, but more frequently we find strapwork forming polygonal compartments which often contained tooled knotwork motifs, with the strapwork sometimes radiating out from a central star which echoes the star polygon style of illumination.

Bindings were sometimes lined with silk, but more often the doublures were decorated with block-pressed leather. During the period of Sultan Kāyitbāy (r. 872-901/1468-96), we witness an age of experimentation which includes the use of filigree for both inner and, especially, outer covers. This seems to reflect influence from Persia, where, in the 9th/15th century, filigree was already the norm. The use of filigree, together with other Mamlūk features of layout of design, were in turn to influence Italian bookbinders of the late 15th century (Hobson 1989, ch. 3).

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(iv) NUMISMATICS

While the coinage of the Mamlüks was manufactured from the usual metals: gold, silver and copper, with the traditional Islamic denominational names: dīnār, dirham and fals [*q.v.*], it belonged to a distinctive currency family of its own which underwent a process of evolution unlike that of any other coinage series. Its 267-year history can be divided into three distinct periods that overlap one another to a greater or lesser extent.

The first period was little more than a continuation of the late Ayyūbid style of gold dīnārs and silver dirhams as struck by al-Šāliḥ Ayyūb. The field legends on the dīnārs were in circular fields with a single prominent marginal inscription, while those on the dirhams were in a square field with the remaining texts in the four marginal segments. This "pseudo-Ayyūbid" coinage was issued between 648 and 658/1250-60, from the accession of Shaḍḍar al-Durr until that of al-Zāhir Baybars. While the weights of the dīnār and the dirham were not consistent enough for payments to be made by tail, individual pieces roughly approximated the weight of the coinage dīnār/*mithkāl*, 4.25 gr, and the canonical dirham, 2.97 gr.

The second coinage type was initiated by al-Zāhir Baybars, the real founder of the Bahrī Mamlük state. While the legends on his dīnārs continued to be placed in a circle within a surrounding marginal legend, their calligraphy was carried out in a thinner and more refined *naskhī* script than that previously used. At the same time that the dies became wider in diameter, the flans upon which there were struck became thinner and more irregular in shape, so that large portions of the marginal legends are usually missing from the struck coins. Because these legends carried the mint and date formula, it is often difficult to place and date early Bahrī Mamlük dīnārs. With the passage of time, marginal legends became smaller and less legible until they shrank away altogether and their inscriptions were incorporated into the field legends. The Bahrī Mamlük dirham lost its original square in circle design and became a simple field legend inscribed in a circle with the mint and date around the edge in discontinuous words.

The Bahrī Mamlük-style dīnār was struck from 658/1260 until 830/1427 and the dirham from 658 until the early 800s/1400s. Both coins were beset by



highly irregular weights and careless manufacture. The gold is usually regarded as no more than stamped ingots of totally random weights. The purity of the metal, however, was guaranteed by the sultan's stamp which ensured the high standard of its fineness as a trade commodity. The dirham, while less irregular in weight, was a shabby simulacrum of the attractive coinages of the preceding centuries. It was manufactured from silver approximately two-thirds fine then often struck cold on irregular flans. The variety usually regarded as a full dirham weighed around three grams, but there was a second type, regarded as a fractional dirham, whose flans were cut from bars with a chisel and then stamped with dies twice or more the size of the flans so that only one or two words of the legends were visible on their surface. Another method of manufacturing flans for fractional dirhams was to pour the molten metal over a cone of charcoal immersed in a bowl of water. The spattered droplets of base silver would then be stamped and placed in circulation.

Since Mamlūk gold had virtually ceased to be used in regular trade and silver was too rare to be a reliable standard of exchange, the Bahrī Mamlūk state was forced to rely on the copper *ḡals* as its principal coinage metal. Copper was struck from the reign of Baybars onwards, initially with random weights and designs, but later, during the second reign of al-Nāṣir Ḥasan in 759/1358, the *ḡals* took on the status of an official coinage metal as the copper or trade dirham, probably due to the economic hardship caused by the Black Death in Egypt in the previous decade. As a result, enormous quantities were put into circulation, a perfect illustration of Gresham's Law, because silver became virtually unobtainable. Although these *ḡals* "dirhams" were theoretically struck at the familiar weight of one *mithkāl* apiece, their metallic value was purely nominal. The mints were therefore under no compulsion to maintain their theoretical weight or to put any concerted effort into maintaining the quality of their manufacture. Thus it was that by the turn of the 8th/14th century the commercial classes of Egypt and Syria had lost all trust in their native currency and had turned, for lack of better, to the use of foreign coins.

In the second half of the 7th/13th century, the trading states of Italy were able to introduce and maintain stable gold coinages which became the standard commercial currencies of the Mediterranean and beyond. The first of these were the Florentine and Genoese florins which appeared in 1252 (A.H. 650), followed by the Venetian ducat in 1284 (A.H. 683). All three weighed slightly over 3.50 gr, with roughly the same diameter, and were thus easily exchanged against one another. The plentiful supply of these coins and their dependable value, much like the use of the U.S. dollar in financially-troubled countries today, made them the currency of choice in Levantine trade.

The pressure for currency reform grew to the point where the Burdjī Mamlūk ruler Faradj ordered his *ustādḥār*, Sayf al-Dīn Ilbughā b. 'Abd Allāh al-Sālimī al-Zāhirī, to strike new dīnārs to the traditional monetary *mithkāl* standard alongside the stamped ingot gold. According to al-Makrīzī, this reform was initiated in A.H. 803, but the Sālimī dīnārs are known only from 804 and a few from 805. While the principal coin weighed the usual 4.25 gr, multiples of two and three dīnārs and fractions of half and quarters are known. This misdirected reform attempt failed utterly and left only a small handful of pieces to testify to its existence.

Faradj made a second attempt at reform in 810, although al-Makrīzī records 811, introducing the new sequin, ducat or florin-style Nāṣirī dīnār. These coins, weighing 3.50 gr, were the Islamic equivalent of the Venetian ducat and were intended to supplant it in local trade. They, too, were issued concurrently with the ingot-style dīnārs between 810 and 815 in the name of al-Nāṣir Faradj, the ephemeral ruler, the caliph al-Musta'īn in 815 and al-Mu'ayyad Ṣhaykh in 815 and 816.

The rulers and the mints were clearly in a quandary over how they could keep the Mamlūk gold coinage both Islamic in character and competitive in value with the ducat and could restore the silver dirham in its weight and alloy to become a reliable coinage for daily purposes. The silver reform began in 815/1412 and continued for at least the next seven years. The new coinage was struck on the dirham standard weighing 2.70 gr, with a half of 1.35 gr and a quarter of 0.67 gr. It imitated a well-known Ayyūbid design used on the Damascus coinage of al-'Adil Abū Bakr I, a by-word for excellence from the distant past. Then, in about 820, al-Mu'ayyad Ṣhaykh followed up his reform silver with another attempt at a *mithkāl*-weight gold coinage. Two dīnārs are known dated 821 and 823 and a single half-dīnār from 823. This attempt at reform apparently went unnoticed by contemporary historians. Al-Mu'ayyad Ṣhaykh was succeeded after his death in 824/1421 by three ephemeral rulers until al-Aṣḥraf Barsbāy came to the throne in 825/1422. No gold of his is published dated between 825 and 829. The last ingot-style dīnārs to be recorded are rare issues of his dated 829 and 830. The former year, however, witnessed the re-introduction of the 3.50 gr ducat-style coinage, a reform which brought the Mamlūk lands into what became in effect an eastern Mediterranean monetary union. The new Mamlūk dīnār, as struck by al-Aṣḥraf Barsbāy, was known colloquially as the *aṣḥrafi*, a name which followed it wherever the denomination went, to the Aḳ Koyunlū, 'Oṭhmānlis and Ṣafawids in the East and to the Maghribī states in North Africa.

Because the new coin was of reasonably standard weight and alloy, prices could be established by numbers of actual coins rather than by weight of metal. In this connection, it is interesting to note that many Umayyad and 'Abbāsīd dīnārs originally struck on the monetary *mithkāl* standard have been found clipped down to the weight of the *aṣḥrafi* in order to enable them to pass current in trade. This convenience was also available to those who paid in silver, the most popular coin being the half-dirham or *mu'ayyidi*, later known as the *medin*, a denomination which, like the *aṣḥrafi*, remained in use in 'Oṭhmānlī lands until the early decades of the 12th/19th century.

The legends on the Mamlūk coinage are divided into the religious and the secular. The religious are drawn from the Holy Qur'ān, the principal text being the declaration of faith, or *kalima*: "There is no god but God" followed by the Divine Commission "Muḥammad is the Messenger of God", sūra XLVIII, 29, and then the words of prophetic witness in whole or in part: "He sent him with the guidance and [the] faith of the truth, so that he may proclaim it above every faith even if the polytheists dislike (it)", IX, 33 or LXI, 9. This text is frequently supplemented by a phrase from III, 122, which, because of its regular use, could be characterised as the Mamlūk "symbol" or motto: "For victory comes but from God". Occasionally another phrase from XI, 88, was used: "And my success [in my task] can only come from



God". While the *kalima* is only found on the obverse, the supplementary phrases appear above either the obverse or reverse fields, or on both.

The reverses on the gold and silver coinage carry the royal protocol. In the first Bahrī Mamlūk period, the ruler was simply entitled *Malik*, or in the exceptional case of Shādjār al-Durr, *Malikat al-Muṣlimīn*. This was usually followed by a *laqab*, e.g. Nūr al-Dīn, the ruler's name and that of his father, if of royal parentage. Rulers also placed the name of their spiritual overlord, the 'Abbāsīd caliph al-Musta'ṣim bi'llāh, on the obverse field, but after his overthrow in 656/1258 his name was removed from the legends.

The establishment of the 'Abbāsīd caliphate in Cairo by al-Zāhir Baybars in 659/1261 reinforced the legitimacy of the Mamlūk state by relocating and naturalising the font of honour in the Islamic world and making the caliph an officer in the Mamlūk court. The first caliph, al-Mustaṣṣir, repaid the offer of refuge by granting Baybars the double title of *al-Sultān al-Malik* and the honorific *Kāsim Amīr al-Mu'minīn* "Partner of the Prince of the Believers". After al-Mustaṣṣir's early death, Baybars briefly recognised his successor al-Ḥakīm on the Syrian coinage, but thereafter the caliph's name was omitted. The title *Kāsim Amīr al-Mu'minīn* was also included in the royal protocols of Qalāwūn, Kitbughā, Baybars II and the early coinage of Muḥammad I after which it, too, ceased to be used.

The early Bahrī rulers of non-regal parentage proclaimed themselves as former royal Mamlūks, Baybars and Qalāwūn used the *nisha* of *al-Ṣāliḥī* (after al-Ṣāliḥ Ayyūb) on their coins, while Kitbughā, Lādīn and Baybars II placed *al-Manṣūrī* (after al-Manṣūr Qalāwūn) on theirs. The use of the *nisha* was discontinued on the accession of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad I b. Qalāwūn because all subsequent Bahrī rulers were either his sons, grandsons or great-grandsons. Thus the protocol of the penultimate Bahrī ruler reads: *al-Sultān al-Malik al-Manṣūr 'Alā' al-Dunyā wa 'l-Dīn 'Alī b. al-Malik al-Ashraf Sha'bān b. Husayn b. Muḥammad 'azza naṣruhu*. The succeeding Burdjī Mamlūk rulers included their royal paternity wherever possible, but as the great majority succeeded through the consensus of the *amirs* or by *coup d'état*, the inclusion of a *kunya* in the royal protocol was used as a substitute for royal paternity. Thus: *al-Sultān al-Malik al-Ashraf Abu 'l-Nasr Barsbāy 'azza naṣruhu* or *al-Sultān al-Malik Abū Sa'īd Khushkadam 'azza naṣruhu*. Note that the protocol is followed by the pious invocation *'azza naṣruhu* "may his victory be glorious" or, occasionally, *khallada Allāh mulkahu*—"may God perpetuate his kingly rule". Many other Islamic dynasties made free use of these invocations to honour their rulers.

The Mamlūks operated mints in both their Egyptian and Syrian possessions. Cairo, *al-Kāhira*, struck coin for all rulers except for a few rebels or usurpers whose power base lay in Syria. Its principal responsibility was to coin gold and silver, while copper production only became important during the silver shortage from 759 to the end of Barḳūk's first reign in 791. The second Egyptian mint was Alexandria, *al-Iskandariyya*, which mainly struck gold between 650 and 693 and then again from 752 until 824. During the latter period it also participated in the ruinous production of copper dirhams.

The main Syrian mint (the second in the state) was located in Damascus, *Dimashk*. As might be expected, its silver and copper is very well known because silver was the more popular coinage metal in Syria, although gold is frequently found. The next in impor-

tance is Aleppo, *Ḥalab*, well known for its silver and copper, with occasional gold issues. The other Syrian mints are Ḥamā, *Ḥamāt*, Tripoli, *Tarābulus*, and the recently identified Latakia, *al-Lādhiyya*. The first two produced sporadic issues of silver, but more often copper, while the third is known from only two silver pieces struck in the name of Muḥammad I.

All mints were occasionally given the epithet *al-mahrūsa* "the guarded", while *thaghr* "frontier port" is sometimes found on gold from Alexandria. Aleppo is also known as *Madīnat Ḥalab* on some of its ingot-sized gold. Because of defects in the manufacturing process: off-centre striking, weak strikes, dies too large for the flans, plus the inevitable wear and tear of heavy circulation, a very large proportion of Mamlūk coins are difficult to attribute precisely and often many specimens are needed from various sources to make out the details of an individual issue.

While many of the Mamlūk sultans were no more than ephemeral rulers whose presence made little or no impact on the state other than having their names recited in the *khutba* and inscribed on their *sikka*, certain powerful rulers were acknowledged as overlords on the coinage of neighbouring states. Steven Album has recorded these issues as follows: Bahrī Mamlūks, al-Nāṣir Muḥammad I: Beys of Ḥamīd, Antalya; local beys, 'Alā'iyya (Alanya), Silifke and Bazardjik; Eretnid, Kayṣariyya and other very rare Anatolian types; al-Nāṣir Ḥasan: Artukid, Āmid (Diyārbakr); al-Ashraf Sha'bān II: Karamānid, Konya and Burdjī Mamlūks: al-Zāhir Barḳūk: Artukid, Āmid, Mārdīn; al-Ashraf Barsbāy, Karamānid, al-'Alā'i, Konya, Lāranda, Beys of Alanya, 'Alā'iyya and other rare Anatolian types, al-Ashraf Aynāl, Malkish Kurds, Ćemişkezek and al-Zāhir Khushkadam, Aḳ Çoyunlu, Arzindjān and Āmid. These issues should be regarded as evidence of political submission for local use rather than as tribute payments to be sent to Cairo. One well-known flow of tribute, however, is recorded from the reign of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad I. In 722-3/1322-3 the Mamlūks captured Sis [q.v.], the capital of Cilician Armenia, seized its treasury and then imposed an annual tribute of 1,200,000 trams which was collected for many years thereafter. Balog observes that this treasure served to succour the chronically deficient Mamlūk silver currency. Part was probably melted down and restruck, part put into circulation directly (made possible because the Mamlūk dirham had no fixed weight standard itself) and part overstruck by dies bearing al-Nāṣir Muḥammad's name. Examples of these overstruck trams of Oshin (1308-20) and Levon IV (1320-42) are regularly found in silver hoards of the period.

The calligraphy and ornamentation seen on Mamlūk coins vary in quality from the superb *dīnārs* of al-Ashraf Khalīl to the crude late Bahrī *dīnārs* of al-Kāhira and al-Iskandariyya. The die-sinkers generally employed various styles of *naskhī* script ranging from the well executed and highly legible to the hastily inscribed, virtually scribbled. For the later Bahrī period it is easy to distinguish at a glance which coins came from Egyptian mints and which from Syria. The latter show the die-sinkers to be genuinely artistic craftsmen, while those of Egypt had only mediocre abilities. This disparity in calligraphic standards tended to disappear during the Burdjī period so that it is often difficult to tell the difference between Egyptian and Syrian issues. It is interesting to note that on the half-dirhams issued by the later Burdjī rulers from the mint of Ḥalab the *kalima* is inscribed in Turkoman Kufic. Turkish influence is also evident in the style of the many small knots of felicity, scrolls and flowerets



that ornament the dies alongside seemingly random diacritical points and monumental *shaddas* over the word Allāh.

Much has been made by numismatists of the "heraldry" [see RANK] found on Mamlūk coins. However, heraldry in the European sense is totally foreign to Arab Islamic culture, although Turkish tribal *tamghas*, part of the folk culture of Central Asia, made their artistic influence and utility felt at a time when most people were illiterate. Traditionally, representations of animate objects on Islamic coins had been banned from the gold and silver coinage and restricted to the copper *fals*. The first major exception to this was when ʿĠhiyāth al-Dīn Kaykhusraw II, the Saldjūk Sultan of Rūm, placed the lion and sun, depicting the "sun in Leo", on the silver dirhams he had struck in Konya and Sīwās between 638 and 641/1240-4. While this depiction of royal power was hastily removed after his defeat by the Mongols, it may have been the precedent seized upon by al-Zāhir Baybars when he placed his badge of a prowling lion or leopard on his gold, silver and copper coinage. His son al-Saʿīd Baraka Khān continued to use it during his brief reign, 676-8/1277-9, but after that the placing of all such devices on the gold and silver coinage was discontinued. Moreover, none was used on the long series of copper "dirhams" struck in Egypt in the second half of the 8th/14th century. A rich variety of animate and inanimate designs, the choice of which was probably left to the local die-sinker, were placed on the copper *fulūs* struck for local use to make it impossible for silver-washed copper to pass as silver dirhams. This anti-counterfeiting measure was also used by many other dynasties, including that of the ʿOthmāniīs. While many designs may be associated with an individual Mamlūk ruler, and may also have been employed on metalwork made for his use, the *fulūs* were generally too insignificant for any consistency to be applied to their designs.

In conclusion, the evidence furnished by the Mamlūk coinage may be said to provide an accurate reflection of the political and economic challenges faced by late mediaeval Egypt and Syria during the time of the Black Death, uncertain political leadership and the growing European economic influence in the eastern Mediterranean world.

Bibliography: Mamlūk numismatics has been well served by the masterly study by P. Balog, *The coinage of the Mamlūk Sultans of Egypt and Syria*, ANS Numismatic Studies no. 12, New York 1964, with exhaustive source notes and supplemented by many additional articles by him and others since then. For a valuable modern summary, see the section *Mamlūk* in S. Album's *Checklist of Islamic coins*, Santa Rosa, Calif. 1998, 51-5. (R. DARLEY-DORAN)

MANSHŪRĀT (A.), the term for the letters, *responsa* and edicts of Muhammad (Aḥmad) b. ʿAbd Allāh (d. 1885), the Sudanese Mahdī [see AL-MAHDĪYYA]. These individual documents were transcribed by his followers in numerous manuscript collections, three of which are described in P.M. Holt, *Three Mahdist letter-books*, in *BSOAS*, xviii [1956], 227-38. An authorised text was lithographed in Omdurman (Umm Durmān) during the Mahdiyya in four volumes: the first consists of general and doctrinal pieces, including Muhammad Aḥmad's justification of his claim to be the Mahdī; the second (*al-inḍhārāt*) contains his letters and proclamations summoning various individuals and groups to join the Mahdiyya (cf. Holt, *The Sudanese Mahdia and the outside world*, in *BSOAS*, xxi [1958], 276-90); the third (*al-aḥkām*) gives his rulings on matters

of law and custom; the fourth (*al-khutab*) comprises his sermons. Photographic reproductions of these volumes were published in Khartoum in 1963 under the auspices of the Sudanese Ministry of the Interior. The editor (not there named) was Dr. Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Abū Salīm, who has also produced an invaluable guide to the documents and their sources as *al-Murshid ilā wathāʾik al-Mahdī*, Khartoum 1969, and a selection of these and later Mahdist documents in *Manṣūrāt al-Mahdiyya*, n.p. [Beirut] 1969. He has now published a complete edition of the Mahdī's writings, *al-Āthār al-kāmila li 'l-Imām al-Mahdī*, 7 vols. Khartoum 1990-4.

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(P.M. HOLT)

AL-MAR'Ā.

6. In Southeast Asia.

The Muslim peoples of Southeast Asia are found in the modern nation-states of Indonesia, Malaysia (and in these two states they comprise the majority), Thailand (in the five southern provinces, culturally very close to the neighbouring region of the northern Malay Peninsula) and in the Philippines (Mindanao). Islamisation of these populations has been ongoing since the 15th century and continues in the 21st century (total population conservatively estimated at 220 million). Travellers to the region from the earliest times have remarked on the prominence of women in commerce, agriculture and spiritual life. Bilateral kinship systems are still the norm for most societies in the region, with some notable exceptions such as the matrilineal Minangkabau of West Sumatra, also found throughout Indonesia and in Negeri Sembilan on the Malay Peninsula. Although Islam assumes a patrilineal descent system, the traditionally high status of women in Southeast Asian societies means that women continue to play a public role in many areas of social and, especially, economic life, which contrasts with the situation in many other Muslim cultures. In some cases, this has also led to local and particular interpretations and applications of the *Shariʿa*, especially in matters of inheritance.

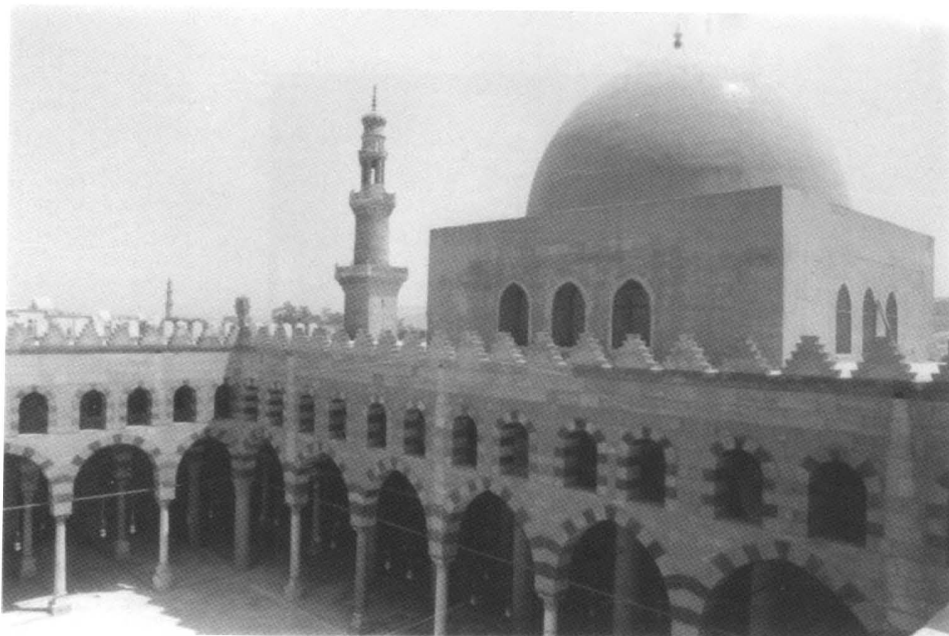
Before the 20th century, the traditional power structure of the region was based on small fiefdoms led by charismatic rulers and local chiefs. The fiefdoms in turn were oriented towards centres of influence (e.g. Sriwijaya, Melaka, Mahapahit, Aceh and Ayuthia), which shaped the cultural and religious forms of their satellites. The élites followed the prevailing aesthetic and religious fashions while the populace maintained older traditions. Thus, when Islam was accepted by the leaders of centres of power such as Melaka and Aceh, it was added to a spiritual armoury already consisting of a broad mix of animist and ancestor cults, and also of Hindu and Buddhist beliefs, in all of which women played important roles. There was an eclectic expression of Islam with a special appreciation of Sūfism and less concern with scriptural prescription. In this context, the traditional role of women as important figures in spiritual matters continued. This came under threat, however, in the early and mid-19th century when Southeast Asian pilgrims were influenced by Wahhābī concerns and attempted to institute "reforms" in their local areas (see b, below).

(a) Status of women before the 19th century

The status of women was such that at the courts of the Muslim kingdoms of Aceh (northern Sumatra) and Patani (now in southern Thailand), four queens ruled for extended periods during the 17th century. Female rule in Aceh ended late in the 17th century when court *ʿulamā* obtained a *fatwā* from Mecca stating that women could not be rulers. It has been usual



The mosque (1262-3) of al-Zāhir Baybars



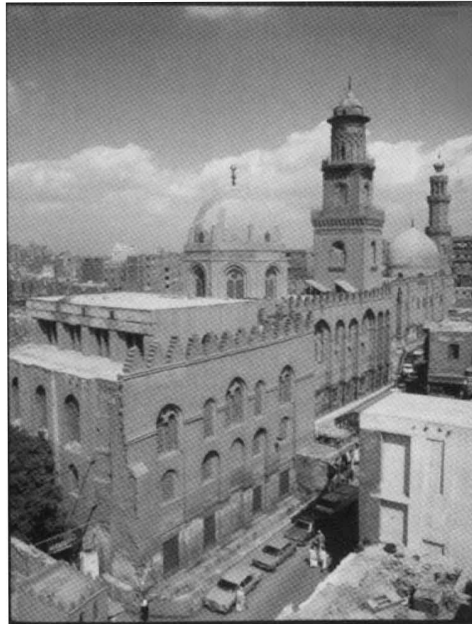
The mosque (1335) of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad at the Citadel with the eastern minaret and the dome over the *mīhrāb* (the dome is a modern reconstruction)



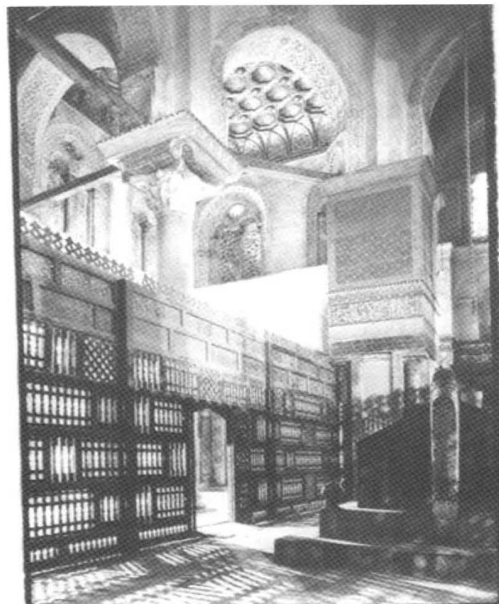
1986 -Encyclopaedia of Islam Vol 12 Supplement (1305)

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PLATE LVII

MAMLÜKS, ARCHITECTURE

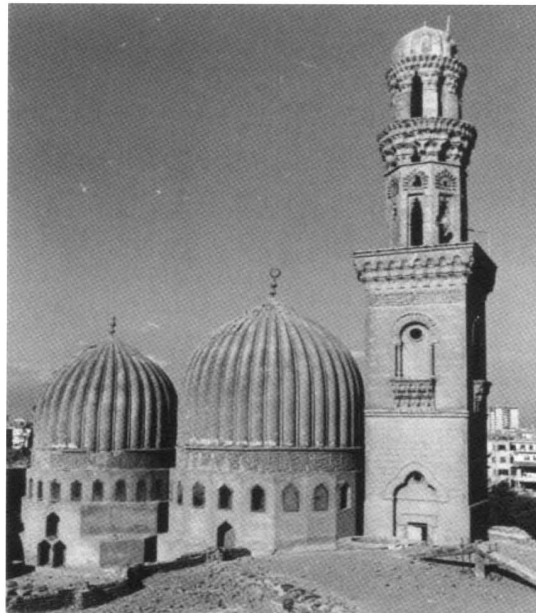


The funerary complex (1284-5) of Sultan Kalāwūn, with the funerary complex (1384-6) of Sultan Barḳūk in the back (B. O'Kane)

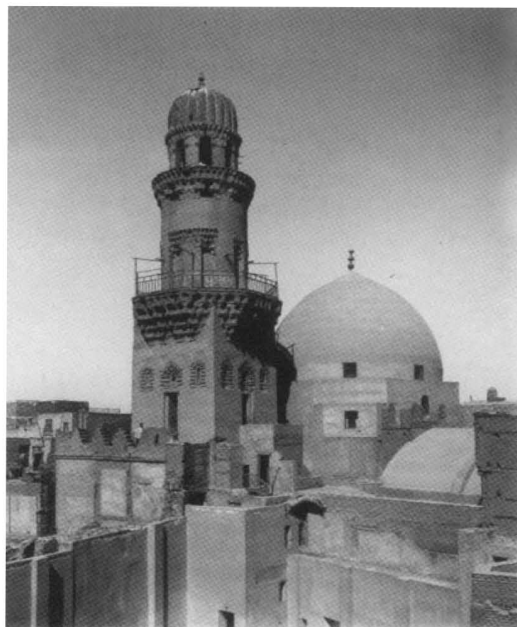


Interior view of the mausoleum of Sultan Kalāwūn (B. O'Kane)

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The double mausoleum (1303-4) at the *khānqāh*/madrassa of the *amīrs* Salār and Sandjar



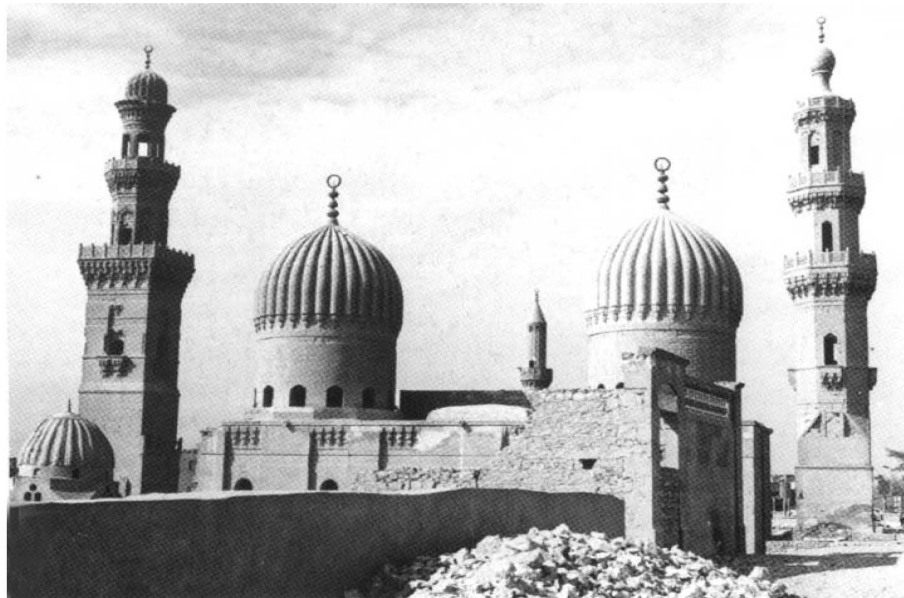
The funerary *khānqāh* (1306-10) of Baybars al-Djashankūr
(Dept. of Egyptian Antiquities)



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PLATE LIX

MAMLÜKS, ARCHITECTURE



The double mausoleum known as Sulṭāniyya (1450s-60s) with the minaret of Ḳawṣūn to the left



The funerary *madrasa/ḏjāmiʿ* (1356-62) of Sultan Ḥasan

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The funerary *madrasa* (1356) of the *amir* Şarghitmish (Dept. of Egyptian Antiquities)



The funerary mosque (1472-4) of Sultan Kāyitbāy

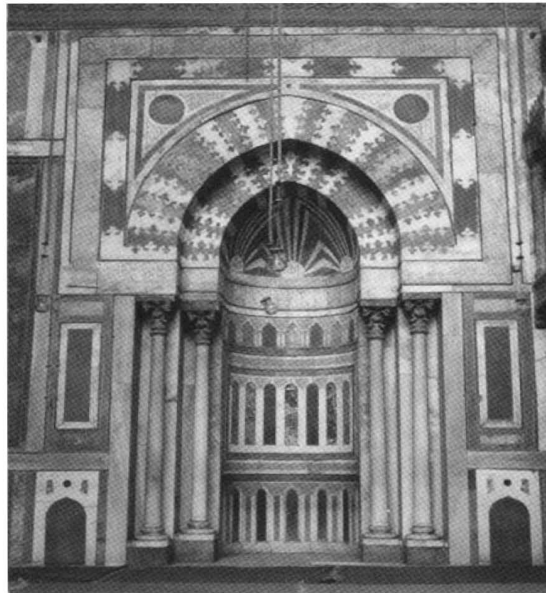


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PLATE LXI

MAMLŪKS, ARCHITECTURE



The *mihrāb* of the mosque of Sultan Ḥasan



The minarets (1415-20) of Sultan al-Mu'ayyad on the Fāṭimid gate, the Bāb Zuwayla

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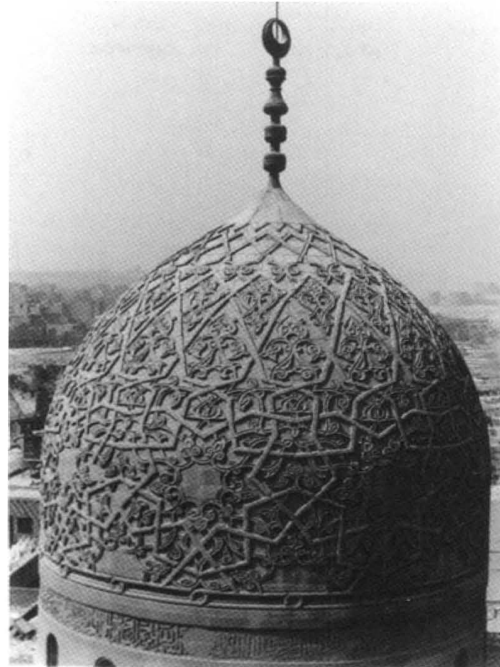


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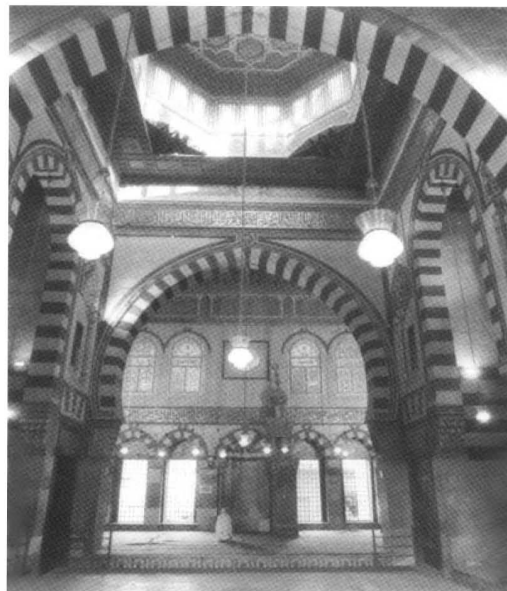
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MAMLÜKS, ARCHITECTURE

PLATE LXII



The mausoleum dome of Sultan Qāyitbāy (B. O'Kane)



The interior of the mosque of Sultan Qāyitbāy

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Fourteenth-century Mamlük lamp in the Davis Collection, Copenhagen



Late Mamlük tinned copper bowl in the Nasser D. Khalili Collection



Mamlük scraffito ceramic bowl (14th century) in the Nasser D. Khalili Collection



Mamlük underglaze-painted jar (14th century) in the
Nasser D. Khalili Collection



Fourteenth-century Mamlük enamelled glass bottle in
the Nasser D. Khalili Collection



Late Mamlük lidded bowl, so-called "Veneto-Saracenic", in the Nasser D. Khalili Collection



to regard the period of female rule as indicating a weakened monarchy vis-à-vis male chiefs. However, because it seems that the queens served as mediators and successfully intervened in disputes between chiefs, there are also grounds for arguing that the style of female rule provided an alternative model of kingship in which leadership was less important than the ability to maintain harmony. In both Aceh and Patani, the period of female rule was characterised by commercial prosperity and an increase in revenues from foreign trade; this has been attributed to the cooperation rather than rivalry between the queen and local merchants. This alternative model of female rule did not develop, and in the latter part of the 17th century the queens were followed by males. It was not until recent times that the issue of a woman as head of state again became a possibility with the success of Megawati Sukarnoputri as a political leader (see d, below).

In Java there are no records of female rulers, but several Sultans maintained large corps of women trained to bear arms and serve as palace bodyguards and sentries. More important was the contribution of women intellectuals in advice to rulers (as in India). For example, in the early 18th century, the grandmother of a teenage ruler of the Central Javanese kingdom of Mataram prepared three impressive texts for the guidance of the young sultan. Known as Ratu Pakubuwana (died 1732), she is celebrated for her Muslim piety and knowledge of Sūfism. Her manuscripts retell stories of the great Muslim warriors and heroes to emphasise the benefits of becoming a pious and ascetic Sūfī ruler. In the mid-18th century, there are references to other aristocratic Javanese women composing manuscripts also inspired by Islamic literature. Women of the court, in both Java and the Malay areas of the archipelago, were actively engaged in writing and collecting manuscripts from at least this period until the demise of the courts in the early 20th century.

Records from this period indicate that non-élite women (rather than men) organised domestic commercial activity, such as the buying and selling of local produce in the markets, with men dominating transactions with foreigners. However, it is clear that some élite women used their own wealth to provide the capital for overseas trade conducted on their behalf by men.

(b) *Status of women in the 19th century*

As with the earlier period, the historical record is incomplete and focussed on élite rather than non-élite women. However, it is possible to gain an impression of their status from descriptions of several notable women. In the early 19th century, for example, in the Malay-Bugis kingdom of Lingga-Riau (which encompassed Johor, Pahang and Singapore), one of the Sultan's wives was given an island, its appanages and revenues to remain in her family in perpetuity. In the mid-1820s, this woman was able to supply the capital for her brother to undertake a trading voyage to raise money for the *Hadj*. It was not apparently the custom at this time for women to cover their heads in public but, by the 1850s, the male rulers of this kingdom, influenced by their visits to Mecca, encouraged women to wear a veil when in public. This concern that women cover their heads was accompanied by similar requirements for men to dress modestly, and was a trend apparent also in other areas of Muslim Southeast Asia where returning pilgrims spread Wahhābī teachings.

If the élite women of this Riau-Lingga kingdom

are in any way representative of the position of women in other Malay courts (and there is no reason not to extrapolate from their experience), then it is clear that they had the opportunity to learn to read and write and that they maintained their own collections of manuscripts and, later, of lithographed and printed works. One member of a leading Bugis-Malay family, Raja Aisyiah Sulaiman (ca. 1870-1925), for example, began writing verse and prose in her teenage years and continued after marriage. She was one of at least six other women writers from the Lingga-Riau region who were composing a variety of works in the last quarter of the 19th century. Their writings indicate that they were well versed in the basic tenets of Islam and that they were concerned to apply Muslim teachings in their daily lives and to influence others to do the same, especially when raising children. Of particular interest is a compendium of charms beneficial for marital relations composed in 1908, just five years before the Dutch abolished the Riau-Lingga kingdom. Its author was a commoner, known as Khadijah Terong (1885-1955), who incorporated Qur'anic verses into the charms in a manner which indicates her familiarity with and knowledge of more than just the basic tenets of Islam (see Mukherjee, in *Empowered women*, 1997). Khadijah's charms are designed to provide satisfaction and pleasure for both husband and wife, so ensuring that each is content in the marriage. The didactic writings of the women of Riau-Lingga may be described as forerunners of the "Guides for women" (*Panduan wanita*) which became popular in the 1980s and are still being produced and are selling well in Muslim bookshops in Indonesia and Malaysia.

Elite women were tutored in their own residences and were almost self-sufficient within their domains, although if they chose to travel (usually by sea) they were free to do so if accompanied by appropriate attendants or their husband. Non-élite women did not have the same degree of leisure nor the means to travel. Their access to intensive education, under the guidance of expert teachers, was also restricted, but the large number of local Qur'ān schools in southern Thailand, the northern Malay Peninsula and Java and Madura (late 19th century Dutch figures estimated there were 15,000 of these schools with about 230,000 pupils) suggest that girls as well as boys attended for basic religious instruction.

(c) *Status of women in the 20th century*

At the turn of the century, resistance to direct colonial rule was prolonged and violent in some areas. In this context, there are several notable examples of women joining or leading men in holy wars. In the late 19th century resistance to the Dutch control of Aceh (northern Sumatra), an area renowned for its devotion to Islam, a widow, Cut Nyak Dien, took over the leadership of a band of guerrilla fighters after her husband was killed by the Dutch in 1899. She continued to resist until captured in 1905. She died in exile in 1906 and is now an Indonesian national hero, whose struggle for Islam and her homeland has been celebrated in a very popular 1980s Indonesian film.

The adoption of new technologies such as printing, and improved communications, enabled greater contact between the heartlands of Islam and Southeast Asia. Of particular significance to women was the spread of modernist teachings, especially those of Muḥammad 'Abduh [q.v.], which were disseminated in a weekly publication, *al-Imām* (published in Singapore, 1906-8), which was clearly inspired by



Cairo's *al-Manār*. Widely read all over the Indonesian archipelago and through the Malay Peninsula, *al-Imām*'s articles urged Muslims in the region to improve their knowledge of Islam and to pay greater attention to education. To this end, *al-Imām* encouraged the establishment of new schools (*madrasah*) based on Egyptian models where Islamic doctrine, Arabic, English, and secular subjects such as mathematics and geography, were taught to both girls and boys. It was considered especially important that young women receive a "modern" education (including secular knowledge as well as religion), because as future mothers they bore the prime responsibility for the "correct" upbringing of the next generation.

In 1913 a number of co-educational schools offering both religious and secular subjects were established in Java by the *Jam'iyat al-Islah wa 'l-Irshad*, an organisation led by the reformist Sudanese teacher, *Shaykh* Ahmad Surkati, while in 1915 the progressive co-educational Diniyah Schools were opened in the Minangkabau region of West Sumatra. By 1922 there were 15 Diniyah schools in West Sumatra which attracted young women from as far afield as the Malay Peninsula and Java. Graduates spread the message of responsible but active engagement in social life through their work as teachers and journalists and as modern-minded mothers. Further impetus for the education of women came from the writings of Sayyid *Shaykh* b. Ahmad al-Hādī (1867-1934), a *Shari'a* lawyer, religious teacher, author and successful publisher who settled finally in Penang. He was an enthusiastic supporter of the ideas of Muḥammad 'Abduh and Rashīd Riḍā [q.v.] and translated many of their writings into Malay for publication in *al-Imām*. He went on to use fiction to promote progressive interpretations of Islam, and in 1925 and 1926 published the two-volume best-seller *Faridah Hanom*. The eponymous heroine is an aristocratic Muslim woman living in Cairo, educated in both Islam and western teachings, and an admirer of 'Abduh, who is written into the text. The popularity of the books, which were reprinted innumerable times up to the 1970s, ensured that the heroine's message of applying God's gift of intelligence to the understanding of Islamic teachings, linked with a dedication to improving contemporary social conditions, had wide exposure. The story of *Faridah Hanom* ends with a description of how the heroine uses her wealth to found schools for young women, and notes that from these schools came women who went on to lead the struggle for women's emancipation, citing real women such as Hudā Sha'rāwī [q.v. in Suppl.], who founded *L'Union Féministe Égyptienne*. Sayyid *Shaykh* al-Hādī invested the profits from the success of this book in his printing business, and from it funded the publication of works of non-fiction. One of these, *Kitab Alam Perempuan* ("The world of women"), 1930, continued the themes of *Faridah Hanom* and argued forcefully that the most pressing matter for Muslims was the education of women so that the whole community would benefit.

In peninsula Malaya, Hajjah Zainon Suleiman (1903-1989) responded to Sayyid *Shaykh*'s calls and worked actively for the education of Malay women. She was supervisor of one of the leading girls' schools for nearly 20 years and in 1930 founded the first Malay women's association, the Johor Women Teacher's Union, and a magazine for its members. The magazine, *Bulan Melayu*, became an influential publication for women and provided a forum for women writers to express their views on contemporary issues. Ibu Zain (as she was known) was an important advocate

for the rights of Malay women within Islam in terms reminiscent of the heroine of *Faridah Hanom*. She was an influential figure in Malaya, and in the early 1950s led the women's wing of the UMNO (United Malays National Organisation).

The main Islamic women's organisations in Malaysia have been established since Independence in 1957, and almost all are subsections of a parent body which is male-dominated. The women's wing of PAS (*Partai Islam Se Malaysia* [q.v.]) for example, was founded in 1958, and although extremely active in educating women, its members cannot be elected to the central board of PAS. There are at least four other Muslim women's organisations in Malaysia, each of which is engaged in welfare work among Muslim women, including marriage counselling, assistance for domestic violence victims and fund raising for charities. The most recently formed group, *Puteri Islam* (Sisters in Islam), was officially established in 1991 by a small group of professional women (lawyers and academics) to re-examine the sources of Islam for a better understanding of women's status in Islam. Through high-profile activities in the press and media and through seminars and workshops, members of Sisters in Islam have had considerable impact on the public perception of women's status in Malaysia. Their interpretations of the Qur'an and Hadīth have aroused critical reactions from conservative religious scholars, and the resulting public debates have highlighted issues such as the role of Islamic law in a modern nation state.

In Indonesia (then the Netherlands East Indies) one of the earliest Islamic women's organisations, *Aisyiyah*, was established in 1917 by members of *Muhammadiyah*, a reformist movement which began in Java in 1912 and spread quite rapidly through the Indies. By 1938, *Aisyiyah* had set up over 1,700 schools (from primary to secondary levels) as well as teacher training colleges, health centres and orphanages. Members were encouraged to guide other women in their Islamic duties and to spread knowledge of Islam to diverse classes of women so as to increase their awareness of religious duties, rights and responsibilities.

The *Muslimat Nahdlatul Ulama*, the women's branch of *Nahdlatul Ulama*, the second Islamic mass movement in Indonesia (with a current following of over 30 million), was established in 1946. Like *Aisyiyah*, its members have been working to improve education and health care for women and they helped establish the "Advisory Council for Marriage and Divorce" (*Badan Penasehat Perkawinan dan Penyelesaian Perceraian*) which assists women who have to take marital disputes to court. Although the *Nahdlatul Ulama* movement has been characterised as less progressive than *Muhammadiyah*, during the 1980s, under the leadership of Abdurrahman Wahid, greater attention was given to social issues, including the status of women. One illustration is the work of the Association for Social and Pesantren Development (*Perhimpunan Pengembangan Pesantren dan Masyarakat*) whose work includes a successful education program for traditional religious teachers (both men and women) about women's reproductive rights.

In Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore, the Philippines and Thailand, the post-colonial state has accommodated the *Shari'a* but restricted its formal application to matters of personal law [see *SHARI'A*. In South-East Asia]. The issue of polygamy has highlighted the differences between modernising and conservative elements in Southeast Asian Muslim communities, and has focussed on the absolute difference between revealed and secular authority. One example is the 1974 Indonesian Marriage Law, which was introduced in



response to continued pressure from women's organisations and was to provide some security for women, particularly regarding divorce and polygamy. It was perceived by some Muslims as a strategy for secular (state) authority to displace Islamic jurisdiction and was fiercely opposed. The state was forced to enact an amended statute permitting polygamous marriages and unilateral divorce, with *Shari'a* courts retaining authority to make judgements in these areas (see Butt 1999). However, the jurisdiction of *Shari'a* courts has been steadily eroded by the Indonesian government, so that although polygamy has not officially been forbidden, it is extremely difficult to practise.

In Malaysia, the Federal Government introduced the Islamic Family Law Act in 1984 and set minimum ages for marriage and restrictions on polygamy and divorce. Although similar laws were enacted in each of the constituent states of Malaysia by 1991, Islamic authorities at the local levels have tried to undermine some of its provisions, particularly those concerning polygamy. When this occurs, and aggrieved women bring it to the attention of national activist groups (such as Sisters in Islam), there is widespread public debate and increasing pressure on traditional religious teachers to adapt to contemporary conditions.

In matters of inheritance, Muslims theoretically follow the *Shari'a* but detailed interviews with women in Indonesia and Malaysia indicate that many parents circumvent the provision of greater portions for male heirs by distributing some property to female heirs before death. This has been seen as maintaining the parity of sons and daughters as expressed in traditional (pre-Islamic) kinship systems.

(d) *Status of women in the 21st century*

The rise of the middle classes in the Muslim populations of Southeast Asia, with an increase in higher education and greater participation in the global cash economy, has caused some women in this group to seek to reaffirm their identity as Muslims. Participating fully in the public life of their nations, many of these women wish to understand Islam better and follow programmes to achieve this. It has also been noted that women as well as men are joining the new *Sufi* groups which are being established in big cities to cater for those who seek to deepen their personal experience of Islam. Others are founding or playing leading roles in Muslim non-governmental organisations devoted to the needs of women, which have grown in numbers since the economic crisis affected Southeast Asia in the late 1990s.

The most visible statement about identity is obviously that of style of dress. A growing number of women in the region choose to fully cover their hair and to wear distinctively Muslim fashions, which has led to a new fashion industry. Only a small minority in the region choose to adopt a full body covering (including face) of black, and those who do are often subjected to critical comment and accused of being overly influenced by foreign Muslim (Middle-Eastern) traditions. The majority who adopt non-western dress do so to emphasise that they wish to identify themselves as followers of Islam. This is not necessarily linked with a desire to return to conservative religious practices. Many of the tertiary-educated women in Indonesia and Malaysia who fully cover their hair do so to show they are part of an international sisterhood of modern-minded (rather than tradition-bound) women. In nations where Muslims are in a minority, such as the Philippines and southern Thailand, many young Muslim women have adopted

Islamic dress to indicate their resistance to the prevailing national political culture.

The improved economic conditions in both Indonesia and Malaysia since the 1970s have given large numbers of women access to tertiary education and the qualifications to enter public life. While Muslim women were represented in all areas of business, government administration and society in Indonesia and Malaysia, they were not elected as leaders of major political movements. This changed in the 1990s when Megawati Sukarnoputri headed a populist mass movement in Indonesia and in 1998, after her husband's arrest, Dr Wan Azizah Wan Ismail led the National Justice Party in Malaysia. The Indonesian general elections of 1999 delivered a huge vote to Megawati's party but in the political bargaining which followed she was defeated for the presidency by Abdul Rahman Wahid and had to accept the post of Vice-President. The possibility that Megawati might become President of Indonesia aroused heated debate in Indonesia with ordinary Muslim men and women unable to follow the complex legal reasoning based on the classical texts of Islam which some Indonesian scholars put forward. In 2001, Abdul Rahman Wahid lost the confidence of the Indonesian parliament and Megawati replaced him becoming the fifth president of the Republic of Indonesia. Political expediency overwhelmed the objections of a minority of *'ulamā'*.

The debate over female leadership, however, is a useful point on which to conclude this survey of Muslim women in Southeast Asia because it exemplifies some of the features of Islam which are characteristic of the region. First, that it is not unusual for women to play prominent roles in public life; second, that women's leadership is seen as being distinctively different in style from that of males; third, that the religious arguments concerning the permissibility of a female head of state have revealed the division between traditional (conservative) approaches to Islamic law and more modern (liberal) interpretations; and finally, that specialist knowledge of Islam throughout Southeast Asia is still dominated by men.

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MĀRID (A.), rebel or revolutionary, someone practising *murūd* or *tamarrud*, resistance to the established order, from the root *m-r-d* "to be refractory or rebellious".

The word *mārid* is strongly polysemantic; it includes both the idea of audacity and revolt, and also extreme pride and insolence (*al-ʿatī al-shadīd*, according to *LA*). Also present in the root is the idea of youth, with *amrad* meaning "young, beardless youth" (see Ibn al-ʿAdīm, *Zubda*, ed. S. Dahhān, Damascus 1951, i, 260), concerning beardless *ghilmān*, concomitant with the idea of a leafless tree (*shadījara marādā*), and sometimes with that of a young slave boy, the equivalent of *ghulām* [q.v.], with, additionally, the connotations of violence, insolence, rebelliousness and, equally, of pederasty and homosexuality, as frequently found amongst young soldiers.

It should be noted that the central meaning of man's revolt is semantically associated with that of the rebellion of djinn and demons (*shayāṭīn*), as *LA* directly indicates. It follows that, in classical Arabic, the term *mārid* has negative connotations and that, in the unconscious collective mind, it goes back to the revolt of Iblīs against God and refers likewise to that of a member of the community against the ruling power, considered as a fatal source of trouble and instability. In Modern Standard Arabic it retains these two concepts, since it means, first, rebel, insurgent, refractory person, and second, demon or evil-working spirit. Other roots are more frequently used by mediaeval Arab historians to describe rebellion. Thus *shaghhaba* "to wander away from the road, excite people against each other, kick up a row", and *ʿasā* "to rebel (to be connected with *ʿasā* "to strike with a stick"), go against other people", whence *al-ʿĀsī* "the rebel", the name given to the Orontes river which flows from south to north, contrary to the rest of the rivers of western Asia (see al-Muḥaddasī, 32 l. 12, *ʿasā* and *ashghhab*). Likewise, *thāra* "to raise dust by galloping through the sands like a bull, to assault", whence *thāʾir* "rebel" and *thawra* [q.v.] "revolution"; and *kalaba* "to overturn, be reversed", whence *inkilāb*, used in the 20th century for a *coup d'état* fomented by a small number of individuals, often military men. Only the verb *fatana* "to prove, test, trouble" refers to an activity more intellectual than physical, sc. *fitna* [q.v.], in origin a division voluntarily brought about within a homogenous group, which could be paralleled semantically with the Greek origin of the word for "devil", *diabolos*, "the divider", whence *fātīn* (pl. *futtān*), intensive form *fattān*, meaning as much

"seducer" as "agitator". The decision to go out from (*kharaḍja*) the ranks of ʿAlī's army, taken at Šifīn [q.v.] by his most fervent followers when he agreed to the arbitration, has given rise to the epithet *khāridī*, denoting a member of the sectarian group arising on this occasion [see *KHĀRIDĪTES*] but, equally, a rebel in general, without any religious connotation (see Ibn al-Kalānīsī, *Dhayl Taʾrīkh Dimashk*, ed. H. Amedroz, Beirut 1908, 87 l. 16).

Every aggressive action (*thawra*, *fitna*, *inkilāb*, *tamarrud*) against the established social and institutional order involves both a political and religious aspect. The rebel is thus a doubly emblematic figure, condemned for breaking the consensual conformism of society and sometimes for a dangerous attachment to the purity of practice of the Islamic law and cult, but also admired for his devotion to the cause which he defends and for his physical courage, notable at the time of his public punishment after being defeated—this being generally the case—and condemned by the ruling power.

The Sunnis, from the time of the establishment of the ʿAbbāsids to the 1970s (the execution in jail of Sayyid Ḳuṭb [q.v.] by ʿAbd al-Nāṣir [q.v. in Suppl.]) was to give rise to the first, Sunnī Islamic doctrine justifying the use of violence and killing, not only against a power which was self-styled Muslim and Sunnī but not respecting the Islamic law, but also against every individual, Sunnī Muslim or of any belief or absence of belief, of either sex, child and adult, not joining in the revolt), were considering that challenging the ruling sovereign Muslim power, whether just or unjust, legitimate or having seized power for itself, was risking committing an offence against Islam and that a vacuum of power was worse than a corrupt ruling power [see *AL-MĀWARDĪ*; *IBN TAYMIYYA*].

In practice the *hijra* of A.D. 622 enabled the Prophet Muhammad to institutionalise Islam by creating at Yathrib/Medina the *umma* [q.v.], a society which involved personal commitment to the revealed Law, a concept opposed to those of *nasab* and *nisba* [q.v.] acquired at birth by the newly-born, and by founding the tribal confederation at Mecca. At Medina, the individual was integrated of his own free will into the community of believers, in which was built up around the collective faith in the Qurʾānic revelation a solidarity between each believer, male or female, slave or free, Arab or black, or convert from other faiths. The survival of Islam required the strengthening of this bond which a common religion established between each believer. Qurʾān, III, 98/103, expresses this command: "Hold fast to the rope (or bond) of God and do not become divided into various groups; remember God's goodness to you when you were enemies; He established concord in your hearts" (see also IV, 63-4/60-1).

The fragility of the *umma* at the outset led to condemnation of any rebel who put in jeopardy the unity of Islam by disobedience, provocation or revolt. In appealing to ancient family, tribal, ethnic or territorial solidarities, the rebel thereby pushed the community back to the chaotic time of the *Djāhiliyya* [q.v.]. This is why, when Muḥammad died and the tribes thought themselves freed from this voluntary solidarity which they had entered with the person of the Prophet, Abū Bakr suppressed the *rida* [q.v. in Suppl.]; from this time onwards, the Medinan concept of voluntary adhesion to Islam only functioned in that unique instance. The new convert, like all Muslims, including the child born of a Muslim father, saw himself constrained—before his birth, as at Mecca—and



until his death, by his *nasab* of "Muslim" to profess Islam as long as he lived.

The traditional history of the first century of Islam is marked by a series of violent episodes, extending from the *rida* in Abū Bakr's time to the murder of 'Uthmān, then the *fitna* in which 'Alī and Mu'āwiya were opposed to each other and, finally, the inter-tribal conflicts under the Umayyads. For a symbolic interpretation of these stories at a later period, see J.-Cl. Garcin, *États, sociétés et cultures du Monde musulman médiéval*, i-ii, Paris 2000, index.

A typology of revolts in Sunnī Islam has so far not been attempted, according to our knowledge. Leaving aside purely Shī'ī and Khāridjite movements, one may put forward a very general classification of revolts within the Sunnī milieu.

In the first Islamic century, apart from revolts regarding the legitimacy of the caliph, there is a recurrent motif of disorder, the relative opportunities offered to the Qurashīs or to Arabs from other tribal groupings, Kaysī or Yamani, or even to the *mawālī*, to take over the functions of state. Certain groups wished to speed up the integration of the converts whilst others, on the contrary, wished to reserve the prestigious and financially rewarding posts for the Meccan aristocracy or the Arabs.

The revolts on the part of non-Muslims, Berbers, Copts, Christians of Lebanon or Armenians rarely marked a refusal to accept the installation of a Muslim state. A close examination shows that the motive here was, rather, revulsion against an oppressive tax system than against the political pre-eminence of Islam.

Over the succeeding centuries, revolts display most often a Shī'ī or Khāridjite motivation and in fact gather up violent recrudescences of pre-Islamic identities of ethnically homogenous groups in isolated regions, away from the prosperity of the great cities and the main commercial routes. It may then happen that other ethnic groups of the neighbourhood, without specific connections with the originally rebellious group but equally oppressed and adversely affected by the exercise of an arbitrary and corrupt power, join in the revolt. In any case, revolts against excessive tax burdens continue to break out regularly up to the Mamlūk period and beyond (see Tsugitaka Sato, *State and rural society in medieval Islam*, Leiden 1997, 162-7) in all the agricultural regions of the East. These rebellious groups were subject to exactions of the central exchequer, of urban landowners and, later on, of the owners of *iktā's*, at levels leaving no possibility of profit for the peasants or money for investment in increased productivity and therefore a rise in social status. The revolt of the Zandj [q.v.] or Zunūdj in lower 'Irāk is another example of rural protest, that of agricultural labourers, in this case, black and impoverished, against the avidity of the city dwellers.

Amongst other causes of outbreaks, one should mention the grave disorders, in particular during the 2nd-4th/8th-10th centuries, amongst the Arab tribes (Ibn 'Asākir, *Ta'rikh madinat Dimashk* ['Āsim-'Āyidh], Damascus 1977, Abu 'l-Haydhām al-Murī, 393-418), and then those, more serious still, launched by the Bedouin tribes against the towns of lower 'Irāk. In these they were protesting against the marginalisation which they considered was the policy of the town dwellers towards them. Whence the success among them of Karmatī [q.v.] propaganda, which thus caught up for Ismā'īlism the social and economic protest of peasants against the dues and taxes levied on them from the cities and that of Bedouin in revulsion against the spectacle of luxurious *ḥadīdj* caravans whilst they

themselves were suffering from thirst and starvation. In the 5th/11th century, the nomads ceased for a while their intertribal fighting and came together—Arab Bedouin, Kurdish and Berber nomads—to attack the sedentary lands, from the D̲jazīra in northeastern Syria to Ifrīkiya (see Th. Bianquis, *Damas et Syrie sous la domination fātimide*, Damascus 1989, ii, 415-65).

In the 5th-6th/10th-11th centuries, there were uprisings in the Maghrib and al-Andalus, those of the Almoravids [see AL-MURĀBITŪN] and Almohads [see AL-MUWAḤḤIDŪN], launched from the austere and ascetic south against a corrupt and luxurious north and aiming at bringing régimes considered as lax back to the strict way of the Islamic law.

For the urban revolts, which have been well studied, see AHDĀTH; 'AYYĀR; SAFFĀRIDS; ZU'ĀR; etc.

Bibliography: See, in addition to the articles cited above, various contributions in M.A. al-Bakhit and R. Schick (eds.), *Bilād al-Shām during the Abbasid period. Procs. of the Fifth International Conference on the History of Bilād al-Shām, 1410/1990*, 'Ammān 1991. M. Chokr, *Zandaqa et zindiqs in Islam, au second siècle de l'hégire*, Damascus 1993, has clearly shown how the 'Abbāsīd ruling power marshalled moral, political and sexual arguments in order to condemn every attempt at rebellion against the dynasty's official moral basis. See also the good bibl. in M. Bonner, *Aristocratic violence and holy war*, New Haven 1996. (Th. BIANQUIS)

MARKIYŪNIYYA, the Arabic name for the Marcionites, an important non-monotheistic tendency in early Christianity. Marcion (Μαρκίων; Ar. Markiyūn) was a native of Sinope [see SĪNŪB] on the Black Sea who arrived in Rome in A.D. 138 (or somewhat later) and taught among the Christian community in the imperial capital. Marcion's doctrine was that the god described in the Old Testament (the creator, or just god) is different from the god described in the New Testament (the stranger, or good god), the father of Christ, and that men's souls, like their bodies, were made by and belonged to the creator, but that the stranger purchased these souls from their maker by sacrificing his own son to the other god. The later Marcionites elaborated this into various theological systems. One school taught four primal principles (the good god, the just god, matter, evil), another taught three principles (identifying evil with matter), but the "Neo-Marcionite" school (described most clearly in the second book of the *Dialogue of Adamantius* falsely attributed to Origen) equated the creator with the principle of evil and also maintained (against Marcion, but in broad agreement with the Manichaeans and Gnostics) that the good god sent his pneuma into the world already at the moment of creation and that it remained entrapped in the material world until it was set free by Christ.

The evidence for the survival of Marcionite communities in the mediaeval Near East is meagre, but not entirely negligible. The Christian writer Thomas of Margā (*Book of governors*, Syriac text, ed. Budge, London 1893, 261) reports that in the last decade of the 8th century A.D. the metropolitan of Gēlān and Daylam, Shuhwālīshō', travelled into the remote parts of his see, preaching "among the pagans, Marcionites and Manichaeans". Also, the Muslim bibliographer Ibn al-Nadīm, writing towards the end of the 4th/10th century, even claims that Marcionites are "numerous in Khurāsān" and that there "they practice openly, like the Manichaeans" (*Fihrist*, ed. Tadjaddud, 402; for the Manichaeans in Khurāsān, see ZINDĪK). Elsewhere,



Ibn al-Nadīm quotes a reliable informant (*thika*) who had seen Marcionite books and who reported that their script resembled that of the Manichaeans (*ibid.*, 19). These “numerous” Marcionites in Khurāsān do not seem to be mentioned in any other source.

Muslim writers on alien religions offer some data about the beliefs of the Marcionites. Some of this is manifestly taken from the standard Christian sources, e.g. when al-Masʿūdī (*Tanbīh*, 127) states, accurately enough, that the Marcionites taught “two principles, good and evil, and justice (read *al-ʿadl* with Ms. L) is a third (principle) between the two”; these three are clearly the good god, evil matter, and the just god. Ibn al-Malāḥimī (*al-Muʿtamad*, 586-9) has two conflicting accounts of the doctrines of the Marcionites. The second of these is credited explicitly to Abū ʿIsā al-Warrāq, whose version was evidently used (directly or indirectly) by most of the other Muslim theologians who mention Marcionites (see Vajda’s article, in *Bibl.*). This version claims that Marcion taught two polar principles, “light and darkness”, plus a “third essence” who “mixed the light and darkness and mingled them by way of creating a balance between them”. But this is pure fantasy, extrapolated from some vague notion that Marcionism is like Manichaeism, but with three rather than two principles.

The first account cited by Ibn al-Malāḥimī (possibly also from al-Warrāq, though this is not indicated unambiguously in the text) is totally different. This version is cited, much more briefly, also by ʿAbd al-Djabbār (*al-Mughnī*, v, 17-18; however, the translation in Vajda, *op. cit.*, 123-4, is incorrect) and by al-Shahrastānī (*al-Milāl wa ʿl-nihāl*, ed. Badrān, 643-5), who combines it, in a confused fashion, with the above-mentioned spurious account by al-Warrāq. What we have here is an essentially accurate account of the “Neo-Marcionite” doctrine: the primal beings here are God, the Devil (i.e. the demonised creator in Neo-Marcionism) and an “intermediate being” (evidently the divine pneuma). The Devil attacks and oppresses the intermediate, mixes himself with it and builds this world from that mixture. The stars and planets are the Devil’s spirits, with which he rules the world. Animals and plants are likewise the creation of the Devil, and it is he who sends the false prophets and antagonistic religions. But the “highest one” (i.e. the good god) takes pity on the intermediate and sends his son Jesus into the world to liberate him from bondage. Ibn al-Malāḥimī says further that the Marcionites do not kill any being, are celibate, avoid “fatty meats” (*al-zuhūmāt*, presumably meaning that they did eat fish) and alcoholic drinks, and pray and fast all the time. The text contains also a very interesting Marcionite polemic against the adherents of the doctrine of the eternity of the world (*ahl al-dahr*), the monists (*muwāḥḥidūn*) and the dualists (*aṣḥāb al-ithnayn*, evidently Manichaeans). The passage contains much plausible information that is not found in other ancient or mediaeval accounts of Marcionism. It is therefore possible that it refers to the actual beliefs of a Neo-Marcionite community in the Islamic world, presumably in Khurāsān.

Bibliography: The basic work on Marcionism is still A. von Harnack, *Marcion: das Evangelium vom fremden Gott*, Leipzig 1921. For a different perspective, see F. de Blois, *Dualism in Iranian and Christian traditions*, in *JRAS* (2000), 1-19 (esp. 7-14). Most of the Arabic testimonia are collected and translated in G. Vajda, *Le témoignage d’al-Māturidī sur la doctrine des Manichéens, des Dayṣānites et des Marcionites*, in *Arabica*, xiii (1966), 1-38, with the “Note annexe”,

113-28, repr. in his *Études de théologie et de philosophie arabo-islamiques à l’époque classique*, London 1986. Add to these Ibn al-Malāḥimī, *al-Muʿtamad fī uṣūl al-dīn*, ed. M. McDermott and W. Madelung, London 1991, 586-9; the relevant section is partially tr. in W. Madelung, *Abū ʿIsā al-Warrāq über die Bardesaniten, Marcioniten und Kantāer*, in *Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des vorderen Orients* (Festschrift B. Spuler), Leiden 1981, 210-24. For the Syriac sources, see J.-M. Fiey, *Les Marcionites dans les textes historiques de l’église de Perse*, in *Le Muséon*, lxxxiii (1970), 183-8. (F.C. DE BLOIS)

MARTABA (A., pl. *marātib*), a term with a variety of meanings: class, rank, degree assigned by etiquette, rank, hierarchy, arrangement of places in an audience, a sofa, an upholstered piece of furniture.

The term presents an intriguing question in the domain of manners and etiquette. In pre-Islamic Arabic and the language of the very early Muslim generations, there was no well-developed conceptual vocabulary of ranks and categories, especially those perceived by the ruling class; there was a lack of terms dealing with the “distance” between the sovereign and his entourage, as well as among the different classes of courtiers. Therefore the writer and translator Ibn al-Mukaffāʾ (d. ca. 139/756 [q.v.]) invented terms, adopted Persian images and improved existing vocables, such as *rutba* and *manzila* and others, for the purpose of indicating social standing and rank, both in his translations from Pahlavi Persian and in his original works, in which one can discern a measure of continuity with certain Sāsānid values which pre-date the Islamic period. One should remember, as background, that the Sāsānid sovereigns divided their population into a number of categories (A. Christensen, *L’empire des Sassanides*, 19ff., 93ff.; idem, *L’Iran sous les Sassanides*, 97ff., relying on Ps.-Djāhiz, al-Masʿūdī, al-Thaʿālibī and other sources); neither the subjects of despised trades belonging to the lower ones, nor their descendants, would ever be permitted to serve at the royal court (Ps.-Djāhiz, *K. al-Tādj*, [1914], 23-27; concerning the authorship and date of the latter source, see G. Schoeler, in *ZDMG*, cxxx [1980], 217-25, and *VOHD*, B/2, Wiesbaden 1990, 156-9; R. Brunschvig, in *Stud. Isl.* xvi [1962], 49 n. 1, hesitated to accept some details in this information reported by later Muslim historiographers). Thus the *Shuʿūbiyya* [q.v.], a cultural movement that stressed the contribution of the non-Arabic heritage (and often minimised the importance of certain Arab traditions that can be traced back to the culture of the desert), took great pride in the fact that the Persian kings (I. Goldziher, *Muslim Studies*, Eng. tr. i, 156-9 and n. 2 of 158, relying on al-Djāhiz and al-Masʿūdī; namely, the “previous kings” as quoted from al-Masʿūdī) encouraged *al-ʿilm bi ʿl-marātib*, as opposed to the pre-Islamic Arab tribal life, described by this movement in its own biased judgment. The purpose of such boasting about this Persian distinction between social classes was to emphasise the fact that the early Arabs lived a life of uncontrolledness and of apparent anarchy, and that therefore it was the Persians to whom one had to turn in order to learn the concepts of government and etiquette (Sadan, *An admirable and ridiculous hero. Some notes on the Bedouin*, in *Poetics Today*, x [1989], 474, 487ff., with references to Goldziher, Gibb, al-Dūrī, al-Laythī, Monroe, Talfāh and others). In Muslim society, in particular that of the ʿAbbāsīd empire, the term *marātib* was used mainly in connection with court etiquette. Hārūn al-Raṣḥīd (d. 193/809 [q.v.]) even divided his court singers into



three *marātib*; in this case, the categories reflect not only the quality of the singing but also friendship, sympathy and taste for various singing abilities (al-Rakīk al-Kayrawānī, *Kuṭb al-surūr*, B.N. Paris ms. 3302, fol. 162b; not identical to the part edited by al-Djundī; see also al-Shayzarī, *al-Manḥaḍī al-maslūk*, Zarkā', Jordan 1987, 464-6, 578-9).

When approaching the ruler, one was expected to stop at a distance determined by one's *martaba*, and there await for a sign (the verb is *awma'a*, *aṣḥāra*, to notify by a gesture) from the sovereign, permitting him to sit down. The participants at the ruler's audience were expected not to behave in a manner unfitting to their rank. The boon-companion, *nadīm* [*q.v.*], had the most difficult task of deciding when an audience with the ruler was public or official and when it was a private party (which included drinking as well) in which the rules of etiquette (*ādāb*) were not to be strictly applied, although even then one was supposed to try not to exceed one's *manzila* or *martaba* (*ibid.* and al-Ghuzulī, *Maṭālī' al-budūr*, Cairo 2000, 165) and the minimal rules implied by it. The *hādīb*, who was the palace chamberlain and responsible for the system of granting and refusing entrance to the palace, also had the job of ascertaining that everyone sat according to the *marātib* (al-Djāhīz, *al-Hidjāb*, in *Rasā'il*, Cairo 1964-5, ii, 39).

Exceptionally, some people may in fact have wished to sit with those of a lower rank, since the people attending the audience with the sovereign sat in a circle (*maḍlis*, *ḥalqa*), and those who were near him were higher in rank but could not always see him, while those who were farther away could see him well and might in fact have been sitting just opposite him. We rarely find a courtier or a guest who would prefer to sit opposite, out of modesty, or in order to see more clearly his host (al-Rāghib al-Iṣbahānī, *Muḥādara't al-udabā'*, ii, 706, describes the exception; al-Makrīzī, *Khiṭa'*, e.g. i, 386-7, 389, whereas i, 390, mentions the term *martaba*, describes the rule: no courtier would yield his place to an inferior person; i, 443, presents, however, the irregular behaviour of a courtier who "used to take a seat at the edge of the circle of guests [during the royal meal], in order to see the caliph better and not according to the rank this courtier deserved"). It is in fact well known that the Fātimids were particularly insistent on maintaining the appropriate distance between the ruler and the other ranks: at festivals only representatives of the four Islamic schools of law were permitted to come into the presence of the caliph and greet him. In fact, they only came up to the threshold of the hall or pavilion in which the caliph was at the time, and usually it was only the caliph's secretary who responded by uttering a greeting formula in the ruler's name, and not the caliph in person. However, it must be emphasised that M. Canard's comparison (see *Bibl.*) of the etiquette of the Fātimid and Byzantine courts was written at a time when important sources for the ceremonial customs of the 'Abbāsid court had not yet been published (especially al-Ṣābi's *Rusūm dār al-khilāfa*, see D. Sourdél, in *Bibl.*). To the Fātimid court, it was obviously more important to vie with the 'Abbāsid than with the Byzantine court, but the cross-cultural study which Canard undertook is still of value. It thus turns out that various courts, and some later sultans, would occasionally increase or decrease the distance between the ruler and his courtiers, for reasons of religious simplicity.

At times, the differences have a geographical char-

acter. In the northeastern parts of the Muslim empire, one can find, here and there, that facet of the Persian heritage that elevated the king almost beyond the human pale, much more so than at the centre of the empire, at the 'Abbāsid court. Thus, for example, in *Kh"ārazm* (Sadan, *Ādāb, règles de conduite* [see *Bibl.*], 293-5), a certain person would not dare put a spoon (made of precious metal) in a dish into which the sovereign had also put his spoon, because of the reverence in which the latter was held. But in Baghdād, the 'Abbāsid caliphs knew that it was unseemly for the ruler to wash his hands before the meal in the company of his friends and courtiers; rather, this should be done in a separate room only in the company of someone of the same rank, such as a brother or parent. It is, however, well known that this was not always adhered to; even from the way this rule is formulated by the author (Ps.-Djāhīz, *K. al-Tāḍīq*, 17) who commends this behaviour, it is clear that while this was proper for sovereigns, based probably on the code of behaviour at the court of the Sāsānids and the division of their society into classes, sadly it was not fully respected, as it should have been, in his days. Perhaps this indicates that the 'Abbāsids did not blindly imitate the Sāsānid manners but only followed them up to a certain point.

Since the concept of rank also determined the seating order, it should come as no surprise that the word *martaba* ended up designating a cushion, a kind of low and soft seat. The reason for this is that cushions were the normal seats used at meetings (only the ruler himself would occasionally sit on a genuine throne, and the vizier would at times sit on a simpler chair, *kursī*). One finds this kind of *martaba* cushion in texts closer to the spoken language, such as stories of the *Arabian nights* variety and, even more so, in documents from the Cairo Geniza (in the dowry lists of young brides, see Sadan, *Martaba*, in *Bibl.*). It would appear that these mattress-seats were arranged by day for sitting (on the arrangement of cushions in book shops and reading rooms, see also idem, *Mobilier*, in *Bibl.*; idem, *Nouveaux matériaux*, in *REI*, xlv [1977], 51ff.) and by night for sleeping, a quite economical and efficient system for the common people.

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(J. SADAN)

AL-MA'RŪF WA 'L-MUNKAR [see AL-NAHY 'AN AL-MUNKAR, in Suppl.].

MA'RŪF BALKHĪ, Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Ḥasan, early poet in New Persian, of whom almost nothing is known but who must have flourished in the middle decades of the 4th/10th century, since odd verses of his survive that were allegedly dedicated to the Sāmānid Amir 'Abd al-Malik (I) b. Nūḥ (I) (343-50/954-61), and he may have been at the court of the Ṣaffārid ruler of Sistān, *Khālaf* b. Aḥmad (352-93/963-1003). Fragments amounting to some 45 verses, mainly love poetry and satires, have been collected by G. Lazard, *Les premiers poètes persans (IX-X^e siècles)*, Tehran-Paris 1964, i, 31, tr. 129-33, Persian text ii, 132-8.



Bibliography: See also Browne, *LHP*, i, 463; Dhabīḥ Allāh Šafā, *Tārīkh-i adabīyāt dar Irān*, Tehran 1335/1956, i, 422-3; F. de Blois, *Persian literature, a bio-bibliographical survey*, v, London 1997, 191. (C.E. BOSWORTH)

MĀRŪNIYYA, MAWĀRINA (Syriac *Mārūnāyē*, presumed derivative from the personal name *Mārūn*, diminutive of *mār* "lord"), the Arabic name of the Syrian Christian sect of the Maronites, which first entered into union with the Roman Catholic Church in ca. A.D. 1180.

According to al-Mas'ūdī (d. 345/956), the sect first emerged into existence as a Monothelite Christian communion during the reign of the Roman emperor Maurice (582-602), its Monothelite origin (contested by Maronite historians since the late 15th century) being also affirmed by al-Kāḍī 'Abd al-Djabbār (d. 415/1024) and the Crusader historian William of Tyre (d. 1185). The first known base of the community was the monastic establishment of Dayr Mārūn (or Dār Mārūn), on the Orontes river, east of the town of Hamā, which had already fallen to ruins by al-Mas'ūdī's time. This establishment allegedly carried the name of the Syrian hermit Mārō (Arabic Mārūn) of Cyrrus (d. 433), who is claimed by the Maronite church as its patron, although he is also revered by the Syrian Melchite (Chalcedonian Orthodox) church as a saint.

While the Maronites have traditionally used Syriac for their liturgy, they appear to have been Arab rather than Aramaeo-Arab in ethnic origin; their ecclesiastical and secular literature, as known directly or from reference from as early as the 10th century A.D., is entirely in Arabic. Their ethnic difference from other Syrian Christians, who were mainly Aramaean or Aramaeo-Arab, might explain in part why they came to be organised as a separate church. The claim of the community to be descended from the Mardaïtes [see *ḌARĀḌĪMA*], first advanced by the Patriarch Iṣṭifān al-Duwayhī (1668-1704 [q.v.]), is historically incredible.

The Maronites signalled their break from the Syrian Melchite see of Antioch when they began electing patriarchs of their own in ca. 685. In that same year, the conclusion of a peace accord between the Byzantine emperor Justinian II and the Umayyad caliph 'Abd al-Malik b. Marwān seems to have enabled the Byzantines to regain control over the affairs of the Antiochene sec. The Monothelite doctrine having been condemned by the Sixth Ecumenical Council (680) as a pernicious heresy, Justinian II, it appears, was bent on eradicating what remained of it in Syria.

According to Maronite tradition, the first Maronite Patriarch, Yuhannā Mārūn, had barely assumed office when Byzantine persecution forced him to flee the Orontes valley and seek refuge in the rugged reaches of the northern Lebanon, where the Maronite patriarchate has remained ever since. When the Byzantines reoccupied Antioch and the adjacent parts of northern Syria, starting from 969, the Christian population of the Orontes valley was still largely, if not entirely, Maronite. This Byzantine reoccupation, however, was to last until ca. 1070, by which time the Maronites of the Orontes valley had been mostly, if not entirely, replaced by Melchites, presumably as a result of Byzantine persecution; the only notable Maronite community outside Mount Lebanon survived in the city of Aleppo, which the Byzantines had failed to occupy.

When the Crusader forces, having seized Antioch (1098), proceeded to advance southwards to Jerusalem in 1099, Maronite warriors met them outside Tripoli to offer their service as guides and auxiliaries. The

first contacts between the Maronite patriarchate and the Roman Catholic Church followed, ending more than four centuries of Maronite ecclesiastical isolation. It was not before ca. 1180, however, that a body of leading Maronite clerics, meeting with the Latin Patriarch of Antioch, formally agreed to unite with the Roman Catholic Church and abandon the Monothelite doctrine in favour of Roman orthodoxy. To cement this union, Pope Innocent III (1198-1216), invited the Maronite Patriarch Jeremiah of 'Amshīt (Irmīyā al-'Amshītū) to Rome in 1215, ostensibly to participate in the Lateran Council of that year.

Meanwhile, a split had occurred in the Maronite church, in the course of which the party opposed to the union waged armed attacks against those in its favour. This split reached its climax in 1282-3, when, for a brief while, each side had its own Patriarch. Shortly after, however, the Mamlūks of Egypt, who were already in occupation of the Syrian interior, put an end to the Crusader County of Tripoli (1289); then Acre was conquered (1291) and the last Crusaders expelled from Syria (1291). Finding itself once more in isolation, the Maronite church was able to regain its unity under Patriarchs favouring the union with Rome. However, Maronite relations with the Papacy remained casual, because of the difficulty of maintaining regular contact between the two sides once the Crusaders had gone.

The Maronites suffered sporadic persecution under the rule of the Bahrī Mamlūks (1291-1382), at which time some Maronites emigrated from Mount Lebanon to live under Crusader protection in Cyprus, where a few thousand Maronites remain to this day. With the replacement of the Bahrī by the Burdjī Mamlūk régime, the fortunes of the community took a turn for the better. Starting from the reign of Barkūk (1382-9, 1390-9 [q.v.]), the first of the Burdjī sultans, special favours were accorded to the Maronite *mukaddamūn* (sing. *mukaddam* "chief") of the district of *Djubbāt Bsharī* (the mountain hinterland of Tripoli), enabling them to manage the affairs of their district much as they pleased. Subsequently, in 1444, the seat of the Maronite patriarchate, which had never been fixed before, was established in the monastery of *Kannūbīn*, in *Djubbāt Bsharī*, where it remained until the 19th century.

The interest of the Roman Papacy in the Maronite Church had meanwhile been heightened following the failure of the Council of Florence (1439-44) to end the schism between the Roman Catholic and Byzantine Orthodox communions. Unable to attend this council in person, the Maronite Patriarch John of Jaj (Yuhannā al-Djādī) had sent a Franciscan missionary to represent him there, with a message indicating his fervent commitment to Roman Catholicism and requesting papal confirmation of his patriarchal title. (Since then, all Maronite Patriarchs, though elected by bishops of their own church, have been confirmed in office by the Popes; by implication, they came to derive their Apostolic authority from the Roman Sec.) Subsequently, the Franciscan mission in the Holy Land (Terra Sancta), which had an important base in Beirut, was entrusted with the maintenance of Maronite relations with Rome; and, starting from 1456, the Popes began to address the heads of the Maronite Church as Patriarchs of Antioch (a title which they might have traditionally claimed). Following the Catholic Counter-Reformation, the Capuchin and Jesuit fathers were charged by the Roman see to replace the Franciscans as religious mentors to the Maronites.



In 1585, Pope Gregory XIII (1572-85) established the Maronite College (*Collegium Maronitarum*) in Rome to train aspirants to Maronite church office in Roman Catholic orthodoxy and church discipline; and starting from 1608, graduates of this institution began to occupy the Maronite patriarchal see. By then, the first major reform of the Maronite Church had been undertaken, under Jesuit sponsorship, by the Synod of Ẹannūbīn (1596). Maronite church practice was brought closer to the Roman Catholic norm by the Synod of Luwayza (1736) (the trend has been continuing ever since). Meanwhile, the first Maronite monastic order following the Roman Catholic model had been chartered by Iṣṭifān al-Duwayḥī. Since the Second Vatican Council (1962), the Maronite liturgy has been largely Arabised.

Starting from the early 17th century, the Maronites of the northern Lebanon entered into close political association with their Druze neighbours in the southern parts. A large-scale migration of Maronites to the Druze country followed, continuing through the 18th century to the early 19th, whereby the Maronites, in time, came to form the majority of the population of the Druze districts. Having the advantage over the Druze in numbers, and backed by the Roman Catholic European powers, especially by France, the Maronites began to entertain ambitions of dominating the whole of Mount Lebanon, thereby challenging Druze leaderships in their own home districts. Intermittent clashes between the two sides, starting from 1840, culminated in a massacre of Maronites and other Christians of the Druze regions in 1860, in which an estimated 15,000 were killed or died of destitution, and about 100,000 were left homeless. Intervention by the European powers, spearheaded by France, restored peace to the mountains, and in 1861, the Ottoman government was prevailed upon to grant Mount Lebanon the privileged status of a *mutaṣarrifiyya* administered by an Ottoman Catholic Christian *mutaṣarrif* or governor, who was appointed directly by the central government in Istanbul and assisted by a locally-elected administrative council. The decades that followed witnessed an Arabic literary revival in Beirut and Mount Lebanon, in which Maronite participation was particularly prominent.

Following the First World War, France, in 1920, was accorded the mandate over the territory of present-day Syria and Lebanon. The French thereupon expanded the territory of the Lebanese *mutaṣarrifiyya*, largely in response to Maronite ambitions, to form the State of Greater Lebanon, which became the Lebanese Republic in 1926, with the Maronites politically at the helm. In Lebanon, the Presidency of the Republic, the Army Command and a number of other key positions continue to be the preserve of the Maronites.

Since the 1880s, increasing numbers of Maronites have emigrated from Lebanon to North and South America, Australia, and other parts of the world. The community in Lebanon is estimated today at one million out of a total Lebanese population of about five million, the estimate of the Maronite population outside Lebanon being at least double that number.

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MASHHAD.

2. History and development since 1914.

In the course of the 20th century, Mashhad has become a regional metropolis (2,155,700 inhabitants in 2004), the capital of the vast province of Ḳhūrāsān, and well integrated into the economic and public life of Iran. At the same time, it has kept its character as a goal of pilgrimage, dominated by the strength of the economic and political authority of the Āstāna-yi kuds-i riḍawī, the administration of the Shrine *wakf*, probably the most important in the Muslim world.

In 1914, despite its religious importance, Mashhad was a marginal town in regard to the rest of the country. The population of some 70,000 was ethnically very diverse, with Azeris, Hazāras, Bukhārīs, Marwīs, Berberīs, Afghāns, and several thousand Jews who had been forcibly converted to Islam, called *Djādīd al-Islām* (Patai). About a hundred Europeans, mostly Russians, and as many again Indian subjects of the British crown, lived near their respective consulates. Trade with Russia was twice as important as that with Tehran, since the only modern road was that connecting Mashhad with 'Ashkābād, opened in 1892 (Bharier, 14). Like most of the towns of Iran, it kept its traditional character for the first decades of the 20th century. The only modern street, lit by electricity since 1902, was the Bālā kḥiyābān leading from the entrance of the town on the western side to the Shrine and to the modest pilgrims' bazaar, since Mashhad never had a proper bazaar and the shops, just as the 37 caravanserais housing pilgrims, were dispersed throughout the town.

Riḍā Shāh [*q.v.*] and the Pahlavī dynasty showed a great interest in Mashhad and the Shrine of the Imām Riḍā. The ruler personally assumed the office of *mutawallī* of the Āstāna-yi kuds, and members of the royal family regularly made the pilgrimage to the town, where a palace was built at Bāk-i Malikābād; trusted servants were appointed as governors of Ḳhūrāsān and executive directors of the Shrine. A new town was laid out, with rectilinear streets, houses in the Russian style with two storeys and large windows; and businesses and offices were developed to the west of the holy city, which kept its houses of sun-dried brick, its alleys and the *musāfir-khānas* or hostels and the caravanserais for pilgrims. In 1935 Mashhad was linked with Tehran by a modern road, an aerial connection in 1928 (regular service in 1946), an oil pipeline in 1955 and a railway in 1957 (Bharier). At the end of the 1960s, there was a fresh wave of expansion. The Firdawsī University was opened in 1966, modern hospitals, amongst the best in Iran, were built, food and textile (carpets) industries were developed, whilst sources of natural gas at Sarakhs enabled the burgeoning city to be supplied with gas. An urban plan was successfully put into operation, since over half of the built-up area and 80% of the land available for building belonged to the Shrine. A French study centre, the SCET Iran, was given the task of making an inventory of the Shrine's possessions and of modernising its administration in order to increase its revenues (Hakami, Hourcade). To the west, at Abkūh, vast hotels for students, troops and officials of the Shrine were constructed. To the east, urbanisation swallowed up the small towns of Gulshahr, Sakhtimān and Turuk, but was limited by the extensive agricultural holdings of the Shrine and by military lands.

After the oil boom of 1974, Muḥammad Riḍā



Shāh [q.v.] decided to make Mashhad the most important and most modern pilgrimage centre of the Muslim world. Under the direction of the governor, M. Waliyān, the reconstruction of the old town began in 1973 with the destruction of the bazaar, caravanserais, and traditional-type hotels near the Shrine and the avenue (*jalaka*) which surrounded it. The only part left standing was a section of the carpet bazaar. The Bāzār-i Riḍā, a simple, modern gallery meant for the pilgrims' purchases, was opened in 1977 near the Haram, whilst workshops and other commercial activities were dispersed to the town's periphery. From now on isolated in a vast open space, the Shrine was renovated and developed on a grandiose scale, making the Imām Riḍā's tomb the greatest religious architectural complex in the world, still in the course of construction in 2002 (library extension, schools, a new cemetery in the underground vaults, new courts and spaces for welcoming pilgrims). This policy of increased prestige was actively followed by the Islamic Republic, under the direction of the *āyatullah* Wā'izī Tabasī, the new *mutawallī* of the Shrine and no longer governor of the province. The city continued to expand towards the southwest along the Wakīlābād Avenue (new university campus, high-class residences) and, above all, to the northwest (agricultural lands towards the Kūcān road, where mass housing and industrial zones reach as far as the ancient Tūs, where Firdawsī's tomb is to be found).

From 1956 to 1996, Mashhad has had the greatest population growth (5.3% per annum) of the great cities of Iran, after Tehran itself. This development became very rapid after 1979 because of the influx of Afghān refugees in a new quarter to the northeast of the city. This new Afghān quarter evokes the traditional relations of Mashhad with the Harāt region and Central Asia, reinforced by the re-opening of the frontier with Turkmenistan in 1991 at Badjirān and, above all, after the opening on 15 May 1996 of the new railway linking Mashhad, via Sarakhs, with the rail network of the former USSR. This opening towards the east of a town and a region long isolated from Tehran takes place, however, hand-in-hand with the strengthening of political, administrative and economic relations with the capital. The revolt of 1921 by Col. Muhammad Takī Khān Pisyān was one of the last manifestations of former isolation. Consequently, the population of Mashhad has participated actively in the crises and the political and social debates in Iran: the riots of 1963 against the White Revolution, and active participation in the Islamic Revolution (the thinker 'Alī Shari'atī was a professor at the University of Mashhad, and Sayyid 'Alī Khaminā'i, who in 1989 became the Spiritual Guide of the Islamic Republic, was one of the most active of the local religious leaders).

As the second city of Iran in terms of population since 1975, Mashhad, now a modern city, remains the regional capital of eastern Iran, even though the province of Khorāsān, of which it is the capital, has been since 2002 divided into three different provinces. The passage through it of over ten million pilgrims each year accentuates more than ever before the religious identity and the economic activity of this regional metropolis, which now has the second-most important airport in Iran and the most important hotel complex (more than 25,000 beds in hotels and, above all, *musāfir-khānas*), well ahead of Isfahān.

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(B. HOURCADE)

3. The Shrine, and Mashhad as a centre of Shī'ī learning and piety.

The location in Mashhad of the Shrine of the eighth Imām 'Alī al-Riḍā [q.v.] has made Mashhad into the leading place of pilgrimage within Persia, the process whereby its veneration developed being accentuated by the fact that, for some four centuries, with one break of a few decades, the Shī'ī shrines of 'Irāq were in the hands of the Sunnī Ottoman Turks, the powerful enemies and rivals of the Safawids and their successors [see further, 'ATABĀT, in Suppl.]. Shī'ī 'ulamā' place Mashhad as the seventh of the great sanctuaries of the Muslim world, after Mecca, Medina, and the four specifically Shī'ī 'atabāt in 'Irāq, al-Nadja', Karbalā', Samarrā' and Kāzimayn [q.v.] (see P.M. Sykes, *The glory of the Shia world*, London 1910, p. xiii), but some Shī'ī 'ulamā' would rank it next after Karbalā' (see G.N. Curzon, *Persia and the Persian question*, London 1892, i, 150 n. 2).

The Haram containing the Shrine seems to be essentially the creation of the last six or seven centuries, its development receiving a powerful impetus when the Safawids turned Persia into a Shī'ī state in the 10th/16th century. Previously, it had been easier for non-Muslims to visit the Shrine, since the Spanish ambassador Clavijo, en route for Timūr's court at Samarkand, was able in 1404 to visit it. Thereafter, it was not till the first half of the 19th century that the British traveller J.B. Fraser was able, by dint of a feigned conversion to Islam, to enter the Shrine in 1822 long enough to make a drawing of the courtyard there (see Fatema Soudavar Farmanfarmaian, *James Baillie Fraser in Mashhad, or, the Pilgrimage of a nineteenth century Scotsman to the Shrine of the Imām Riḍā*, in *Iran, JIBPS*, xxxiv [1996], 101-15). Various other European travellers followed in the later 19th century (details in Curzon, *op. cit.*, i, 148 n. 1).

But the rise of the Mashhad shrine began well before the advent of the Safawids, and especially after the sack of nearby Tūs by the Timūrid prince Miran Shāh b. Timūr in 791/1389 dealt Tūs a death-blow and brought the Sanābad shrine into prominence as the nucleus of the later Mashhad [see TŪS]. Already,

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Ibn Baṭṭūṭa had gone on from Tūs to "the town of Mashhad al-Riḍā", which he describes as large and flourishing (*Rihla*, iii, 77-8, Eng. tr. Gibb, iii, 582), and Tīmūrid rulers such as Shāh Rukh and his wife Dīawhar Shādh were great benefactors in the first half of the 9th/15th century; but members of the new dynasty of the Safawids vied with each other in enriching and enlarging the Shrine. Shāh Tahmāsp I erected a minaret covered with gold in the northern part of the *Sahn-i kuhna* which, with the *Sahn-i naw*, bounds the Shrine on its northern and eastern sides, and he adorned the dome of the tomb with sheets of gold and put a golden pillar on top of it (this was to be carried off by the Shībānids when in 997/1589 they invaded Khurāsān and sacked Mashhad). 'Abbās I laid out the main thoroughfare of the city, the *Khiyābān*, running from northwest to southeast and dividing the city into two roughly equal halves; the Shrine area divided this street into an upper (*bālā*) and a lower (*pā'īn*) part. 'Abbās II devoted his attention mainly to the decoration of the *Sahn-i kuhna*. Safī II, the later Sulaymān I, restored the dome of the Imām's tomb. But there were benefactions during these times from outside potentates also, not only from the South Indian Shī'ī Kuṭb-Shāhī ruler Sultān-Kuṭb al-Mulk in 918/1512 but also by the Sunnī Mughal emperor Akbar, who made a pilgrimage to Mashhad in 1003/1595. Although likewise a Sunnī, Nādir Shāh Afshār was the greatest benefactor of the city and the Shrine in the 12th/18th century, devoting a great part of the plunder brought back from India to their embellishment. Before his accession to the throne, he had in 1142/1730 built a minaret covered with gold in the upper part of the *Sahn-i kuhna* as a counter-part to that of Tahmāsp I on the north side of this. He now thoroughly restored the southern half of the *Sahn*, and decorated the southern gateway richly and covered it with sheets of gold, so that it acquired the historic name of "Nādir's Golden Gate"; in the centre of this court he placed his famous octagonal marble "water house", the *sakkā-khāna-yi nādirī*. The Qājār Shāhs, from Fath 'Alī to Nāsir al-Dīn, likewise cherished the Shrine, despite the frequency with which the city of Mashhad was involved in rebellions against the central government at various points in the 19th century.

The Shrine area forms the so-called *Bast*, thus designated from the rights of asylum and sanctuary traditionally operating there for e.g. debtors, and, for a limited period, criminals (see Curzon, *op. cit.*, i, 155, and *BAST*). Nādir's Golden Gateway leads southwards to the area of the Imām's shrine itself and its ancillary buildings, what is strictly speaking the *Haram-i muḥaddas*. The almost square shrine has the actual tomb in its northeastern corner. Shāh 'Abbās I provided the tomb with a gold covering, and he also covered the dome, 20 m/65 feet high, with gilded copper sheets. Notable also here is the *Dār al-siyāda* hall built by Dīawhar Shādh, a *Dār al-huffāz*, and the fine mosque bearing Dīawhar Shādh's name, regarded by many authorities as the most attractive building in the sacred area (see illustr. in Sykes, *op. cit.*, at 263). There are also teeming bazaars, caravanserais, baths, etc. in the Haram, the property of the Shrine, but the Shrine also in pre-modern times held *awḳāf* [see *WAKF*] all over Persia, and especially, in other parts of Khurāsān, contributing to the income of the Shrine and its upkeep. This last varied according to economic prosperity and peaceful or otherwise conditions in the land; information given to Curzon at the end of the 19th century put the Shrine revenues

at 60,000 *tūmāns*, equivalent at that time to £17,000 sterling per annum (*op. cit.*, i, 162-3).

The Shrine was administered by a lay *Mutawallī-bāshī*, from the later 19th century onwards until Pahlavī times as an office held by the governor-general of Khurāsān, previous times having been often characterised by disputes between the Shrine administrator and the representatives of the central government; at the time of Curzon's visit, the *Mutawallī-bāshī* was Nāsir al-Dīn Shāh's brother Muḥammad Taqī Mīrẓā, Rukn al-Dawla (replaced in 1891 by a former governor of Fārs). The office was a lucrative one, since the administrator normally drew 10% of the Shrine's revenues. Beneath him was a large staff of lower *mutawallis*, *muḍṭahids* [*q.v.*] and *mullās*, some enjoying hereditary appointments.

Pilgrimage to the shrine of the Imām began at an early date. European travellers and visitors in the 19th century endeavoured to estimate their annual numbers: Ferrier (1845) gave 50,000; Khanikoff (1858) and Eastwick (1862), over 50,000; C.E. Yate (in the 1890s), 30,000. These numbers tended to rise at the times of special festivals such as the anniversary of 'Alī al-Riḍā's death and during Muḥarram. The rites of pilgrimage involved a triple circumambulation or *ṭawāf* and the three-fold cursing of the Imām's enemies, and especially of the caliphs Hārūn al-Rashīd and al-Ma'mūn. The pilgrims enjoyed a support system of food kitchens and accommodation for three nights, and a pilgrim who had performed all the rites in the prescribed fashion was entitled to call himself a *Mashhadī*.

As with the lands adjacent to al-Nad̄jaf and Karbalā', the holiness of the Shrine and its environs made it very attractive for burials, and several large cemeteries lay round it, such as the *Maḳbara-yi katt-gāh* ("killing ground cemetery") to its north. Since there was so much demand for places—not merely from Persians but also from Shī'īs from the Indian subcontinent, Afghānistān and Central Asia—the same ground had to be used over and over again for burials. The fees for such burials—graves with proximity to the Shrine itself being the most expensive—brought in a not inconsiderable revenue to the Shrine. See also *MAḲBARA*. 4, in Suppl.

As well as a centre for piety and pilgrimage, Mashhad was an educational centre, with a considerable number of *madrasas*, whose number in the first decade or so of the 20th century approached twenty, the oldest still standing being the *Dūdār* one, founded by Shāh Rukh in 823/1420, the majority of them, however, dating from the later Safawid period. From an architectural and artistic point of view, the Madrasa of Mīr Dī'āfar, built and endowed by the founder in 1059/1650, is regarded as especially fine. These colleges attracted students from Persia itself and also from the Shī'ī communities of India; Sykes in 1910 put the number of students at that time at 1,200 (*The glory of the Shia world*, 267-8), many of whom at this time went on subsequently for further study at al-Nad̄jaf.

For the Shrine, its administration and development in the 20th century, see 2. above.

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MASHSHĀ'YYA (*mashshā'ūn*, *mashshā'īyyūn*, *mushā'ī*), the Peripatetic or Aristotelian school of Greek philosophy and its Arabic-Islamic followers.

The Arabic term is a translation of the Greek *peripatētikoi*, the school of Aristotle, who is reported to



have taught whilst "perambulating" (Greek, *peripatein*) with his students. While in the Greek sources the designation is restricted to Aristotle's personal disciples, the Arabic equivalent is used for the Hellenistic tradition of his philosophy in general. As a term of doxography, it occurs in the *Fihrist* of Ibn al-Nadīm (247, 16), and in the 5th/11th century *Šiwān al-ḥikma* (from the school of Abū Sulaymān al-Sijistānī), where the term is explained historically. According to this, following the precept of Plato to train both body and soul, "Aristotle and Xenocrates used to teach philosophy to their pupils while walking to and fro", and so they were called the Peripatetics of the Academy (*al-mushāṭ al-aḥādīthiyyūn*, 41, § 709); similarly al-Kūfī, *Ta'riḫ al-ḥukamā'*, 26, in a classification of the various ways to designate schools of philosophy where both Platonists and Aristotelians are subsumed under this name; and likewise in al-Shahrastānī (*Milal*, 253, 296).

In the introduction to his work on the philosophy of the "Easterners" (*al-mashrikiyyūn*), Ibn Sīnā, while acknowledging the merit of Aristotle, blames those who "are infatuated with the Peripatetics (*al-Mashshā'ūn*) and who think that no one else was ever guided by God" (see Gutas, *Avicenna*, 45), announcing the evolution of his philosophy beyond the basis laid by Aristotle, who was henceforth called the First Teacher (*al-mu'allim al-awwal*; see e.g. Ibn Sīnā, *al-Shifā'*, *al-Ilāhiyyāt*, ed. Anawati et al., 392). The term "Peripatetics" is now used in explicit delimitation or criticism of Aristotle and his commentators (such as Alexander of Aphrodisias) against Ibn Sīnā's own doctrine (see Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, *Sharḥ al-Ishārāt wa 'l-tanbīhāt*, Tehran 1959, 1982, ii, 416, l. 10; iii, 174, l. 5, etc.) or other schools of thought.

In the subsequent development, however, it was the philosophy of Ibn Sīnā and his extensive following which, again from another standpoint, was designated as *mashshā'īyya*. It was not his principal critic al-Ghazālī, but Ibn Rushd [q.v.] in his *Tahāfut al-Tahāfut* (ed. Bouyges, 178, l. 6), who pointed out *mā 'itaradā bihi Abū Ḥāmid 'alā 'l-mashshā'īn*—using "Peripatetics" synonymously with *al-falāsifa* (*ibid.*, l. 8; and see ed. Bouyges, index, 605, § 139). Shihāb al-Dīn Yahyā al-Suhrawardī, in his turn, designates Avicennan concepts and doctrines as those of the *mashshā'īn* (*Opera*, ii, 13 and *passim*) in contrast to his own mystical philosophy. It is this general use of the term which appears in later doxography, blurring the difference between the Aristotelian and Platonic schools of Greek philosophy vis-à-vis the following of *ishrāqī* mysticism [see *ISHRĀQ*; *ISHRĀQIYYŪN*]. In this sense, the 10th/16th century Iranian philosopher Ṣadr al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī [q.v.] is praised by his biographer for uniting *al-mashshā'īyya*, *al-ishrāqīyya* and Islam (Muḥsin al-Amīn, *Āyān al-Shī'a*, Damascus and Beirut 1953-63, ix, 325).

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MAṬAR, ILYĀS DIB (1857-1910), Syro-Lebanese historian, medical doctor, pharmacist, lawyer and teacher. He was born into an Arab Orthodox middle-class family in the town of Ḥaṣḥayyā, in present-day south Lebanon. The Druze-Maronite civil war, which erupted in 1860 and spread from Mount

Lebanon to other parts of Syria, forced his family to move to the safety of the city of Beirut. His father, who was a prosperous merchant and a local notable of his community, managed to escape what became known as "The massacre of Ḥaṣḥayyā" under the protection of the prominent Druze leader, Sa'īd Dījunbulāt.

Ilyās Maṭar received his primary education at his confession's school, Les Trois Docteurs. He then entered the Catholic Patriarchal School, where he learned Arabic, French, Greek and other subjects. His studies widened in scope when he enrolled at the newly-established Syrian Protestant College (SPC), later renamed the American University in Beirut. There he studied chemistry, botany and pharmacy. During those formative years he was taught by a number of competent teachers, whose names were to become associated with the emergence of "the modern Arab renaissance" [see NAḤḌA] in the 19th century. These included Salīm Taklā (1849-92), founder of the celebrated Egyptian newspaper *al-Ahrām*; Nāṣif al-Yazīdī (1800-71), the accomplished Arabic scholar; and his fellow-townsmen Fāris Nimr (1856-1952 [q.v.]) who taught Maṭar chemistry.

It seems that it was upon Nimr's suggestion that Maṭar decided to write a general history of his country, Syria. This was published in 1874 under the title, *al-'Ukūd al-duriyya fī ta'riḫ al-mamlaka al-sūriyya*. It constituted the first historical work written on Syria as a well-defined entity by a native Arab historian. Its importance lies in the manner it deals with Maṭar's country as one single cultural and territorial unit. Thus Syria ceases to be a collection of Ottoman administrative units, and becomes a fatherland (*waṭan*) extending from the Taurus mountains in the north and the Sinai Peninsula in the south, and from the Euphrates in the east and the Mediterranean in the west. This fatherland is then shown to be endowed with an Arab national identity and an inherent capacity to acquire the new achievements of European civilisation. However, Syrian patriotism figures in this respect as an integral part of the wider movement of Ottomanism.

Maṭar's book is dedicated to the well-known Ottoman historian Ahmed Djewdet Paṣha (1822-95 [q.v.]), whom he met during his visit to Istanbul in 1874. This visit was undertaken in order to obtain his degree in pharmacy and secure the authorisation of the Ottoman Ministry of Education to publish his history. After this date, Maṭar became Djewdet's protégé, acting as his son's tutor, assistant and adviser. It was also upon Djewdet's encouragement that Maṭar qualified as a medical doctor and became a practising lawyer. He taught both medicine and law in Istanbul, while co-editing at the same time a legal journal, *al-Hukūk*.

Maṭar is credited with the authorship of over thirty books, both in Arabic and Ottoman Turkish. Apart from his pioneering historical text, his output includes works on a wide variety of subjects, such as jurisprudence, public health and education.

Owing to his affliction with a fatal disease, he returned to Beirut in 1909. He died the following year (March 1910) and was buried in his family's cemetery.

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(YOUSSEF M. CHOEIRI)

MATARAM, the name of an area in central Java where two kingdoms have developed.



1. The first kingdom bearing this name was founded by Sanjaya, who is recorded to have erected a *linga* in "Kunjarakunya". The inscription commemorating this event, written in Sanskrit in A.D. 732, was found in a Shaivite sanctuary at Changgal. Some time later, the Mahayana-Buddhist Shailendra appear as dominating dynasty of Mataram, and Sanjaya's successors submitted to them. The Shailendras probably came to central Java after the fall of the empire of Funan, centred in the south of present-day Kampuchea, after A.D. 627, continuing their royal titulature as "rulers of the mountains". They became famous for erecting the most outstanding Buddhist monuments such as the Borobudur, Mendut, Pawon, and others. After 832, however, their power declined, and thus the Shaivite dynastic line which had withdrawn to east Java returned to the centre. Obviously, both dynastic lines were linked together by intermarriage, and this paved the way for Mataram to reach the peak of its power, including the incorporation of most of central and east Java and parts of Bali into its territory. King Balitung (898-910) was the first king to use the name of "Mataram" in his inscriptions, and his successor Daksa (910-19?) is credited with the erection of the monumental Lara Djonggrang complex near Prambanan, consisting of 190 temples, the main one being dedicated to Shiva. King Sindok (929-47), however, moved the capital to the upper valley of the Brantas river in east Java, thus founding a new dynasty and ending the history of this first kingdom of Mataram.

2. The Islamic kingdom of Mataram was founded by the Panembahan Senopati Ingalaga (d. 1601). His father, Kyai Gedhe Pamanahan, is famed for his killing Arya Penangsang of Jipang, the powerful and frightening enemy of Adivijaya (Jaka Tingkir), ruler of the second Islamic (Shi'i) kingdom of Java, Pajang (r. 1549-87). As a reward, he was given the central area of the ancient kingdom of Mataram where he founded the Kota Gedhe, later under his son to become the capital. After his death in 1584, his son was awarded the title of Senopati ("general") by the king, but Senopati soon fought against Demak and other principalities and eventually even attacked the king's troops. After the king's death, he rejected Pajang's supremacy, and he added to his magic powers through meditation and asceticism and a visit to the divine Queen of the Southern Sea, Nyai Lara Kidul, thus underlining the central cosmic position of his capital—and himself as ruler—between the volcano Mount Merapi to the north and the Sea in the south. With the support of two from among the "nine holy men" (*wali sanga*) who are said to have brought Islam to the interior of Java, Sunan Giri and Sunan Kali Jaga, he made Islam the religion of his kingdom, which by now included most of the interior of central and east Java, but not the important sea ports on the north coast, from Surabaya in the east to Cirebon (Cheribon) and Banten in the west. Senopati's grandson Agung (r. 1613-46), the greatest ruler and warrior king of the dynasty, which now, according to the panegyric chronicle of Mataram *Babad Tanah Jawi*, claimed dynastic descent from the ruling family of Majapahit, the last Hindu kingdom in Java (until 1527), took the title of *susuhunan* in 1624, and in 1641 the title of *sultān* was added, legitimised by a special delegation from Mecca. He succeeded in subduing the northern seaports; even Surabaya surrendered in 1626, while its dependency Sukadana in southwestern Kalimantan had already been captured earlier. Even Palembang [q.v.] was captured after 1636.

Thus Mataram developed as a maritime power as well. An attack on Batavia, then the stronghold of the Dutch *Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie* (VOC) ended with a defeat. On his death, within the island of Java only Batavia and the sultanate of Banten, to the west of Batavia, refused to acknowledge Mataram's suzerainty. His wars had entailed an enormous loss of human lives and destruction of agriculture. Court literature, however, developed and presented a combination of Sūfī tradition and traditional Javanese cosmological mythology. His successor, his son Susuhunan Amengku Rat I (r. 1646-77) turned away from professing Islam, starting his increasingly tyrannical reign of continuous warfare and killing with the murder of about 6,000 Islamic teachers together with their families. Rebellions flared up, the biggest one led by Raden Trunajaya (1649-80) from Madura, who was also supported by many religious (Islamic) teachers who encouraged him to fight against the cruel king and his ally, the "Christian" VOC. The popular hope for the imminent arrival of a Messianic *ratu adil* ("just king") spread widely. The *susuhunan*'s son Amengku Rat II (r. 1677-1703) defeated his father's enemies and personally stabbed Trunajaya to death, but his throne, in the meantime, was occupied by his brother Pangeran Puger. Therefore the king established a new court in Kartasura, to the east of Kota Gedhe (Yogyakarta).

Madura and east Java remained, however, centres of rebellion. Under Amengku Rat III (r. 1703-8, d. in exile in Colombo in 1734), the son of his predecessor, the disintegration of Mataram took on a serious form, partly because of the resurgence of Surapati (d. 1706), a former Balinese slave and military trainee of the VOC who had established himself in Pasuruan and extended his territory to Madiun, partly because of the First Javanese War of Succession (1704-8) which broke out when the VOC recognised Pangeran Puger as Susuhunan Pakubuwana I (r. 1704-19). When he died and his son followed him as Amengku Rat IV (r. 1719-26), the Second Javanese War of Succession began (1719-23), involving the VOC even more in Javanese dynastic affairs. His death by poison brought his son Pakubuwana II (r. 1726-49) to the throne. Changing alliances, among others with the Chinese who had fled the massacre in Batavia in 1740, against the Dutch who, on their part, were allied for some time with Pangeran Cakraningrat IV of western Madura, or with the Dutch against other enemies, and continuous court intrigues weakened the position of the *susuhunan* continuously. The court, which in 1746 had been moved to the new capital Surakarta [q.v.], rose again in rebellion when the *susuhunan* agreed in a unilateral decision to the demand of the VOC to cede the ports on the north coast to Dutch administration. Thus began the Third Javanese War of Succession (1746-57), led by the rebellious brother of Pakubuwana II, Pangeran Mangkubumi, who, in his headquarters in Yogya, was declared Susuhunan Pakubuwana in 1749 (r. 1749-92); in 1755 he adopted the title Sultan—for the first time after Sultan Agung—Hamengkubuwana (I) which has been maintained until the present Sultan Hamengkubuwana X (since 1986), and made Yogyakarta [q.v. in Suppl.] his capital. Before his death, Pakubuwana II, however, had transferred sovereignty over his kingdom to the VOC, who agreed that the crown prince should become Pakubuwana III (r. 1749-88). This initiated the partition of Mataram into two major principalities, Surakarta and Yogyakarta.

The last major rebel in the court of Surakarta,



Pakubuwana III's cousin Mas Said, surrendered in 1757, and henceforth ruled, as Pangeran Adipati Mangkunegara I (r. 1757-95), over an area taken from Surakarta and inhabited by 4,000 households. During the temporary British occupation of the Dutch possessions (1811-16), the brother of Hamengkubuwana III (r. 1810-11; 1812-14), Natakusuma, was rewarded by the British with an appanage of 4,000 households and the title Pangeran Pakualam I (r. 1813-29), playing now a similar role in Yogyakarta territory as the Mangkunegara in Surakarta territory.

Ever-increasing colonial exploitation caused a general social and economic decline, and general unrest was growing. Hamengkubuwana's eldest son, Pangeran Dipanegara (1785-1855), avoiding the court and studying Islamic textbooks and Javanese wisdom with Islamic teachers, associated himself more and more with popular discontent, until finally the last great war in colonial times in Java, the Java War (1825-30), broke out. At its end, half of the population of Yogyakarta had died, and Dipanegara was exiled, first to Menado and then to Makassar.

From the two major and two minor principalities in the territory of Mataram, only the sultanate of Yogyakarta in the heartland of Mataram could maintain some limited degree of self-government, due to the merits of the late Sultan Hamengkubuwana IX (r. 1939-86) during the early years of independent Indonesia and his co-operation with the Pakualam VIII in modernising the administration of his territory, which is acknowledged in the Republic as the Daerah Istimewa Yogyakarta ("special district of Yogyakarta"), Sultan Hamengkubuwana X (1986-) being again its governor (since 1999).

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MATBA'Ā.

6. EARLY ARABIC PRESSES IN THE NETHERLANDS AND ENGLAND

The principal centre of Arabic printing in Protestant Europe was originally Leiden, where the scholar-printer Franciscus Raphelengius cut an Arabic fount and printed specimens in his *Specimen characterum Arabicorum officinae Plantiniana Raphelengii* (1595). The characters were modelled on the Medicean fount but were of inferior elegance. After being used for the posthumous

printing of his Arabic-Latin lexicon (1613) and other works, the Raphelengian equipment was bought by the pioneer English Arabist William Bedwell (1563-1632), who left it to the University of Cambridge, intending that it should be used to print his own Arabic-Latin lexicon. His wishes remained unfulfilled, and no use seems to have been made of the fount since the earliest extant Arabic printing at Cambridge (1688) differs from the Raphelengian type. In the meantime, the great Arabist Thomas van Erpe (Erpenius), Professor of Arabic at Leiden (1612-24), had established his own press there, from which he published his own works. The Medicean Press again provided the model for the typeface. About this time oriental (and specifically Arabic) studies were encouraged at Oxford by Archbishop William Laud as chancellor of the university (1630-41). Laud established the chair of Arabic for Edward Pococke in 1636, and in the following year his agent bought printing equipment for Arabic and other oriental types from stock in Leiden. This provided the fount for *inter alia* Pococke's *Specimen historiae Arabum* (1648, 1650), and it continued to be used into the eighteenth century. A third Arabic fount was that used in London for the printing of the Polyglot Bible of 1653-57 and its great supplementary work, the *Lexicon Heptaglotton* of Edmund Castell, Professor of Arabic at Cambridge. Unlike the Raphelengian and Oxford founts, this was modelled on the characters of the Savarian Press, which had been set up by Savary de Brèves, the French ambassador at Rome (1608-14), when the Medicean Press there went out of production. Savary brought the press back to France, where it was acquired by the Imprimerie Royale and used in the production of the Parisian Polyglot (1645).

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MATBAKH

3. In Persia.

The Persian word for kitchen, *āshpazkhāna*, was not in general used before the 19th century, though the terms *āsh* "soup" and *āshpaz* "cook" do occur in earlier texts. Before the Qājār period, the Arabic *matbakh* was the common term for kitchen (Elahi, 790-91, with description of Persian kitchen).

A tradition with a long history, Persian cuisine ranks, with that of the French and the Chinese, as one of the great cuisines of the world. Its origins and influences are to be sought in the East, and more specifically in Transoxania. The traditional use of wheat as a staple and the basis of vegetable soups (*āsh*), the mixing of meat and fruit in dishes, the use of various types of yoghurt (*mast* and *kashk*) and other dairy products, and ways of preparing meat, all point to Central Asian origins. Conversely, olives and olive oil, so abundant in the Mediterranean and Ottoman Turkish cuisine, are virtually absent in Persian cooking (except in the Caspian provinces); Persians traditionally cooked with animal fat (except for Jews, who used sesame oil). The important place of rice in Persian cooking similarly suggests Asian origins, in this case Southeast Asia and India (Bazin and Bromberger, 148; Fragner 1994a, 54-5).

Legend ascribes the art of cooking to Ahriman (the Zoroastrian spirit of evil) who is said to have taught



a mythical King Zahāk to prepare the flesh of animals (Firdawsi, *Shāh-nāma*, 1988, i, 48-51, cited in Ghanoonparvar, 191). It is mainly Greek texts that offer some information on royal banquets, but otherwise we know little about food and ways of preparing it during the Achaemenid period, though borrowings from Lydia and Assyria seem plausible (Schmitt; Gunter, 13-21). The situation for the Sāsānid period is a little better, with information and recipes being available on the high cuisine of the court, including ingredients such as various types of hot and cold meat, stuffed vine leaves and sweet date purée (Amuzgar; Gunter, 44). The first five centuries of Islamic rule are again rather poorly documented. The available information, mostly from Muslim travellers and the occasional literary source, points to a heavy reliance on bread and cereals, an important role for (roasted) meat, including game, especially for nomads and soldiers, and the use of condiments such as pickled vegetables (*turshī*), sour grapes (*ghūrā*), dried lemons and walnuts, which would remain essential to Persian cooking (Kasā'ī). It is only in the Mongol period that the current Persian cuisine became heavily influenced by Eastern traditions and took its current shape. Rashīd al-Dīn, who first entered Mongol employ as a head cook in the household of the khān and who later employed a Chinese cook in his own household, may have been instrumental in the transmission of Chinese cuisine to Iran (Allsen, 73-4).

The first period for which we have abundant information on eating and cooking practices is that of the Sāfawids. European observers were struck at the frugality of eating habits. Chardin, iv, 28-9, 47, was among those who noted how Persians skipped breakfast except for a cup of coffee and only ate two proper meals a day. Food was cooked in earthenware or copper pots coated with tin (Olearius, 595). In areas where wood was scarce, such as the central plateau, cooked food was eaten at most only once a day, in the late afternoon, and instead of cooking, people in urban areas would get their pilaw and the ingredients for their soups from the ubiquitous cookshops. During other meals, bread and cheese were the main ingredients (Chardin, iv, 57; Tavernier, i, 545, 712). Meat included mutton and goat. Chicken and pigeon were also part of the menu of those who could afford it. Beef was rarely eaten. Chardin's observation, iv, 48-9, that beef, tough and dry, was only eaten by the poor in winter is echoed for the 19th century by Polak, i, 112, and Wills, 299. Even today, Persians do not favour beef, except those living in the Caspian provinces (Bromberger 1994, 191). Nor did game enjoy much popular appeal in Sāfawid times, despite the enthusiasm for hunting on the part of the élite, in part because of the difficulty of abiding by ritual slaughter, in part because of its taste (Otter, i, 207). Game was often given as a present to Christians, who loved it as well as dark meat and fish. Turkey flesh seems to have caught on very slowly after its introduction from the New World via Europe (Tavernier, i, 712). Olearius, 596, claimed in the 1630s that turkey was not among the birds eaten, though under Shāh 'Abbās I a Venetian merchant had once brought a few to Isfāhān. A generation later, Tavernier wrote that the Armenians had brought turkeys and ways of raising them to Persia, adding that the meat was only for the court (i, 712). Some sources claim that horseflesh was the most esteemed type of meat (*Chronicle*, i, 155). The predilection for horseflesh at the court of Tīmūr (Clavijo, 106, 224) and the fact that the *Mihmān-nāma-i Bukhārā*, 318, calls it the most

delicious meat, point to a Central Asian origin of the taste. Polak, i, 115, suggested regional variation by saying that Persians did not eat horseflesh with the exception of the people from Shīrwān and the Ōzbegs, who considered it a delicacy. Fish, not an ingredient of the nomadic diet, was naturally mostly confined to the Caspian coast and the Persian Gulf littoral, though trout from the Caspian region was also served at royal banquets (Tavernier, i, 545).

The information that has come to us from Sāfawid times mostly concerns the food of the rich and eating practices at the royal court, as described by Western visitors who enjoyed the hospitality of the shāh and administrative officials. They offer information on the royal kitchen as well as on the types of food consumed at the court.

The royal kitchen prepared food only once a day for the royal household but twice a day for the shāh himself and his direct entourage. The daily food outlay for the shāh amounted to two sheep, four lambs, and thirty chickens for his midday meal and half as much for his supper, not counting small poultry, game and fish (Chardin, v, 350-1).

The royal kitchen was supervised by the *tūshmāl-bāshī*, an official who was subordinate to the *nāzīr al-buyūtāt*, the steward of the royal household. The *tūshmāl-bāshī* was responsible for the quantity and quality of the meat served at the court, preceded the procession of the meat dishes all the way from the kitchen to the royal quarters, and also acted as the royal taster (the *mihltar* "chamberlain" would taste all royal food a second time) (Minorsky, 137; Olearius, 672; Richard, ii, 15, 274; Chardin, v, 349-50, 378; Kaempfer, 279-80). Another important official was the *suffāci-bāshī*, who was in charge of arranging the floor cloth (*suffa*) on which food was consumed (Olearius, 672; Richard, ii, 15, 274; Chardin, v, 351). Other officials working in the royal food and drink department were the *kaşābci-bāshī* or *sallākhci-bāshī* "the butcher", the *hawāqīār-bāshī*, who supervised the poultry yard and the scullery, the *sabziçi-bāshī*, who was responsible for green salads, the *turshīçi-bāshī*, who supervised the preparation of pickled vegetables, the *halwāçi-bāshī*, or confectioner, the *sharbatçi-bāshī*, or supervisor of the sherbets and syrups, the *ābdār-bāshī*, who was in charge of drinks, and the *kahwāçi-bāshī*, who headed the department of coffee making (Afshar, 1991, 409-11; Minorsky, 67, 94, 97, 98; Chardin, v, 352-53).

Meat was often eaten in the form of kababs, which Fryer, iii, 146, described as "roastmeat on skewers, cut in little round pieces no bigger than a sixpence, and ginger and garlic put between each". The same author, i, 147, notes that it was most often made into a pilaw, "their standing dish".

Rice had become an important ingredient in élite cookery after the Mongol domination of the country, gradually edging out pasta and groats (*bulghur*) (Fragner 1987, 789). Though it is not clear whether rice was grown in Persia before the advent of Islam, it has been part of the Persian diet since Sāsānid times (Balland and Bromberger, 148; Bazargan, 161). At least since early Sāfawid times, Persians have eaten rice in various ways, either as chilaw or as pilaw. Unlike the situation in parts of China and India, where rice is a staple and a basic nutrient, in Persia rice has always been a prestige food and a luxury item not eaten by the poor on a regular basis. Its preparation has always been accordingly complex and time-consuming. Cooking is the same, involving a laborious process of soaking and steaming, resulting

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in rice that does not stick together, but the main difference is that chilaw consists of rice and clarified butter and sumac, which, served with kabab, a raw onion or herbs, has become in modern times a favourite restaurant meal. Pilaw, on the other hand, is rice mixed with a variety of ingredients (for cooking and types of pilaws, see Balland and Bromberger, 154; and Bazargan, 161). Fryer, iii, 147, describes the making of pilaw as follows: "To make pulow, the meat is first boiled to rags, and the broth or liquor being strained, it is left to drain, while they boil the rice in the same; which being tender, and the aqueous parts evaporating, the juice and gravy incorporates with the rice, which is boiled almost dry; then they put the meat again with spice, and at last as much butter as is necessary, so that it becomes not too greasy or offensive, either to the sight or taste; and it is then boiled enough when it is fir to be made into gobbets, not slabby, but each corn of rice is swelled and filled, not burst into pulp." Rice with lamb was the most common form of pilaw, but it was also prepared in numerous other ways, with spinach or cabbage, with roasted or boiled meat, with almonds and raisins, with onion and garlic, and it was served in various colours, depending on the condiment, which could be currant, pomegranate or saffron (Olearius, 595-6; Kaempfer, 278). Chardin, iii, 185-6, noted five or six different pilaws during a meal served by Shāh Sulaymān for a Russian envoy, with garlic crust, lamb, chicken, eggs stuffed with meat, and with fish. He also gave more than twenty as the total number of pilaw varieties (iv, 54). Twenty-five kinds of pilaw are mentioned in a Persian source from the Šafawid period (Thābitiyyān, 371; see Afshār 1378, 98).

Then as now, meals were consumed synchronically; unlike French cuisine, there was no time sequence to the order of eating the food and courses are not divided (Spooner, 253; Chehabi, 47). Kaempfer, 278, describing a royal banquet, noted, however, that confection and sweetmeats tended to precede the main course (see also *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses*, 115). All Europeans commented on the silence observed during meals, their short duration, and the fact that nothing was drunk until afterwards. They also noted that no silverware was used, except for a large wooden spoon that was used for eating soup and drinking the various juices that were served as part of the meal (Della Valle, i, 641; Olearius, 596; Kaempfer, 281; *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses*, 119). While ordinary Persians ate from porcelain or earthenware, at the court gold dishes were abundantly used as well (Herbert, 262; Kaempfer, 262; Kroell, 30). Kaempfer, 153, estimated the total value of the royal dishware at 10 million gold ducats. *Ādjār* and *turshī* (pickled vegetables) served as condiments (Kaempfer, 278). Kaempfer, 262, describes the desserts served on the occasion of an audience: candied fruit, fresh fruit, various kinds of cake and sweetmeats. Jam, *murabbāʿ*, was very popular and came in many varieties (Afshār 1991, 417). Sugar was used in great quantities in the ubiquitous confectionery. According to De Bruyn, the Dutch East India Company annually brought 12,000 packs at 150 pounds each to Iṣfahān (De Bruyn, 178).

Common people ordinarily consumed bread, vegetables and fruit. Bread has always been the staple for the overwhelming majority of the population, and its central role in the diet is reflected in popular expressions and folklore (Kasāʿī, 112). The Caspian region, where bread has been spurned as unhealthy until modern times, is an exception (Orsolle, 171).

Types of bread used in Šafawid times were remarkably similar to the ones eaten today; such as *lawash*, thin unleavened bread that doubled as a spoon and a napkin, and *sangak*, long bread baked on pebbles (Chardin, iv, 50; Olearius, 596). Herbert noted how dates preserved in syrup mixed with buttermilk was seen as a precious food. He called the cheese dry, blue and hard, as being worst on the Gulf coast and best in Māzandarān (Herbert, 260, 262). Butter came from the tails of sheep. Nothing like restaurants existed. However, given the prohibitive cost of burning wood, many people ate at the ubiquitous public food stalls, *dukkān-i ṭabbākhī*, where simple hot rice dishes were prepared (Iskandar Beg Munshī, 188; Chardin, iv, 57).

Persia had since early mediaeval times been a crossroads for vegetables and fruits, serving as a source of diffusion or an east-west conduit for such plants and crops as sugar cane, lemons and sour oranges, spinach and eggplant (Watson, 26, 44-5, 62, 71). In the Šafawid period, the movement was generally in the opposite direction. Europeans introduced parsley, asparagus, artichokes and cauliflower into Persia, and these were cultivated in the vegetable gardens of Shīrāz and Iṣfahān (Ange de St. Joseph, 102-3; Tavernier, i, 422).

The first cookbooks—as opposed to texts in which food is described for its medicinal use—also date back to the Šafawid period (see Afshār 1360). Of the two that have come down to us, one, called *Kāmāma dar bāb-i ṭabbākhī wa sanʿat-i ān*, dates from the time of Shāh Ismāʿīl I (early 16th century) and was written as a gift to a nobleman. The second, *Maddat al-hayāt. Risāla dar ʿilm-i ṭabbākhī*, was probably written for Shāh ʿAbbās by his chief cook, Nūr Allāh, who may have been a descendant of Muḥammad ʿAlī Bāwarī, and was perhaps even commissioned by the ruler. It is likely that both were composed for colleagues in the profession rather than as collections of recipes to serve as guidelines for the cooking of common people (Fragner 1984, 329; German tr. of the pilaw dishes in Nūr Allāh's *Maddat al-hayāt*, in *ibid.*, 343-60). For the Kādjār period, we have the informative *Sufra-i aʿīma*, a compendium of cooking and eating practices written for Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh's personal physician, the Frenchman Tholozan, by the royal cook.

The menu in Kādjār times does not seem to have differed greatly from that in the Šafawid period. Persian sources as well as foreign observers still note the bread and the cheese, the chilaw and pilaw, the *āsh* and the *āb-i gushṭ*, the various legumes, such as beans, cucumbers, aubergines (egg plant), in addition to carrots, turnips, radishes and cabbages, as well as condiments in the form of *turshī*, and the prodigious quantities of fruit (Wills, 170-1; Nādir Mīrzā, 307-10, and see the references to food in Baṣīr al-Mulk, *Rūznāma*, introd. by Afshār, pp. XL-LII). Confectionery, too, continued to be an indispensable part of the Persian diet (Wilson, 249-50). A new feature was that food items originating in the New World, such as tomatoes and potatoes, began to make modest inroads into the country's kitchens. Potatoes, which were apparently introduced into Persia in the 18th century, were long called *ālū-yi Malkum* "plums of Malcolm", after the British envoy Sir John Malcolm, who is commonly but probably erroneously thought to have brought potatoes to Persia (Pūr-i Dāwūd, *Humāzid-nāma*, 176; Binning, ii, 87-8). Though potatoes were cultivated in Persia, Muslim Persians in the early 19th century did not particularly care for them, and they mostly served the Armenian population and European residents



(Binning, *loc. cit.*; Polak, *Persien*, 132; Wills, 170). This changed during the famine of 1861-2, when potatoes suddenly became popular as a substitute for scarce cereals (de Gobineau, 170). Strawberries, too, were gradually coming into cultivation in the late 19th century (Wills, 170, 300). Turkey at that point had become slightly more common, as had small game such as quail, partridge and pheasant, though these still only appeared on the tables of the rich (Polak, i, 113-21; Lycklama a Nijeholt, ii, 242; Bleibtreu, 70). The Caspian provinces continued to stand out for their different diet, including rice and the consumption of garlic, which was thought to neutralise the humid air (Fraser 1826, 16). Public cookshops, known from the Safawid period, continued to exist all over Kādjār Persia (Binning, ii, 62), yet the first places resembling real restaurants only opened their doors at the turn of the 20th century. Mostly patterned after Russian and Caucasian examples, with terraces and gardens, they first appeared in Tehran (ʿIṭimād al-Saltāna, *Čihil sāḥ*, 153; Fragner 1987, 790).

Rich and poor naturally continued to eat differently both with regard to table manners as to ingredients. Beginning with the court, members of the élite began to adopt western cutlery in the late Kādjār period, and the habit of sitting around a table on chairs was introduced in the early 20th century as well (Chehabi, 55-6). The rich used imported sugar while the poor made do with syrup and honey (Polak, ii, 154). The rich consumed different kinds of pilaw and *khūrish*, stews, with lamb meat, fowl or fish. The middling classes did not ordinarily eat pilaw and *khūrish* more than once or twice a week, but mostly had to satisfy themselves with *āb-i gūšt* (a stew on the basis of mutton stock, which seems to have become the staple of the poor in the course of the 19th century; see *Elr* art. *Ab-gūšt*). The poor ate mostly bread (and in times of scarcity, even acorn bread; A. Wilson, 63), cheese and fruit, could afford *āb-i gūšt* only occasionally, and in the winter months rarely were in a position to eat any meat. They served pilaw and *khūrish* only during holidays and festivals. All ate large quantities of fruit, which was cheap (Dārābī, 247-8; Polak, i, 121; Kučānī, 18; Mustawfī, i, 284). Fish was a staple in the Caspian provinces, and dried and salted fish was also consumed inland. Fresh-water fish was little esteemed. On the Persian Gulf coast, prawn, *miḡū*, was eaten fresh, as it still is today; it was transported inland in dried form (Wills, 298).

Even today, chicken and turkey connote the food of the rich, while bread and cheese stand for the fare of simple folk. Bread continues to be the staple of the peasants and the urban poor in the arid and semi-arid interior, while rice is consumed by everyone in areas where it is cultivated, especially along the Caspian Sea. Elsewhere, rice is often still a luxury food, eaten on special occasions and offered to guests (Bazin, 245; Bazin and Bromberger, 154). With rising living standards, rice has become more common. Meat, formerly a food reserved for special occasion, has become much more standard as well, and traditionally vegetarian dishes such as *khūrish* are now often served with meat (Khosrowkhavar, 149). Beef has made inroads, necessitating its importation in large quantities and at great cost (Brun and Dumont, 14). The inhabitants of the Caspian provinces, and especially Gilān, still enjoy a different diet. They eat rice, mostly in the form of *katih*, quickly prepared rice with clarified butter, with every meal, and as recently as the 1970s rice constituted from 45% to 65% of the daily diet of males in central Gilān. They also like

beef, and bread used to be unknown or at least spurned by them until quite recently (Bromberger 1994, 187, 189, 191).

The growing Western influence in the second half of the 20th century has led to the introduction of a number of new foods, most of them pale renderings of originally Western food. Often consumed as tokens of modernity, these include sausages, *kalbas*—until the Islamic Revolution prepared with pork—hamburgers and pizzas. During the reign of Muḥammad Riḍā Shāh Pahlavī, Iranians also took to eating frozen meat imported from Australia and New Zealand, and processed “Danish” cheese. The American-style “fast-food” restaurant, serving sandwiches, pizzas, hamburgers, and fried chicken, made its appearance in the late 1960s, followed by a variety of ethnic restaurants in the next decade. Soft drinks began to replace traditional juice beverages in the same period. The period following the Islamic Revolution did not fundamentally change this process. Hamburgers, pizza and hot dogs are now consumed by people from all classes in restaurants and pizzerias that imitate Western models. A new development is the appearance of self-styled “traditional” (*sunnaʿī*) restaurants and coffee-houses where waiters in “authentically Iranian” dress serve the customers (Chehabi, 59-60).

Other changes have occurred as well. Many traditional dishes, time-consuming to make, are no longer prepared on a regular basis (Khosrowkhavar, 149-52), and traditional cookbooks, a few of which are known from the Kādjār period, were replaced in the 20th century by modern ones, the use of which remains unclear in a country where most women still learn the art of cooking from their mothers and grandmothers (Fragner 1984, 333; a list of modern cookbooks appears in *ibid.*, 332).

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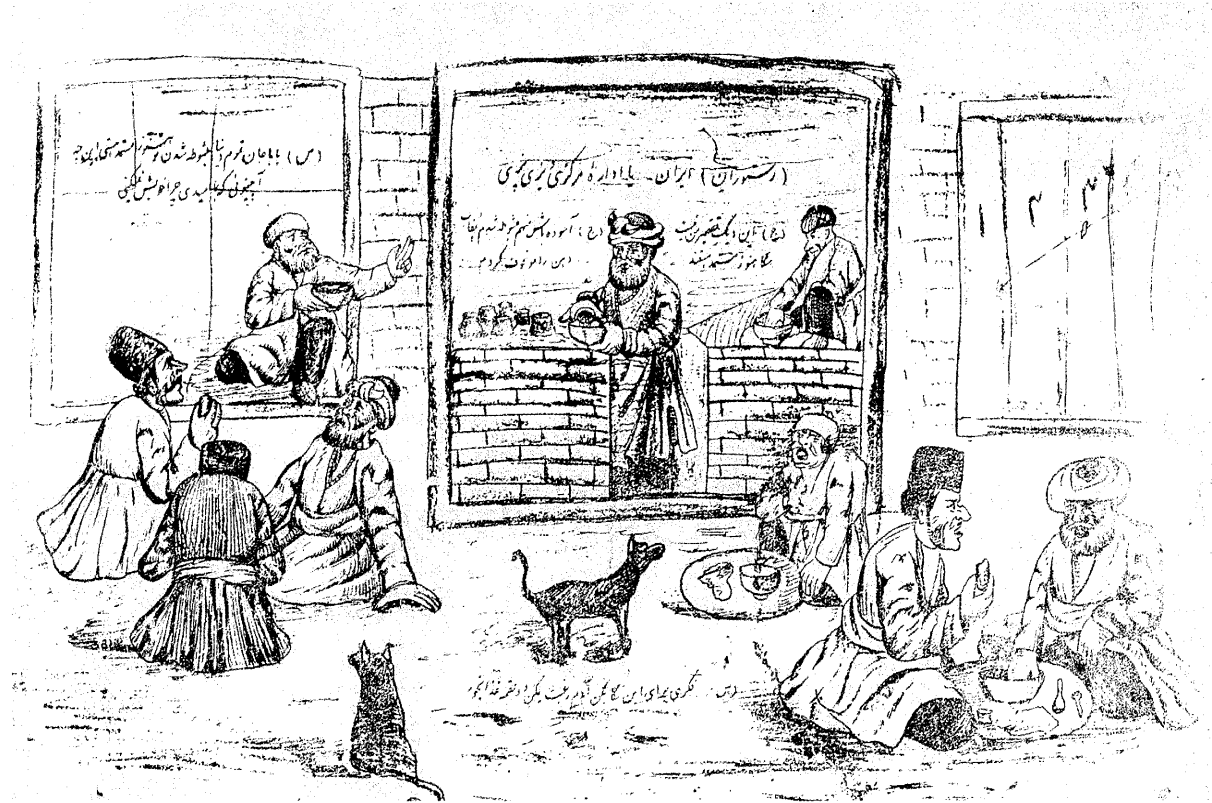
MAWAKIB.

6. IN THE MAMLŪK SULTANATE

In the early Mamlūk sultanate, *mawakib* designates specifically the royal ride which formed an item in the sultan's installation ceremonies. The term is explicitly used by Ibn Taghrībirdī (*Nuḍjūm*, vii, 41) on the accession of al-Manṣūr 'Alī b. Aybak: "He rode on Thursday, 2 Rabi' II [655/19 April 1257] with the insignia of the sultanate from the Citadel to Qubbat al-Naṣr in an awe-inspiring procession (*mawakib hā'il*). Then he returned and entered Cairo by Bāb al-Naṣr. The *amīrs* dismounted and marched before him. . . . Then al-Manṣūr went up to the Citadel and took his seat in the palace of the sultanate." On the insignia of the sultanate (*shī'ār al-saltāna*), see al-Kāshānī, *Subh*, iv, 6-9. Similar accounts in more or less detail, and not always using the term *mawakib*, are given in connection with the accession of several sultans down to al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Kālāwūn in 693/1294 (cf. *Nuḍjūm*, viii, 47). Ibn 'Abd al-Zāhir gives an interesting account of the royal ride of al-Sa'id Baraka Khān, when appointed joint sultan with his father, al-Zāhir Baybars, on 13 Shawwāl 662/8 August 1264: "He [Baybars] caused his son, al-Malik al-Sa'id, to ride with the insignia of the sultanate. He himself went forth in the procession (*rikāb*), and going on foot carried the *ghāshīya* [q.v.; cf. P.M. Holt, *The position and power of the Mamlūk sultan*, in *BSOAS*, xxxviii (1975), 242-3] before him. The *amīrs* took it, . . . and the sultan returned to his royal residence, while the kings, the *amīrs* and everybody continued in attendance on him (sc. Baraka Khān) up to Bāb al-Naṣr. They entered Cairo, which had been magnificently decorated, on foot bearing the *ghāshīya*. The *amīrs* busied themselves with the raising of the [royal] parasols (?). He passed through the city with his *atābak*, the *Amīr* 'Izz al-Dīn al-Hillī, riding at his side. Robes of satin, watered silk and so forth were spread before him until he returned to his Citadel" (*al-Rawḍ al-zāhir*, ed. Khūwaytir, 204). After the time of al-Nāṣir Muḥammad, the procession through Cairo seems to have been discontinued, its place being taken by a short ride within the precincts of the Citadel to the throne-room, as described by al-Maqrīzī (*Khīṭat*, ii, 209): "It was also customary when one of the descendants of al-Malik al-Nāṣir Muḥammad b. Kālāwūn succeeded to the kingdom, that on his accession the *amīrs* would attend at his residence in the Citadel. He would be invested with the caliphal robe with a green robe (*faradjīyya*) beneath it and a round black turban, girt with the golden Arab sword, and mounted on the royal steed (*faras*



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A cookshop at the turn of the 20th century. Source: Kashkul (Tehran), 1st year, no. 31, p. 2, Saturday, 13 Dhu 'l-Hijja 1325/18 January 1908



al-nauba). He would proceed with the *amīrs* in front and the *ghāshīya* before him, while the *djāwīshīya* chanted and the royal flutes played, surrounded by the halberdiers, until he had crossed from Bāb al-Nuḥās to the entrance of the great hall. Then he would dismount from the steed, go up to the throne and take his seat upon it." In this period, *mawkib* acquired the secondary meaning of "a session of the royal court", e.g. Ibn Taghribirdī, *Nuḍūm*, x, 61, of al-Nāṣir Aḥmad b. al-Nāṣir Muḥammad in 742/1342: "The sultan held another court (*mawkib ākhar*), and bestowed robes on all the *amīrs*, . . . and he went down in a great procession (*mawkib 'aẓīm*) with those *amīrs* who were in his company."

The term *mawkib* was also used for other state appearances of the sultan in which there was a processional element, such as his attendance at congregational prayer on Fridays and the two Feasts, at polo in al-Maydān al-Akbar, at the cutting of the dam, and on royal progresses. Al-Ḳālqashandī (*Subh*, iv, 46-9) does not use the term consistently on each of these occasions, but it appears to apply to all of them. Uniquely Egyptian were the proceedings at the cutting of the dam at the height of the Nile-flood in Cairo. The sultan, when notified by the master of the Nilometer [see MIKYĀS] that the flood was at its height, rode at once in modest state (without full insignia and with a reduced escort) to the Nilometer, where he held a banquet for the *amīrs* and Mamlūks. A vessel of saffron was given to the master of the Nilometer, who swam across the well and perfumed the column and then the sides of the well. The sultan's barge was brought alongside, and the sultan swam in the river, surrounded by the barges of the *amīrs*. Followed by the boats of spectators, the *amīrs'* barges and the sultan's great barge entered the mouth of the canal of Cairo, with the craft manoeuvring and cannons firing. The sultan sailed in his small barge to the dam, which was cut in his presence, and he then rode back to the Citadel.

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(P.M. HOLT)

MAWKIF (A.), a term of Ṣūfī mysticism, referring to the intermediate moment between two "spiritual stations" (*maḳām*), represented as a halting (*uakfa*) and described as a state of stupor and of the loss of reference points acquired since the preceding stage. The *mawḳif* is a dynamic psychological state, in which the connection between the mystic and God becomes overturned, and sometimes suspended (annihilation in God, the so-called *fanā'* [see BAKĀ' WAFANĀ']). The best example of the course of such an experience is given in the work of al-Niffārī (d. ca. 366/976-7 [q.v.]), his *K. al-Mawāḳif wa 'l-mukhāṭabāt*, ed. and Eng. tr. A.J. Arberry, London 1935, Fr. tr. M. Kābbal, *Le Livre des stations*, Paris 1989; see also P. Nwyia, *Textes inédits de Niffārī*, in *Trois oeuvres inédites de mystiques musulmans*, Beirut 1973; idem, *Exégèse coranique et langage mystique*, Beirut 1970, 348-407. The term continued to be employed in classical Ṣūfism (e.g. by Ibn al-'Arabī, *Futūḥāt*, Cairo 1329/1911, 392-3, who refers explicitly to al-Niffārī).

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(P. LORY)

MAWLID.

3. In the Maghrib.

Unlike the use of the term *mawlid* in other regions, e.g. in Egypt and the Sudan, where it also includes the celebration of the birthdays of various saints (see 1., in Vol. VI, 895), in the Maghrib the term *mawlid* is restricted to the birthday of the Prophet Muḥammad.

In this part of the world, alongside the 'īd al-fitr and the 'īd al-adḥā' [q.v.], the *mawlid* is among the most important festivals of the year.

The oldest known *mawlid* celebrations in the Maghrib were held in Sabta [q.v.]. This festival was introduced into this city by an 'ālim named Abu 'l-'Abbās al-'Azafī (d. 633/1236 [q.v.]) in order to call a halt to the participation of the people in Christian festivals and to strengthen the Muslim identity of Sabta in a period of Christian successes during the Reconquista, both at land and at sea.

After his son Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-'Azafī had seized power in Sabta in 647/1250, he officially introduced the *mawlid* and propagated the festival throughout the rest of the Maghrib. Through this celebration of the *mawlid*, Abu 'l-Ḳāsim al-'Azafī was able to display his religious enthusiasm, and as the result of his largesse during the festivities he increased his popularity with the people. Moreover, during the *mawlid* celebration the hierarchical relationships among the various groups within the realm were confirmed and the loyalty to the ruler expressed in specially-composed poems.

Since then, in a similar way the celebration of the *mawlid* has always played a role at an official level in legitimising the power of various dynasties which have ruled over parts of the Maghrib: the Ḥafṣids (Eastern Maghrib); the 'Abd al-Wādids (Central Maghrib); and the Marīnids, the Wattāsids, the Sa'dids and the 'Alawīs (Morocco) [q.v.]. Today, the celebration of the *mawlid* plays a role in the consolidation of the power of the 'Alawid king of Morocco, who traces his descent, together with the concomitant prestige, to the Prophet Muḥammad himself.

In addition to the state-sponsored celebrations at the courts and elsewhere, the *mawlid* always has been and still is immensely popular among the people, not only among the Arabised sections of the population but also among the Berbers. The way in which the popular *mawlid* is celebrated displays an enormous variety, both in duration and in ritual, changing from one place to the other. Common elements in all celebrations are the taking of a holiday, the cheerful atmosphere, illuminated parades on the eve of the *mawlid*, festive meals, sweets, special dress, the exchange of gifts, music, dance and, under the influence of Ṣūfī brotherhoods, visits to shrines of saints and singing of mystical chants.

At times, these popular celebrations have given, and still give, rise to protests by the 'ulamā', who do not consider these permissible from the point of view of the religious law because of the nature of the activities which take place during the celebrations, many of which are regarded as unlawful. The oldest discussions about this originate from the time of Abu 'l-'Abbās al-'Azafī, but the debate reappears with regular intervals. In the first decades of the 20th century, under the influence of Salafī ideas from Egypt [see SALAF. 1], there were various attempts to exclude certain practices from the *mawlid* celebration. In very recent times, inspired by Wahhābī ideas, the *mawlid* has again come under severe criticism. Despite these protests against the celebration of the festival, as a major manifestation of popular religion, the *mawlid* is as vital as ever.

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Muslim lands and development in the Muslim West until the 10th/16th century, Leiden 1993; N. van den Boogert and H. Stroomer, *A Sous Berber poem on the merits of celebrating the Mawlid*, in *Études et Documents Berbères*, x (1993), 47-82; Y. Frenkel, *Mawlid al-Nabī at the court of Sulṭān Aḥmad al-Manṣūr al-Sa'dī*, in *JSAI*, xix (1995), 157-72.

(N.J.G. KAPTEIN)

MAWSŪ'A.

3. In Turkish.

The fascination which the Ottomans entertained for compendia of facts and the ordering of knowledge can be traced to their origins outside Anatolia. Although not strictly speaking an encyclopaedic work, the *Dīwān lughāt al-turk* written by Maḥmūd al-Kāshgharī in the second half of the 5th/11th century and providing a dictionary in Arabic or early Turkish, partakes also of the nature of a thesaurus, with information on the early Turks, including their onomastic, their folklore, proverbs, poetry, etc. [see **AL-KĀSHGHARĪ**].

As one would expect, the earliest examples of encyclopaedias in the Ottoman world were written in Arabic. It is clear that these types of encyclopaedic reference works were very closely modelled on existing Arabic language reference works on specialised subjects, biography and bibliography. The first phase in the emergence of the Ottoman encyclopaedia is represented by the work of translating encyclopaedic works from Arabic into Turkish, this being an important step in the development of reference tools for the use of Ottoman scholars.

As early as the reign of Meḥmed I (816-24/1413-21), the first translations of encyclopaedic works appeared. In this period, Rukn al-Dīn Aḥmed made a translation of al-Kāẓimī's *Adjā'ib al-makhlūqāt* from Arabic into Turkish and presented it to the Sultan. It is most likely that the concept of the earth as an orb was introduced into Turkish scientific literature by this work. Meḥmed b. Süleymān made a Turkish translation of al-Damīrī's zoological encyclopaedia, the *Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān*, which listed the names of existing and, in some cases, fictitious animals, and subjects related to them. Aḥmad al-Misrī's *al-Kānūn fī 'l-dunyā* was translated into Turkish by Kaḍī' Abd al-Raḥmān in 983/1575. This work dealt with a variety of topics such as geography, astronomy, medicine, history, anecdotes, and signs and symbols.

The first original encyclopaedic works in the Ottoman empire can be dated to the 9th/15th century. These examples are mainly divided into two categories: general and specialised ones. The *Enmüzedj al-'ulūm* was prepared by Mollā Fenārī [see **FENĀRĪ-ZADE**]. He classified subjects under one hundred headings which were termed "the sciences" (*'ulūm*). He mainly used Faḥr al-Dīn al-Rāzī's *Ḥadā'ik al-anwār*, adding forty more subject headings to it. It has been alleged that that the author of this work was not Mollā Fenārī but his son, Meḥmed Shāh Çelebi. This claim, advanced most prominently by Adnan Adıvar in his *Osmanlı Türklerinde ilim*, is not however, supported with evidence.

A distinguished and gifted scholar in the 10th/16th century was Aḥmed 'Iṣām al-Dīn (901-68/1495-1561), who came from the scholarly family of the Tāshköprüzādes [q.v.]. Tāshköprüzāde's work, the *Miftāḥ al-sā'ada wa-misbāḥ al-siyāda*, mainly discusses the virtues of teaching and learning. The first introduction explains the virtue of science while the second and the third discuss the obligations of students and teachers, respectively. After these introductory

chapters, he classifies the sciences (*'ulūm*) ontologically. The author not only gave the definitions of the sciences but also noted the names of the scholars who had worked on these subjects and their books, making his work an inventory of scholarly life and books taught in Istanbul in the 10th/16th century. Because of the popularity of this work his son, Tāshköprüzāde Kemāl al-Dīn Meḥmed, made a Turkish translation of it which is known as the *Mewdū'at al-'ulūm*. Another important work by Tāshköprüzāde is a biographic account of the Ottoman empire, a typical example of the Turkish *tedhkir* tradition [see **TADHKIRA**, 3]. His *al-Shakā'ik al-nu'māniyya* contains biographical information on the *'ulemā* and *sulehā* of the Ottoman empire, and it was arranged according to the reigns of the Sultans, comprising in total the biographies of 150 *shaykhs* and 371 scholars. Several translations of this work were also made into Turkish in the same century. There are also compilations of this work prepared in the same format. Another distinguished example of the bibliographic compendium is Ḥaḍḍī Khālifa's (Kātib Çelebi) *Kashf al-zunūn*. He started compiling it in 1042/1633 and took about twenty years to complete it. It contains bibliographic information on ca. 14,500 books and biographical information on ca. 10,000 authors.

Erzurūmī İbrāhīm Hakkī's *Ma'rifet-nāme* is the last example of the classical encyclopaedic works, reflecting the author's interest in Islamic mysticism. The work consists of selected topics chosen from arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, mineralogy, botany, zoology, anatomy, geography and physics.

After promising beginnings in compiling compendia of knowledge, the movement seems to have petered out, perhaps a victim of its own success; it was perhaps felt that there was no need to be filled by expanding or adding to these compendia. It is thus not surprising that the next stage of Ottoman compilation of encyclopaedias should be the introduction of European-styled encyclopaedias which surveyed European science. The first of these were introduced during the *Tanzīmāt* [q.v.] period in the mid-19th century. Titles of these works reflect the lexicographic approach and understanding of their compilers, so that the word (*kāmūs*) "dictionary" was generally used in their titles. The first examples, are unfortunately incomplete. The first encyclopaedic work was planned by 'Alī Şu'awī [q.v.] who escaped to France in 1867 because of his opposition to the ruling régime in the Ottoman empire. He attempted to publish this first encyclopaedic work as an appendix to his newspaper *'Ulūm* in 1870. Entitled *Kāmūs al-'ulūm wa 'l-me'ārif*, it was published in fascicles and only five of these appeared, since it fell victim to the siege of Paris by the Prussian Army. In this encyclopaedia subjects were arranged in alphabetical order, contained illustrations, and each fascicle comprised sixteen pages. Other major, equally incomplete, attempts are, in chronological order: *Kātre* by Aḥmed Nāẓim and Meḥmed Rüşdī, both of them officers in the Ottoman Army, in 1888, of which only one sample fascicle appeared; *Makḥẓen al-'ulūm*, another general subject encyclopaedia, by Meḥmed Tāhir and Serkis Orpilyan, of which only one volume appeared in 1890; and a specialised subject encyclopaedia on mathematics and astronomy, the *Kāmūs-i riyādiyyāt*, prepared by Şālih Dheki (Zekī), a mathematician, in 1897, of which again only one volume appeared.

The *Muḥīt al-ma'ārif* was prepared by Emr Allāh Efendi, who was the first philosophy lecturer at the Dār al-Fünūn in Istanbul, in 1900. Only one volume



appeared, but it had importance as the first comprehensive general encyclopaedic work in Turkish, and its title was subsequently adopted as the Ottoman term for a general encyclopaedia. After Emr Allāh Efendi's appointment as the Minister of Education, a commission was set up under his chairmanship and consisting of 132 specialists. The aim was the preparation of his encyclopaedic work for the second time in 1910. The title of this new encyclopaedia accordingly became *Yeni muhit al-ma'arif*, but this attempt was also short-lived, and only one volume appeared.

The first complete work in the genre was, in fact, the *Lughat-i tārīkhīyye ve dīoghrafīyye* "Historical and geographical dictionary", prepared by Yaghlikdjizāde Ahmed Rif'at in seven volumes in 1882-3. Although its title suggests that it was limited to historical and geographical matters, it in reality covered subjects such as new inventions, machinery, as well as the natural sciences physics, chemistry and botany.

The *Kāmis al-'alām* of the linguist Shems el-Dīn Sāmī [q.v.] was compiled between 1888-98 as a historical and geographical encyclopaedic dictionary in six volumes. Sāmī relied on oriental and western sources for his work, and it remains a valuable reference source for historical research today, since the work contains not only historical and geographical terms and words used in the Ottoman language but also biographies of historical personalities and their works as well as the names, histories, and ethnic complexion of locations within the empire. It was issued fortnightly in fascicles, and its publication was completed in eleven years.

A similar work, the *Memālik-i 'othmāniyye'nin tārīkhī ve dīoghrafīyā lughatī* "Dictionary of the history and geography of the Ottoman Empire", was prepared by 'Alī Djewād, and published in 1893-9 in four volumes. It comprised two sections, the first, in three volumes, was devoted to the natural, historical, and economic aspects of the Ottoman provinces and their localities, while the second section, the fourth volume, contained biographical information on Ottoman statesmen and poets.

All these efforts were personal and self-motivated, and no financial or academic support was provided from any public or private institution. Within the same period, another initiative directed by a commission was launched in 1913 under 'Alī Reshād, 'Alī Şeydī, Mehmed 'Izzet and L. Feullet, the *Muşawwer dā'iret al-ma'arif* "Illustrated circle of knowledge", but only two volumes were issued 1913-17. The harsh social, economic and political conditions of the last decades of the Ottoman empire were certainly a contributing factor to the lack of success in completing these potentially promising works in the 19th and early 20th centuries.

Two notable biographical works appeared, however, towards the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries. A national biography, the *Sidjill-i 'Othmanī* "Ottoman register", was prepared by Mehmed Thüreyyā [q.v.] in four volumes and published in 1890-4; it contained approximately 20,000 biographies of civil servants and statesmen. A bio-bibliographical compendium of Ottoman writers began to appear in 1914, *'Othmānī mü'ellifleri* "Ottoman authors", compiled by Bursalī Mehmed Tāhir; it listed 1,600 books and gave the biographies of their authors. Its aim was to record the scientific and literary taste of the Ottomans for the new generation, and its subsequent was that it became one of the main sources for encyclopaedias published later.

After the establishment of the Republic in 1923,

the government encouraged the publication of new books, especially for children, to alleviate the problem of illiteracy. The French word for encyclopaedia was used for the first time in Turkish as *ansiklopedi* with the publication of the *Çocuk ansiklopedisi* "Children's encyclopaedia" in 1927. Four volumes appeared up to 1928, and after the change of alphabet in November 1928 the publication of this work was suspended until 1937. This encyclopaedia has a significance in Turkish encyclopaedic publication, being the last work begun in Arabic script before the change of alphabet, the first encyclopaedic work completely in the Latin script being that prepared on the initiative of a daily newspaper, *Cumhuriyet*, and published between 1932-6 in ten volumes. This publication was based on *Compton's pictured encyclopaedia* and *American educator*, and additional entries related to Turkey were written by specialists.

Several special-subject encyclopaedias have appeared in the Republican period. One of the most important of these is Reşad Ekrem Kocu's *İstanbul Ansiklopedisi*, which began in 1946 and ceased publication in 1975 on the death of the author. The significance of this incomplete work in eleven volumes is that the historian Kocu prepared it single-handed as a work limited to the city of Istanbul. Given the supreme importance of Constantinople/Istanbul in the history of the eastern Mediterranean world, further encyclopaedic works were prepared upon the death of Kocu. The *İstanbul kültür ve sanat ansiklopedisi* "Encyclopaedia of the culture and art of Istanbul" was prepared by specialists and published by a daily newspaper, *Tercüman*, in 1982; unfortunately, it was never completed. The other encyclopaedia, *Diinden bugüne İstanbul ansiklopedisi* "Encyclopaedia of Istanbul from yesterday till today", was published by the Ministry of Culture and the Historical Foundation in eight volumes in 1993-4; although not as detailed as Kocu's work, it gives general information on almost every subject in 10,000 articles.

From the 1940s onward, the Ministry of National Education (*Maarif Vekaleti*) decided to initiate the publication of encyclopaedic works as well as its publications and translations of classical works. The first was the *İslam Ansiklopedisi* begun in 1940. A committee was set up, and the encyclopaedia was based on the original *Encyclopaedia of Islam* published in Leiden in 1913-36 [see MAWSŪ'A. 4]. However, amendments were carried out and in some cases, expansions were made in articles which were only briefly covered in the Leiden edition. The work was completed in 1988 in thirteen volumes, of which two volumes have two parts.

Meanwhile, a decision was made by the same Ministry to prepare a general, national encyclopaedia in 1943. The first four volumes were issued under the title of *İnönü ansiklopedisi*, the name of the President of Turkey at the time [see İSMET İNÖNÜ, in Suppl.], altered to *Türk ansiklopedisi* in 1951. The encyclopaedia consists of thirty-three volumes, and publication was completed in 1986. This work has a significant place in the history of official publications in the Turkish Republic. Since it was published over a span of forty-three years, it reflects the political approaches and the use of Turkish language by the various governments in power through the period, and it further illustrates how the publications of government agencies can be affected by the political ideology of these governments. The Ministry of National Education also commissioned Celal Esat Arseven and Mehmed Zeki Pakalın in 1943 and in 1946, respectively, to publish



the *Sanat ansiklopedisi* "Encyclopaedia of the Arts" in five volumes and *Osmanlı tarih deyimleri ve terimleri sözlüğü* "Dictionary of Historical Phrases and Terms" in three volumes.

From that period until the 1960s, no new projects for a general encyclopaedia were initiated with the exception of the *Hayat ansiklopedisi* "Encyclopedia of life," begun by a private publisher in 1961 and by 1963 completed in six volumes. In a very short period, 100,000 copies were sold, indicating the need for a general encyclopaedia by an increasingly literate society.

The *Meydan Larousse büyük lugat ve ansiklopedi* is the largest Turkish encyclopaedic work initiated by a private publisher, with publication beginning in 1969. It is an encyclopaedia as well as a dictionary, being a translation of the *Grand Larousse encyclopédique* published in 1960-4 in ten volumes. Some subjects and entries related solely to French language and culture were omitted, and subjects related to Turkish and Islamic culture inserted. The encyclopaedia was issued in fascicles and was completed in 1973 in twelve volumes, with two supplementary volumes issued in 1974 and 1985, respectively. The publication of *Meydan Larousse* was a turning-point in the history of commercial publication of encyclopaedias in Turkey, and a result of the enthusiasm with which the *Meydan Larousse* was greeted by the public, other publishers have seen the commercial opportunities offered by publishing encyclopaedias.

Hence during these years, a handful of publishers began to specialise in such reference works. The major publishers today are Anadolu Yayıncılık, Gelişim, Görsel ve İletişim, who publish not only general encyclopaedic works but also encyclopaedias on specialised subjects, such as *Türk ansiklopedisi* "Encyclopedia of the Homeland", which gives information on the history, economic and social conditions of the cities of Turkey in alphabetical order; *Türk ve dünya ünlüleri ansiklopedisi*, a biographical reference source; *Gelişim genel kültür ansiklopedisi*, a general encyclopaedia; *Anadolu uygarlıkları ansiklopedisi*, an encyclopaedic publication on Anatolian civilisations; and *Cumhuriyet dönemi Türkiye ansiklopedisi*, which covers the development of various fields in the Republican period such as the constitution, archaeology, the press, energy, mining, librarianship, etc. *Ana Britannica ansiklopedisi* is a translation and adaptation of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, published in 1988 by Anadolu Yayıncılık. The publisher has also published yearbooks in order to update the necessary information. The second Turkish edition was initiated in 2000 and it is still in progress. Finally, *Türkiye diyanet vakfı islam ansiklopedisi*, an *Encyclopedia of Islam*, is being prepared and financially supported by the Turkish Religious Foundation. The publication started in 1988 and twenty-two volumes, covering the letters A-I, have already appeared. The encyclopaedia contains not only subjects related to Islam but also wider aspects relating to the Islamic community throughout the world. Most of the Islamic subjects are very detailed, and the articles have comprehensive bibliographies.

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5. In Urdu.

Here there does not seem to be any significant tradition of any antiquity, leaving aside modern Urdu translations of such reference works as *Chamber's Encyclopaedia*, the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* and, of course,

the Urdu *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, which draws on material from the Western *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, published in Leiden.

MEHMET TÂHIR, BURSALI (1861-1925), Ottoman biographer and bibliographer.

Mehmet Tâhir was born in Bursa in northwestern Turkey on 22 November 1861, the son of Rif'at Bey, clerk to the city council, and grandson of Üsküdarlı Seyyid Mehmed Tâhir Paşa, formerly a commander in sultan 'Abd ül-Medjîd's imperial guard. He studied at the Bursa military academy from 1875 and at the élite Harbiyye (War) academy in İstanbul from 1880. Graduating in 1883 he spent the next twenty years teaching geography, history and rhetoric at military schools in Manâsır (and one year in Üsküb) in Macedonia, as part of the Ottoman Third Army. In 1904 he became director of the military high school in Selânik (Salonica). Whilst at the Harbiyye academy he had become a member of the Melâmî order of dervishes, by whom he was profoundly influenced in his teaching, publications and political outlook. In Manâsır he first conceived the notion of collecting bio-bibliographical data on poets and learned men, and in 1897 published his first work *Türkler'in 'ulûm ve fînûna khidmetleri* "The Turkish contribution to arts and sciences" (İstanbul 1314). In 1316/1899 he also published a full-length biographical study of the Arab mystic Ibn al-'Arabî.

Mehmet Tâhir was dismissed from his teaching post in December 1906 for his Şüfî involvement and his membership of the Ottoman Freedom Society ('*Othmânî hürriyet cem'iyeti*'). From 1908 to 1911 he served as deputy for Bursa in the first representative assembly of the Second Constitutional period, and subsequently served in the Ministry of Charitable Endowments (*Evkâf nezâreti*) on a committee to inspect the holdings of institutional libraries. In 1915 he became director of the Topkapı Sarayı library. The date of Mehmet Tâhir's death is uncertain, but was probably 1925. He was buried in İstanbul.

Mehmet Tâhir's principal work is '*Othmânî mü'ellifleri*', a three-volume bio-bibliographical compendium published between 1915 and 1924, listing 1691 Ottoman authors and their works. Despite many lacunae and acknowledged errors, '*Othmânî mü'ellifleri*' was unique in its comprehensive scope and immediately became a standard reference work. Aside from the works already mentioned, Mehmet Tâhir also compiled over twenty lesser biographical works, either of particular individuals (e.g. Kâtib Çelebi) or of groups of Ottoman *shaykhs* and '*ulemâ*'.

Bibliography: For a full bibliography, see the detailed article by Ömer Faruk Akün, in *Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı İslam Ansiklopedisi*, vi (1992), 452-61, on which the above is based.

(CHRISTINE WOODHEAD)

MEZISTRE, MIZISTRE, the Turkish name for Greek Mystras, Latin Mistra, a famous Byzantine necropolis on a hill slope west of modern Sparta in Laconia in the Peloponnese [see MORA], which was a major centre of late mediaeval Greek civilisation and capital of the "Despotate of the Morea" till the Ottoman conquest. It has numerous Byzantine and Frankish monuments from the 13th-15th centuries, and was immortalised, albeit anachronistically, in Goethe's *Faust*. The name has been connected with the shape of the cone-shaped hill on which it stands.

The Frankish castle of 1249 was built by William II de Villehardouin of the Achaia Principality, but passed to the Byzantines in 1262. The ravages of Franks and Turkmens from Western Anatolia (see



details in A. Savvides, *The origins and rôle of the Turkophone mercenaries in the Morea in the course of the Byzantine-Frankish war of 1263-4* [in Greek], in *Acts of the 4th Intern. Congr. of Peloponnesian Studies*, i, Athens 1992, 165-88) later compelled the local people to seek refuge in the citadel so that it developed into a fortified town. The 14th and early 15th centuries were, culturally, a Golden Age for Mistra, and notable for the humanist Plethon (d. 1452), whose connections with Islam are noteworthy; he was influenced, whilst in Edirne, by a Jewish scholar, Elissaeus, who initiated him into Zoroastrianism, Averroean Aristotelianism and Jewish mysticism of the Kabbalistic tradition. Plethon had connections with such more enlightened Muslim elements as the Akhîs [q.v.] and followers of the religio-social leader Badr al-Dîn Kādî Samawna [q.v.] (see F. Taeschner, *Plethon, ein Vermittler zwischen Morgenland und Abendland in Beginn der Renaissance*, in *Byz.-Neugriechische Jb.*, viii [1930], 100ff.).

The earliest recorded battle of the Despot of Mistra against the Turks, sc. Turkmen arriving across the Aegean with a fleet, is variously placed in 1357-64. Subsequent Ottoman incursions were led by Ewrenos Beg [q.v.] in the late 1380s and 1390s, and by Turakhan [q.v.] in 1423, who reached the outskirts of Mistra (witnessed personally by Plethon). By 1446 the Despot Constantine Palaeologus had to acknowledge Ottoman suzerainty, and in spring 1460 Mehmed II decided to annex the Despotate, and Demetrios surrendered to him. An Albanian convert, Hamza Zenevisi, was made the first governor of Ottoman Mezistre (see von Hammer, *GOR*, ii, 379, iii, 9ff., 54ff.; F. Babinger, *Mahomet le Conquerant et son temps*, Paris 1954, 102ff., 210ff.; Savvides, *Notes on the Turkish raids in the Mystras area from c. 1360 to the Ottoman conquest of 1460*, in *Epeteris Etairias Byzantinon Spoudon*, xlviii [1990-1], 45-51).

Under the first *Tourkokratia*, Mezistre was the favoured residence of the *sandjak bey* of Morea till the conquest of Nauplion (Anabolu) in 1540. It enjoyed relative tranquillity, with its architecture and urban topography largely unchanged except for the addition of a few mosques. The commerce of its bazaars and its local Jewish community were important, and Western travellers, from Coronelli (1681) onwards, describe the August "market fairs" (*emporopangyreis*). The population ca. 1583-5 appears to have been, from the evidence of the Ottoman registers, 1,000 Christian families and 199 Jewish ones (see M.T. Gökbilgin, *Kanunî sultan Süleyman devri başlarında Rumeli eyaleti livaları*, in *Belleten*, xx [1956], 281), whilst Kâtib Çelebi lists for the late 17th century ca. 15,000 inhabitants (von Hammer, *Rumeli und Bosna. Geogr. Beschreibung von... Hadschi Chalfa*, Vienna 1812, 117-18).

The Venetian Francesco Morosini captured Mezistre in August 1687, and the Venetians then made it the capital of their *territorium* of *Braccio di Maina*, second only in importance to the province of Laconia's capital of Monemvasia [see *MENEKSE*]; yet their rule was rigorous and accordingly unpopular with the Greek inhabitants. Now, in the Venetian and second Turkish periods, the population of the town rose considerably and seems, from the travellers' accounts, to have reached 40-45,000. The Venetians abandoned Mistra in 1715 in face of a powerful approaching Turkish army, and Ottoman rule was re-established. But in the course of the Russo-Turkish war of 1768-74 and the Greek revolt of 1770 [see *MORA*, 2.], the Greeks, aided by the Russian fleet of the Orloffs, took the fortress of Mezistre and started a merciless slaughter of the small Turco-Albanian garrison, which was only

saved through the intercession of the local metropolitan. But in autumn 1770 a Turco-Albanian force returned and sacked and burnt much of the town, not sparing even the metropolitan who had intervened to save their compatriots. From now onwards there began a gradual deserting of the fortress towards the lower slopes, which would eventually lead to the foundation of modern Mystras. With the outbreak of the Greek Revolt (1821), Mezistre surrendered to the powerful local Mainote clans of Mavromichales and Giatrakos and the Turkish garrison was allowed to flee to Tripolitza, but it was once again plundered and burned by Ibrâhîm Pasha's army in 1825, as vividly described by C. Swan in his *Voyages in the Eastern Mediterranean*, London 1826. These ravages signalled the town's abandonment, since—except for a few families—the exasperated inhabitants descended to the settlement of Neo-Mystras and thence to modern Sparta, inaugurated in 1834 by a decree of King Otto I and built by 1837-8.

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MIHMĀN (p.), literally “guest”, the equivalent of Ar. *ḍayf* [q.v. for this sense]. The Persian word occurs in various compounds, such as *mihmāndār* and *mihmān-khāna*. In Safawid Persia, the *mihmāndārs* were officials appointed to receive and to provide hospitality for guests, including foreign ambassadors and envoys, with a court head official, the *mihmāndār-bāshī*, superintending these lesser persons. In Qājār times, the *mihmāndārs* seem to have been appointed *ad hoc*. See the references to the accounts of European travellers in Safawid Persia (Chardin, Kaempfer, Sanson) in the anonymous *Tadhkirat al-mulūk*, ed. and tr. V. Minorsky, London 1943, comm. 110 n. 2.

The institution of the *mihmān-khāna* in its more modern form goes back to Nāṣir al-Dīn Shāh Kādjār after his first visit to Europe in 1873 (cf. Sir Denis Wright, *The Persians amongst the English*, London 1985, 135). He had the laudable intention of providing rest houses along the routes to the capital Tehran, from such entry points to his kingdom as Enzeli on the Caspian coast, which would provide travellers with something better than the traditional caravanserais or *khāns* [q.v.] and the *ṣāpar-khānas* (see a description of these last in *Khurāsān* given by the Hon. G.N. Curzon, *Persia and the Persian question*, London 1892, i, 249 ff., and cf. the remarks on the *ṣāpar* system in general in Murray's *handbook for travellers in Asia Minor, Transcaucasia, Persia, etc.*, London 1895, 285-6) and which would possess in some degree the amenities of a western-type hotel. Western travellers in Persia during the later 19th century found the concept good, but its execution left much to be desired. E.G. Browne commented that the *mihmān-khāna* “has all the worse defects of a European hotel without its luxury”; he contrasted the insolence and rapacity of the servants there with the hospitality he had received in humble peasant homes, and the “new-fangled and extortionate” nature of the new buildings with the “venerable and commodious caravansaray” (*A year amongst the Persians*, London 1893, 85-8, 177-8). It was not until after the First World War that European-type hotels began to spread from the capital Tehran into the provinces.

Bibliography: Given in the article. See also MANZIL, 2. (C.E. BOSWORTH)

MILIANA [see MILYĀNA].

MĪR TAQĪ MĪR [see MĪR MUHAMMAD TAQĪ].

MĪRĀDJ.

6. In Persian literature.

The ascension of the Prophet of Islam is, for Persian literature, an account, *ḵiṣṣa-i mīrādī*, one drawn from a long tradition, *ḥadīth-i mīrādī* and an account that takes an autonomous form, *mīrādī-nāma*. This account thus has a history. The progressive organisation of the narrative elements constituting the whole is derived from the world to which the text belongs. The world of Persian literature cannot be detached from its Muslim context (Qur'ān, tradition and exegesis) nor from its original milieu (Iranian and, furthermore, millennial).

The celestial journey was a familiar theme throughout the Near Eastern world. Having exclusive regard to the Iranian cultural domain, Zarathustra, according to the *Avesta*, had asked for immortality and this was granted: he did not die but departed, alive and intact, into the beyond through “assumption” (*aṣṭi*; Kellens 1999). From this point onward, according to another source, he spent ten years “in the best existence”, guided by Vohū Manō “while maintaining contact with Ahura Mazda”. Then, strengthened, he descended again to join his kinsmen (Molé 1967). As for the soul of the virtuous deceased, the *Avesta*

describes the four stages through which it passes, guided by the same benevolent genie, before reaching the throne of Ahura Mazda (Duchesne-Guillemin 1962). The tale in Middle Persian of the magian Ardā Virāz, who used methods of a shamanic nature to make a journey to Heaven, was well known in its time. The magian visited Heaven and Hell, bringing back valuable advice for his community in the practice of the cult (Gignoux 1984). Also celebrated was the visit of the angel which began the prophetic vocation of the founder of Manicheism (Ibn al-Nadīm, *al-Fihrist*, tr. B. Dodge, ii, 774-5). As regards the Iranian calendar from the start of the Islamic era, al-Bīrūnī (*al-Āthār*, 216) relates that on Nawrūz [q.v.], the festival of the first day of the year, the ascension to Heaven of the great king of ancient times, Djamshīd, was celebrated. On his throne and in a kind of apotheosis, he went there to defeat death and the demons.

When Persian prose emerged, in the 4th/10th century, Qur'anic exegesis had already travelled a considerable distance in constructing the account of the ascension of the Prophet. It was also at this time that the commemoration of this ascension began, in Jerusalem [see AL-KUḌS, at Vol. V, 323]. The original translation into Persian of the commentary on the Qur'ān (*al-Tafsīr*) by al-Tabarī, on the initiative of the Sāmānid Maṣṣūr b. Nuḥ (d. 365/975 [q.v.]), is one of the greatest monuments of this early prose. Gathered here is the best of what exegesis had hitherto elaborated, on the basis of *ḥadīths* which focused the reading of notable passages of the Qur'ān on the “night journey” (*isrā'*) (Qur'ān, XVII, 1) and on the two visions of the Prophet (Qur'ān, LIII, 1-18 and LXXXI, 19-25). It may be noted that the *mīrādī* is involved here three times. The account is first developed broadly at the end of the commentary on Sūra II (Persian *Tafsīr*, i, 182-98), while with Sūra XVII, that of the “night journey”, the commentary offers at the end of the sūra only a summary (Persian *Tafsīr*, iv, 909-18). Through this style of repetition it can be understood what at that time constituted the nucleus of the story of the ascension. On arriving in the Seventh Heaven, Gabriel invites the Prophet to speak before God. The dialogue is contained in the verses 285-6 which conclude Sūra II. Then, for greater precision, Gabriel will say, in the account which follows Sūra XVII, that the object of the journey is “that you address your prayers to God” (Persian *Tafsīr*, iv, 910). Thus at its birth, Persian prose was located at the end of a process of exegesis which had made from Qur'anic verses which did not require it, an account of the ascent to Heaven, of dialogue with God and of redescending, which had long been part of the religious and cultural ambience of the Near East.

But for a third time, at the end of the translation of Sūra LIII (Persian *Tafsīr*, vii, 1766-8) there is a further instance of *mīrādī*. At Medina, the text relates, Arabs were competing at archery. The Prophet was then transported to Heaven, after which God told him that he had been closer to Him “than the distance of two bow-shots”. This was the interpretation of the two well-known Qur'anic verses LIII, 8-9. Secondly, where the Qur'ān says, “And he revealed to his servant what he revealed. His heart has not belied what he saw” (Persian *Tafsīr*, Sūra LIII, 10-11), the commentator has written: “The heart of the Prophet saw God more clearly than we see with the eyes in our heads, and it was not a deceitful vision” (vii, 1769). These few phrases were to be decisive in the development of Persian *mīrādī*, focusing the interest of the story on the great proximity between the

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Prophet and God, and on the vision of the heart. Bringing these elements together was all that remained to be accomplished.

The 5th/11th century saw a capital development in the story of the *mīrādī* narrative in Persian. Attributed to Ibn Sīnā (370-427/980-1037 [q.v.]) is a "Book of the Ladder" (*mīrādī-nāma*), consisting of a brief but substantial account of an ascension, drawn from tradition and accompanied by a long commentary. The account is composed of forty short pieces, a sort of *vade-mecum*, a *chihil sukhān* offered for meditation. Each piece receives a commentary in the typical style of Ibn Sīnā, with his angelology and his descriptive cosmology. The totality is known through several manuscripts, from the 6th/12th to the 8th/14th centuries. Naḍīrb Māyil-i Hirawī was the discoverer of the manuscript which enabled him to prepare a critical edition (*Mīrādī-nāma*, 1365/1986). The author of the text has reduced the narration to the essentials, copious as it is with the authors of the *Tafsīr*. His commentary interprets the ascension as a journey of the soul of the Prophet towards Primary Intelligence. Henry Corbin (1954, 1999) has rightly added his interpretation of the text to that of the three visionary accounts of Ibn Sīnā.

Ibn Sīnā's illustrious contemporary, al-Kuṣṣhayrī (376-465/986-1072 [q.v.]), likewise a Khurāsānīan, was of a totally different background: Aṣḥ'arī, Shāfi'ī and a master of *ḥadīth* and of Sūfism. Shocked by those sceptical of the physical reality of the *mīrādī*, he undertook to establish, point by point, proof of the veracity of the events of the ascension of the Prophet. From a meticulous examination of all the *ḥadīths* worthy of belief, he drew up a work in Arabic that concluded specifically that the Prophet "rose to Heaven with his body" (*K. al-Mīrādī*, 65). Thus, two lines were drawn, between which numerous options were available: that of Ibn Sīnā, proponent of a journey of the spirit, and that of al-Kuṣṣhayrī, an authority on Sunnism (Fouchécour 1996).

The 5th/11th and 6th/12th centuries constitute a decisive period of evolution of the *mīrādī* story in Persian literature. In prose, the account of the ascension was developed within commentaries on the Qur'ān. Alongside them and in the Ḥallādjīan tradition, works of spirituality dealt with the ascension of the Prophet as a prototype of the journey of the purified soul. Finally, poetry was directed towards an account of celebration of the event, which the *mīrādī* was for the believer, and quickly blended, in its lyrical mode, with the spiritual mainstream.

The first commentary on the Qur'ān that went beyond the sole concern of translation into Persian was that of Shāhīfūr-i Isfara'īnī, the *Tādī al-tarādjīm fi tafsīr al-Kur'ān li 'l-ʿaḍdjīm*, composed between 430/1038 and 460/1067. This jurist, expert in *ḥadīth* and a committed Aṣḥ'arī, used a style decidedly representative of Khurāsānīan prose, close to the spoken language, pleasant and persuasive. His account of the *mīrādī* (*Tādī al-tarādjīm*, iii, 1229-51) is distinguished from that of al-Tabarī in several ways. It is not written in the same cosmic perspective, with the scholar making use of contemporary knowledge regarding the skies, the stars and planets. It is intentionally reduced to that which gives guidance in faith and which changes the proportions given to the sections of the account. The march from Mecca to Jerusalem has the nature of an important initiatory test; the approach to the Throne of God takes on the grandeur of court ceremonial. But the basis of the dialogue between God and the Prophet remains that which is said in

Qur'ān, II, 285-6. Several of its original elements are not retained, but the account of Shāhīfūr has left its mark on the story of the *mīrādī*.

Another Khurāsānīan, Abū Bakr 'Atīk b. Muḥammad al-Harawī al-Sūrābādī, dedicated his *Tafsīr* to the Saldjūk Alp Arslan [q.v.], who reigned from 455/1063 to 465/1072. He composed his account of the *mīrādī* in the same spirit as Shāhīfūr, in a limpid Persian prose. His version was powerfully coherent and appropriate for various audiences, especially no doubt the community of preachers. In particular, they could find there two major affirmations: the importance of the Prophet's function as a mediator on behalf of his community, and the essential role of Gabriel as a guide on the celestial journey. On the other hand, the account is so well proportioned in its sections that it seems suitable for public reading, with the audience reciting the numerous Qur'ānic verses inserted in the text.

A little younger than al-Sūrābādī, an important translator of the Qur'ān from Transoxiana deserves mention. This is Abū Ḥafṣ Naḍīm al-Dīn 'Umar b. Muḥammad al-Nasafī (462-538/1069-1143 [see AL-NASAFĪ, III]). He used rhymed prose in his translation and showed himself an expert in the Persian literature of his time. His translation of Qur'ān, XVII, 1, for example, is already a form of commentary; he interprets Qur'ān, LIII, 8-9, as denoting the proximity of Gabriel with the Prophet. A brief account of the *mīrādī* follows Qur'ān, LIII, 8-11 (*Tafsīr*, ii, 998-9), a short and powerful text which lends itself to serious consideration.

In the first half of the following century, Rashīd al-Dīn Abū 'l-Faḍl Aḥmad al-Maybudī was the author of a large commentary on the Qur'ān, begun in 520/1126. He was not a Khurāsānīan, but he revived a composition of al-Anṣārī (the eminent Sūfī master of Harāt, d. 481/1089 [see AL-ANṢĀRĪ AL-HARAWĪ]) which he called *pīr-i ʿarīkat*. His account of the *mīrādī* was, understandably, inspired by Sūfism, which was a novelty. He developed this story in its place, at the beginning of Sūra XVII (*Tafsīr*, 478-500). It is not certain that he knew al-Sūrābādī's account; he places objections to the miracle of ascension and the responses at the start of the text, or changes the dispositions of the inhabitants of the Heavens. His true originality is his way of addressing "the station of proximity" (*maqām-i kurbā*), describing in technical terms known in Sūfism the ecstasy of the Prophet before God.

Henceforward, no reader of the Qur'ān could miss the account of the *mīrādī* nor ignore its implications regarding the personality of the Prophet and Islam, the ultimate destiny of men and their spiritual path. In his turn, a Shī'ī of Rayy, Abū 'l-Futūḥ al-Rāzī, preacher and jurist, composed a major commentary on the Qur'ān, completed shortly before his death (552/1157). He took such care in the writing of his account of the Prophet's ascension to the point of turning it into a major classic, with the quality of his Persian and the organisation of the story (*Rawḍ al-djīmān*, vi, 254-73), establishing the essentials for future generations.

But before him, Sanā'ī [q.v.] had for the first time introduced the theme of the *mīrādī* into Persian poetry. He gave to the beautiful *mathnawī* which he composed at 33 years of age in 506/1112 (if he was born in 473/1080) the title of "Journey of the devotees towards the Place of Return" (*sayr al-ʿibād ilā 'l-māʿād*), intentionally combining in this title two words taken from Qur'ān, XVII, 1, and from Qur'ān, XXVIII, 85, thus indicating that this journey is a *mīrādī* (de Bruijn



1997), conceived in effect, in his description, as an ascension of the Šūfī. In his major work the *Ḥadīkat al-ḥakīkat*, incomplete at the time of his death (525/1131), he inaugurated the practice of eulogising the Prophet of Islam, giving special prominence to his night journey. The account is brief (*Ḥadīkat*, 195-6), but it suffices to show how the Prophet has transcended everything which was traditionally related of this journey. The direct influence of the *Sawānīḥ* of Aḥmad al-Ḡhazālī (d. 520/1126) on Sanā'ī is very probable (Pūrḍjawādī 1378/1999). A source for these two mystics was, it may be recalled, ch. ii of the *Tawāṣīn* of al-Hallāj (Massignon, *Passion*, iii, 311-15). But Hudjwiri (d. ca. 465/1072 [q.v.]), after his masters, was also an inspiration due to the magisterial fashion in which he addressed *mī'rādī* in general (*Kaṣṣf al-mahdīyūb*, 306-7) and the Prophet's *mī'rādī* in particular (*op. cit.*, 364, 389).

Thus, in the space of a century, the story of the *mī'rādī* of the Prophet was to be imposed on several essential registers of Persian literature. In poetry especially, the two major authors who drew inspiration from Sanā'ī, sc. Aṭṭār and Nizāmī [q.v.], were intent on glorifying this ascent at the outset of their works. An example that can be given is the splendid text of the *Ilāhī-nāma* "The divine book" (bayts 256-413, pp. 11-17; tr. J.A. Boyle, 12-19) composed before 586/1190. It takes considerable liberties in relation to the prose texts. The Prophet decides to ascend to the Heavens, and the reader witnesses a lengthy homage paid to him by all the previous prophets; the reader subsequently witnesses the meeting of the stars with him, and then the mystical transformation of the Chosen One is described at length, summarised at the end in the image of the arrow which struck the letter *m* from the name of Aḥmad, to give Aḥad, the image of unification. Nizāmī, in his turn, composed five accounts of ascension as introductions to his five *mathnawīs*. The most successful was the one that he wrote, some years after Aṭṭār, for the *Haft paykar* "The seven princesses" (ed. Ṭharwātīyān 1998, 64-8), which shows excellent knowledge of the traditional tale and an incomparable spiritual and poetic sense (Fouchécour 1989).

The many Persian poets who were inspired, over the course of several centuries, by the *Pandī gandrī*, the "Five treasures" of Nizāmī, composed accounts of the *mī'rādī* in their turn. But with the 6th/12th century, the genre had matured and was growing stale. On the other hand, the perception of the *mī'rādī* of the Prophet "as a prototype of the experience of the mystic rising from Heaven to Heaven in his lifetime" (Corbin, *En Islam iranien*, iii, 1972, 346) formed the basis of numerous treatises on the fringes of literature and the science of religions. On these fringes, there remains a vast area of study which has been little explored, concerning the themes essential to the *mī'rādī*, such as the Opening of the Chest, the Celestial Mount, the Night of the Rescript (*shab-i barāt*), the Angel-Holy Spirit, the Tree of the Frontier, the Sails of Light, the shape of the Stars, the dwellings of Paradise, etc. And if "the nocturnal ascension is the nucleus of the religious vocation of Muḥammad" (Massignon), the account of it cannot be irrelevant to the essentials of Islam.

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(CH.H. DE FOUCHECOUR)
MĪRZĀ SHAFĪ' MĀZANDARĀNĪ (1159-1234/1744-1819) or Mīrzā Muḥammad Shafī' Bandpī' Māzandarānī, prime minister during the rule of Fath 'Alī Shāh Kādjār [q.v.].

He began his career as a statesman at the court of Āghā Muḥammad Khān [q.v.], the founder of the Kādjār [q.v.] dynasty, who promoted Mīrzā Shafī' to the rank of minister. After the murder of Āghā Muḥammad Khān in 1797, Mīrzā Shafī' continued in office at the court of the successor, Fath 'Alī Shāh, by whom in 1801 he was appointed prime minister. Mīrzā Shafī's term of office coincided with Persia's being drawn into the strands of European diplomacy. In 1804, in an effort to reassert its former authority in Georgia and consequently to impede further Russian advances southwards, Persia entered into a war with Russia, which was finally concluded with the signing of the peace treaty of Gulistān [q.v.] in 1813. During the war, Mīrzā Shafī' attempted to make an alliance with France. He persuaded Fath 'Alī Shāh to despatch an envoy to the court of Napoleon Bonaparte in order to negotiate this. Accordingly, the Franco-Persian Treaty of Finkenstein was signed in 1807. However, the French soon ignored the treaty by reaching an agreement with the Russians at Tilsit in the same year, leaving Mīrzā Shafī' politically disillusioned. Much of his period of office was spent in military engagements and diplomatic negotiations. He died at Qazwīn in 1234/1819 and was survived by one daughter.

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(T. ATABAKI)

MĪRZĀ SHAFĪ' WĀDIḤ TABRIZĪ (b. 1794 Gandja, d. 1852 Tbilisi). Azerbaijani poet.

Born into a family from Tabriz, at ten years old he lost his father, who was a stonemason, but with the assistance of his relatives he attended a traditional school where he learned literary Persian as well as Arabic. His knowledge of Persian literature introduced him to the works of renowned Persian poets such as Ḥāfiẓ and Niẓāmī. Because of his anti-clerical views, he was expelled from school and began to earn his living both as an accountant and a teacher in calligraphy. His position as accountant brought him the title of Mīrzā. As a teacher of calligraphy, he taught the young Mīrzā Fath 'Alī Ākhūndzāda [q.v.] and persuaded him to end his religious studies. In 1840, the persecutions that he endured from local clerics compelled him to leave Gandja and settle in Tbilisi. There, Ākhūndzāda assisted him in securing a teaching position in Persian and Azeri Turkish languages. In Tbilisi he published the first Azeri Turkish language guidebook, *Kitāb-i turkī*, and formed a cultural society known as *Dīwān-i hikmat*, where learned figures of the city occasionally gathered to debate literary, philosophical and social themes. Amongst those who attended these conventions was Friedrich Bodenstedt (1819-92), a German traveller who was interested in oriental studies. While following Mīrzā Shafī's courses on Persian and Azeri Turkish, Bodenstedt collected the original manuscripts of Mīrzā Shafī's poems, both in Persian and in Azeri Turkish. Returning to Germany in 1846, Bodenstedt translated these verses into German and published them in Berlin. The eventual translation of this book into almost all European languages soon made Mīrzā Shafī' a renowned Azerbaijani poet outside the Caucasus. In 1846 Mīrzā Shafī' left Tbilisi for Gandja and continued his teaching career. But ca. 1850 he returned to Tbilisi and taught in a local *Gymnasium* until his death.

Little remains of Mīrzā Shafī's works, and it was not until the Soviet period that four of his *ghazals* and a few lines of his poems in Persian and Azeri Turkish were found and published. The German translation of his poetry has been surrounded by some controversy. While some scholars recognise Mīrzā Shafī' as a lyricist with an inclination towards oriental mysticism, others claim that Mīrzā Shafī's understanding of poetry did not go beyond the common knowledge of the learned in the East. Bodenstedt himself was not consistent in his appreciation of Mīrzā Shafī's literary status. While in his earlier writings he had acknowledged Mīrzā Shafī' as the original poet of the German translations, he later decreased Mīrzā Shafī's role to being merely that of a source of inspiration for his own poetry.

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(T. ATABAKI)

MIŞR.

C. 2. vi. The city from 1798 till the present day.

The history of Cairo over the 19th and 20th centuries is primarily one of status: from being the important capital of an Ottoman province, it became the capital of independent Egypt. During the two centuries under consideration, the city experienced first of all a long period of stagnation; then, from the early 1870s, a strong political will brought an unprecedented development which pointed the way to the modern city. Some years later, the financial situation of Egypt put a brake on urban growth, which then entered upon a period of slow consolidation until the end of the First World War. The years 1920-50 are marked by a new departure, whose determinants are not so much political as migratory. After independence, and up to the end of the 1970s, Cairo became the city of superlatives, with municipal services expanding in all spheres. Then, the slowing down of the migratory movement, whose effects were felt from the beginning of the 1980s, allowed the municipal authorities to resume their policies. Hence the last two decades of the 20th century were devoted to replacing equipment and public services. At the end of the century, Cairo stretched out at the same time into the desert zones and also into the agricultural lands along the outskirts as far as some 30 km/18 miles from its historic core. The city's history during these two centuries is also one of the progressive slipping away of its centre. At the present time, the places making up the centre are spread out around several focuses without nevertheless the older centres, the ancient city as much as the quarters developed at the end of the 19th century, being abandoned.

A difficult start, 1800-68. In 1798 General Bonaparte established his headquarters at Cairo, at a time when the city had 263,000 inhabitants. The French plans for the improvement of the road system were ambitious, but the results were scanty. The re-establishment of Ottoman authority a few years later was unfavourable for the city, whose population declined. However, Cairo experienced some changes which were to be determining factors for later works. At the outset, the governor of Egypt Muḥammad 'Alī Paṣhā [q.v.] embarked upon the first act of the discontinuous development of the urban agglomeration: the building of a palace some 12 km/7 miles north of the city. Nearer to the centre, the strengthening of the embankments for containing the floodwaters of the Nile allowed the laying out of vast gardens and the construction of palaces between the fringes of the old structure of the city and the river banks. In regard to urban administration, Muḥammad 'Alī took up again the structures of power from the previous century but put in place a new dividing out of the administrative which served as the base for the geographical extension of local public services. Heavy industry, whose development the Paṣhā embarked upon vigorously, was

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concentrated above all on Būlāk [q.v.], where several factories for metalworking, printing and spinning were set up at this time.

In the mid-19th century, 'Abbās Pasha, governor of Egypt 1848-54, developed—around important barracks, a palace and a school—a new quarter to the north of the city, sc. 'Abbāsiyya. The first constructions for piping water began during this period but it was long before results were seen. Finally, in the framework of an agreement with the British, a railway was built between Alexandria and Suez via Cairo, with the Cairo railway station opening in 1856. At this time, the city's population was almost the same as it was a half-century previously.

A fillip to urbanisation, 1868-75. The succession of Ismā'īl Pasha [q.v.] at the beginning of the 1860s formed a turning-point. Taking as a pretext the need to receive fittingly European dignitaries for the opening of the Suez Canal at the end of 1869, he developed an immense project of extending the city westwards. Paris was the model, but Ismā'īl retained only the general picture of the French model rather than the exact procedure; nevertheless, the permanent markets and properties strongly resisted the project. In order to promote the new quarters, the Khedive had several public buildings erected there and enormous buildings to be let out in flats, and he gave other stretches of land gratis to those who contracted to build there quickly. After several checks, the beginning of the 1870s was marked by a resumption of works. At that time, Ismā'īl opened up for urban development the zones farthest away from the centre as far as the left bank of the Nile, and he founded the spa town of Hūlwān [q.v.] some 30 km/18 miles to the south. More than 200 ha (the equivalent of one-fifth of the urbanised zone by ca. 1865) were offered to the land market over a few years. This development was interrupted as rapidly as it had been started up; in the mid-1870s, Egypt's bankruptcy dealt a brutal blow to the works. During this time, Cairo became the place of privileged exile for Syro-Lebanese intellectuals who formed the nucleus of the *Nahda* [q.v.] or Arab cultural awakening and who contributed considerably to the development of cultural life and the formation of the first press devoted to conveying opinion. It was also a high-point of the national movement whose activities were to lead to the British occupation of the country at the end of 1882.

Slowing down and consolidation, 1875-1918. This period was first of all one devoted to the servicing of the public debt. The greater part of resources was pledged to developing agricultural production for export. Cairo was in practice left to its own devices by the administration. After fifteen years of consolidating the quarters founded by Ismā'īl, new works were begun. But the municipal services were now deprived of all means of state intervention; urban development was left to the initiative of private companies, utilising capital which for the most part emanated from outside the country. It was above all in the sphere of transport that these companies provided for the city's future. The first suburban railway dates from 1888, whilst the tramway system dates from a decade later. At this time, Cairo comprised 570,000 persons on the right bank of the Nile. In the wake of this process and the intense speculation which followed, numerous quarters were founded. In 1906, a Belgian tramway company obtained an authorisation to create a new city, in the desert a few kilometres to the northeast; Heliopolis ('Ayn Shams [q.v.]) was thus born. But not all private capital was invested in land speculation.

Industrial production also enjoyed a substantial development; this brought about the impoverishment of an important part of the population which was regrouped in a very dense and crowded precarious habitat, in quarters sometimes established in insalubrious areas. Two worlds and two cities were now established cheek-by-jowl, often in close proximity.

The period of growth, 1918-50. After the First World War, the slowing down of agricultural development and improvements in public health brought about an excess of population in the countryside, causing an acceleration of migration to the great cities. Cairo now became a great safety-valve for this rural population growth, with its population jumping from 791,000 in 1917 to 2,320,00 in 1947. During these thirty years, the city went through numerous changes. The construction sector, private as well as public, was very dynamic. The campus of the University at Dījza (Gizeh), the building for the Mixed Courts, the Parliament building, etc., all date from this period. Intervention by the public authorities in matters of urban development is less conclusive. Despite the first general development plan dating from the later 1920s, the works undertaken were largely those done from necessity. They affected mainly the structure of the old city, and if the public road system was improved, this was more a response to traffic problems than a project looking to the future. At the end of the 1940s, the first social housing appeared in Cairo. The period was also marked by a strong patriotic feeling expressed, in particular, in an abundant artistic and cultural production. Its exportation to the lands of both the Maghrib and the Mashrik made Cairo the cultural capital of the Arab world.

The period of bursting activity, 1950-80. After the Free Officers' *coup d'état* of July 1952, the rulers of Egypt adopted new approaches for the development of Cairo. Great projects multiplied, including expressways along the banks of the Nile, additional bridges, etc. The first master plan for the Cairo agglomeration, prepared in 1956, was soon out of date: the population predicted for the year 2000—5.5 millions—was reached before the end of the 1960s. However, on the basis of this plan, the state built large quantities of low-cost housing. But the problem of the living environment was not thereby solved, and it led to an intolerable increased density of the old quarters, whose service infrastructure was now revealed as inadequate. From 1950 onwards, the city spread out in all directions, but above all on the left bank, which now saw an unprecedented development. It became covered with new, planned quarters, with a fairly low density, of thousands of villas and small dwellings. The city also developed in favour of the dividing-out of agricultural lands on the outskirts near to the developing urban area, pushing into zones not prepared for building by the city authorities. In order to frustrate these further extensions, in the mid-1970s there were plans for creating several new towns in the desert regions. But the actual start on this work was long delayed, and the sector not subject to planning continued to swallow up the greater part of the urban expansion.

The period of overflowing development, 1980-2000. At the beginning of the 1980s, demographers predicted the worst possible catastrophes for Cairo. The publication of the 1986 census put a stop to these suggestions; it showed that the population growth was less and less the result of migration. This change gave rise to a lowering of the density of the ancient urban structure which, as a counterpart, became increasingly occupied by the sector of semi-artisanal production.



It also provided an adequate respite for the public services, allowing the preparation of a new master plan at the beginning of the 1980s and the inauguration of several great projects of re-developing public services; the city became an immense construction site. Between Cairo and Alexandria, the first new town, Madīnat al-Sādāt, saw the light. These constructions, large enough to accommodate three government ministries, were never to be occupied.

Despite the state's almost total withdrawal from the sphere of housing, the construction sector remains dynamic. Although the critical situation is obvious, with half the population of the agglomeration living in poverty in 1986, there has been a massive surge of house building for the middle classes. Areas of empty housing units, the result of pure speculation activities, reached several hundred thousands of units by the mid-1990s.

At the turn of the millennium, the urban agglomeration held ca. 12 million persons. The plan for establishing new towns has been scaled down, the results of these being much inferior to what was envisaged. The idea of balancing living units and industrial or artisanal units in these places is one check to their growth; they function at the price of the daily movement across the city of thousands of employees. If, with regard to population, Cairo is far behind the greatest cities of the world (fifteenth in 1990), it is one of the most dense, with ca. 250 persons per hectare. As a reaction to the inconveniences brought into being by this situation, a new form of development in the desert zone—houses or small properties grouped in an enclosure—appeared towards the end of the 1990s. It has caused a very rapid growth in the surface area of the agglomeration. In favour of these extensions, the groups of population become more homogeneous, but the distances between those living in security and the rest continue to deepen.

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D. 8. The British occupation and the Egyptian parliamentary monarchy, 1882-1952.

Great Britain's post-1882 occupation of Egypt was

a classic case of indirect colonial domination. Formally, Egypt remained a province of the Ottoman Empire ruled by a Khedive [see **KHEDIV**] selected from the family of Muḥammad 'Alī (Muḥammad Tawfīk 1882-92; his son 'Abbās Ḥilmī II [q.v.] 1892-1914). A bureaucratic apparatus staffed overwhelmingly by Egyptians and members of the polyglot élite that had emerged over the course of the 19th century administered the day-to-day affairs of the country. They did so, however, under British supervision and in accord with British directives. A British military garrison was the ultimate guarantor of British control. The key British official in Egypt was its Consul-General. British policy and the course of Egyptian development were shaped particularly by the first Consul-General Sir Evelyn Baring, later Lord Cromer (1883-1907); Cromer's successors Sir Eldon Gorst (1907-11) and Sir Herbert Kitchener (1911-14) had shorter tenures and less impact. At lower levels, British advisers were gradually appointed to different Egyptian ministries and British nationals employed in the Khedivial bureaucracy.

Under this "veiled protectorate" from 1882 to 1914, Egypt experienced considerable economic growth but little structural change. Financial stabilisation, agricultural expansion and the maintenance of security were the main concerns of Egypt's British overlords. Egypt's financial situation was stabilised through the reduction of government expenditures and a new international agreement for debt repayment; the construction of new irrigation works contributed to a doubling of the total value of Egypt's agricultural output between 1886-7 and 1912-13; and the rough edges of Khedivial administration were smoothed under British supervision (e.g. the abolition of compulsory peasant labour on public works projects). On the other hand, little was done to encourage the development of an industrial base under the British. Egypt's social structure changed little between 1882 and 1914. The landed élite which had emerged earlier in the century consolidated its position and expanded its holdings after 1882, and the European/Levantine population which had become prominent in trade and banking under Muḥammad 'Alī's successors continued to dominate the commercial and financial sectors of the economy.

Under the compliant Khedive Muḥammad Tawfīk, there was little overt opposition to British domination. 'Abbās Ḥilmī II was more assertive, providing financial support for opposition newspapers and encouraging the formation of nationalist secret societies among Egyptian youth. Nationalist sentiment and activism became more pronounced in the decade prior to World War I. The catalyst was the Dinshāway incident of 1906, when an altercation between a hunting party of British soldiers and Egyptian peasants near the Delta village of Dinshāway resulted in one soldier dying and led to the arrest, trial by military tribunal, and subsequent execution, imprisonment, and public whipping of the peasants involved. Dinshāway is credited with galvanising Egyptian opposition to the British occupation. Several political parties were formed in 1907, the most important being the firmly anti-occupation *al-Ḥizb al-waṭanī* led by the lawyer Muṣṭafā Kāmil [q.v.] and the more gradualist *Ḥizb al-umma*, whose chief spokesman was the journalist Aḥmad Luṭfī al-Sayyid [see **LUṬFĪ AL-SAYYID**]. Despite a higher level of Egyptian opposition to occupation thereafter, Great Britain's position in Egypt was not significantly eroded before 1914.

Major change occurred during and after World War I. The entry of the Ottoman Empire into the



war in late 1914 had immediate repercussions for Egypt. In December 1914 Great Britain severed the Ottoman connection by declaring a British Protectorate over Egypt. Simultaneously, it deposed the pro-Ottoman Khedive 'Abbās Ḥilmī II, appointing his uncle Ḥusayn Kāmil [q.v.] as titular ruler with the new title of Sultan. The latter was succeeded by his brother Aḥmad Fu'ād [see FU'AD AL-AWWAL] in 1917.

The war itself generated massive pressures as well as new expectations within Egypt. Forced sales of grain and animals to British forces operating in the area; the use of Egyptian labourers to construct military facilities; wartime inflation; the behaviour of British and Imperial troops temporarily garrisoned in the country; not least Allied rhetoric pledging self-determination for subjugated peoples after the war: all these contributed to Egyptian discontent with the new Protectorate. On 13 November 1918 a delegation of Egyptian notables led by the lawyer-judge Sa'd Zaghlūl [q.v.] visited the High Commissioner, Sir Reginald Wingate, to request Egyptian representation at the Paris Peace Conference. Over the winter of 1918-19 Zaghlūl and associates organised a broadly-based nationalist front, the Wafd [q.v.] or "delegation", committed to working for Egyptian independence. When in March 1919 the British arrested Zaghlūl and two of his colleagues, Egypt exploded in protest. Daily demonstrations and work stoppages brought normal life to a standstill in Egyptian cities; the countryside witnessed attacks on British personnel and communications facilities.

The Revolution of 1919 set in motion a process of political change which eventually brought Egypt formal independence. The turbulence of 1919 inaugurated three years of negotiations between the British government and different Egyptian notables (sometimes the Wafd, sometimes ministers supported by the Sultan, Fu'ād) aimed at defining a new Anglo-Egyptian relationship. After three years of futile discussions, in February 1922 the British issued a unilateral declaration of Egyptian independence. It was ringed with qualifiers, however, the British reserving the four areas, those of Imperial communications, the defence of Egypt, the status of foreign minorities and the Sudan, as matters of British concern. But at last Egypt had independence—of a sort.

From 1922 to 1952, Egypt was a technically independent parliamentary monarchy. Sultan Fu'ād became King Fu'ād in 1922 and reigned until his death in 1936; he was succeeded by his son Fārūḡ [q.v. in Suppl.] from 1936 to 1952. A constitution establishing a parliamentary system of government, but reserving significant powers for the monarch, was drafted in 1923. An electoral law of the same year provided for a Chamber of Deputies elected by male suffrage and a partially-elected, partially-appointed Chamber of Notables. Egypt's first parliamentary elections in December 1923-January 1924 saw the Wafd emerge triumphant.

The dynamics of the parliamentary monarchy have often been described as a triangular struggle among the King, the British and the Wafd. The Wafd, the nation's premier popular movement at least through the interwar period, won every relatively free parliamentary election yet held ministerial office for only somewhat over eight of the 28-plus years from 1924 to 1952. Egypt was more often governed by "minority" parties of non-Wafdists or Wafdist dissidents ruling with the covert or overt backing of the King. British influence rested primarily on the continued presence of British troops in Egypt, and was exer-

cised through the British High Commissioner (from 1936, the British Ambassador) meeting regularly with Egyptian Prime Ministers and rendering advice which the latter disregarded at the risk of incurring British opposition to their continued tenure in office. From its inception, the Egyptian parliamentary order was a flawed system characterised by the domination of politics by an élite, electoral corruption and frequent turnover in office, and—at least until after World War II—by a neglect of socio-economic adjustment or reform on the part of the country's politically dominant upper class. On the other hand, the period of the parliamentary monarchy was also one of political pluralism, of considerable freedom of expression, and of cultural efflorescence, as a galaxy of prominent intellectuals engaged in spirited debate on the relative merits of Egypt's inherited Arabo-Islamic culture versus patterns of social and political life modelled on those of the West.

The shortcomings of the parliamentary monarchy became more pronounced over time. The 1920s were years of economic prosperity and relative political optimism. The 1930s were a darker era marked by economic depression and extended periods of more overt royal autocracy. A Wafdist interlude in office in 1936-7 witnessed the main political development of the decade, the conclusion of the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of Alliance in 1936 which regularised but did not totally eliminate the British military presence in Egypt. The years of the Second World War from 1939 to 1945 saw more overt British interference in the country's political life. Of particular importance was the "incident" of 4 February 1942, when British tanks surrounded the Egyptian Palace and threatened King Fārūḡ with forced abdication unless he complied with a British ultimatum to install the by-then more pro-British Wafd in office. The incident served to discredit both the Wafd, now seen as willing to accept British support in its quest for public office, and the King who had bowed to British power. The postwar years were ones of great political turmoil. Labour troubles and peasant unrest perturbed urban and rural Egypt respectively; anti-British demonstrations and agitation over the Arab-Jewish clash in neighbouring Palestine added to the turbulence of the later 1940s; deep-seated animosity between the supporters of rival political tendencies produced a wave of political violence, including the assassination of two prime ministers and of the charismatic leader of the anti-parliamentary Muslim Brotherhood (*al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn* [q.v.], Ḥasan al-Bannā' [q.v.], between 1945 and 1949; and in late 1951 to early 1952, the Wafd, once again in office, terminated the Anglo-Egyptian Treaty of Alliance and mounted a guerrilla campaign to pressure the British out of their remaining military base in the Suez Canal zone. The culmination of postwar unrest came on "Black Saturday", 26 January 1952, when huge crowds, angered by a British massacre of Egyptian police in the city of Ismā'īliyya on the previous day, surged through Cairo, and organised bands of incendiaries undertook the systematic torching of commercial, primarily Western-owned, establishments in the city. The conventional narrative of 20th-century Egyptian history portrays the parliamentary monarchy as politically discredited and morally exhausted by 1952.

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D. 9. Republican Egypt 1952 to the present. On 22-3 July 1952, a military coup effectively brought the era of the parliamentary monarchy to an end. The seizure of power was carried out by a clandestine movement within the army, the "Free Officers" (*al-dubbāt al-aḥrār*); the key figure in the movement was Colonel Ḍjamāl 'Abd al-Nāṣir [q.v. in Suppl.]. From July 1952 onwards, executive decisions were made by a committee of leading Free Officers, the Revolutionary Command Council (RCC).

A new political order emerged only gradually. On 26 July 1952 the sybaritic King Fārūk [q.v. in Suppl.] was hustled into exile. At first a civilian ministry held formal power. By September, General Muḥammad Naḍjīb [q.v.], an associate but not a core member of the Free Officers, was appointed Prime Minister.

Existing political parties were banned in January 1953. On 18 June 1953 the monarchy was formally abolished and Egypt declared a Republic; Muḥammad Naḍjīb became its first president. The crucial phase in the consolidation of the military régime came in early 1954, when President Naḍjīb, supported by remnants of the old political order, mounted a challenge to continued RCC rule. In a month-long crisis marked by street clashes between partisans of the two camps, 'Abd al-Nāṣir and the RCC outmanoeuvred Naḍjīb and his supporters. By the end of 1954, after an abortive assassination attempt on 'Abd al-Nāṣir by members of the Muslim Brotherhood (*al-Iḥwān al-Muṣlimūn* [q.v.]) provided the occasion for a crack-down on the Brotherhood, the military group reigned supreme in Egypt. A new constitution promulgated in January 1956 established a presidential form of government for Egypt. The constitution was ratified by popular referendum in June 1956; at the same time, Ḍjamāl 'Abd al-Nāṣir's nomination as President was also overwhelmingly approved.

There was occasional formal but little substantive change in Egypt's political structure from 1956 to 1970. 'Abd al-Nāṣir remained President until his death in September 1970. The unexpected union of Egypt and Syria in the United Arab Republic (UAR) in early 1958 necessitated a new provisional constitution and the expansion of the National Assembly to include Syrian representatives; but real authority remained in the hands of 'Abd al-Nāṣir. Syria's secession from the UAR in September 1961 prompted further adjustments. A Charter of National Action of 1962 now specified a socialist agenda for the United Arab Republic, as Egypt continued to be known until 1971. Another provisional constitution was promulgated in 1964, to remain in effect until 1971.

The years from 1952 to 1970 witnessed major changes in Egypt's economic policy, social structure, and international orientation. A policy of agrarian reform was inaugurated in 1952 and extended thereafter. By 1970, something over 800,000 *faddāns* of agricultural land, roughly one-eighth of the cultivated area, had been taken from large landlords and redistributed to some 340,000 peasant families. The foreign interests which had controlled much of the commercial sector of the economy were abruptly dispossessed as a consequence of the international crises of the later 1950s, their holdings now coming under state ownership. The heights of the domestically-owned urban economy also came under state control in the early 1960s, when Arab Socialism became the slogan of the UAR and the government nationalised much domestically-owned business and industry. The resulting economic structure was one of a privately-owned but state-directed agricultural sector and a huge state-owned public sector controlling most large-scale enterprises in the commercial and industrial sectors of the urban economy.

The social policies of the 'Abd al-Nāṣir years were distinctly populist. The new revolutionary régime made major efforts to bring the benefits of modernity to the mass of Egyptians. Educational facilities were rapidly expanded; health care was extended to the countryside through a network of rural health clinics; new laws relating to hours of work, minimum pay, and social security entitlements attempted to improve the standard of living of Egypt's labouring population.

Externally, the 'Abd al-Nāṣir years witnessed dramatic shifts. A negotiated Anglo-Egyptian agreement of 1954 arranged for the withdrawal of the last British troops from Egyptian soil in 1956. The mid-1950s



witnessed major transformations in Egypt's international position. Egypt broke with the Western powers and turned to the Soviet bloc for military and economic assistance; simultaneously, it assumed a leadership role in both the Arab nationalist movement and the Afro-Asian bloc of non-aligned nations. Successful resistance to armed attack by Israel, Great Britain, and France in the Suez Crisis of late 1956 consolidated Ḍjamāl 'Abd al-Nāṣir's position as a major figure in world affairs. Thereafter he was unquestionably the leading personality in inter-Arab politics (leading to Syria's request for unity with Egypt in the UAR in 1958), as well as one of the most influential spokesmen in African and non-aligned politics. 'Abd al-Nāṣir's regional dominance and international prominence eroded over the course of the 1960s. Syria's secession from the UAR in 1961 was a huge setback; inconclusive involvement in a prolonged civil war in Yemen from 1962 onwards drained the resources and prestige of the UAR; military defeat by Israel and the loss of the Sinai Peninsula in June 1967 irreparably damaged 'Abd al-Nāṣir's aura as an Arab champion. Suffering from an unresolved military confrontation with Israel and a stagnant economy, the later 1960s were difficult years for Egypt/the UAR. The massive outpouring of Egyptian grief upon his death in September 1970 notwithstanding, Ḍjamāl 'Abd al-Nāṣir left a difficult legacy for his successor.

The Vice-President Anwar al-Sādāt [*q.v.*] assumed the presidency of the UAR upon 'Abd al-Nāṣir's death. A popular referendum in October 1970 ratified Sādāt's accession. A veteran member of the Free Officers movement, at first Sādāt governed under 'Abd al-Nāṣir's shadow. Rivalry with other members of 'Abd al-Nāṣir's entourage and public discontent with the ongoing situation of no war-no peace with Israel marked the early 1970s. Sādāt consolidated his personal position only in October 1973, when a combined Egyptian-Syrian attack upon Israeli positions in the territories Israel had occupied in June 1967 created a new strategic situation in the region. From late 1973 onwards Sādāt was his own man, free to move Egypt in new directions.

He did so with a vengeance. Change was most pronounced in international relations. Sādāt signalled part of his orientation in 1971, when a new constitution changed the country's name from the United Arab Republic to the Arab Republic of Egypt. Over the course of the 1970s Egypt exchanged its reliance on the Soviet Union for material assistance and diplomatic support from the United States; abandoned the Nāṣirist commitment to Arab nationalism; and by 1979 made formal peace with Israel, in the process obtaining the return of the Sinai Peninsula to Egyptian control.

Shifts from the prevailing domestic patterns of the 'Abd al-Nāṣir years were less sweeping but nonetheless appreciable. In the mid-1970s Sādāt presided over a limited liberalisation of Egypt's political system, dismantling part of the Nāṣirist security apparatus and allowing a degree of political pluralism including a greater measure of press freedom and the formation of opposition political parties. The scope for political expression became constricted again in the later 1970s, when growing criticism of his policies led to less tolerance by the regime of opposition voices and groups.

This political liberalisation was part of a more general "Opening" (*al-iftitāḥ*) of Egypt under Sādāt; an opening to Western investment and expertise, to oil country investment, and to the previously-marginalised private sector of the economy. In the mid-1970s, the

formally socialist orientation of the 1960s was jettisoned as new legislation gave incentives to foreign investors and to greater scope to private capital. Socially, the era of the Opening was one of an accentuation of class cleavages between Egypt's more affluent upper and middle classes, who were the main beneficiaries of the country's more open economic system, and the mass of Egyptians suffering from accelerating inflation and a decline in social benefits. This deepening social schism forms part of the context for the growth of Islamist activism and militancy in Egypt over the 1970s, a phenomenon which eventually cost Sādāt his life.

On 6 October 1981 Anwar al-Sādāt was assassinated by a group of Islamist militants. The Vice-President Ḥuṣnī Mubārak ascended to the presidency. A referendum in October 1981 ratified his accession; subsequent referenda in 1987, 1993, and 1999 extended Mubārak's term in office.

By and large, the hallmark of the Mubārak presidency has been continuity. Under Mubārak, Egypt has maintained its generally pro-Western stance, its strategic alliance with and material reliance upon the United States, and its peace with Israel. Sādāt's economic approach has also been echoed by Mubārak. The main features of the Opening remained in effect through the 1980s and accelerated in the 1990s as Egypt, under pressure from its international supporters and the IMF, moved more decisively towards a free-market economy. The early 1990s witnessed further measures of economic liberalisation in the line with IMF strictures (e.g. the elimination of many currency controls; accelerated deregulation; and a reduction in state subsidies), whilst the later 1990s saw a concerted effort to privatise public sector enterprises. The results have been mixed. Egypt's macro-economic performance over the 1990s was a robust one. The country's debt burden was reduced to manageable levels; inflation was largely tamed; the rate of economic growth improved over that of the 1980s. The micro performance was more troubling. The rate of unemployment remained high; wages formed a decreasing share of GDP; and the reduction of state subsidies effected particularly the standard of living of poorer Egyptians.

A more relaxed political atmosphere prevailed in Mubārak's early years in power. The scope for political expression decreased thereafter. Greater political protest and violence in the later 1980s in turn led to more governmental repression of opposition voices and groups. Faced with a low-level Islamist insurgency in Egypt's sprawling shanty-towns and in the economically depressed countryside of Upper Egypt in the early and mid-1990s, the government asserted greater and greater control over political opinion and activism. Emergency laws first enacted in 1981 were renewed through the decade; Islamist violence was met with massive state repression and the brutalisation of families and communities suspected of harbouring militants; non-violent critics of the régime have been subjected to government harassment and muzzling; and the parliamentary elections of 1990 were boycotted by opposition groups in protest against electoral restrictions, and those of 1995 were marked by the systematic repression of the opposition as well as by unprecedented electoral violence and blatant fraud. Egypt at the close of the 1990s may have turned an economic corner, at least in terms of national economic indicators if not of popular well-being; its political situation, on the other hand, appeared to be one of increasing governmental authoritarianism and the



progressive alienation of its leadership from the bulk of the population.

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MIZÂDJ (A., pl. *amzīdjā*), lit. "mixture", a basic term of mediaeval Islamic medicine, to be translated as "temperament, balance of elements within the body".

One has to go back to the fundamental features of human physiology as conceived by the Arabic physicians, although one cannot speak of a unified body of knowledge here, since the concepts can vary perceptibly from one medical expert to another. The great sources of Islamic medicine systematically devote a chapter to the *mizādj*, e.g. 'Alī b. al-'Abbās [q.v.] *al-Madǧūsī's K. al-Malakī*, Abū Sahl al-Masīhī's [q.v.] *K. al-Mī'a fi 'l-tibb* and Ibn Sīnā's [q.v.] *al-Kānūn fi 'l-tibb*. As well as being part of physiology, the *mizādj* is directly involved in certain processes of morbidity. The physicians, like the philosophers, thought that the human body (like every other body in the world) was composed of four simple, homogeneous elements (*arkān, ustukūṣāt*): earth, water, air and fire. This doctrine is already central for 'Alī b. Rabban al-Tabarī [q.v.], author in the 3rd/9th century of the *Firdaus al-ḥikma*.

With these elements were associated specific qualities: cold, dryness, humidity and heat. Thus these four primordial elements go to make up all living beings according to proportions which vary from one being to another. Their interaction, their connections in more or less equal measure, the effects of their interpenetration on the economy of the human body and the individual's general state are consequently called *mizādj*, a term corresponding to the *krasis* of the Ancient Greek physicians. A man's *mizādj* will depend on the balance between the different elements and their qualities. Hence he will be balanced (*mu'tadil*) when those are present in the organism in proportions corresponding to the norm, and from this, they are guarantors of an individual's health. He will be considered in a state of disequilibrium (*khāridj 'an al-'iṭidāl*, Grk. *dyskrasis*) and, as a result, liable to some pathological occurrence, when a certain quality (cold, heat, etc.) or a certain element (watery, fiery, etc.) is in excess of or is below the norm.

Hence the great physicians pay great attention to the necessity of keeping the *mizādj* of their patients in equilibrium, since all "disequilibrium" was, in their eyes, the source of illness. Thus they recommend moderation in all things (food, drink, sleeping, sexual relations, etc.) in order to avoid *dyskrasis*. One says that a certain patient's temperament is hot if the fiery element predominates in him. Amongst certain physicians, such as Ibn Sīnā, this theory of temperament reached a high degree of elaboration, since, as well as taking into account internal aspects like the balance proper to each man (a kind of ideal balance) and to each vital organ (the heart, necessarily hot since it is the seat of vital heat, the brain, the liver, etc.), this physician-philosopher brought in external factors such as climate, the people to whom the individual belongs, age and sex (thus man is hotter and drier than woman). Thus, concerning the proper temperament for each age of one's life (*mizādj al-asnān*), the physicians considered that the "capital" of inner



heat (*ḥarāra gharīziyya*) which a man has at birth, goes on decreasing when that person reaches the end of his life. They considered as proof of this the cold that old persons feel and that the physician can observe at the time of palpation, not to mention the coldness of a corpse after death. The corollary of the *mizādj* is the theory of humours, which the Greek and then the Arabic physicians developed. Even today, such ideas remain strongly connected in the popular imagination, since we speak of a person having a sanguine, a hot, a phlegmatic or a choleric temperament.

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(F. SANAGUSTIN)

MOGADOR [see AL-SUWAYRA].

MOZAMBIQUE, Islam in.

(a) The early period. For this, see **MOZAMBIQUE**, in Vol. VII.

(b) The 19th and earlier 20th centuries.

The 19th century was for Islam a period of revival and *djihād* aided by the opening up of shipping across the Indian Ocean and the trade routes into Central Africa. Already at the beginning of the 19th century it was estimated that there were 15,000 Muslims in the Cape Delgado region and some 20,000 in the coastal hinterland of Mozambique Island. According to oral tradition, one Musa Momadi from Angoche, as a young man accompanied a relative who was a *sharīf* and a *hādījī* on an extended *dā'wa* expedition into the interior. His relative was concerned with converting the people he came across, including the Yao [*q.v.*] who by this time had migrated as far as the Shire valley. In light of this sort of occurrence, it is not surprising to find the governor of Mozambique commenting on the extraordinary advance and infiltration of Islam in the interior in 1852. On Musa's return in the mid-1850s the records indicate that he led the defence of Angoche. By 1877 he controlled an area which covered most of the coast from Mozambique Island to Licungo River and stretching 100 miles inland. His successors repulsed Portuguese attacks until 1910. As in other parts of the coast, the diffusion was primarily undertaken by people of mixed Arab and African blood. It was Portuguese policy to supply *mestizos* and *wajoge* with goods so as to procure slaves. This came to an end with the anti-slavery proclamation of 26 May 1877. The successful penetration is indicated by the fact that by the 1870s, women in their mid-twenties are recorded as having Muslim names. In addition to the Makua, the Yao and the Machemba had accepted Islam. In the interior beyond Mogabo, the Mualia chief and elders observed the Islamic practices, as did Mtarika, Cuirassio and minor chiefs like Cattur in the Luambala valley. To the north of them, Mataka represented an important centre of Islam. The Arab chief of Matibane was licensed to deal in slaves by the ex-governor Vasco Guedes de Carvalho e Menezes. Tavares, writ-

ing to the Overseas Ministry in Lisbon on 8 November 1862, mentions that the slave trade is in the hands of Arabs whose religion permits them to buy slaves. Likewise, Andrade Corvo writing to the Duke of Saldanha, the Portuguese Minister in London, on 11 March 1876 comments that, "It is easy for the Muslims to make religious proselytes among the finest and most energetic of the aboriginal races and in this way they get active and not very scrupulous agents to provide them with slaves." Chief Matapwiri living near Kalanji was reported as selling slaves in 1886. Indian Muslims played their part, particularly in Angoche, where a Swahili dynasty was in power well into the 20th century. The slavers in this region were primarily from Surat in western India, supplying the Persian and Arab markets. At this stage, Islamic doctrine was not observed in a pure form but was mixed with local traditions. It would seem that by the 1880s most major Yao chiefs had embraced Islam. Their settlements were centres for the spreading of Islam through Kur'an schools. Coutinho records meeting Yao caravan leaders at Quelimane who claimed to be Muslims and who carried the Kur'an carefully wrapped in a fold of their clothes. Coastal Muslims, however, ridiculed the Yaos who claimed to be Muslims, saying that they were *mushrikūn*. The growing Muslim presence is documented in a report from 1893 which shows that Muslims were active along the Licungo River and Maganja de Costa north of Quelimane. The reasons for the growing Islamisation were varied and complex, but had to do with closer associations with Muslim trading partners on the coast, and the increased prestige of Islam through the influence of the Bū Sa'īd [*q.v.*] dynasty and its representatives along the coast. The South African influence on the development during the latter part of the 19th century can be seen in the establishment of a *madrasa* in Lourenço Marques by Abū Bakr Effendi (d. 1880), a Kurdish scholar sent to the Cape in 1862.

At the beginning of the 20th century there were 15 mosques and 10 Kur'an schools in the Angoche region. All the *monthes* were said to be able to write their own language in Arabic script. The Portuguese, in seeking to subdue the north, considered that Muslims and local Africans were making common cause and sacked Angoche in 1903. In spite of Portuguese efforts, Muslim communities with a Kur'an school were a growing force in the hinterland in 1905. Islam was spread by Muslim traders, as well as *walimu*, *shurafā'* with their religio-magical knowledge and *nafundi* (artisans) using a hut, a veranda or the shade of a tree to teach the children.

The *turuk* [see **TARIKA**] in any organised form did not appear in Mozambique until the end of the 19th century. By that time both the Kādiriyya and the Shādhiliyya [*q.v.*] were established on Mozambique Island. The latter was established by students who went to a school in Kilwa founded by Husayn b. Maḥmūd, himself a *khalīfa* of a Ḥaḍramī *sharīf*. In 1896 a member of the Yashrutiyya [*q.v.*] settled in Mozambique. The Kādiriyya seems to have been established by 'Alī Msemakweli, a Yao who was a *khalīfa* of Husayn b. 'Abd Allāh al-Mu'in. He spread the order to northern Mozambique from Kilwa [*q.v.*]. The Kādiriyya Sadate, a branch of the Uwaisiyya [*q.v.*], was established in Mozambique in 1904 by 'Isā b. Aḥmad from Zanzibar. When 'Isā b. Aḥmad returned to Zanzibar in 1925 he handed over the leadership to a local Muslim by the name of Momade Arune (Muḥammad Hārūn). A sub-branch of the *tariqa* was founded in Angoche at this time. After Momade



Arune's death in 1929 the *ṭarīqa* was split by leadership rivalries leading in 1934 to the formation of the Kādiriyya Baghdādī branch, and further splits followed over the next decades. Developments which facilitated the growth of Islam during the second decade of the 20th century included the construction of the railroad from Lumbo, on the mainland opposite Mozambique Island, which began in 1913; the advance of Indian Muslim merchants beyond the coast; and towards the end of World War I, the presence of a considerable number of Muslims in the British forces engaged in the war in German East Africa with Von Lettow-Vorbeck's forces. As a result, the *ṭuruk* established branches in the principal settlements such as Nampula and Cabo Delgado. Mosques were constructed for the men and *ṣawāyā* (enclosed spaces) for women. As in the rest of the East African coast, Muslims from different parts of the Muslim world arrived bringing a variety of cultural and sectarian backgrounds. This has had its repercussions into the present, so that Muslims in different parts of Mozambique have tended to be and are isolated from one another.

Indian Muslims had their own mosques which were well built and ornate. They had cemeteries for their own exclusive use and brought and supported their own *imāms* from India. They observed the ordinances of the *Qurʾān* and the *Shariʿa* strictly. They avoided what was *ḥarām*, fulfilled the requirements of ablutions and frequented the mosque assiduously. The African and *mestizo* Muslims had their own mosques which were like thatched huts, hence indistinguishable from other huts. Their observance of Islam was less rigorous. Their attendances at mosques were less frequent and their prayers and recitations less perfect because of their ignorance of Arabic and the absence of any of the required texts. All male Muslims, whether Indian or African, practiced circumcision. They wore the *malaia*, also referred to as *cabaia*, and the *cofia* or a turban.

The statistics available indicate that there were around 66,000 Muslims in Mozambique in the mid-1950s. By then it was estimated that there were 1,956 Orientals and 15,188 Indians. At the end of the 20th century, estimates of Muslims in Mozambique vary between 10 and 16% in a population of 19 millions. Muslims in Mozambique consist of *monthes*, those from the Indian sub-continent, as well as *moors* who have an Arab or Turkish origin, and the Swahili. They looked to Zanzibar as the centre of Sunnī Islam and source of Islamic publications; they viewed the Bū Saʿīdī Sultan as their protector, remembering his name during Friday *khutba*, even though he was theologically an Ibādī. The leader of the Kādiriyya Sadate between 1929 and 1963 referred to himself as the Sultan's representative to Mozambique.

Historically, Islamic revivalist movements have opposed colonial rule in northern Mozambique. In the 1920s, some Muslim leaders protested against the abuses of forced labour, low wages and land appropriation in the Quelimane area. From the 1930s onwards, Muslim Africans and various Indians organised themselves into interest groups which carried out political action under the cover of social, mutual aid, cultural and athletic activities. The situation became even more acute from 1942, when Mozambique became *Portugal Ultramar*. Forced labour, arbitrary taxation, the obligation to plant cash crops and the lack of social improvement, produced a serious discontent among the Africans which led to the awakening of a national consciousness.

By the 1960s, the isolation of Muslims in Mozambique was breaking down. Muslims were seeking education in Tanzania and Arabia. Islamic publications from Cairo and Mumbai were available and Muslims were keen to acquire literacy in Arabic. People were listening to Cairo radio and were becoming aware of their religious roots. Arab and Islamic records and tapes from Egypt were circulating. African nationalism, linked to Arab anti-Portuguese propaganda, was gaining ground among the Muslims. It seems possible that clandestine Islamic associations were being established as early as the 1950s.

Given the total absence of liberty to form political organisations under the Portuguese, African Mozambicans living abroad in Tanzania, Zimbabwe and Malawi came together in a common front and formed the Frente de Libertação de Moçambique (FRELIMO) in 1962. An armed struggle began in 1964, but not until after the 1974 coup d'état in Portugal did Mozambique gain its independence (1975). During this period, a colonial policy was designed to win the support of the Muslim community against the forces of FRELIMO, which the colonial authorities thought had alienated the Muslims because of its Marxist tendencies. The policy was to work through the Muslim religious leadership, i.e. the *ṭuruk*, which they considered a conservative, local force against more radical, internationally organised expressions of Islam bent on political subversion. The Portuguese authorities, capitalising on the new situation that arose after the abolition of the Sultanate of Zanzibar in 1963, utilised the new links between the Muslim leadership in Northern Mozambique with the Comoros and invited the Mufti there to settle disputes between the *ṭuruk*. They also embarked on publishing an official, Portuguese-language version of abstracts of al-Bukhārī's *Ṣaḥīḥ*. In view of the fact that the liberation struggle was predominantly centred on the north, it is not surprising that the Muslims of Indian origin who lived in the southern part of the colony and adhered to the Hanafi legal tradition, with their orientation to Durban and Karachi, did not play an important role.

Nevertheless, the Muslim presence and growing Islamic influence can be seen by the fact that FRELIMO's representative in Cairo was a Muslim by the name of Shafrudin Muhammad Khan, and an office was also opened in Algiers. Islam's influence received a boost when various Arab countries offered to train the "freedom fighters", and some 130 of them were sent to Algeria. FRELIMO established international relations with the Arab League and the Organisation of the Islamic Conference. There is no mention in FRELIMO's educational programme of *Qurʾān* schools, but traditional institutions like the *pora/sande* institutions were acknowledged, and it is possible that, to some extent, Muslim influence may have been spread through these. The Indian Muslim communities which represent non-Sunnī groups such as the *Iḥnāʿ Asharī*, *Ismāʿīlī Khodjas* and *Bohorās* ran small-scale commercial ventures, bush trading centres and small shops in towns. As closed communities, they had hardly any contact with Africans, Europeans or other Indian groups. Some Asian students attended universities or professional courses at technical schools in Portugal.

(c) Independence and after.

After independence in 1975, the Muslim leadership which had co-operated with the colonial authorities was discredited. Some Muslim associations were banned in 1976, while those which had had restrictions



imposed on them during the colonial period gained some freedom; but the civil war which erupted soon after independence and lasted until 1992 between FRELIMO as a Marxist-Leninist party and the Resistência Nacional Moçambicana (RENAMO), which sought to bring democracy to Mozambique, did not serve the Muslims well. By 1980 Mozambican Muslim students in exile in Dar es Salaam denounced the repression of Islam by the new government. Until 1982 the régime showed hostility to organised religion in general. There was considerable harassment of Muslims, including throwing pigs into mosques. Virtually all religious communities lost property through nationalisation. Religious associations were forbidden and attempts made to prevent religious activities anywhere but in mosques. Attitudes began to change after the establishment of RENAMO. FRELIMO found that its treatment of Muslims provided reasons for both Saudi Arabi and 'Umān to send supplies to RENAMO. South Africa and the Comoro Islands also served as conduits for supplying RENAMO in 1983-9. That situation made any allies, including the religious communities, acceptable. Thus in 1983 FRELIMO officially recognised the new national Council of Muslims Mozambique (CISLAMO). There seems to have been an enthusiastic attitude to religion in RENAMO circles. Their bases exhibited this in the form of mosques and churches. With the accession of Chissano in 1987, FRELIMO began a gradual restoration of social legitimacy to religious bodies of all kinds. In that year, Mozambique hosted the fifth Southern Africa Islamic Youth Conference. By mid-1988, confiscated properties were being returned. The situation improved further when article 19 of the 1975 constitution was changed in 1990 to state that "The state shall respect the activities of religious denominations in order to promote a climate of social understanding and tolerance and to strengthen national unity."

The elections of 1994 returned FRELIMO to power. In further attempts to gain the support of Muslims, FRELIMO recognised the Islamic holy days of 'Id al-Adhā and 'Id al-Fitr as national holidays in 1996. But in the 1999 elections it is revealing that, out of FRELIMO's 133 deputies, only one seems to be a Muslim, whereas out of RENAMO's 117, 12 were Muslims.

By the end of the 1990s, Mozambique had become a member of the Organisation of the Islamic Conference (OIC), thus securing economic benefits. Tensions between the Šūfī leaders of the majority of Muslims in the north and the more radical reformers based in the south have led the former to split off from CISLAMO to form the Congrés Islâmico.

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MU'AHID (A.), literally, "one who enters into a covenant or agreement ('ahd) with someone", applied in mediaeval Islamic times to those "People of the Book" who submitted to the Arab conquerors of the Middle East on condition of an 'ahd or of *dhimma* [q.v.] "protection". See for these *mu'ahidūn*, *AHL AL-KITĀB*, *AMĀN*, and in the context of al-Andalus, *MOZARABS*.

MUDJİR AL-DĪN BAYLAKĀNĪ, a Persian poet of the second half of the 6th/12th century. He was, as his *nisba* indicates, a native of Baylakān [q.v.], in Transcaucasia, a compatriot and contemporary of the celebrated Khākānī [q.v.]. Mudjīr's *diwān* contains a few poems to the Sharwān-shāh Manūčīhr II (d. not long after 555/1160-1), which must belong to the earliest part of his career, but the majority of his odes are addressed to the Atabegs Nusrat al-Dīn Djahān-pahlawān b. İldügüz (571-82/1175-86) and his successor Kizil Arslan (d. 587/1191) and to the Saljuqid Arslan b. Toghril (556-71/1161-76), nominally the master, but in fact the puppet of Djahān-pahlawān. Takī Kāshī [see TAKĪ AL-DĪN] puts his death in the year 594/1197-8, which (for once) must be roughly correct.

In his famous ode in praise of the town of Isfahān, Khākānī speaks of how an "accursed demon" (*dāw-i*



raḡīm) had mocked that city and how the Iṣfahānīs had in some way held Khākānī responsible for the attack, an accusation which he rejects energetically. The commentators identified this “demon” with Khākānī’s supposed pupil Mudjīr (*raḡīm* being an anagram for the latter’s name) and there is in fact a *rubāʿī* in Mudjīr’s *diwān* poking fun at the people of Iṣfahān. Abū ʿl-Raḡjā Kumī (Taʾrīkh al-Wuzarāʾ, ed. M.T. Dānīsh-pazhūh, Tehran 1985, 200-1), a nearly contemporary source, cites one verse from this quatrain and then a verse with which the “people of Iṣfahān” replied to Mudjīr’s attack (and which in later sources is ascribed to Sharaf al-Dīn Shufurwa, see *shufurwa*). The story is expanded by later authors, some of whom claim that Mudjīr composed the quatrain when the Atabeg sent him to that town as a tax-collector and that he was subsequently murdered in a bath-house by the local mob. But this is perhaps merely a fanciful elaboration.

Mudjīr’s *diwān* contains several highly artificial poems (e.g. one in which he uses only the letters that do not take diacritical points) and a fair number in Arabic or with alternating Arabic and Persian verses. A critical edition was prepared by M. Ābādī, Tehran 1358 *sh.*/1979.

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AL-MUFADDAL B. SALAMA B. ʿĀSIM (with the erroneous *nisba* “al-Ḍabbī” since Ibn Khallikān [q.v.] al-Kūfī, Abū Ṭalīb (d. after 290/903), transmitter of historical materials (*akhbār*) with wide interests and a philological-lexicographical background.

With this approach (Yāqūt, *Udabāʾ*, vii, 170), he differed (a) from his father Salama (d. after 270/883; Ibn al-Djazarī, i, 311), a disciple and copyist (*warāq*) of al-Farrāʾ [q.v.], the great authority of the Kūfan school of philologists, and (b) from his son Abū ʿl-Ṭayyib Muḥammad al-Baghdādī (d. 308/920; Kahhāla, xii, 43-4), a strict jurist of the Shāfiʿī school in Baghdād (Ibn Khallikān, tr. de Slane, ii, 610-11). The three represent one of the early scholarly dynasties in ʿIrāq [see AL-YAZĪDĪ]. Apart from his father, the following philologists are mentioned among his teachers: Ibn al-ʿArābī, Ibn al-Sikkīt, Thaʿlab, and—last but not least—the *adīb* ʿUmar b. Shabba [q.v.]; among his students al-Ṣūlī [q.v.] is the best known. Al-Mufaddal was also highly regarded as a calligrapher by the bibliophile and sponsor of poets and literati, al-Faṭḥ b. Khākān [q.v.], and after the latter’s murder (247/861) together with the caliph al-Mutawakkil, no less so by the vizier Ismāʿīl b. Bulbul [q.v.]. Neither of these two men was an Arab by descent. In the multicultural society of their time, they were probably receptive, besides the Arabic-Islamic tradition, not only to pre-Islamic Arabic transmissions (the “War of Dāḥīs and al-Ghabrāʾ”; *Fākhīr*, no. 442/360), but also to Christian, Jewish, Persian (see below) and Central Asian reports [see AFSHĪN].

Of al-Mufaddal’s œuvre, listed by the bio-bibliographers, little has been preserved or become known through quotations in the works of others. For an overview, see Sezgin, viii, 139-41, vii, 350, ix, 139-40. His best-known work is his much-used, unsystematic collection of proverbs (*amṭhāl*) and set turns of speech (*muḥāwarāt*, see MATHAL.1.i), containing 521 items:

(1) *al-Fākhīr* (for partial prints and the two editions, see MATHAL.1.iii.4). The peculiarity of *al-Fākhīr* is the

fact that, in addition to 200 proverbs, all of which can be found in the better-known, extensive collection of al-Maydānī [see MATHAL.1.iii.12], it contains 321 turns of phrases (*muḥāwarāt*), such as greeting formulas, benedictions, curses, animal calls (no. 441) and similar things, not a few of them connected with the *awāʿil* [q.v.] angle. The same phrases can be found in Abū Bakr Ibn al-Anbārī’s (d. 328/940) *al-Zāhir fī kalimāt al-nās*, also in Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī’s (d. after 395/1005) *Djamharat al-amṭhāl* and in the large dictionaries, e.g. in the *Lisān al-ʿArab* of Ibn Manẓūr (d. 711/1311). The transmission of *al-Fākhīr* can in part be traced back to Ibn al-Anbārī as well; he seems to have recognised that al-Mufaddal had entered new “lexical” territory, which was then the motive for his composing the more comprehensive *al-Zāhir* [see MATHAL.1.iii.5]. Al-Mufaddal was less of a philologist than a collector and an entertainer at court and in the city of Baghdād. Pointers towards this include his critique (cf. *Fihrist*, 43, 62, 63, 74, 82) of the *Kutāb al-ʿAyn* of the great al-Khalīl b. Aḥmad, bearing the title: *al-Radd* (var. *al-Istidrāk*) ‘ala ʿl-Khalīl . . . fī K. al-ʿAyn wa-islāḥ mā fīhī min al-ghalaṭ wa ʿl-taṣṭīf, which evidently did not convince the philologists and lexicologists, who felt called upon to contradict him, even in later centuries (for relevant passages, see Sezgin, viii, 140). Al-Mufaddal had a preference in his work for what was novel, strange and contemporary. This can be seen in his renditions of the aetiological stories that go with the *amṭhāl*/*muḥāwarāt*: the clever Jew (no. 223), the loyal Jew (no. 482), the Seven Sleepers (no. 239), the Christian martyr (no. 517), and others, see MATHAL.1.ii.7, and W. Ebermann, *Bericht über arabische Studien in Russland während der Jahre 1914-1920*, in *Islamica*, iii [1927], 229-64 (see secs. V. “Christlich-arabisches”, 248-51, and VI. “Jüdisch-arabische Literatur”, 251-4). On the whole complex, see R. Sellheim, *Die klassisch-arabischen Sprichwörteransammlungen, insbesondere die des Abū ʿUbaid*, The Hague 1954, 114-21; Ar. tr. rev. and enlarged, *al-Amṭhāl al-ʿarabiyya al-ḥadīma*, tr. R. ʿAbd al-Tawwāb, Beirut 1391/1971, repr. ʿ1408/1987, 167-75; *Oriens*, xxxii [1990], 472-5.

(2) *al-Malāḥī* [q.v.], on musical instruments, a treatise on the justification for playing music, which al-Mufaddal was the first (?) to compose; ed. J. Robson, *Ancient Arabic musical instruments in the handwriting of Yāqūt al-Mustaʿīmī, A.D. 1298*, text in facs. and tr. with notes, including notes on instruments by H.G. Farmer, Glasgow 1938 (Collection of Oriental Writers on Music, iv), repr. in ʿAbbās al-ʿAzzawī, *al-Mūsīkī al-ʿirāqīyya*, Baghdād 1370/1951, 74-89; Farmer, *Islam*, Leipzig [1966], 8, 24, 26 (*Musikgeschichte in Bildern*, ed. H. Besseler and M. Schneider, Band 3, Lieferung 2), cf. E. Neubauer in *Oriens*, xxi-xxii [1968-9 (1971)], 418-31; A. Shiloah, *The theory of music in Arabic writings (c. 900-1900). Descriptive catalogue of manuscripts in libraries of Europe and the U.S.A.*, Munich 1979, 282-3 (Répertoire international des sources musicales = RISM B, x), cf. E. Neubauer in *ZGAW*, i [1984], 290-6.

(3) *Mukhtaṣar al-Mudhakkār wa ʿl-muʿannath*; no such grammatical opusculum on the masculine and the feminine is mentioned in the list of works drawn up by the bio-bibliographers. It is inspired by the work of the same name by al-Farrāʾ. As the technical term *mukhtaṣar* “abridgement”, indicates, it might possibly be lecture notes [see MATHAL.1.iii]. Whether they should be traced back to al-Mufaddal or whether a later anonymous is behind it will probably never be known. R. ʿAbd al-Tawwāb edited it in *RIMA*, xvii [1971], 277-346, with an introduction on the life and works of al-Mufaddal.



(4) *Djalā' al-shabāh fi 'l-radd 'alā 'l-Mushabbihā*, an extant treatise against the anthropomorphisation of God, by means of Qur'ānic verses and terms, see Sezgin, viii, 141, and R. Şeşen, *Navādir al-makḥḥūṭāt al-'arabiyya fi makṭabāt Turkiyā*, Beirut 1400/1980, ii, 434.

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MUFAṢṢAL (A., lit. "separated", "hived off"), in Indo-Muslim pronunciation *mufasssīl*, whence the British Indian conventional form *Mofussil*, an informal term of British Indian administrative usage, attested in British usage from the later 18th century but probably going back to Mughal official usage. It denoted the provinces, the rural districts and stations, as opposed to the administrative headquarters of a Presidency, District or region, the *ṣadr* (in the Anglo-Indian usage of the Bengal Presidency, the *Sudder*); hence going into the *Mofussil* could mean something like going into the field, or into the bush or backwoods.

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MUFETTİŞ (T.), the Ottoman Turkish form of Ar. *mufattiḥ*, lit. "one who searches out, enquires into something". In the Ottoman legal system of the 12th/18th century, below the Great Mollās [see MOLLĀ] there was a layer of five judges called *mufettiḥ*, whose duties were to oversee and enquire into the conducting of the Imperial *avkâf* or pious foundations [see WAKF], three of them being resident in Istanbul and one each in Edirne and Bursa (see Gibb and Bowen, ii, 92). In the 19th century, and with the coming of the *Tanzīmāt* [q.v.] reforms, *mufettiḥ* was the designation for the overseers and inspectors of various new administrative mechanisms now set in motion within the empire. In modern Turkish, *mufettiḥ* remains a standard word for "inspector".

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MUGHALMARI [see TUKARŌ'ī].

MUḤALLIL (A.), literally, "someone who makes a thing legal, legaliser, legitimator", the figure who, in classical Islamic law acts as something like a dummy or a "man of straw", in order to authenticate or make permissible some legal process otherwise of doubtful legality or in fact prohibited. It thus forms part of the mechanisms and procedures subsumed under *hiyal*, legal devices, often

used for evading the spirit of the law whilst technically satisfying its letter [see ḤILĀ].

Thus the *muḥallil* is found in gambling, racing for stakes, e.g. with horses or pigeons, and archery contests being a participant who does not contribute to the stakes; see F. Rosenthal, *Gambling in Islam*, Leiden 1975, 53, 98-106, and KIMĀR, at Vol. V, 109a. But *muḥallil* is also found in marriage and divorce law, as the person instructed, usually for payment, to marry a woman who has been three times divorced and cannot therefore remarry her original husband until a fourth, dummy marriage has been gone through and duly consummated. After this *taḥlīl* she can legally remarry her old husband. Such an intervention was generally allowed by the Hanafīs but disputed by the Mālikīs and Shāfi'īs, whilst the Ḥanbalī Ibn Taymiyya denounced it as illegal in a treatise of his on divorce (cf. Brockelmann, II, 127, S II, 124) [see TALĀK I. 7.].

The person acting as a *muḥallil* in marriage and divorce is not surprisingly a figure of contempt and obloquy in Islamic literature.

Bibliography: See also Ibn Qudāma, *Mughnī*, Beirut 1984, v, 459-553, vii, 397-400, viii, 476-8; Lane, *Lexicon*, 622c; Wahbī al-Zuhaylī, *al-Fiḥ al-islāmī wa-adillatuhu*, Damascus 1985, v, 789, vii, 120-1; 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Djazzārī, *K. al-Fiḥ 'alā 'l-madhāhib al-arba'a*, Beirut 1986, iv, 437-9.

(C.E. BOSWORTH)

MUḤAMMAD III B. ḤASAN, 'ALĀ' AL-DĪN, Nizārī Ismā'īlī *imām* and the penultimate lord of Alamūt, who was made famous in mediaeval Europe by Marco Polo as the "old man" Aloadin. The only son of Djalāl al-Dīn Ḥasan (r. 607-18/1210-21), he succeeded his father, at the age of nine, in Ramaḍān 618/November 1221. The vizier previously appointed by Djalāl al-Dīn Ḥasan acted for some time as the effective ruler of the Nizārī state, also generally retaining the then ongoing Nizārī policies of rapprochement with the 'Abbāsids and Sunnī Islam. However, the observance of the Sunnī *shari'a*, imposed earlier, was gradually relaxed in the Nizārī communities of Persia and Syria.

Politically, Muḥammad III's long reign was a very turbulent period for the Persian world, which now experienced a forestate of the Mongol menace. However, the Nizārī leadership initially seems to have reached an understanding with the Mongols, who did not attack the Nizārī towns and fortresses of Persia for some time. Djūzjdjānī, the Ghūrīd historian and official who visited Kuḥistān on diplomatic missions on several occasions during 621-3/1224-6, relates how the *muḥtashams* or the Nizārī chiefs in Kuḥistān shared the stability and prosperity of their community with an increasing number of refugees, including many Sunnī scholars of Khurāsān, who fled before the invading Mongols and found asylum among the Nizārīs. Meanwhile, the Nizārīs extended their territories in Persia in the early years of Muḥammad III's reign. They seized Dāmghān and acquired or recaptured fortresses in Kūmis, Tārum and elsewhere, also extending their influence to Sīstān. In the wake of the Mongol invasions, relations between Alamūt and the Kh'ārazmians, who had replaced the Sal-djūks as the Nizārīs' foremost enemy, were characterised by warfare and diplomacy until Djalāl al-Dīn Mangubirtī, the last Kh'ārazm-Shāh, was defeated by the Mongols in 628/1231. The shifting Nizārī-Kh'ārazmian relations have been vividly recorded by al-Nasawī, Sultan Djalāl al-Dīn's secretary and chronicler, who was on one occasion dispatched as an



ambassador to Alamūt where he conducted diplomatic negotiations with Muḥammad III on behalf of the Kh̲wārazm-Shāh. In Muḥammad III's time, relations between Alamūt and the neighbouring Caspian provinces deteriorated. On the other hand, peace was finally established between the Nizārīs and their perennial enemy, the people of Kaẓwīn. Muḥammad III had personally developed a close association with a Šūfī *shaykh* of Kaẓwīn, Djamāl al-Dīn Gīlī (d. 651/1253), and regularly sent him an annual grant of 500 dīnārs. It seems that it was also in Muḥammad III's time that the Nizārī Ismā‘īlī *da‘wa* was introduced to the Indian subcontinent by *da‘īs* dispatched originally to Sind.

Nizārī fortunes in Persia were rapidly reversed after the collapse of the Kh̲wārazmian empire. The Nizārīs now directly confronted their most dangerous enemy, the Mongols, who were then making new efforts to conquer all of Persia. Following his abortive effort, in collaboration with the ‘Abbāsids, in 635/1238 to forge an alliance with the kings of France and England against the Mongols, Muḥammad III made one last peace overture to the new Great Khān Güyük in 644/1246. However, the Nizārī emissaries to Mongolia were dismissed with contempt by Güyük. Henceforth, Mongol-Nizārī relations deteriorated beyond repair. By 651/1253, under Güyük's successor Möngke [q.v.], the Mongols had destroyed numerous Nizārī towns and strongholds in Kuḥistān and Kūmis. As the Mongols were incessantly conducting military campaigns against the Nizārī territories in Persia, ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Muḥammad III was found murdered in Shīrkūh, near Alamūt, under obscure circumstances, on 29 Shawwāl 653/1 December 1255. He was succeeded by his eldest son Rukn al-Dīn Khurshāh [q.v.], who would rule for exactly one year as the last lord of Alamūt.

Muḥammad III's reign was also a period of intense intellectual activity in the Nizārī Ismā‘īlī community. In particular, Nizārī leadership at this time made a sustained effort to explain the various religious policies of the lords of Alamūt, since Ḥasan-i Šabbāh's time, within a coherent theological framework. The intellectual life of the Nizārī community was now particularly invigorated by the influx of outside scholars, non-Ismā‘īlī Muslims, who availed themselves of the Nizārī libraries and patronage of learning. Foremost among such outside scholars was Našīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī [q.v.], who spent some three decades in the Nizārī fortresses of Kuḥistān, and later at Alamūt where he enjoyed the patronage of Muḥammad III and his successor until the collapse of the Nizārī state in 654/1256. Al-Ṭūsī made important contributions to the Nizārī thought of his time, and it is primarily through his Ismā‘īlī works, including especially his *Rawḍat al-taṣṭīm* (ed. and tr. W. Ivanow, Leiden 1950), that modern scholars have come to possess an understanding of the Nizārī Ismā‘īlī teachings during the final decades of the Alamūt period.

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MUḤAMMAD B. ‘ABD ALLĀH, called **IBN SHABĪB**, Abū Bakr, Baṣran theologian who lived in the first half of the 3rd/9th century. He is possibly identical with Shabīb al-Baṣrī, “one of the best-known ascetics of his community and among the leading sages of his period” whom the Jewish *mutakallim* Dāwūd b. Marwān al-Mukammiš reports defeating in a debate in Damascus. He was influenced by the Murdji‘ī Abū Shamīr al-Ḥanafī and his school, but he studied with al-Nazzām [q.v.] and is therefore frequently called a Mu‘tazilī. Al-Māturīdī extensively quotes a book of his, apparently the *K. al-Taḥḥīd*, in which Ibn Shabīb described and refuted the doctrines of dualists, Christians and Šābians, of Aristotle and others who believed in the eternity of the world, of Indian sensualists (Sumanīyya [q.v.]) and the sceptics (Sūfistā‘īyya). In these polemics, especially those against the dualists, he followed al-Nazzām but frequently refined the arguments. The *kādi* ‘Abd al-Djabbār still found his book “excellent”. Ibn Shabīb's Murdji‘ī leanings are apparent in a treatise on *uḍḍā* which was refuted by Dja‘far b. Mubashshir [q.v.], and another on the *wa‘id* (i.e. threat of eternal damnation), for which he was attacked by the Mu‘tazilī Abū Dja‘far al-Iskāfī [q.v.]. He did not accept the *manzila bayn al-manzilatayn* [q.v.] although he used the term *fāṣik*, for he believed that the mortal sinner remained a believer. In his definition of belief he omitted works, something which a Mu‘tazilī would have never done, and based his definition on the intellect and will. In his view, Muslims could hope not to be punished eternally. The passages of the Qur‘ān that speak of God's threat (*wa‘id*) in this respect are, he said, not clear enough. With this, he took up an old hermeneutical argument which the Murdji‘a had carried into *uṣūl al-fikh*; it had been developed by Muways b. ‘Imrān [q.v.] and discussed by Abū ‘l-Hudhayl and al-Nazzām.

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MUḤAMMAD B. ‘ABD AL-KARĪM AL-KHATTĀBĪ (ca. 1880-1963), Moroccan activist and leader in the Rif War.



Ibn 'Abd al-Karīm was born in the 1880s into the large Berber tribe (*kabila*) Banū Waryāghal in the Moroccan Rif [*q.v.*], son of a *kādī* who had close relations with the Spanish in Melilla [*q.v.*] and Alhucemas Island. He studied at the Karawīyyīn in Fās [*q.v.*], and was influenced by the Salafiyya [*q.v.*] movement. From 1907 he worked in Melilla as a teacher, military interpreter, journalist and *kādī*. After the Moroccan Protectorate was established in 1912, he opposed French colonialism and during the First World War was briefly arrested by the Spanish for supposed German sympathies. In 1919, an inchoate movement emerged among the Banū Waryāghal to resist the Spanish occupation, and Ibn 'Abd al-Karīm returned to reorganise it on a more stable basis by imposing the *Shari'a* and establishing a European-style military force.

After a rising against the Spanish in July 1921, he founded a government based on principles of modernisation and Salafī reform. In February 1923 various Rif tribes gave him *bay'as* as *imām*; he sometimes called himself *amīr al-mu'minīn* [*q.v.*], more to signify the religious nature of his movement than to claim universal leadership. His forces defeated the Spanish in 1924 and invaded the French Zone in 1925. After a joint invasion of the Rif in the autumn of 1925, Spanish and French armies crushed his state in May 1926.

Ibn 'Abd al-Karīm was exiled to Réunion until, in 1947, he escaped in Egypt on his way to France. He became the titular leader of the umbrella Committee for the Liberation of North Africa. After Moroccan independence (1956) he refused to return, saying that the American bases prevented Morocco from being truly independent. He died in Cairo in 1963.

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MUḤAMMAD B. 'ARAFĀ (d. 1976), ephemeral Sultan of Morocco 1953-5.

Muḥammad b. 'Arafā was the product of the Franco-Moroccan crisis of the early 1950s when sultan Muḥammad b. Yūsuf (after 1956, Muḥammad V) (d. 1961) defied the Protectorate authorities and openly supported the nationalists' demand for independence. In March 1952 the sultan addressed a letter to the President of the French Republic demanding the abrogation of the protectorate treaty of 1912. The French not only rejected the sultan's demand but started contemplating plans for his removal. A scheme for a dynastic change by which the Idrisid 'Abd al-Hayy al-Kattānī would be made sultan was quickly abandoned in favour of a more realistic alternative, that of finding a candidate for the throne from within the 'Alawid house.

The idea of a new 'Alawid sultan who would be more co-operative, if not in effect a French puppet, was judged to be more acceptable in view of the wide popularity that had built up round the 'Alawid dynasty since the early 1930s. Upon the instructions of Augustin Guillaume, the French Resident General, Thāmi al-Glāwī, pasha of Marrakesh, and 'Abd al-Hayy al-Kattānī toured the country to gather signatures for a petition demanding the removal of the sultan Muḥammad V. The new candidate for the throne was found in the person of Muḥammad b. 'Arafā, a retiring per-

son from the 'Alawid family. On 20 August 1953 the legal sultan was deposed and sent into exile in the French colony of Madagascar.

The enthronement of the new sultan was immediately met by a sweeping wave of opposition to the French policy. Ibn 'Arafā was dismissed by the overwhelming majority of the Moroccan people as "the sultan of the French" and they therefore refused to give him allegiance. Mosque *imāms* abstained from mentioning his name in the Friday sermon, and when they did this under French pressure, people simply deserted the mosques. His proclamation had for its immediate consequences the radicalisation of the nationalist movement and the outbreak of armed resistance to the French in many parts of the country. After two attempts on the sultan's life and the deterioration of security throughout the country, the French realised the seriousness of the situation. Internationally, the French action had been widely condemned, particularly by Spain which, as a co-partner in the protectorate system, felt deeply offended by the French unilateral move. The Spanish authorities maintained allegiance to Muḥammad V, and at the United Nations the French government had also to face wide hostility to its Moroccan policy from the Arab and the Afro-Asian bloc.

For the Moroccan nationalist movement led by the Istiklāl party [see *ḤIZB*, i, at Vol. III, 525], the return of the deposed sultan and the removal of Ibn 'Arafā became the most pressing demands and a rallying cry for all political tendencies. When the French finally decided to allow Ibn Yūsuf to return from exile, they had, in fact, accepted the principle of Morocco's independence. Ibn 'Arafā announced his abdication on 1 October 1955, and on 2 March 1956 the protectorate régime formally came to an end. Muḥammad b. 'Arafā went into exile in France and died at Nice on 18 July 1976.

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(MOHAMED EL MANSOUR)

MUḤAMMAD B. ISMĀ'ĪL AL-MAYMŪN, the seventh *imām* of the Ismā'īliyya [*q.v.*].

The eldest son of Ismā'il b. Dja'far al-Šādiq, Muḥammad was born around 120/738; and on the death of his grandfather, the *imām* Dja'far al-Šādiq, in 148/765 he was recognised as *imām* by a faction of the Imāmī *Shi'is*, who were later designated as the Mubārakiyya. These *Shi'is*, comprising one of the earliest Ismā'īlī groups, affirmed the death of Muḥammad's father Ismā'il in the lifetime of the *imām* al-Šādiq. They further held that al-Šādiq had personally designated his grandson Muḥammad on Ismā'il's death. Muḥammad b. Ismā'il carried the epithet of al-Maymūn, the "fortunate one", and his followers were also originally referred to as the Maymūniyya, another designation of the nascent Ismā'īliyya. Soon after 149/766, Muḥammad b. Ismā'il permanently left Medina, the residence of the 'Alids, for the east and went into hiding; hence his additional epithet of al-Maktūm, the "hidden one". Subsequently, he maintained his contacts with the Mubārakiyya (Maymūniyya), centred in Kūfa. Muḥammad b. Ismā'il evidently spent his final years in Khūzistān, where he had some following, and died not long after 179/795-6 in the reign of the caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd.

Until the schism of 286/899 in the early Ismā'īlī



movement, the bulk of the Ismā'īliyya acknowledged Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl as their seventh and final *imām*; and as such, they denied his death and awaited his imminent return as the Mahdī or Kā'im. In accordance with their cyclical view of the religious history of mankind, the early Ismā'īlīs also believed that Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl was the seventh and final speaker (*nāṭiq*); on his reappearance, he would initiate the final era or *dawr* [q.v.], fully revealing to all mankind the hitherto hidden esoteric truths (*ḥakā'ik*) of all the preceding revelations. Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl would rule the world in justice during that eschatological age of pure spiritual knowledge before the physical world ended; he was thus considered as the *Kā'im al-ḥiqāma*. These beliefs were retained by the Karmatīs [q.v.] who, in 286/899, split away from those Ismā'īlīs who acknowledged continuity in the Ismā'īlī imamate and allowed for more than one hep-tad of *imāms* in the era of Islam. The latter, the Fāṭimid Ismā'īlīs, denied the Mahdīship of Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl; for them, the final age was gradually postponed indefinitely into the future and Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl himself was no longer expected to return as the Mahdī.

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(F. DAFTARY)

MUHAMMAD B. SAYF AL-DĪN, IBN AYDAMIR, compiler of a large anthology of Arabic poetry, d. 710/1310.

Born in Baghdad in 639/1240, he served the last 'Abbāsīd caliph as a youth. Trained both in the chivalrous and humanist disciplines, he was appointed to various civil offices by the Mongol Hūlegū and his successors. Biographers mention that he wrote some good poetry and epistles. Ibn Aydamir (which is how he writes his own name, not Ibn Aydamur) died in Radjab 710/November-December 1310, some five

years after completing his great anthology *al-Durr al-farīd*, of which an almost complete, beautifully written, autograph has been preserved and published in a facsimile edition. After an extensive introduction on stylistics and literary criticism, the main part of the work lists single lines of poetry, mostly of the gnomic and quotable kind. They are arranged strictly alphabetically, not according to rhyme-word, but, unusually and usefully, by their beginnings. The core of the book contains some 18,000 lines, a very large number, which is, however, easily outnumbered by the lines provided by the compiler in the margin, often giving the context or parallels of quoted lines. Biographical notes and philological commentary are also included. The poets date from all periods, many of them well known but also including lesser-known or obscure poets.

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MUHAMMAD B. SHIHĀB [see AL-ZUHRĪ].

MUHAMMAD 'ABD ALLĀH, SHAYKH (d. 1965), pioneer in the education of Muslim women in the Indian subcontinent.

He was born on 21 June 1874, in a Kashmīrī Sāsani (Hindu) Brahman family in the village of Bhān Tani (district of Punch in Kashmīr valley). Being a Hindu at birth, he was named Thākūr Dās. His father, Mehta Gormukh Singh, was a local landlord. According to the traditions of his Kashmīrī Brahman family, his basic education in Persian was initiated under the tutorship of Kāḍī Kuṭb al-Dīn Kashmīrī. Later, he was admitted to the *maktab* of Miṣṣan Nizām al-Dīn Wazīr; there he was taught the *Shāh-nāma*, *Sikandar-nāma*, and *Yūsuf u Zūlaykha*, among other Persian books. Here also he began learning Sanskrit. While still in his early teens, he studied *ṭibb-i yūnānī* (the Greek medical system) under the guidance of Mawlawī Nūr al-Dīn. Having been encouraged by both these scholars, he was sent to Djamū to continue his studies in the English system. In Djamū he remained under the guardianship of Mawlawī Nūr al-Dīn. In 1890, at the age of 16, he attended, in his company, the annual session of the Muhammadan Educational Conference at Lahore, where he enthusiastically listened to the speeches of Sir Sayyid Ahmad Khān [q.v.] and other functionaries, being so inspired by these speeches that during the session he embraced Islam.

In 1891 he traveled to 'Alīgarh with an introduction from Mawlawī Nūr al-Dīn addressed to Sir Sayyid, seeking admission to the Anglo-Muhammadan Oriental College (which later became Aligarh Muslim University). While filling in his admission form he, for the first time, wrote his Muslim name, Muḥammad 'Abd Allāh, by which he was to be known all his remaining life. (It is not known when and how he acquired the title *Shaykh*.) While still an undergraduate student, he was privileged to have close acquaintance with Sir



Sayyid, under whose personal attention 'Abd Allāh learnt writing for newspapers on various educational and social themes. It was, he stated, Sir Sayyid's guidance which inspired him actively to participate in the community's welfare work.

After graduation with a law degree and at the expressed desire of Sir Sayyid, 'Abd Allāh settled down in 'Aligarh and began his career as a lawyer. In 1902 he was married to Wahīd Dīhān Begam (from an established Muslim family of Dihlī), with whom he had four daughters and a son.

A few of his childhood experiences of witnessing cruelty and injustice to women left deep impressions on him which were to lead him later in life to a whole-hearted involvement in social welfare work for women, especially in education. He intensely believed that, with education, women's lot could alone be improved. With the then existing atmosphere in 'Aligarh, he became more and more concerned with the education of Muslim women.

During the 1896 session of the Muhammad Educational Conference, a section was established for women's education; but because of Sir Sayyid's involvement in other tasks, no practical steps were taken to attain any specific objectives toward education of Muslim women. In the 1902 session of the Conference, held at Dihlī, Shaykh Muhammad 'Abd Allāh, together with several of his friends, proposed to revive the section on women's education, which was enthusiastically approved: thereafter year after year he kept on propagating the necessity of providing adequate education to Muslim women in India. For this purpose he began publishing a monthly periodical *Khātūn*, the first issue of which came out in 1904 and continued to be published for the next ten years. Also in the year 1904 he was permitted by the Conference session at Lucknow to open a normal (up to eighth grade) school for Muslim girls at 'Aligarh. After three years of hard work he succeeded in establishing the proposed normal school. The modest beginning of this school in 1907 in 'Aligarh attracted the attention of the government of the United Provinces (now known as Uttar Pradesh), which granted a sufficient sum for the purpose of buying land and constructing building for the school in 1908. The school at that initial stage had no boarding facilities for girls from outside the town. The increasing popularity of this pioneer institution for Muslim girls' education throughout the subcontinent meant that there was a need of residential facilities for girls from other nearby areas who wanted to join. In 1911 help came again from the U.P. government; Lady Porter, wife of the Lieutenant-Governor of the United Provinces, laid the foundation stone of the hostel adjacent to the school building. The school which had a modest beginning in 1907 had grown by 1936 into a renowned degree college leading up to B.A. classes. In that year it was affiliated to the Aligarh Muslim University.

Until 1947, education in all classes of the college and its affiliated primary and secondary schools was conducted under the strict rules of Islamic seclusion. The hostel followed also tradition both in observing *parda* and in religious obligations. In 1947, however, after the independence of the country and promulgation of a secular constitution, the basic structure of Islamic-oriented Western education remained untouched in all the affiliated institutions of the Muslim University (Muslim Girls' College included), but seclusion of women students and obligatory religious observances were eliminated.

The attachment of Shaykh Muhammad 'Abd Allāh to the Muslim Girls' College was so deep that he built

his spacious residential house close to the buildings of the College, and from the 1940s onwards, donated a large part of this house as the hostel for postgraduate girl students. His strong attachment to the girls' education and welfare was reciprocated by the affectionate title of "Pāpā Miyān" with which he came to be known in 'Aligarh.

In recognition of his pioneer work for Muslim women's education the British Government awarded him the title of "Khān Bahādūr", and Aligarh Muslim University honoured him with the award of honorary degree of Doctor of Laws. Towards the end of his life, in 1964 the post-Independence national government of India expressed its appreciation for his services by awarding him the title "Padam Bhūshan". He died on 9 April 1965 at the age of 91, and was buried in the garden of his residential house, adjacent to the buildings of the Muslim Girls' College.

Bibliography: Sh. 'Abd Allāh, *Mushāhidāt wa-ta'thīrāt* [Urdu], 1969; idem, *Sawānīḥ 'umrī 'Abd Allāh Begam* [Urdu] Delhi 1954; *Khātūn*, Urdu monthly journal, 'Aligarh, ed., Sh. Muhammad 'Abd Allāh, 1904-10; Thurayyā Husayn, *Bānī-e-Darsgāh: Doktor Shaykh Muhammad 'Abd Allāh, hayāt wa shakhsīyyat*, in *Women's College, Muslim University Aligarh Magazine* (1975). (GHAUS ANSARI)

MUHAMMAD 'ĀKIF PASHA [see MEHMED 'ĀKIF PASHA].

MUHAMMAD AL-DJAWĀD [see MUHAMMAD B. 'ALĪ AL-RIDĀ].

MUHAMMAD HĀKIM MĪRZĀ, Mughal prince and half-brother of the emperor Akbar [*q.v.*], b. 960/1553, d. 993/1585.

In 973/1566 he was governor of Kābul and eastern Afghānistān for Akbar, but when temporarily forced out of his capital by the Timūrids of Badakhshān, he retreated towards India, where a group of dissident Özbeg nobles proclaimed him emperor at Djawpūr and incited him to invade India. He besieged Lahore with his forces, but had to retreat to Kābul. For over a decade, he posed a threat on Akbar's northwestern frontier, offering a legitimate alternative to Akbar's rule. A fresh revolt of Mughal and Afghān nobles broke out in 987-8/1579-80, in the wake of Akbar's *maḥḍar* or decree proclaiming himself supreme arbiter of religious affairs and claiming authority as caliph, and Muhammad Hākim was again proclaimed counter-emperor. Akbar sent his chief minister Tōdar Mal [*q.v.*] to suppress the rebels in Bihār, and himself marched against Kābul, entering the town in Radjab 989/December 1581. He pardoned Muhammad Hākim and reinstated him, but it was not until Muhammad Hākim's death in Sha'bān 993/August 1585 that all threats from Kābul were ended and the region brought under direct imperial rule.

Bibliography: See that for AKBAR, and add R.J. Majumdar (general ed.), *The history and culture of the Indian people*, vi, *The Mughul empire*, Bombay 1974, 141-5, and J.F. Richards, *The Mughal empire*, Cambridge 1993, 18-19. (C.E. BOSWORTH)

MUHAMMAD ŠĀLIḤ KANBŌ LĀHAWRĪ, Indo-Muslim historian and stylist whose exact dates of both birth and death are unknown but who flourished in the 11th/17th century under the Mughal emperors Shāh Dīhān and Awrangzib [*q.v.*]. He may have been the younger brother of the historian and littérateur 'Ināyat Allāh Kanbō (d. 1082/1671 [*q.v.*]), if Muhammad Šāliḥ's reference to this last person, his master and patron, as *birādar-i kalān* "elder brother" is to be taken literally.

Virtually nothing is known of his life, but he was

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a government official in Lahore, where his tomb still exists and where in 1079/1668-9 he had built a small mosque. He is famed for his detailed history of Shāh Dījāhān and his reign, the *ʿAmal-i Šālīḥ*, completed in 1070/1659-60, but with later additions (many mss.; ed. Qhulām Yazdānī, Bibl. Indica, 3 vols. Calcutta 1912-39), and also an *inshāʿ* collection, the *Bahār-i sukhān*, still in manuscript.

Bibliography: Storey, i, 579-81, 1317.

(C.E. BOSWORTH)

MUḤAMMAD-ŠĀHĪ NIZĀRIYYA [see ISMĀʿĪ-LIYYA].

MUḤAMMAD TAPAR [see MUḤAMMAD B. MALIK-ŠĀHĪ].

MUḤAMMAD ʿUTHMĀN DĪJĀLĀL (1829-16 January 1909, thus in Brockelmann, S II, 725), Egyptian translator and adapter of European drama into Arabic.

He played a crucial role in the transfer of the cultural milieu of European dramatic forms into an indigenous Egyptian language and format. After a traditional secondary education, he was sent to Rifāʿa al-Taḥṭāwī's [see RIFĀʿA BEY AL-TAḤṬĀWĪ] famous translation school, the *Madrasat al-alsun*, and became thereafter one of the foremost of its graduate translators from French to Arabic (both literary and colloquial). Alongside his achievements as a translator he also had a civil service career, firstly in the Khedive's office, then as a judge in the Mixed Courts, and later as a government minister. Various dates are given for his death, ranging from 1894 to 1909 (cf. Brockelmann, II², 627-8, S II, 725).

Moving from the practicalities of administrative manuals to the more complex stylistic issues of literary genres, Dījalāl began his literary translation career with the *Fables* of La Fontaine, which he rendered into Arabic verse and published in 1858 (*al-ʿUyūn al-yawākiẓ fi ʿl-amṭhāl wa ʿl-mawāʿiẓ*). In 1872 he issued his famous translation of Bernardin de St. Pierre's *Paul et Virginie* (as *al-Amānī wa ʿl-minna fi ḥadīṭh Kabūl wa-Ward Dīanna*), using the lofty style of *sadīʿ* (rhyming prose) and "arabising" and "islamicising" many of the discourse elements of the original French text. He thereafter turned his attention to the dramatic genre, translating four comedies of Molière into colloquial Arabic poetry (using the form of *radīʿ*) and once again cleverly transferring the cultural context from a European to an Egyptian milieu. The four plays in question (published as a group in 1889) were: *Tartuffe* (*al-Shaykh Matlūf*), *Les femmes savantes* (*al-Nisāʾ al-ʿālimāt*), *L'école des maris* (*Madrasat al-azwādj*), and *L'école des femmes* (*Madrasat al-zawādjāt*).

From comedy, he moved on to the French tragedies, translating (once more into colloquial Cairene dialect) a set of plays by Racine and Corneille: *Esther*, *Iphigénie*, and *Alexandre le Grand* by the former (as *al-Riwāyāt al-mufīda fi ʿilm al-tarāḍīdā*), and *El Cid* by the latter. His one excursion into dramatic writing on his own part, *al-Khaddāmin wa ʿl-mukhaddimīn* ("Servants and agents", 1904), was, like his translated plays, composed in colloquial verse.

In the lengthy and complex process of indigenising imported literary genres during the 19th century, Dījalāl's role as a translator was a central one. That the translated versions of European works that he produced were successfully assimilated into Egyptian society can be convincingly demonstrated by the fact that *al-Shaykh Matlūf*, his Egyptianised *Tartuffe* and most masterful adaptation, has been revived on the Cairo stage in recent times (e.g. 1963, 1971) to tremendous popular acclaim.

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MUḤAMMAD ZAMĀN MĪRZĀ, perennially rebellious Mughal prince and brother-in-law of the emperor Humāyūn [q.v.].

On Humāyūn's accession in 937/1530, he allied with Bahādur Shāh of Guḍjarāt, provoking an invasion by Humāyūn of Guḍjarāt via Mālwā. Muḥammad Zamān was pardoned, but in 941/1534 rebelled again, this time in Bihār, but had to escape to Guḍjarāt once more. This provoked a full-scale invasion and occupation of Guḍjarāt by the Mughal emperor (941-2/1535-6). Muḥammad Zamān escaped; he tried to claim the throne of Guḍjarāt for himself on Bahādur Shāh's death in 943/1537 but failed in the attempt, submitting at last to Humāyūn.

Bibliography: See that to HUMĀYŪN, and add R.J. Majumdar (general ed.), *The history and culture of the Indian people*, vi, *The Mughal empire*, Bombay 1974, 45-51, 395, 398. (C.E. BOSWORTH)

MUḤDATHŪN (A.), "the Moderns", i.e., in classical Arabic literary history, those poets that came after the ancient poets (called *kudamāʾ*, *mutakaddimūn* or *awāʾil*) of the pre-Islamic and early Islamic periods. The term is first applied to some poets "of the two dynasties" (*mukhaddramū ʿl-dawlatayn*), who flourished in the middle and second half of the 2nd/8th century [see *MUKHADRAM*]. No formal end of the period of the *Muḥdathūn* movement is recognised, but mostly the term applies to poets of the first few centuries of the ʿAbbāsīd period. For poets from later times, one finds occasionally the term still used, or, more commonly, expressions such as *ahl al-ʿasr* and *muʿāṣirūn* "contemporary [poets]".

Critics were aware of the differences between the poetry of the pre-Islamic (*dīhātī*) poets and that of their successors, the *mukhaddramūn* (straddling the *Dīhātīyya* and Islam), the *Islāmīyyūn* and the Umayyad poets. However, the changes in style, themes and motifs that arose from the mid-2nd/8th century—in the wake of the fundamental social and intellectual changes that took place in that period (such as the role of the *mawālī* [see *MAWLĀ*] and the impact of Greek and Persian civilisation)—were considered so fundamental that the dichotomy between "old" (*kadīm*) and "modern" is dominant in traditional literary criticism. The distinction is important, too, in Arabic linguistics, since there was a general consensus among the grammarians and lexicographers that only early (pre-*muhdathī*) poetry could serve as attestation for the codification of the "pure" (*fūṣṭā*) language; as Ibn Dīnnī, quoted by Ibn Rashīk (*ʿUmda*, Cairo 1953, ii, 236), put it: "Modern poets [he uses the term *muwal-ladūn*, on which see below] may be cited as authorities (*justashhadu bihim*) on motifs (*maʿānī*), just as ancient poets may be cited as authorities on words (or expressions,



alfāz). Even though many grammarians appreciated the poetry of the *Muḥdathūn* for its literary qualities, it is likely that the term originally had pejorative connotations, just as a bad sword could be described as “modern, not cutting” (*muḥdath ghayr sārīm*, Djarīr, in *Nakāʾid*, ed. A.A. Bevan, Leiden 1905-12, 413). Well before the period of the *Muḥdathūn*, the poet Umayya b. Abī ʿĀʾidh (fl. 80/700) praises his own verse as “unlike the patchwork of the *muḥdathūn*” (*Aghānī*², xxiv, 6).

Resistance to the poetry of “moderns” had various grounds: its language, diction, style, contents, or even (though rarely) the fact that some prominent poets were not only non-nomads but also non-Arabs, witness the telling anecdote about Bashshār b. Burd [q.v.], often called “the father of the moderns”, related in *Aghānī*², iii, 166. It took some time for the *Muḥdathūn* to be recognised by critics and anthologists. The *Tabakāt fihl al-shuʿarāʾ* (“The classes of the master poets”) by Ibn Sallām al-Djumaḥī (d. 231/845 [q.v.]) ignores them, as does, for instance, Kudāma b. Djaʿfar’s [q.v.] *Nakd al-shiʿr*. Abū Tammām (d. 231/846 [q.v.]), himself one of the greatest and most controversial of the “moderns”, included only a few fragments that could be called *muḥdath* poetry in his influential anthology *al-Ḥamāsa* (his less famous anthology *al-Waḥshīyyāt*, on the other hand, has poems by Bashshār, Abū Nuwās, Abū ʿĀṭhiya, Muṭʿī b. Iyās, Muslim b. al-Walīd, Diʿbil [q.v.] and other *Muḥdathūn*).

The recognition and esteem that many *Muḥdathūn* received in their lifetimes from patrons and other admirers is reflected in numerous reports and not long after in anthological and critical works, too. A contemporary of Abū Tammām, the poet Diʿbil (d. 246/860), compiled a (partly preserved) book on poets in which the *Muḥdathūn* are included; some later anthologies, such as Ibn al-Muʿtazz’s [q.v.] *Tabakāt al-shuʿarāʾ*, are wholly devoted to the *Muḥdathūn*. This work opens with Ibn Harma (d. ca. 170/786 [q.v.]), who is more often considered “the last of the ancients” (al-ʿAsmaʿī, quoted at 20, and cf. *Aghānī*², iv, 373) or “in the rearguard of poets” (*min saḳat al-shuʿarāʾ*, Ibn Kutayba, *Shiʿr*, 473). Still quoted by linguists, but already indulging in very “modern” techniques such as writing a long poem without diacritical dots (*Aghānī*², iv, 378-9), Ibn Harma is a borderline case, like e.g. Ibn Mayyāda and Marwān b. Abī Ḥaṣa [q.v.]. Even Bashshār, “father of the Moderns”, is sometimes called “the last (*khātimat*) of the (ancient) poets” (*Aghānī*², iii, 143, 148, 150). It is rather surprising that Bashshār’s coeval, the caliph al-Walīd b. Yazīd (d. 126/744 [q.v.]), in spite of his innovative poetry, is never counted among the *Muḥdathūn*, presumably because he did not live to reach the ʿAbbāsīd period.

As Ibn Kutayba said, “God did not restrict knowledge, poetry and eloquence to one period . . . ; Djarīr, al-Farazdaq, al-Akḥṭal and other [pre-*muḥdath*] poets] were once regarded as ‘moderns’” (*Shiʿr*, 5). Of course, the distinction between *qadīm* and *muḥdath* is not merely a matter of chronology. The former is associated, or even equated, with the poetry of the ʿArab, the nomadic or semi-nomadic Bedouin, and the latter with the poetry of sedentary poets who were often non-Arab, like Bashshār, or of mixed descent (*muwallad*). Indeed, the term *muwalladūn* is sometimes used as a synonym of *muḥdathūn*, at other times for those poets who follow that school [see MUWALLAD. 2. In Arabic language and literature]. Al-Djāhīz wrote (*Ḥayawān*, iv, 130), “The ʿArab and Aʿrāb, both the nomadic and sedentary Arabs (*al-badw wa ʿl-ḥadar min sāʾir al-ʿarab*), are generally better poets than those poets who live in

towns and villages and are not of pure Arab stock among the new generation (*min al-muwallada wa ʿl-nābila*).” Confusingly, the term *muwallad* has occasionally been used for poets of pure Arab descent, even from the Umayyad period, such as “Umar b. Abī Rabiʿa, al-Kumayt b. Zayd and al-Ṭirimmāh [q.v.] (al-Sidjīstānī-al-ʿAsmaʿī, *Fihl al-shuʿarāʾ*, Cairo 1991, 124, 132, and cf. Ibn Rashīk, *ʿUmda*, i, 90), presumably because they were not true nomads, some of them, such as al-Kumayt, having learned and taught grammar (al-Marzubānī, *al-Muwashshah*, Cairo 1965, 302, 326-7).

It is a commonplace of traditional criticism to contrast the “purity” and solidity of the old style with the refinement and rhetoricisation of the new. The old poet built a house, the modern poet embellished and decorated it (e.g. *ʿUmda*, i, 92); the former is like a singer singing fine melodies with a coarse voice, the latter sings inferior melodies with a sweet voice (Ibn Wakīʿ, quoted in *ʿUmda*, i, 92). Modern verse is like a fragrant herb that smells deliciously but briefly, early poetry is like musk or ambergris, increasing in fragrance the more one rubs it (Ibn al-Aʿrābī, quoted in al-Marzubānī, *al-Muwashshah*, 384). The *Muḥdathūn* are credited with introducing *badīʿ* [q.v.] consciously, a term referring to various rhetorical and poetic artifices and embellishments. “Muslim b. al-Walīd was the first to use *badīʿ* on a large scale, after Bashshār had first used it . . . ; then came Abū Tammām, who used it excessively and immoderately” (quoted by Ibn al-Muʿtazz, *Tabakāt*, 235). Obviously, the contrast between old and new has been exaggerated and simplified: by no means all early poetry is stylistically rough and unadorned, some of it, notably Umayyad *raḳʿ* [q.v.], is highly rhetoricised. Conversely, much of “modern” poetry is unadorned and highly accessible, and its image is to some extent distorted because in literary criticism and theory it was mainly the rhetorical and embellished style that received attention. However, on the whole it is true that the most characteristic innovation of the *Muḥdathūn* lies precisely in the development of refined rhetorical techniques, a novel use of metaphor (cf. the distinction between the “old” and the “new” metaphor as pointed out by W. Heinrichs, *The hand of the Northwind*, Wiesbaden 1977), and of increasingly complex imagery and “conceits”, on which see e.g. B. Reinert, *Der Concetto-Stil in den islamischen Literaturen*, in Heinrichs (ed.), *Neues Handbuch der Literaturwissenschaft. V. Orientalisches Mittelalter*, Wiesbaden 1990, 366-408.

It is difficult to generalise about “modern poetry”, extremely varied as it is. Much of the ancient, Bedouin vocabulary and diction is abandoned, yet the so-called neo-classicist style of Abū Tammām and others indulges, at least in their formal *ḳaṣīdas* and other set-pieces, in archaic words and expressions. There were some prosodical innovations: a few new metres were created and truncated forms of existing metres became popular, yet all the old metres survived. Many oddities of grammar and prosody that were condoned in old and Bedouin poetry as poetic licences (*darūrāt*) were deemed faults in new or urban poetry (e.g. Ibn Rashīk, *ʿUmda*, ii, 269; Ibn Djinnī, *Ḳhaṣāʾiṣ*, Cairo 1952, i, 323ff.).

The ʿAbbāsīd critics themselves were aware that the originality and novelty of “modern” poetry were not as great as was sometimes claimed. Ibn al-Muʿtazz [q.v.] wrote his seminal treatise on rhetorical figures and tropes, *K. al-Badīʿ*, in order to demonstrate that these figures and tropes can be found already in early poetry and prose (Ḳurʿān and *Ḥadīth*); thus he provided



a legitimisation of *badī'* while at the same time condemning some of its excesses, notably Abū Tammām's idiosyncratic techniques of metaphor, antithesis and paronomasia. The two brothers called al-Khālidiyyān [q.v.], in their *K. al-Ashbāh wa 'l-naẓā'ir*, traced many motifs and themes occurring in modern poetry to their early predecessors, in order to prove the superiority of the latter; it was written in response to those who preferred the moderns.

The poetry of the *Muḥdathūn* certainly was not, and could not have been, a wholly new start. The early poets were canonised by consensus and could not be ignored by the later ones. Modern poets had to choose between slavishly imitating them, which became increasingly archaic and inappropriate for urban poets, or reacting against them (e.g. by means of parody and in the "anti-*naṣīb*" theme, common in Abū Nuwās [see *naṣīb*, d. 'Abbāsīd period]), or by transforming the early themes and motifs, by blending or subtly changing them, while transforming diction and style by means of rhetorical refinement. An important characteristic of modern poetry is the pervading presence of shorter and monothematic poems, with themes that in early poetry usually formed part of the polythematic ode or *qaṣīda* [q.v.]: the *ḥamriyya* [q.v.] or bacchic poem, the *tardīyya* [q.v.] or hunting poem, the *zuḥdiyya* [q.v.] or ascetic, anti-worldly poem, the "floral" poem (called *naḥriyya* [q.v.], *zahriyya*, *rawḍiyya* or *rabī'īyya*), the epideictic epigram (*uṣāf*), the gnomic epigram (*ḥikma*), the obscene or scatological poem (*muḍḡūn* [q.v.]) and several others. Here, too, there are precedents in early poetry, although it is not always possible to determine whether an early short poem was conceived as an independent epigram or is a fragment of an incompletely transmitted poem.

In any case, the *qaṣīda* retained its position as the most prestigious form. As before, one was not considered a great poet unless one could boast of the production of a substantial number of odes. It has been argued (M.M. Badawī, *From primary to secondary Qaṣīdas*, in *JAL*, xi [1980], 1-31 and see his chapter 'Abbasid poetry and its antecedents', in J. Ashtiany et al. (eds.), *CHAL, 'Abbasid belles-lettres*, Cambridge 1990, 146-66) that the coming of Islam brought about a more radical change in poetry than the *muḥdath* "revolution", a change seen in the shift from the tribal and ritualistic *qaṣīda* to the mostly panegyric ode modelled on the old type but being more strictly literary, and in the shift from oral to literate transmission. Important developments, too, took place in love-poetry in pre-*muḥdath* times (see *CHAZAL*, i. In Arabic poetry, and several more recent articles by Renate Jacobi and others). It is true that most of the changes of the period of the first *Muḥdathūn* were prepared by the early Islamic and Umayyad poets, yet on the whole the traditional distinction between them and the newer school is justified and the original contributions of such innovators as Bashshār, Abū Nuwās, Abū 'l-ʿAtāhiya, Abū Tammām and Ibn al-Rūmī cannot be denied. The new sensibility has been linked with the "discovery" of the individual, as a result of social and political changes, such as the dwindling of the old aristocracy, the individualistic egalitarianism espoused by Islam, and high social mobility (see Th. Bauer, *Liebe und Liebesdichtung in der arabischen Welt des 9. und 10. Jahrhunderts*, Wiesbaden 1998).

Among the characteristics of the *qaṣīda* among the *Muḥdathūn* is a greater concern for coherence and unity, or at least an avoidance of abrupt transitions. Even though such thematic jumps, such as from *naṣīb* to the panegyric section, are still found, most poets

devoted care to some kind of connecting motif (*takhalluṣ* [q.v.]). And whereas many early poems seem to end more or less fortuitously, often in mid-air as it were, the *Muḥdathūn* often conclude with a proper peroration, ending with topics appropriate to an envoi, such as a dedicatory passage or a blessing.

After the first few generations of *Muḥdathūn* poetry had become so artful, its techniques had developed to such an extent that it seemed to the following generations that it was difficult to come up with novel things: the poet and critic Ibn Ṭabāṭabā (d. 322/934), in his *'Iyār al-shi'r* (Riyād 1985, 13) speaks of the "trial" (*miḥna*) of the poets in his days who try to please exacting patrons by means of their rhetorical subtleties and witticisms, while abandoning the truthfulness allegedly found in early poetry.

If there ever was a true *querelle des anciens et modernes* in Arabic literary history, it was mostly fought in moderate terms, the majority of critics professing their respect for the ancients, even though many pointed out the superior techniques of the moderns. Thus al-Hātimī (d. 388/998) notes that the latter excelled in *takhalluṣ* "because of the bright minds and subtle thoughts", surpassing the primitive methods of pre-Islamic and early Islamic poets (*Ḥilyat al-muḥāḍara*, Baghdād 1979, 215-16). Ḍiyā' al-Dīn Ibn al-Aṭhīr (d. 637/1239 [q.v.]) calls Abū Tammām, al-Buḥturī and al-Mutanabbī "the al-Lāt, al-'Uzzā and Manāt [q.v.] of poetry" (*al-Maṭhal al-sā'ir*, Cairo 1962, iii, 226) and pronounces them superior to all others, ancient and modern (iii, 274). The Andalusian anthologist Ibn Bassām (d. 543/1147 [q.v.]), explaining why he only includes recent poets, speaks scathingly of ancient poetry (*al-Dhakhīra*, Beirut 1978-9, i/1, 13-14): "Everything that is recited over and over again is boring; the ear rejects 'O abode of Mayya . . .'; he goes on to quote irreverently the opening words of several of the *Mu'allakāt* [q.v.], perhaps the most "canonical" of all Arabic poems. At the other extreme stands e.g. Ibn Khaldūn [q.v.], arch-conservative for once, who quotes with apparent approval the opinion that the rhymes of al-Mutanabbī and al-Ma'arrī [q.v.] cannot be considered true poetry, because they did not follow (ancient) Arab poetical methods (*al-Muḥaddima*, Cairo 1962, 1296, tr. F. Rosenthal, Princeton 1967, iii, 382). However, in the controversies such as arose on account of the style and motifs of Abū Tammām or al-Mutanabbī, it is usually not a matter of old vs. new.

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book of *badīʿ*). For a useful survey of mediaeval critical opinions, see Ibn Rashīk, *ʿUmda*, i, 90-3 (*fi ʿl-kudamāʾ wa ʿl-muḥdathīn*), 100-1 (section on famous poets), ii, 263-45 (section on “modern motifs”, *al-māʾnī al-muḥdathā*).

(G.J.H. VAN GELDER)

MUḤIBB AL-DĪN AL-KHAṬĪB, Sunnī Arab journalist, publisher and editor, an influential figure of the *Salafiyya* [q.v.] as well as of Arab nationalism [see KAẒMIYYA. 1] in the 20th century (1886-1969). He was born in July 1886 in Damascus. Already in his youth his worldview was influenced by a number of Salafi thinkers such as Ṭāhir al-Djazzārī (d. 1920), and also by the writings of various Arab proto-nationalists, including al-Kawākibī [q.v.]. The gist of his views, which he advocated until the end of his life, can be described as a peculiar blend of Salafi and Arab nationalist positions (see Hurvitz, in *Bibl.*).

As a student of law in Istanbul (1905-7), and until the end of World War I, he was involved in the activities of a number of Arab secret societies such as *al-Nahḍa al-ʿArabīyya* and *al-ʿArabīyya al-Fatāt* (for details, see his own account in *al-Khaṭīb, ḥayātuhu bi-kalāmihī*; also Burdj, *Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Khaṭīb*; Tauber, *The emergence*; idem, *The Arab movements*, in *Bibl.*).

From 1916 onwards, he served the “Arab Revolt”, first as a member of the editorial staff of *al-Kiḫla* in Mecca, and later (summer 1919 to summer 1920) as chief editor of the Ḥāshimite official newspaper in Damascus, *al-ʿAsima*. However, a few days after the battle of Maysalūn (24 July 1920 [q.v.]) and the subsequent French occupation of Damascus, he left Syria for Egypt.

Having finally settled in Cairo, Muḥibb al-Dīn al-Khaṭīb in the following years rose to some prominence, in Egypt and far beyond, as owner of a printing press, a bookshop and a publishing house serving the causes of *ʿurūba* [q.v.] and Sunnī Islam, called *al-Maḥbaʾa al-Salafiyya wa-Maktabatuhā*. Further more, he gained recognition as founder and main author of two important journals, *al-Zahrāʾ* (1924-9) and *al-Fath* (1926-48), and also as editor of mediaeval as well as modern Arabic texts.

Even before the fall of the Ḥāshimite rule in the Ḥidjāz (1925), he had declared his support for Ibn Suʿūd [see ʿABD AL-ʿAZĪZ, in Suppl.] and subsequently became an eloquent defender of Saudi-Wahhābī politics and religious practice [see WAHHĀBIYYA. 2]. In this connection, he came forward as one of the most influential Sunnī polemicists in modern times against the *Shīʿa* in general and their role in Islamic history in particular. As a result, he opposed all attempts at an ecumenical rapprochement between the two sides [see TAKRĪB]. Even as chief editor of *Maḥjallat al-Azhar* (1952-9) he maintained this view (see Brunner, esp. 193-208). He is also remembered as one of the modern authors who tried to restore the image of the Umayyads in the mind of the Sunnī Arab public (Ende, 91-110). He died in Cairo on 30 December 1969.

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MUʿĪNSĪZ (A., T.), from Ar. *muʿīn* “supporter, helper” and Tkish. *sız* “without”, a term connected with the introduction of the conscription system into the Ottoman Empire in the 19th century to indicate someone who has nobody to look after his family and other dependants if he is drafted, i.e. is a breadwinner. The decision as to who was regarded as sole breadwinner in a family depended on the age, sex and physical and mental condition of those left behind and on their degree of kinship to the potential *muʿīnsiz*. *Muʿīnsiz* were exempted from regular military service, but served as reservists: as *redif* and *mustahfiz* [see RADIF]. Once one was registered as a regular soldier, becoming a *muʿīnsiz* was rarely possible, even if personal circumstances had changed.

Although *muʿīnsiz*, as reservists, had only limited military obligations in times of peace, during times of mobilisation and war they were called up to the colours. In such cases, their families were left without breadwinners. To prevent these soldiers from worrying about their families and to obviate subsequent problems with morale and even desertion, the Ottoman state provided a separation allowance, the *Muʿīnsiz ʿAile Maʿāshī*. First applied during the Crimean War, the allowance and the terms under which it was assigned remained rather vague until the second decade of the 20th century. The First World War forced the Ottoman authorities to become more specific. Articles 49-55 of the *Mükellefiyyet-i ʿAskeriyye Kānūn-u Müvakkkātī* of May 1914 and its revised version of July-August 1915 dealt with the separation allowance. A bill for a separate, thirty-one article law on the allowance was discussed in the *Shūrā-yi Devlet* [see ʿABD AL-ʿAZĪZ; DÜSTÜR. ii. TURKEY] in October 1915, but did not reach the *Meclis-i Wukela* (Council of Ministers) and the Parliament until the end of 1918.

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(NICOLE A.N.M. VAN OS)

MUḤAWWIYĀT (A.), a medical term, originally denoting stimulants but gradually taking on the meaning of aphrodisiacs—probably as a form of euphemism—a meaning which it has retained into the present day. It will be noted, however, that in the *Kānūn fi ʿl-fibb* of Ibn Sīnā [q.v.] the term *muḥawwī* is already in recurrent use in the section devoted to impotence (ii, 539-41). This is explained by the fact that aphrodisiacs were intended to restore to the deficient man all his vigour and all his strength and to excite his sexual desire (or that of the woman, evoked



in some texts, although it is the male to whom most attention is given), whence this blurring of meanings. Mediaeval Arabic medical texts used, for these preparations, numerous words and expressions: *mun'iz*, *muhayyidj* li 'l-*shahwa*, *muhayyidj* li 'l-*bāh*, *ashyā' tukawwī 'alā 'l-djīmā'* and *al-mufradāt al-bāhiyya*. All these names refer to the notion of stimulating erection, exciting carnal desire and facilitating the sexual act.

In a society where virility remained a major factor, where guaranteeing the succession was an imperative for princes and where the presence of numerous concubines was still an element of social prestige in *khāssa* circles—not to mention Qur'ānic verses calling for the "ploughing" of wives—it was to be expected that physicians should take an interest in aphrodisiacs and that texts of erotology as a literary genre should proliferate. Thus it is worth noting the significant fact that the last recipe given in the famous formula of al-Kōhēn al-ʿAṭṭār is that of an aphrodisiac (*ma'djūn al-sakanḳūr*, in *Minhādī*, 169). This medical literature should be considered in association with the related tradition of works of erotology (*kutub al-bāh*), the existence of which is noted, from the 4th/10th century onward, by Ibn al-Nadīm in a section of his *Fihrist* entitled *Asmā' al-kutub al-mu'allafa fi 'l-bāh al-fārisī wa 'l-hindī wa 'l-rūmī wa 'l-arabī* (436). He clearly points out the suggestive function of these works (*'alā ṭarīk al-ḥadīth al-mushabbik*), most of which are undoubtedly of Indian origin. Consequently, there existed a science associated with sexuality, linking empirical observations, theoretical material inspired by the predominant medical doctrines, and psychological considerations. It is thus that the Shaykh al-Nafzāwī refers to six causes of sexual desire: intensity of desire, abundance of sperm, encounter with desirable individuals, physical beauty [of the object of desire], fortifying nourishment and petting. He supplements this list with reference to eight factors predisposing the male to coitus (*tukawwī 'alā 'l-djīmā'*): good health, absence of anxieties, happiness, relaxation, good diet, material well-being, variation of position and changing of partners (*al-Rawḍ al-ʿāṭir*, 143). Sexual problems described by doctors therefore included, besides physical malfunctions, inhibitions and psychological neuroses. Obviously, the form of treatment depended on the precise definitions of these psychosomatic disorders. Medical treatises also describe impotence (*'adīz*, *nuksān al-bāh*) and functional problems related to erection (*intishār*, *in'āz*), generally known by the term *istirkhā'* *al-kadīb*, paralysis, slackening of the penis—but also female frigidity and anorgasm, which seem to be indicated by the expressions *bard al-raḥim* or *ṣalābat al-raḥim*, respectively: drying up of the uterus, sclerosis of its tissues (*Kānūn*, ii, 536-9).

The therapies applied in the treatment of these disorders thus rely on a wide variety of remedies ranging from potions to massages, ointments to auto-suggestion. Medications may be either simple or compound. Looking first at what could accurately be called auto-suggestion: for the physician, this consists, in recommending that his patient read pornographic works on the multiple positions and forms of intercourse (*al-kutub al-muʿannafa fi aḥwāl al-djīmā' wa-ashkālīhi*) or even listen to erotic anecdotes (*akḥbār al-mudjāmiʿin*). As regards aphrodisiac products as such, these are for the most part warming and stimulating items such as ginger, cinnamon, sandalwood, musk, camphor and asafoetida, combined with honey which remains a sovereign remedy. Types of compound aphrodisiacs are confections (*ma'djūn*) and electuaries (*djāwārshīn*) which the invalid takes daily; oils (*duhn*)

and pomades (*marham*), prescribed for external use and applied to the vagina, the penis, the pelvic region and the loins; and douches for female use (*ḥukna tukawwī 'l-mar'a li 'l-djīmā'*, *Akrabādīn al-Kalānīsī*, 144).

One of the ingredients most often cited is the Egyptian skink (*sakanḳūr*, *Scincus officinarum*), a variety of lizard which when dried and salted was credited—and is credited still in the traditional pharmacopoeia—with remarkable aphrodisiac qualities (*Minhādī*, 169), to such an extent that Dāwūd al-Anṭākī warns that this remedy can lead to death from excess of erection (*Tadhkira*, 194). The success of this animal seems to be explained by its phallic appearance, just as today, for the same reasons, the horn of the rhinoceros is credited, in Chinese medicine, with highly aphrodisiac qualities. This form of mind projection featured, in one manner or another, in the choice of certain other components utilised in the preparation of aphrodisiacs: bull's penis, "fox's testicles" (*khayā al-tha'lab*, Satyrion, *Orchis hircina* L.) and testicles of the cock or the ram. It should be noted that, in traditional Arab medicine, use is still made, according to the theory of affinities, of the pulverised testicles of calf or bull, as well as the officinal skink (Bellakhdar, 98). In conclusion, account should be taken of the extent to which, in the mediaeval Arab medical tradition, coitus is seen as an activity particularly beneficial to man on the psychological and physiological level, and the degree of importance attached by physicians to the physiological aspect.

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(F. SANAGUSTIN)

MŪSĀ AL-ṢADR, SAYYID, Imāmī Shī'ī cleric and political leader in Lebanon (1928-78?). Born in Kum [q.v.] into a family of religious scholars with roots in southern Lebanon and ʿIrāq, he studied in the *madāris* of his home town and at the University of Tehran where he read (secular) law.

From 1954 to 1959, he pursued his studies in Najaf [q.v.], his principal teachers being Sayyid Muḥsin al-Ḥakīm (d. 1970) and Sayyid Abu 'l-Kāsim al-Khū'i (d. 1992). From Najaf he began establishing personal contacts with the Lebanese branch of his family, and in particular with his uncle, the influential scholar Sayyid ʿAbd al-Husayn Sharaf al-Dīn [q.v.]. Before the latter's death on 30 December 1957, he had apparently expressed the wish that Mūsā al-Ṣadr should succeed him as leader of the Imāmī Shī'ī community of Tyre [see *ṣūr*].

In late 1959, Sayyid Mūsā al-Ṣadr took up residence

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in Tyre. In the following years he gained influence both locally and further afield as teacher and preacher and also as a spokesman (called *Imām*) for the *Shīʿīs* of Lebanon [see also *MUTAWĀLI*], who felt socially and politically neglected by the government in Beirut. In the face of considerable resistance on the part of the old feudal leadership as well as from certain members of the *Shīʿī* clergy, he finally succeeded in setting up a Higher *Shīʿite* Council (*al-Madjlis al-Islāmī al-Shīʿī al-Aʿlā*) by resolution of the National Assembly in December 1967. In May 1969 *Mūsā al-Ṣadr* was elected president of this council, the first body to represent the *Shīʿa* of Lebanon.

In March 1974 he launched a mass movement called *Harakat al-mahrūmīn*, which was soon known to have formed a military wing called *Afwāḍ al-mukāwama al-lubnāniyya* (AMAL). In late August 1978, more than three years after the outbreak of the civil war in Lebanon, *Mūsā al-Ṣadr* suddenly disappeared while on a visit to Libya. The circumstances of this affair remain mysterious, but after a few years he was presumed dead even by the majority of his followers. Both AMAL and its rival, *Hizb Allāh*, claim to be the heirs to his spiritual and political legacy.

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MUSĀBAKA (A., pl. *musābakāt*) "race, competition, contest"; *musābaka tilāwat al-Kurʿān* is thus a "contest in the recitation of the *Kurʿān*". Such contests are held in many contemporary Muslim countries and contexts, such as Saudi Arabia, Egypt, Indonesia and North America. International competitions are held periodically in Mecca and in Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia.

There is a national level recitation competition held every two years in Indonesia. It is popularly known as "MTQ" (for *musābakah tilāwatil kurʿān*). Local, regional and provincial eliminations determine the selection of the final contestants, who represent all of Indonesia's

provinces in a colourful and festive complex of events lasting about ten days. The Indonesian approach to the *Kurʿān* recitation *musābaka* conceives it to be a "national discipline" that affords Indonesia's Muslims a chance to strengthen their religious life while enhancing their pride as citizens of the Republic. Although recitation is at the core of the event, there are also *Kurʿānic* quiz shows for youth, who appear on provincial teams; an elaborate *daʿwa* (Islamic "missions") exhibit with displays of publications and programmes; a parade through the streets of the host city; colourful opening and closing ceremonies with processions, special music, dance and recitation; and Islamic fashion shows. There is considerable national media coverage, as the MTQ is attended by the president, government ministers, the diplomatic corps, and distinguished Muslim leaders from Indonesia and abroad. Each MTQ is held in a different city, thus producing something like a royal progress about the country over the years.

Although recitation is governed by long-established *ādāb*, as far as the conduct of particular *musābakāt* is concerned, one needs to refer to specific cases. For example, the state television service in Surabaya, East Java, has sponsored a provincial *musābaka* that features groups of timed recitation selections (a standard procedure) interspersed with popular musical interludes performed by Muslim "seminarians" on guitars and other instruments (cf. Roman Catholic "rock" masses). In the Indonesian national-level tournament, the reciters are divided into categories of boys, girls, women, men and handicapped (usually blind). There are separate categories for those who read the *Kurʿānic* passages from a *muṣḥaf* and those who recite from memory. Judges evaluate the performances according to established criteria in *ādāb* (deportment, etiquette), *taḍwīd* (technical rules and procedures of recitation), and *naghāmāt* (musical modes and melodies). Prizes and trophies are awarded to winning individuals and provincial teams, whose return home is marked by special festivities.

Bibliography: There is not much scholarly literature on *Kurʿānic* recitation competitions, although specific events are covered in the popular media. For Indonesia, see Khadjatus Shalihah, *Perkembangan seni baca al-Qurʿan dan Qiraat Tujuh di Indonesia* ("Developments in the art of reading the *Kurʿān* and the Seven Readings in Indonesia"), Jakarta 1983, 84-97; a more popular descriptive article is F.M. Denny, *The Great Indonesian Qurʿan-chanting tournament*, in *The World and I* (June 1986), 216-23, based on field work. The *musābaka* idea is motivated largely by a concern for maintaining and strengthening *Kurʿānic* literacy, especially in non-Arabic speaking countries. For ways in which Indonesians approach this, see Denny, *Qurʿan recitation training in Indonesia: a survey of contexts and handbooks*, in A. Rippin (ed.), *Approaches to the history of the interpretation of the Qurʿān*, Oxford 1988, 288-306. (F.M. DENNY)

MUSĀFIR (A.), literally, "traveller". For the genre of travel account literature, see *RIHLA*. For the rest houses and caravanserais set up for travellers, see *KHĀN*, *MANZIL*, and *MIHMĀN*, in Suppl. For the commercial caravans of which travellers also usually formed part, see *KĀRWĀN*. For the Pilgrimage caravans, see *HADJ*. iii and *AMĪR AL-HADJ*. For the highways along which travellers passed, see *SHĀRĪ*.



N

NADIRA.

2. In Swahili literature.

The word *nādīra* is not well known in Swahili except in scholarly circles. The Swahili word *ngano* (common also in other Bantu languages) is in use for all invented tales including fables, as opposed to *hadithi*, which originally referred to Islamic legends about the Prophet Muḥammad and the characters he used to discuss with the *Ṣahāba*, while seated in the mosque at Medina after prayers. Today, such *hadithi* contain some of the most fantastic adventure tales, including the exploits of 'Alī against the *djinn* and *shayātīn*. Next to Arabian tales, such as Maḡjūnūn and Laylā, there are tales of Persian origin circulating on the Swahili coast, such as those of Sindibāda (= Sindbād) or Farhād and Shīrīn. India is richly represented as a supplier of motifs for the Swahili storytellers. Fables from the *Pančatantra*, such as that of the monkey and the crocodile (who has become a shark in the Swahili version) are well known in Swahili, although they may have come via the Persian version of this work, the *Anwār-i Suhaylī*. Curiously, the Arabian version, *Kalīla wa-Dimna* [q.v.], is not known in Swahili. Some tales even go back to Sanskrit literature, such as the Tale of the Three Magic Objects from the *Vetālapan-cavimśatikā*, or the Tale of Moses (i.e. the Prophet Mūsā) and the two Angels, ultimately based on the Sanskrit *Kāthāsaritsāgara*.

Swahili scholars are very well read in Arabic traditional literature, especially the *Kiṣaṣ al-anbiyā'* [q.v.], Creation and cosmology (*ibḍā' wa-'ilm al-samawāt*), the *Ṣira*, *Mawlid*, *Mīrājī*, and the fabulous tales of al-Iskandar and Nabī Sulaymān.

Finally, there is the vast African heritage of narration, which includes fables for children including the Aesop-type tales, as well as bloodcurdling stories about ghosts and monsters of every description; purely African, fresh original, well-structured tales of wonders.

Bibliography: E. Steere, *Swahili tales*, London 1869; C.B. Büttner, *Lieder und Geschichten der Suaheli*, Berlin 1894; C. Velten, *Märchen und Erzählungen der Suaheli*, Berlin 1898; L. Reinisch, *Die Somali Sprache. I. Texte*, Vienna 1900; Velten, *Prosa und Poesie der Suaheli*, Berlin 1907; C. Meinhof, *Afrikanische Märchen*, Jena 1917; E. Cerulli, *The folk literature of the Galla of Southern Abyssinia* (Harvard African Studies, III), Cambridge 1922; Alice Werner, *Myths and legends of the Bantu*, London 1933; M.M. Moreno, *Favole e rime galla*, Rome 1935; E. Damman, *Dichtungen in der Lamu Mundart des Suaheli*, Hamburg 1940; idem, *Die Quellen der Suahelidichtung*, in *Isl.*, xxvi (1942), 250-68; J.W.T. Allen, *Tendi*, London 1971; H.T. Norris, *Saharan myth and saga*, Oxford 1972; J. Knappert, *The epic in Africa*, in *Jnal. of the Folklore Inst.*, iv/2-3 (Bloomington 1967), 171ff.; idem, *The Qisāṣu 'l-Anbiyā' as moralistic stories*, in *Procs. of the Seminar for Arabian Studies*, vi (London 1976), 103-16; idem, *Epic poetry in Swahili and other African languages*, Leiden 1983; idem, *Islamic legends*, Leiden 1985; idem, *Kings, gods and spirits from African mythology*, London 1986; idem, *Myths and legends of the Swahili*, Nairobi 1986. (J. KNAPPERT)

AL-NADJĀSHĪ, Kaṣ b. 'Amr al-Hārithī, Arab poet of the 1st/7th century, probably called by this epithet because of his dark skin inherited from his Ethiopian mother, d. 49/669.

Born in Naḡjirān, he and his clan became converts to Islam at Medina in 10/632. His bellicose nature led him to compose virulent satires against 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥassān b. Thābit, who replied with the aid of his father. On the advice of al-Ḥuṭay'a and Ḥassān [q.v.], the caliph 'Umar had al-Nadjaṣhī imprisoned for his invectives against the B. 'Adjlān and their poet Ibn Mukbil [q.v.]. At the battle of Siffin, he joined 'Alī and exchanged verses of a politico-religious nature with Mu'āwiya's poets, notably Ka'b b. Dju'ayl. However, he left 'Alī's side after the latter had him flogged for drinking wine during Ramaḡān, and he went over to Mu'āwiya's army, eventually dying at Lahḡj in Yemen.

Al-Nadjaṣhī's poetic oeuvre does not seem to have been gathered together in a *diwān* by the early philologists, although Ibn al-Nadīm, *Fihrist*, ed. Cairo, 157, mentions a *kitāb al-Nadjaṣhī* attributed to al-Madā'īnī. Modern authors, such as Schultess, Cheikho and al-Nu'aymī have endeavoured to piece together his surviving verses, and T. al-'Ashshāsh, S. Ḡurāb and S. Bakkārī have tried to reconstitute the *diwān*, based on some 50 sources, in *Annales de l'Université de Tunis*, xxi (1982), 105-201, comprising 333 verses in 64 pieces of unequal length from one to 43 verses. His themes are the usual main poetic ones: satire, praise, *fakhr*, elegy and erotic poetry, with his poetry reflecting the main phases of his life and times. Following al-'Amīlī, *Aṣyān al-Shī'a*, xliii, 368-9, he may be considered as one of the main pro-'Alid poets of the period before 50/670, with his eulogies of 'Alī and his supporters and insults against Mu'āwiya and his partisans at the time of Siffin forming over half of his surviving verses.

Bibliography: See, in addition to the works mentioned above, Brockelmann, S I, 73; Zirikli, *A'lām*, vi, 58; Blachère, *HLA*, ii, 320; Sezgin, *GAS*, ii, 307-8; and El Achèche, doctorat d'état thesis, *La poésie shī'ite jusqu'au III^e siècle de l'Hégire*, Paris 1988, unpubl., and corpus of Shī'ī poetry to the 3rd century A.H., *Ash'ār al-tashayyū'*, Beirut 1997.

(TAIEB EL ACHÈCHE)

NADJĪB KHĀN (see NADJĪB AL-DAWLA).

NAFAKA (أ.), in Islamic law, maintenance, i.e. of the necessities of life, consisting of food, clothing and shelter. The obligation to provide for a person's maintenance arises from kinship, ownership and marriage.

Kinship

Fathers are obliged to provide for their children, unless the latter have sufficient property to support themselves. The obligation lasts with regard to boys until puberty, and regarding girls, until they marry and their marriage is consummated. After puberty, boys are entitled to maintenance from their fathers if they are physically or mentally unfit to support themselves and their fathers have sufficient means. According to all schools of jurisprudence, children

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with sufficient means must support their parents if they are indigent. The Shāfi'is and Imāmi Shī'is hold that this obligation exists with regard to all ascendants. The Hanafīs extend it to all blood relatives within the forbidden degrees (*dhawū raḥim mahram*).

Ownership

The owner of a slave has the duty to maintain him or her. If he fails to do so, the judge may sell the slave without the master's consent.

Marriage

The husband's duty to maintain his wife is regarded as a consideration for her being under her husband's control (*maḥbūsa*). As a consequence, her right to maintenance arises only after the consummation of her marriage, when cohabitation begins, and does not depend on her indigence. According to most schools, the level of maintenance depends on the status of both spouses. A wife is always entitled to be housed alone, preferably at some distance from her co-wives, and not to be forced to share her accommodation with her husband's relatives. If it is in accordance with the status of both spouses, the wife must be provided with a domestic servant.

The wife's right to maintenance ends with the termination of the marriage by her husband's decease or by repudiation. Since marriage persists after a revocable repudiation (*talāk [q.v.] radj'ī*) until the expiry of the waiting period (*'idda [q.v.]*), the wife is entitled to maintenance during this period. Although after an irrevocable (*bā'in*) repudiation the marriage comes immediately to an end, the husband must provide for his former wife during the ensuing waiting period if she is pregnant. If she is not, opinions vary.

The husband's obligation is suspended if his wife is disobedient (*nāshiza*). This is the case if she refuses to move to the marital home or leaves it without her husband's consent or a lawful reason. Her right to maintenance, however, is not affected if her behaviour is justified, e.g. if the home provided by her husband does not meet the legal requirements (*maskan sharfī*) or if he has exceeded the bounds of proper marital chastisement. All schools but the Hanafīs (who argue that such circumstances are practically impossible to prove) regard the wife's refusal to have sexual intercourse with her husband as disobedience entailing the suspension of maintenance.

Whereas most schools regard maintenance as an ordinary debt whose arrears are due and payable, the Hanafī view is different: if the husband for whatever reason does not provide maintenance, his obligation expires after one month, unless the amount of maintenance has been specified by agreement between the spouses or by judicial decree. All schools except the Hanafīs and the Shī'is regard the husband's failure to provide maintenance as a ground for divorce for the wife. Since the Hanafī doctrine on these two issues was prejudicial to women, the views of the other schools have now been introduced by legislation in many Hanafī countries.

For *nafaka* in the sense of expenditure, see RIZK. 3.

Bibliography: Muḥammad Abū Zahra, *al-Aḥwāl al-shakhṣiyya*, Cairo n.d., 243-73; Yūsuf al-Fakīh, *al-Aḥwāl al-shakhṣiyya fī fikh Ahl al-Bayt*, Beirut 1989, 292-6; 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Djazīrī, *Kutāb al-fikh 'alā 'l-madhāhib al-arba'a*, iv, *Kiṣm al-aḥwāl al-shakhṣiyya*, 5th impr. Cairo n.d., 553-94; Y. Linant de Bellefonds, *Traité de droit musulman comparé*, Paris etc. 1965, ii, 256-86; D. Santillana, *Istituzioni di diritto musulmano malechita con riguardo anche al sistema sciafita*, Rome 1938, i, 231-4, 243-7; Y. Meron, *L'obligation ali-*

mentaire entre époux en droit musulman hanéfite, Paris 1971. (R. PETERS)

AL-NAHY 'AN AL-MUNKAR (A.), "forbidding wrong", in full *al-amr bi 'l-ma'rūf wa 'l-nahy 'an al-munkar*, "commanding right and forbidding wrong". The term is used to refer to the exercise of legitimate authority, either by holders of public office or by individual Muslims who are legally competent (*mukallaf*), with the purpose of encouraging or enforcing adherence to the requirements of the Shari'a. This article deals mainly with the duty of individual Muslims in this regard; technically, this is usually considered to be a collective obligation (*fard kifāya*) [see FARD].

1. Terminology.

The term is taken from the Qur'an, where forbidding wrong is generally held to be imposed as a duty in III, 104: "Let there be one community of you, calling to good, and commanding right and forbidding wrong; those are the prosperers." Other verses making clear reference to forbidding wrong are III, 110, 114; VII, 157; IX, 71, 112; XXII, 41; XXXI, 17. However, there is little indication in the Qur'an of the concrete character of the duty.

The most-cited Sunnī tradition uses a somewhat different wording. In the frame-story, a man reproves the Umayyad governor of Medina (the future caliph Marwān I [q.v.]) for infringing the *sunna* in the course of leading a ritual prayer. The Companion Abū Sa'īd al-Khudrī (d. 74/693) approves the man's action, and quotes the Prophet as saying: "Whoever of you sees a wrong (*munkar*), let him put it right (*fa-l-yughayyir-hu*) with his hand; if he cannot, then with his tongue; if he cannot, then with [or in] his heart" (Muslim, *Ṣaḥīh*, ed. M.F. 'Abd al-Bāqī, Cairo 1955-6, 69, no. 49). From this tradition is derived the term *taghyīr al-munkar* "righting wrong", while a variant text supports the term *inkār al-munkar* "(manifesting) disapproval of wrong".

The Muslim scholars take it for granted that *al-nahy 'an al-munkar*, *taghyīr al-munkar* and *inkār al-munkar* all refer to the same duty. They occasionally make distinctions between *al-amr bi 'l-ma'rūf* and *al-nahy 'an al-munkar*, but normally assume that a single duty is involved. Al-Ghazālī (d. 505/1111 [q.v.]), devised a new terminology for the duty of individuals based on the root *ḥ-s-b*; thus the duty itself is *ḥisba*, one who performs it is *muḥtasib*, etc. (*Iḥyā' ulūm al-dīn*, Cairo 1967-8, ii, 398). Hereafter the duty is referred to in this article as "forbidding wrong".

2. Forbidding wrong by holders of public office.

The sources speak of the exercise of authority by the legitimate ruler of the community as forbidding wrong. This usage is especially common in Imāmi, Zaydī and Ibādī texts, where forbidding wrong is closely linked to the imāmate (e.g. 'Alī b. Ibrāhīm al-Kummī, *Tafsīr*, ed. T.M. al-Djazzārī, Najaf 1386-7/1966-8, i, 306; 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-'Alawī, *Sirat al-Hādī ilā 'l-Haqq Yahyā ibn al-Husayn*, ed. S. Zakkār, Beirut 1972, 29; al-Bisyawī, *Djāmi'*, Ruwī 1984, iv, 192). But such language is also found in Sunnī sources (e.g. al-Mas'ūdī, *Murūdj*, §3,111, on the caliph al-Muhtadī [q.v.]). Holders of subordinate offices may also be described as forbidding wrong, especially the officially-appointed *muḥtasib* (e.g. al-Māwardī, *al-Aḥkām al-sultāniyya*, ed. A.M. al-Baghdādī, Kuwait 1989, 315) [see *ḤISBA*]. Despite the fact that such diction is widespread, it is not usually an object of scholastic reflection. Where scholars writing on the role of the *muḥtasib* pause to analyse the duty of forbidding wrong, they



tend to borrow what they say from discussions of the duty of the individual (as in the chapter on the *muhtasib* in *Khundjī, Sulūk al-mulūk*, ed. M.ʿA. Muwaḥḥid, Tehran 1362 *shamsī*/1983, 175-99, which includes much material going back to al-Ḡhazālī). Opinion is divided on the question whether the state should have a monopoly of the use of violence in forbidding wrong.

3. Forbidding wrong by individuals in principle.

There is an extensive scholastic literature on this subject. Much material may be found in sources of the following types: *Qurʾān* commentaries under the relevant *Qurʾānic* verses; commentaries on Prophetic traditions under the relevant traditions; the handbooks of doctrine (*uṣūl al-dīn*) of some but not all theological schools; works on substantive law among the Imāmīs, Zaydīs and Ibādīs (but not the Sunnīs); and occasional monographs devoted to forbidding wrong. In terms of wealth of concrete detail, the richest body of material on the duty is a collection of responsa of Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (d. 241/855 [q.v.]) (Abū Bakr al-Khallāl, *al-Amr bi 'l-ma'rūf wa 'l-nahy 'an al-munkar*, ed. ʿA.A. ʿAṭā, Cairo 1975). In conceptual terms, the most sophisticated discussions stem from the Muʿtazila [q.v.] and their Zaydī and Imāmī heirs; by contrast, the Ashʿariyya and Māturīdiyya [q.v.] have less to say. By far the most influential account of the duty is the substantial and very clear analysis that al-Ḡhazālī included in his *Ihyāʾ* (ii, 391-455, forming the ninth book of the second quarter, *rubʿ*, of the work). The influence of this treatment extended to all Sunnī schools, and also to the Imāmīs, Zaydīs and Ibādīs.

The central theme in formal discussions of the duty is often the set of conditions under which someone is obligated to confront a wrong. In the account of the Zaydī Muʿtazilī Mānkdim (d. 425/1034), a pupil of the Shāfiʿī Muʿtazilī ʿAbd al-Djabbār b. Aḥmad al-Hamadḥānī (d. 415/1025 [q.v.]), these conditions are in outline as follows: (1) knowledge of law: the prospective performer of the duty must know that what he forbids is indeed wrong; (2) knowledge of fact: he must know, or have good reason to believe, that the wrong in question is in the making (*hādīn*); (3) absence of worse side-effects: he must know that his action will not lead to a greater evil; (4) efficacy: he must know, or have good reason to believe, that his speaking out will be efficacious; (5) absence of danger: he must know, or have good reason to believe, that his action will not lead to harm to his person or property (Mānkdim, *Taʿlīk Sharḥ al-Uṣūl al-khamsa*, edited by ʿA. ʿUṭmān as the *Sharḥ al-Uṣūl al-khamsa* of ʿAbd al-Djabbār b. Aḥmad, Cairo 1965, 142-3). Other scholars are likely to discuss these issues in somewhat different ways, and to disagree on details. Occasionally a scholar will reject a condition outright, but this is rare; a case in point is the Shāfiʿī al-Nawawī (d. 676/1277), who holds the uncommon view that one should proceed irrespective of the prospects of success, thus rejecting the fourth condition (cf. *Sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, Beirut 1987, i, 382); he is followed in this by a good number of later Shāfiʿīs and some non-Shāfiʿīs.

The means by which the duty is to be performed are generally presented in an escalatory sequence (e.g. Mānkdim, *Taʿlīk*, 144, 744-5; al-Ḡhazālī, *Ihyāʾ*, ii, 420-5; contrast the wording of the Prophetic tradition cited above). Thus one should speak politely to the offender before rebuking him harshly, and only proceed to physical action if words are of no avail. The major disagreement concerns the use of violence in forbidding wrong: can it be used by individuals, and if so,

can it reach the point of recourse to arms? The use of arms finds favour among the Muʿtazilīs, Zaydīs and Ibādīs, and is sanctioned by some Sunnīs; but many Sunnīs reject it, as do the Imāmīs.

This is not the only issue on which tension arises between more activist and more quietist approaches to forbidding wrong. Thus there is a major disagreement in connection with the fifth condition. While it is generally accepted that danger voids the obligation (at least if the degree of prospective harm is significant), it is disputed whether, or in what circumstances, it may still be virtuous to proceed. Thus according to Mānkdim, such action would be virtuous only if it secured the greater glory of the faith (*ʿiẓāz al-dīn*, see *Taʿlīk*, 143), whereas the Ḥanafī Muʿtazilī Abū ʿl-Husayn al-Baṣrī (d. 436/1044 [q.v. in Suppl.]), likewise a pupil of ʿAbd al-Djabbār, held that no such distinction could be made, the greater glory of the faith being at issue in all such cases (cf. al-Himmaṣī, *al-Munkidh min al-taklīd*, *Ḳumm* 1412-14/1991-4, ii, 219). By contrast, Imāmī authorities condemn such action (e.g. Murtaḍā, *Dhakhkhira*, ed. A. al-Husaynī, *Ḳumm* 1411/1990-1, 557-8).

A closely related question is whether it is virtuous to rebuke rulers harshly for their misdeeds. Al-Ḡhazālī, representing a widespread view, was strongly in favour of this, and included in his discussion of the duty a substantial number of relevant anecdotes (*Ihyāʾ*, ii, 437-55). Ibn Ḥanbal, by contrast, discouraged such activity (Ibn Abī Yaʿlā, *Ṭabaḳāt al-Ḥanābila*, ed. M.Ḥ. al-Fikī, Cairo 1952, i, 47), and the Ḥanbalī Ibn al-Djawzī (d. 597/1201) followed suit in his recension of al-Ḡhazālī's *Ihyāʾ* (see Aḥmad b. Ḳudāma al-Maḳḍisī, *Mukhtasar Minhādī al-kāsidīn*, Damascus 1389, 130). Likewise Muḥsin al-Fayḍ (d. 1091/1680), in his Imāmī recension of the *Ihyāʾ*, disallows rudeness to rulers, and impugns the motives of the heroes of al-Ḡhazālī's anecdotes (*al-Mahādīja al-bayḍāʾ fi tahdhīb al-Ihyāʾ*, ed. ʿA.A. al-Ḡhaffārī, Tehran 1339-42 *shamsī*/1960-3, iv, 112-13).

A final question of this kind, for those who accept recourse to arms, is whether forbidding wrong can take the form of rebellion against unjust rule. Such rebellion is usually condemned among the Sunnīs, although Ibn Ḥazm (d. 456/1064) is a striking exception (*Fisal*, Cairo 1317-21, iv, 175-6). Thus Abū Ḥanīfa (d. 150/767-8) is quoted as rejecting rebellion on the ground that its costs would exceed its benefits (Abū Ḥanīfa, *al-Fikḥ al-absaṭ*, ed. M.Z. al-Kawtharī, Cairo 1368, 44). But rebellion under the aegis of forbidding wrong finds approval among, for example, the Ibādīs (cf. P. Crone and F. Zimmermann, *The epistle of Sālim ibn Dhakwān*, Oxford 2001, 140, §127 of the Arabic text), here continuing a Khāridjite tradition, and the Zaydīs (e.g. Muḥammad b. Sulaymān al-Kūfī, *Muntakhab*, Ṣanʿāʾ 1993, 14).

One major concern (on which the systematic discussions in Muʿtazilī and related sources are surprisingly silent) is privacy: how far do its requirements override the duty of forbidding wrong? The basic idea is that for forbidding wrong to be in place, the wrong must in some way be public knowledge; a hidden sin, according to a Prophetic tradition, harms only the sinner (Ibn Abī ʿl-Dunyā, *ʿUkūbāt*, ed. M.K.R. Yūsuf, Beirut 1996, 43, no. 40). Moreover, steps that would make hidden wrongs manifest are strongly discouraged. The *Qurʾānic* prohibition of spying (XLIX, 12) is widely quoted (e.g. Abū Yaʿlā Ibn al-Farrāʾ, *al-Muʿtamad fi uṣūl al-dīn*, ed. W.Z. Haddad, Beirut 1974, §355), as are versions of a Prophetic tradition that makes it a duty not to disclose shameful aspects of



the lives of outwardly respectable Muslims (also quoted by Abū Ya'la; cf. Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 1996, no. 2,580). The problematic cases arise in the grey area between public and private. Thus if one passes someone in the street who has a suspicious bulge under his cloak—suggesting that he is carrying a bottle of alcoholic liquor or a musical instrument—should one confront him (cf. Abū Ya'la Ibn al-Farrā', *al-Aḥkām al-sultāniyya*, ed. M.H. al-Fiḳī, Cairo 1966, 296-7)?

4. Forbidding wrong by individuals in practice.

Some of the more concrete prescriptive literature also sheds light on the practice of the duty. Thus the responsa of Ibn Ḥanbal illustrate the kinds of wrong confronted by individual Muslims in 3rd/9th century Baghdad. The most frequent are making music and drinking alcoholic liquor, followed by sexual misconduct (cf. al-Khallāl, *al-Amr bi 'l-ma'rūf*, no. 57); a variety of other wrongs appear from time to time, such as faulty prayer, chess-playing and the display of images. The mix seems to have been much the same at other times and places.

Biographical and historical sources preserve a considerable amount of scattered anecdotal material regarding the actual performance of the duty. On the whole, this material is richer for the earlier centuries of Islam than for later periods.

One respect in which the anecdotal material differs significantly from the prescriptive material is that it is much less ambivalent about confrontations involving danger. Thus many approving stories are told of pious Muslims who rebuked unjust rulers without regard for the consequences. An example is the reproof administered by Shu'ayb b. Harb (d. 196/811-12) to the caliph Ḥārūn al-Rashīd [q.v.] on the road to Mecca, in which he addressed the caliph by name; he was released when he pointed out that he did the same to God (al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Ta'rikh Baghdad*, Cairo 1931, ix, 239-40). At the same time, historical sources provide numerous examples of rebels who invoked forbidding wrong (see e.g. Ibn Ḥayyān, *Muktabis*, ed. M.M. Antuñā, Paris 1937, 133, on the Andalusī rebel Ibn al-Kūṭī [q.v.] in 288/901).

While the anecdotal material normally takes the side of those who perform the duty, it also brings out the fact that they were often regarded by others as pious busybodies; thus when Abū 'l-Husayn al-Nūrī (d. 295/907-8) [see AL-NŪRĪ] concerns himself with a cargo of wine belonging to the caliph, the boatman calls him a "meddlesome Šūfī" (*šūfī kathīr al-fudūl*) (al-Dhahabī, *Siyar a'lām al-nubalā'*, ed. S. al-Arna'ūt *et al.*, Beirut 1981-8, xiv, 76).

5. Modern developments.

Discussion of forbidding wrong has played a significant part in the modern history of Islamic thought and practice, with Imāmī scholars tending to be more innovative than Sunnī ones.

One question that has naturally received increased attention is the role of women in forbidding wrong. In pre-modern times, a few authorities explicitly excluded women from performing the duty, a few (notably al-Ghazālī and some Ibādīs) explicitly included them, but most said nothing either way (for al-Ghazālī's view, see *Ihyā'*, ii, 398). Modern authors, by contrast, often include women, even if they limit their role (e.g. Khālīd b. 'Uthmān al-Sabt, *al-Amr bi 'l-ma'rūf wa 'l-nahy 'an al-munkar*, London 1995, 171-2, a conservative Sunnī view; Ahmad Tayyib Shabistari, *Takīyya: amr bah ma'rūf wa nahy az munkar*, Tehran 1350 *shamsī*/1971, 208, a radical Imāmī view).

There has been a widespread trend towards greater

political activism, most consistently among the Imāmīs.

Thus the view that it is wrong to proceed in the face of danger was qualified or rejected not just by Khumaynī (d. 1409/1989 [q.v. in Suppl.]) (*Tahrīr al-wasīla*, Beirut 1981, i, 472-6), but by numerous scholars of his and later generations. On the Sunnī side, one example among many of a strongly activist figure is the Algerian 'Alī b. Ḥādjdj; thus in a talk distributed on cassettes, he quotes with enthusiasm a passage in which al-Ghazālī sanctioned the recruitment of armed bands in the cause of forbidding wrong (*Ihyā'*, ii, 425). But more quietist trends are also at work. Thus in Egypt, Ḥasan al-Bannā (d. 1368/1949) [see AL-BANNĀ'] was against forbidding wrong "with the band" ('Abd al-Khabīr al-Khulī, *Kā'id al-da'wa al-Islāmiyya Hasan al-Bannā*, Cairo 1952, 73), and Sayyid Kuṭb (d. 1386/1966 [q.v.]) considered the duty to be in abeyance in the absence of an Islamic state (*Fī ḡilāl al-Kur'ān*, Beirut 1973-4, 949). Khālīd al-Sabt, a mainstream Su'ūdī scholar, does not share such views, but bypasses the more subversive statements of al-Ghazālī (*al-Amr bi 'l-ma'rūf*, 316ff.).

There has also been an unprecedented emphasis on the desirability of achieving greater organisation for the purpose of forbidding wrong (see e.g. Muḥammad Ahmad al-Rāshid, *al-Muntalak*, Beirut 1976, 146-54, for a Sunnī view, and Husayn al-Nūrī al-Hamadānī, *al-Amr bi 'l-ma'rūf wa 'l-nahy 'an al-munkar*, Tehran 1990, 65, for an Imāmī view). In some Islamic countries, this has led to the creation of new organs of the state entrusted with the performance of the duty (but not to the revival of the traditional office of the official *muhtasib*). Thus in Su'ūdī Arabia, a system of "committees (*hay'āt*) for commanding right and forbidding wrong" emerged in the aftermath of the Su'ūdī conquest of the Ḥijāz in 1343-4/1924-5, initially as a device to contain the zeal of the Wahhābī Ikhwān [q.v.] against the misdeeds of the Ḥijāzīs and pilgrims (cf. Ḥāfiẓ Wahba, *Djāzirat al-'Arab fī 'l-kam al-'ishrīn*, Cairo 1961, 309-12). In Iran, following the Islamic Revolution of 1399/1979, a plurality of organs of the state acquired responsibility for forbidding wrong; and in Afghānistān, a single organisation was established to discharge the duty after the Tālibān conquered Kābul in 1417/1996.

Bibliography: See also *ELI*, art. "Amr be ma'rūf" (W. Madelung); M. Cook, *Commanding right and forbidding wrong in Islamic thought*, Cambridge 2000 (with extensive bibl.). Many of the works cited in the article contain substantial treatments of forbidding wrong, notably those of al-Khallāl, Mānkḏīm and al-Ghazālī. (M. Cook)

NAQD (A.), "[literary] criticism", in modern Arabic, *al-naqd al-adabī*, in mediaeval times most commonly used in the construct *naqd al-shīr* "criticism of poetry". The critic is *nāqid* (pl. *nakkād* or *nakada*) or, more rarely, *nakkād*; the form VIII verbal noun *intikād* is a synonym of *naqd*. The term originated in the figurative use (*maḏjāz*) of *naqd* in the sense of "assaying (coins) and separating the good from the bad" (for the *maḏjāz* character, see al-Zamakhsharī, *Asās al-balāgha*, Beirut n.d., col. 469c, and for an extended analogy between assayer and critic, see al-Tawḥīdī, *al-Mukābasāt*, Cairo 1347/1929, 170). Outside the field of literary criticism the term is also used in *ḥadīth* criticism (al-Tahānawī, *Kashshāf*, ed. A. Sprenger, Calcutta 1862, 1381, s.v. *intikād*; here, too, the analogy of the assayer is invoked (see Ibn Abī Ḥatīm al-Rāzī, *ʿIlal al-ḥadīth*, Cairo 1343/1924-5, i, 9).

Naqd al-shīr became the designation of a systematic discipline probably through the book of this title



written by Kudāma b. Dja'far (d. ca. 337/948 [q.v.], and see below) in the first half of the 4th/10th century. The title should probably still be understood in the original metaphorical sense, "The Assaying of Poetry". Since Kudāma is very much aware of his innovative approach, the era preceding him may be called the pre-systematic period. This does not imply that all works after him were systematic, only that a standard had been set.

Pre-systematic literary criticism

Most of the material for this period is found in books on poets, such as Ibn Sallām al-Djumaḥī (d. 231-2/845-6 [q.v.], *Tabakāt fuḥūl al-shu'arā'*; Ibn Kutayba (d. 276/889 [q.v.], *K. al-Shi'r wa 'l-shu'arā'*; and above all Abu 'l-Faraj al-Iṣbahānī (d. 356/967 [q.v.], *K. al-Aghānī*, but also in *adab* encyclopaedias, such as Ibn Kutayba, *Uyūn al-akhbār*, and Ibn 'Abd Rabbih (d. 328/940 [q.v.], *al-Ikd al-farid*. In addition, there are works of a directly pertinent nature, namely al-Djāhiz (d. 255/868-9 [q.v.], *K. al-Bayān wa 'l-tabyīn*; and al-Marzubānī (d. 384/994 [q.v.], *K. al-Muwashshah fi ma'ākhidh al-'ulamā' 'alā 'l-shu'arā'*. Information about the earliest phase of this period, up to the times of the great transmitters (*nawāṭ*, sing. *nāwīya*) like Hammād al-Rāwīya (d. 155-6/772-3 [q.v.]) and Khalaf al-Aḥmar (d. ca. 180/796 [q.v.]) is anecdotal and mostly legendary. However, given the high degree of sophistication of even the earliest poetry, it is highly likely that there existed some implied rules of critical appreciation and at least a rudimentary technical vocabulary for discussions among the experts, i.e. poets and transmitters. There is some likelihood that the terms for rhyme mistakes (*'uyūb al-kāfiya*, or simply *'uyūb al-shi'r*) go back to pre-Islamic times. Al-Akhfash al-Awsaṭ (d. 215/830 or 221/836 [q.v.]) points out that the *'arab* defined these terms only very loosely (*Kawāfi*, 43, 55, 67, 68), and early literary theorists such as Tha'lab (d. 291/904 [q.v.]) (*Kawā'id*, 67-70) and Kudāma (*Nakd*, 108-11) include these mistakes in their works, although they normally abstain from all prosodical technicalities. Both facts suggest that this terminology was not of recent vintage. It is also quite likely that some of the terms that, later on, make up the varied taxonomy of plagiarism go back to the early days of Arabic poetry. This would in particular refer to *ighāra* (lit. "raiding"), the rather archaic procedure of a famous poet forcing a less famous one to give up a flawless line, because the more famous poet has a greater right to it. Finally, there are also a few glimpses of critical vocabulary in the poetry itself. The Umayyad poet 'Adī b. al-Rikā' (d. ca. 100/720), e.g., mentions that in careful revision of his poem at night he "straightens out" what is "crooked" in his poems (see *Dīwān shi'r 'A. b. al-R. 'an... Tha'lab*, ed. Nūrī Hammūdī al-Kaysī and Hātim Ṣāliḥ al-Dāmin, Baghdad 1407/1987, 88-90, and cf. M. Gaudfroy-Demombynes, *Ibn Qutaiba—Introduction*, 16-17, and notes 61-2, and al-Āmidī, *Muwāzana*, iii, 702-4, also for other early poets commenting on their poetry). As for rules of critical appreciation, the anecdotal material offers evaluative pronouncements on poets and their poems that may sometimes allow us to extract such rules. These aesthetic judgements may be classified as follows:

(a) Opinions expressed by means of an elative, either in general terms (*man aṣḥaru 'l-nāsi* [or: *al-'arabi*]?) *fulān* *hina yaḥūlu*... "Who is the best poet of all [or: of the Arabs]? So-and-so, where he says... [followed by a line])" or with reference to a specific theme or motif (*amdaḥu/ahḍā/ansabu/afkharu bayt* *kālat-hu 'l-'arabu*... "The best panegyric/satirical/amorous/self-glo-

rifying line the Arabs have spoken is...") [followed by a line]). A characteristic feature of this type of criticism is that even in the former case the decision is based on a single, allegedly incomparable line. A similar mode of presentation is used by the early philologist Abū 'Amr b. al-'Alā' (d. 144/771 or 147/774 [q.v.]) to express his high opinion of the poet Djarīr (d. 111/729 [q.v.]) by dividing poetry into four themes (*iftikhār, madīḥ, ḥidjā', nasīb*) and quoting one line in each category to prove that Djarīr is the best poet ('Abd al-Karīm al-Nahshālī, *Mumtā'*, 475-6). This one-line approach remains popular in later times.

(b) Opinions on the oeuvre of certain poets expressed in similes and metaphors. Thus Hammād al-Rāwīya on the poetry of 'Umar b. Abī Rabi'a (d. 93/712 or 103/721): "That's shelled pistachios!" or Djarīr on a poem by the same poet: "That is poetry of the Tihāma (i.e. the hot coastal strip where 'Umar's hometown Mecca is situated), which feels the cold, when it comes into the Nadjd (i.e. the central highlands)" (*Aghānī*³, i, 75 and 81).

(c) The "psycho-literary" approach, i.e. the correlation of emotions and genres of poetry. E.g. Artāt b. Suhayya, asked by caliph 'Abd al-Malik whether he could compose and recite some poetry on the spot, answered: "I am not drinking wine (*lā ashrabu*), I am not in an excited mood (*lā aṭrabu*), and I am not angry (*lā aghḍabu*); poetry happens only due to one of these three" (see Gaudfroy-Demombynes, *op. cit.*, 18).

(d) Sayings that define basic terms of the literary art, such as *balāgha*, *faṣāha*, and *bayān*. These belong in the present context only inasmuch as they are normative, as they often are. They are often attributed to "a Bedouin" but also to a "Greek", "Indian", or "Persian" (see a collection, including later definitions, in al-Huṣrī, *Ẓahr al-ādāb*, 116-18). Combinations of these types also occur; e.g. (a) and (d) put together result in sayings like "the best verse is one whose beginning makes one anticipate its end."

Most of the critical terms and ideas mentioned so far refer to the homogeneous "timeless" body of ancient Arabic poetry, which means that the notion of literary history is absent from them. When this body was not allowed to fade into oblivion, as had been the fate of Arabic poetry in the centuries before our earliest specimens, but was collected into a corpus of "classical" models, a historical dimension was introduced and things gradually began to change also for criticism. The Umayyad poet al-Farazdaq (d. ca. 112/730 [q.v.]) devotes one of his poems to an enumeration of his literary forebears, twenty in all. To characterise his relationship to them, he uses the expressions *wahaba 'l-kaṣā'ida lī... idh madaw* "[they] gave the poems to me, when they passed away" and *warithitu* "I inherited" (three times). He even mentions a book that he has of the poetry of the pre-Islamic poet Bisr b. Abī Khāzim [q.v.] (cf. *Dīwān al-Farazdaq*, ed. 'Alī Khārīs, Beirut 1416/1996, 435-6 [rhyme -*alu*]). Obviously, we are watching here the beginning of a conscious literary history, and this in more than one respect. Literary criticism would now have to take into account questions like imitation, plagiarism and deviation from the norm as embodied in the corpus.

Nakd as critical assessment of the genuineness of ancient poetry

The situation became even more complex in early 'Abbāsid times, when, on the one hand, the philologists began the codification of early literature and, on the other, a new "school" of poetry started to gain popularity, that of the "Moderns" [see MUḤADATHŪN,



in Suppl.]. The most serious problem confronting the philologists, given the fluid state of transmission of the ancient texts, was the question “genuine (*ṣaḥīḥ*) or spurious?” If they assumed the latter, the spuriousness was due either to false attribution of an existing piece of poetry (*manḥūl*) or to outright forgery (*maṣnūʿ*, *maʿwūʿ*, *muḥḍal*). That this distinction was not lost on them is shown by the strange title of the second part of Abu ʿl-Ḥasan al-Ṭūsī’s redaction of the *Diwān* of Imruʿ al-Kays: *al-ṣaḥīḥ al-ḥadīth al-manḥūl*, literally “the falsely attributed old genuine (part)”, i.e. that part of the collection that is not included in the transmission of al-Ṭūsī’s main authority, al-Mufaḍḍal al-Ḍabbī (d. after 163/780 [q.v.]), but which other transmitters attribute to Imruʿ al-Kays. Ibn Sallām al-Djumaḥī, who discusses these matters at the beginning of his book on the classes of poets, accuses the great transmitter Ḥammād al-Rāwīya of habitually and intentionally misattributing poetry (*wa-kāna yanḥalu ṣḥīra ʿl-radīlī ghayrahū wa-yanḥaluhū ghayra ṣḥīriḥ* [Tabakāt, 48]). What is worse, he also accuses him of adding to the poems he transmits (*wa-yazīdu fī ʿl-aṣḥār* [ibid.]). But, as he states in another place (Tabakāt, 46-7), it is not only transmitters who are guilty of forgeries but also those tribes who in early Islamic times found themselves without an impressive poetic heritage and wanted to amend the situation. Ibn Sallām’s passage is of sufficient interest to warrant translation in full: “When the Arabs [after the conquests] returned to the transmission of poetry and the narration of their battles and glorious deeds, some tribes found the poetry of their poets and the current narration of their battles to be scant. And there were people whose battles and poems were [in fact] few. So they wanted to catch up with those who did have battles and poems and [to do so] they composed poems attributing them to their poets (*kālū ʿalā al-sinātī shuʿarāʾihim*). Afterwards there came the transmitters and added to the poems that had been composed. To the experts (*ahl al-ʿilm*) the additions of the transmitters and what they have forged (i.e. separately, without adding it to an existing poem?) pose no problem, nor does what the *muwallads* [q.v.] have forged. However, [the experts] have been confounded, if a man from among the desert dwellers and belonging to the progeny of poets, or even a man who does not belong to their progeny, composes [spurious] poems. That can be somewhat difficult.” This is followed by a story relating how a grandson of the poet Mutammim b. Nuwayra extended the latter’s *diwān* imitating his style (*yaḥṭadhī ʿalā kalāmih*). The kind of critique that is necessary to recognise spurious poetry cannot, in Ibn Sallām’s opinion, clearly be expressed in words (Tabakāt, 5-7, with parallels from other crafts and arts); it is a matter of intuition comparable to the art of physiognomy, and the famous transmitter Khalaf al-Aḥmar is called “the best physiognomist of all, when it comes to a line of poetry” (*kāna aḥṣa ʿl-nāsi bi-bayṭi ṣḥīr* [Tabakāt, 23]). There is a famous anecdote, probably first attested by Ibn Sallām (Tabakāt, 7), which compares this ability with that of the money-changer who recognises a bad coin: “Someone said to Khalaf: ‘If I hear a poem that I deem good, I do not care what you and your ilk say about it.’ He replied: ‘If you accept a dirham and consider it good and the money-changer tells you it is bad, does your good opinion of it help you at all?’” It seems evident, from this and the other references mentioned above, that the metaphorical application to poetry of the term *naḥd* originated in the context of distinguishing genuine from spurious, rather than good from bad poetry, although the dividing line

between the two pairs can be rather fuzzy. (It should be mentioned *en passant* that, along with misattribution, scholarly forgery and tribal forgery, Ibn Sallām recognises also a fourth category of spurious poetry [Tabakāt, 7-8]: poems that are invented and attributed to legendary figures of the past; Ibn Sallām takes Ibn Ishāk [q.v.] severely to task for including such material in his *Ṣira* and refuses to call it *ṣḥīr*, since it is only “words put together and held together by rhymes” [*kalām^m muʿallaḥ^m maʿkūd^m bi-kawāf^m*].)

Criticism of poetry among the philologists

At the same time, *naḥd* in the sense of literary criticism is represented by various approaches. The philologists who felt responsible for the integrity of ancient poetry also paid some attention to the question of its aesthetic quality. The evidence for this is partly implicit in the selections they made to produce the famous anthologies such as the *Muʿallakāt*, the *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt* [q.v.] and the *Aṣmaʾiyyāt* [see AL-AṢMAʾĪ]. Most of the explicit evidence is anecdotal and in the form described above, but gradually certain critical yardsticks start being developed. Most of the early works on poetry and poets (*al-ṣḥīr wa ʿl-shuʿarāʾ* and similar titles, mainly known from Ibn al-Nadīm’s *Fihrist*) are unfortunately lost. The first extant *kitāb al-ṣḥīr wa ʿl-shuʿarāʾ*, that of Ibn Kutayba, contains a remarkable introduction that delineates a number of basic critical ideas: (1) Poetry consist of wording (*lafẓ*) and meaning (*maʿnā*), both or either of which may be good or bad. (2) Poets are either “natural” (*maṭbūʿ* “poète de génie”) or “painstaking” (*mutakallif* “poète d’étude”), (for the French renditions, see M. Gaudelroy-Demombynes, *op. cit.*, 15); the latter spend much time polishing their poems, a fact that shows in the final outcome. (3) In a passage much quoted in Western studies, he describes—and prescribes—the “movements” of the ancient ode (having in mind, however, the tripartite structure characteristic of the Umayyad rather than the pre-Islamic *kaṣīda* and describing it as a quadripartite sequence of themes: 1. sorrow at the vestiges of the encampment; 2. memory of the former beloved; 3. camel ride through the desert; and 4. praise of the addressee); he also disallows replacing the desert ambience by a sedentary one (no ruined buildings instead of the remnants of the encampment, no roses and myrtles for the thorny shrubs of the desert). On the other hand, he includes poets up to the early decades of the 8th century in his book and emphasises that the birth-date of a poet should not be held against him, as some of the philologists who considered only ancient poetry to be true poetry were inclined to do. Since Ibn Kutayba is not explicit about any awareness of the “Moderns” and their *badʿ*, he may have considered the existing poetry as one homogeneous corpus, in which case every poet would be competing with all poets present and past. However, he may also have considered only the “official” *kaṣīda* immutable and sacrosanct, while the new genres were outside the realm of true *ṣḥīr*.

The philological approach to poetics has produced at least two books that are first attempts at systematisation, one before and one after Ibn Kutayba. The former is the *Fuḥūlat al-shuʿarāʾ* of al-Aṣmaʾī (d. 213/828, other dates are also given [q.v.]), or rather of his student, Abū Ḥātim al-Sidjīstānī (d. 255/869 [q.v.]), who recorded al-Aṣmaʾī’s utterances, often in answer to his questions. This is a critical attempt to evaluate the production of the ancient poets in order to see who would deserve the predicate *fahl*, lit. “stallion”. The exact semantic range of this term does not clearly emerge from al-Aṣmaʾī’s pronouncements. But



the profile of the *fahī* contains certain traits that are not in doubt: he must have a prolific output and cannot be a *mukill*; he may not compose only short poems; his descriptions (*naʿt*) must stand out; he must be free of plagiarisms (*sarikāt*); he must not be a "righteous" man (*sāliḥ*), which *ipso facto* means that he must be pre-Islamic or, at least, have a *q̣āhili* bent (for a full list and discussion thereof, see Wen-Chin Ouyang, *Literary criticism*, 180-1). Due to the fact that al-Aṣmaʿī had, above all, pre-Islamic poetry in mind, his approach was not very influential (except on his student Ibn Sallām al-Djūmahī, see above); the importance of *Fuḥūlat al-shuʿarāʾ* resides in its being the first attempt on the part of a philologist to go beyond his usual concerns of a grammatical and lexical nature and enter the realm of criticism.

The other work of the philologist as critic is Ṭhaʿlab's *Kawāʿid al-shiʿr*. The attribution of this work to Ṭhaʿlab is not entirely certain, but there is no proof that it is not by him. The focus of this little book is radically different from al-Aṣmaʿī's. It deals mostly with single lines of poetry, categorising them according to types of utterances, thematic content, embellishments (but Ṭhaʿlab has no term for figures of speech) and, finally, structure (the best line being one in which the two hemistichs are meaningful on their own). This "atomistic" approach proved to be preponderant throughout the history of *naḥd al-shiʿr*.

The real founders of naḥd: the secretaries

In an often quoted passage, al-Djāhiz describes his search for true experts on poetry: "I searched for expertise in poetry (*ʿilm al-shiʿr*) in al-Aṣmaʿī, but I found him only good at the rare words in it. Then I betook myself to al-Aḥfash, but I found him expert only in its grammar. Then I turned to Abū ʿUbayda, but I found that he transmitted only [poetry] connected with historical reports or tied in with the battle-days [of the tribes] and genealogies. I did not gain what I wanted except from the men of letters among the secretaries (*udabāʾ al-kuttāb*), such as al-Ḥasan b. Wahb and ʿAbd al-Malik al-Zayyāt."

This statement in a way delineates the future of *naḥd al-shiʿr*, in the further development of which the state secretaries clearly had the lion's share. This is easy to understand: The secretaries, especially those charged with writing official epistles, had a pressing professional need to refine and ornament their language and to develop critical acumen in this respect. They were in constant contact with poetry and poets, as the latter flocked to the seats of power to find sympathetic sponsors (caliphs, viziers, governors, etc.) who would enable them to live as professional poets. At some point there existed at the caliphal court an "Office of Poetry" (*Dirwān al-Shiʿr*), in which the incoming praise poetry was screened by *kuttāb* to see if it was worthy of the recipient. This distribution of power between poets and secretaries is a far cry from the ancient situation, where the poet had greater prestige than the producer of ornate prose, the tribal orator (*khaṭīb*), and where, according to al-Djāhiz (*Bayān*, i, 45-52), the talent for each art was clearly assigned: poetry and oratory were rarely combined in one person. In ʿAbbāsī society a radical change can be discerned. The secretaries not infrequently also composed poetry, though mainly in the private and intimate genres of love and wine poetry and the like, and not in the public and official genres of the professional poets, such as praise, congratulation, and condolence. When their official epistles began being collected, roughly from the 4th/10th century onward, it was not uncommon that a secretary's production was represented by two *dirwāns*, one dedicated to epistles and the other to poems. In this context the procedure of *hall al-manẓūm*, "dissolving the versified" (i.e. turning poetry into prose), became rather popular, especially with the secretaries who used it to add elegant conceits and allusions to their ornate epistles (on the theory and techniques of *hall*, see A. Sanni in *Bibl.*).

The close symbiosis between secretaries and poets was fertile ground for the development of literary criticism. We have a fair number of reports about gatherings in which questions of poetry and poetics were discussed, and we have some of the literature that sprang from these discussions. As already indicated, the book that made the term *naḥd al-shiʿr* current was written by Kudāma b. Djaʿfar. He was a middle-level administrator in the caliphal chanceries, originally Christian and with a known interest in Greek philosophy, especially logic. This clearly had its effect on the very systematic presentation in his book: a definition of poetry ("metred rhymed speech referring to a meaning" [*Naḥd*, 2]) yields the four elements "metre rhyme, wording, meaning," which are then evaluated in isolation and in combination with each other (he finds that only the combinations wording/meaning, wording/metre, meaning/metre and meaning/rhyme are meaningful subjects for evaluation [*Naḥd*, 9]). In accordance with this, the book falls into two major parts, one on *nuʿūl* "good qualities", the other on *ʿuyūb* "bad qualities". It is worth noting that the vast majority of Kudāma's examples are from early poetry, although there is a sprinkling of "modern" poets as well, up to Abū Tammām (d. ca. 232/845 [q.v.]). The difference between "Ancients" and "Moderns" is, of course, known to him (*Naḥd*, 17, l. 7), but it does not inform the structure of his book.

His contemporary Ibn Ṭabāṭabā (d. 322/934) produced an entirely different book in his *ʿYār al-shiʿr*. "The criterion of poetry". Unfortunately, the little we know about his life does not tell us if he was a secretary in his hometown of Iṣfahān, but he certainly was a respectable poet. His book does not show a systematic arrangement; it is more like a collection of loosely connected but highly perceptive essays. He is almost painfully aware of the burden of tradition that the "Moderns" feel *vis-à-vis* the "Ancients". All the good things have already been said. However, there is an additional consideration, which makes the situation bearable: The Ancients aimed at the truth in their poems (except for approved hyperbole), while the Moderns (he says: "the poets of our time") meet approval only when they have to offer something subtle, novel, eloquent, witty, or elegant, without paying attention to the realities/truths (*ḥakāʾik*) that might correspond to their words. As a result the latter's productions were "artificial" (*mutakallaf*), not springing from sound talent (*ghayr sādīr ʿan ṭabʾ ṣaḥīḥ*) (*ʿYār*, 13). This is an admirable diagnosis of literary mannerism, in that (a) the poetic language moves away from reality, turning to inbreeding and the construction of ever more intricate conceits, (b) the craving of the public for innovation puts pressure on the poet to oblige and, consequently, (c) the poetry becomes ever more "artificial". Though this can only be considered a strong tendency, not a necessity, it is noteworthy that, in the section on poems that are without "artificiality" and prose-like in their easy flow, Ibn Ṭabāṭabā quotes twenty-four examples, twenty-two of which are "ancient". Of the remaining two, one is by ʿAbd al-Malik al-Ḥārithī, who is said by Ibn al-Muʿtazz (d. 296/908 [q.v.]) to be a poet in the Bedouin vein, while the other is the well-known *muhdath* Marwān b.



Abī Ḥaṣṣa (d. ca. 182/797 [q.v.]), who was rather conservative in his poetic ways (*Ṭabaḳāt*, 276-80). In another passage he indicates the way out for “modern” poets: he should take (*akhḍh, isti‘āra*) a poetic idea from a predecessor and improve on it (interestingly, he does not use the term *ṣarḥa*, as others often do) (*‘Iyār*, 123, 126).

However different Kudāma and Ibn Ṭabāṭabā may be in their presentations, they resemble each other in their basic goal: to identify the good and the bad in poetry, whether it reside in wording, meaning, rhyme or metre. Both have a preference for longish quotations to make their point (Ibn Ṭabāṭabā more so than Kudāma), an unusual phenomenon in the literature of *nakd al-shi‘r*. This is tied in with the question: do both works belong to the same “genre” of meta-discourse, i.e. do they give rules on how to compose poetry (a “poetics” in the strict sense) or on how to evaluate it (a theory of criticism)? Ibn Ṭabāṭabā uses language that tells the would-be poet what to do, while Kudāma does not.

Ibn Ṭabāṭabā is said to have greatly admired the poetry of Ibn al-Mu‘tazz, an admiration that was reciprocated (Yāḳūt, *Iṣṣād*, ed. Rifā‘ī, xvii, 144-5), although Ibn Ṭabāṭabā is not included in the latter’s *Ṭabaḳāt al-shi‘arā’ al-muḥdathīn*. Ibn al-Mu‘tazz was indeed a poet of the first magnitude but, as a member of the caliphal house, he was also in constant contact with high-level secretaries and was himself an accomplished prose stylist (see e.g. his *Fuṣūl al-tamāthīl fī tabāshīr al-surūr*, ed. Dīrdjī Kanāzī and Fahd Abū Khadra, Damascus 1410/1989, and his *Kitāb al-Ādāb*, ed. Ṣabīḥ Radīf, Baghdād 1392/1972). He wrote the third important early work in the area of *nakd al-shi‘r*, the *Kitāb al-Badī‘*, “The Book of the Novelty”. The term *badī‘* “novel, original” was already current at the time as a somewhat fuzzy technical term denoting the distinguishing trait of “modern” poetising. The transmitters of ancient poetry allegedly did not know this term (and, presumably, what it stood for); only the “modern” poets and critics did. Since some of the transmitters were also “modern” poets, this can only be a rule of thumb. Definitions are not offered in the literature preceding Ibn al-Mu‘tazz. But wherever the term is applied to a line of poetry that is actually quoted, it invariably refers to what might be called the “loan metaphor”, i.e. the type of metaphor, for which the term *isti‘āra* “borrowing” was originally coined (example: “claws of death”, where the “claws” are taken from a “predator” and given “on loan” to “death”) (cf. W. Heinrichs, *Isti‘ārah and Badī‘ and their terminological relationship in early Arabic literary criticism*, in *ZGAW*, i [1984], 180-211). While the ancient poets generated these metaphors on the basis of an analogy, comparing e.g. the inevitability of death with the relentlessness of the predator’s attack, the “modern” poets often used a different generating mechanism: They started from an existing metaphor and, on the level of the analogue, moved to an adjacent element, which then became a “claws”-type metaphor. E.g. from the verb metaphor “drink” in “to make s.o. drink blame” (i.e. “make him swallow it”) the adjacent element “water” is extracted, which forms the new genitive metaphor “the water of blame”. The critics, though not aware of any differences in the generating mechanisms between “Ancients” and “Moderns”, realised that many of the loan metaphors of the “Moderns” were surprising, farfetched, and at times outright abstruse, and they labelled them *badī‘*, the “novelty”. Since *badī‘* is derived from the same root as *bid‘a* “religious innovation”, it has a possible

negative odour and was indeed abhorred by some more conservative critics. This is where Ibn al-Mu‘tazz entered the picture. Being himself a “modern” poet and faced with *badī‘* rejectionists, he declared the main objective of his book to be the proof that *badī‘* was not “novel” at all, but occurred in all ancient text genres: Qur’ān, Ḥadīth, gnomic sayings and poetry. He thus attempted to legitimise the “novelty” by pointing to respectable precedents. The only “novelty” in “modern” poetry (and other genres), as he remarks, is the unbridled proliferation of this phenomenon, especially in the poetry of Abū Tammām, who was the focal point of much critical attention, pro and con. One has to be aware, though, that in Ibn al-Mu‘tazz the term *badī‘* has a more comprehensive meaning: according to the author it comprises the following five figures of speech: (1) loan metaphor (*isti‘āra*); (2) paronomasia (*taḍnīs*); (3) antithesis (*muṭābaka*); (4) echoing the rhyme at the beginning of the line (*radd a’djāz al-kalām ‘alā mā taḥaddamahā*); and (5) theologism (*maḥṣab kalāmī*, referring to imitations of the convoluted thinking and style of the dialectic theologians). He admits, however, his uncertainty as to whether all of these five subcategories really should be subsumed under *badī‘* or whether additional figures of speech should be included, and he leaves that decision to the reader. In order not to be accused of being ignorant of other ornaments of speech, he later added an appendix of twelve figures which he called *maḥāsīn* “beauties”. The vagueness of his *badī‘* concept makes it difficult to identify the criterion that separates the *badī‘* figures from the *maḥāsīn*. However, the loan metaphor is clearly of central importance in the book: (1) When *badī‘* is exemplified at the beginning of the work, it is loan metaphors that are used as examples, without any warning that *badī‘* might be something quite different. (2) The loan metaphor takes first place. (3) Most intriguingly, the other *badī‘* figures, which are all characterised by repetition, are not seldom combined with a loan metaphor, the latter forming one of the terms of the repetition. This may lead one to believe that the other figures were first drawn into the *badī‘* orbit due to cases that contained loan metaphors; subsequently, the term was extended also to non-metaphoric examples. Ibn al-Mu‘tazz’s uncertainty may reflect the vagaries of this intermediary stage.

The *Kitāb al-Badī‘*, originally composed as a legitimisation of the “novel” features of “modern” poetry, effectively launched the term *badī‘* as a collective noun referring to “rhetorical figures”, which found its scholastic culmination in the discipline called *‘ilm al-badī‘*, as finally established as part of the “science of eloquence” (*‘ilm al-balāgha*) by al-Khaṭīb al-Kazwīnī (d. 739/1338 [q.v.]). The distinction between *badī‘* and *maḥāsīn* was not continued after Ibn al-Mu‘tazz.

The controversy around Abū Tammām

One of the triggers for the composition of the *Kitāb al-Badī‘* had been the controversy around the poet Abū Tammām, who was considered an addict of *badī‘* and the prototype of the *ṣan‘a* poet (*maṣnū‘*), who uses rhetorical figures to add a new point or even a new level to a line of poetry. Ibn al-Mu‘tazz himself wrote a short treatise on the merits and defects of Abū Tammām’s poetry (*Risāla fī maḥāsīn shi‘r Abī Tammām wa-maṣāwihī*, preserved by al-Marzubānī, *al-Muwashṣhaḥ*, 277ff.), in which he mostly critiques single lines and mentions several times that he is not the first to voice that particular criticism. But the first large-scale critical appraisal is that of al-Ḥasan b. Bishr al-Āmidī (d. 371/981), which contrasts the “artful” (*maṣnū‘*) Abū



Tammām with his counterpart (and disciple!), the “natural” (*maṭbūʿ*) poet al-Buḥturī (d. 284/897 [q.v.]); the fitting title of the book is “The weighing of the poetry of Abū Tammām and al-Buḥturī” (*al-Muwāzana bayn shiʿr Abi Tammām wa ʿl-Buḥturī*, see *Bibl.*). Al-Āmidī was a secretary, both in Baṣra and Baghdad, and he was also an accomplished poet and a trained grammarian (Yāqūt, *Irshād*, ed. Rifāʿī, viii, 75-93). This was clearly a good basis for his main claim to fame, his works on literary criticism. One might say that he established the field as a field, because he subjected a number of the existing *naqd* works to a critical review. Unfortunately, we have only the titles of these works: “Mistakes to be found in the ‘Criterion of Poetry’ by Ibn Tabātabā” (*K. Mā fi ʿl-ʿyār al-shiʿr li-(I)bn Tabātabā min al-khaṭaʾ*), “Disclosure of the error of Kudāma b. Djaʿfar in his ‘Assaying of Poetry’,” (*K. Tabayn ghalat Kudāma. b. Djaʿfar fi Kitāb Nakd al-shiʿr*), and “Refutation of Ibn ʿAmmār in his faulting of Abū Tammām” (*K. al-Radd ʿalā Ibn ʿAmmār fīmā khaṭṭaʾa fihī Abū Tammām*) (for the last mentioned, Abū ʿl-Abbās Ahmad b. ʿUbayd Allāh Ibn ʿAmmār al-Thakafī [d. ca. 314/926], see Yāqūt, *Irshād*, ed. Rifāʿī, iii, 232-42).

In addition, he wrote the following works in the critical genre, of which again we have only the evocative titles (omitting the ubiquitous *Kitāb*):

“Unstringing the strung” (*Natḥr al-manẓūm*), i.e. turning poetry into prose, see above;

“That the ideas of two poets do not agree by chance” (*Fi anna ʿl-shāʿirayn lā yattafiqu khawāṭiruhumā*); the phenomenon negated here by al-Āmidī is also known as *tawāruḍ al-khāṭirayn* and is one of the ways to explain identical or similar lines, short of plagiarism;

“The difference between the individual and the shared with regard to the motifs of poetry” (*Fark mā bayn al-khāṣṣ wa ʿl-muṣṭharak min maʿānī al-shiʿr*), the distinction between attributable motifs and those in the public domain, an important issue in the discussion of plagiarism [see SARIKA, in Suppl.];

“Preference of the poetry of Imruʿ al-Kays over [that of the other] pre-Islamic poets” (*Tafḍīl shiʿr Imrīʾ al-Kays ʿalā ʿl-Djāhiliyyīn*); and “The motifs in the poetry of al-Buḥturī” (*Maʿānī shiʿr al-Buḥturī*).

His main preserved work, the “Weighing”, is the first serious attempt at applied criticism. Before entering into the actual comparison between the two poets, al-Āmidī collects and discusses what the adherents of either poet have already amassed in the way of critical opinions. But he first takes the opportunity to characterise the two poets as the two opposites on the *maṣnūʿ-maṭbūʿ* scale: al-Buḥturī is Bedouinic in his poetry, natural, in accordance with the “ancients”; he does not leave the well-known “mainstay of poetry” (*amūd al-shiʿr*); he shuns knotted syntax and forced expressions and uncouth words. Abū Tammām, on the other hand, is strenuously affectatious, a master of conceits who forces words and meanings, and his poetry does not resemble the poems of the “Ancients”. Interestingly, he also describes the typical adherents of the two poets. In al-Buḥturī’s case they are: the secretaries, the Bedouins, the “natural” poets, and the people of eloquence, while Abū Tammām has attracted the “people who are after conceits” (*ahl al-maʿānī*), the mannerist poets (*al-shuʿarāʾ aṣḥāb al-ṣanʿa*), and those who incline to sophistication and speech philosophical (*al-tadkīk wa-falsaf al-kalām*) (*Muwāzana*, i, 6). Al-Āmidī also remarks that the admirers of Abū Tammām allege that he invented a new style of poetising, but the followers of al-Buḥturī deny this saying that he followed the model of Muslim b. al-Walīd and pushed

it to an extreme, and that even Muslim did not invent this style but found the *badīʿ* phenomena scattered in the old poetry and sought them out consciously in his own poetry (on Muslim’s role in this respect, see W. Heinrichs, *Muslim b. al-Walīd und Badīʿ*, in Heinrichs and G. Schoeler (eds.), *Festschrift Ewald Wagner zum 65. Geburtstag*, Band 2: *Studien zur arabischen Dichtung*, Beirut and Stuttgart 1994, 211-45). In this context, he makes use of Ibn al-Muʿtazz’s permission to restrict the *badīʿ* phenomena by limiting them to three: loan-metaphor, antithesis and paronomasia (*istiʿāra, tībāk, tadjīs* [q.v.]) (*Muwāzana*, i, 14). This testifies to his experience as a poet and critic, as these three figures of speech are clearly the most pervasive and popular in *muhdath* poetry.

The overall structure of al-Āmidī’s work is as follows. First, a literary debate between the follower (*ṣāhib*) of Abū Tammām and that of al-Buḥturī, both anonymous (*Muwāzana*, i, 8-53); second, a collection of defects of either poet, including plagiarisms, defects in meaning, ugly loan metaphors, paronomasias and antitheses (only with Abū Tammām!), and metrical irregularities (*Muwāzana*, i, 54-388); third, the actual weighing of verses of the two poets against each other, arranged according to the themes and motifs that are usually taken up in the “official” long poem, the *kaṣīda* [q.v.]. Al-Āmidī promises, and tries hard, to be objective in his evaluation, but cannot really hide his preference for the “natural” style of al-Buḥturī.

The controversy around al-Mutanabbī

The next great literary controversy was sparked by the poetic œuvre of al-Mutanabbī (d. 354/955 [q.v.]). Unlike the literary fights about Abū Tammām that were fought posthumously, much of the new debate happened already during al-Mutanabbī’s lifetime. Since he was on all accounts a difficult person, he made enemies easily, and the writings attacking him seem to be full of personal animus, which tends to cloud any valid points they might try to make. Al-Ṣāhib Ibn ʿAbbād (d. 385/995 [q.v.]), vizier to two Buyid princes, poet and man of letters, sponsor of scholars and poets, had early on invited al-Mutanabbī to join him, but had not even received a reply (al-Thaʿālibī, *Yatīma*, ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, i, 138). His “Treatise on revealing the blemishes and defects of the poetry of al-Mutanabbī” (*Risāla fi ʿl-Kashf ʿan masāwī shiʿr al-Mutanabbī wa-ʿuyūbih*) was, consequently, “written in a bitter spirit” and raised some eyebrows (Ouyang, *Literary criticism*, 150). It was clearly vengeful nit-picking, considering the fact that Ibn ʿAbbād later wrote a little collection with the title “Current proverb[ial] lines from the poetry of al-Mutanabbī” (*al-Amṭhāl al-sāʿira min shiʿr al-Mutanabbī*, ed. Muḥammad Hasan ʿAl Yāsīn, *Nafāʾis al-makḥṭūʾāt*, iv, Baghdad 1385/1965, 21-78) and used “prosified” versions (*ḥall*) of al-Mutanabbī’s poetic lines in his ornate epistles (al-Thaʿālibī, *Yatīma*, ed. ʿAbd al-Ḥamīd, i, 139-42). He was thus fully aware of the qualities of al-Mutanabbī’s poetry. Similarly, when al-Mutanabbī came to Baghdad, he snubbed the Buyid vizier al-Muḥallabī [q.v.] by failing to address a praise poem to him (alleging that he praised only kings), whereupon al-Muḥallabī urged the literary critic al-Hātimī (d. 388/998 [q.v. in Suppl.]) to engage al-Mutanabbī in a polemical debate concerning the latter’s poetry. Al-Hātimī subsequently wrote this up under the title “The scalp-cleaving treatise concerning the plagiarisms of Abū ʿl-Tayyib al-Mutanabbī and his corrupt poetry” (*al-Risāla al-mūḍiḥa fi dhikr sarikāt Abi ʿl-Tayyib al-Mutanabbī wa-sākī shiʿrih*). Although the bias is tangible and al-Mutanabbī appears obtuse and apologetic,



the treatise does contain a number of interesting discussions of critical topics on the part of al-Hatīmī. He was after all the author of a general book on poetics, the “Ornament of apt quotation, on the craft of poetry” (*Hilyat al-muhādara fī šināʿat al-shiʿr*). This work is mainly compilatory but brings a number of different angles to bear on literary criticism: figures of speech, best verses on specific themes and topics, a large section on plagiarism and related topics, and—for the first time in *nakd*—a treatment of *maḥāz* in poetry; the latter is, however, not very successful, as al-Hatīmī uses the term in its wide application as we know it from Ibn Kutayba, and not in the later sense of “figurative speech”, which ‘Abd al-Kāhīr al-Djurdjānī (see below) introduced into the literary field (cf. Heinrichs, *Contacts between scriptural hermeneutics and literary theory in Islam. The case of Majāz*, in *ZGAW*, vii [1991-2], 253-84). Another attack on al-Mutanabbī was launched by the Egyptian poet Ibn Wakīʿ al-Tinnīsī (d. 393/1003) in his “Dealing fairly with the lifter and the lifted, regarding the divulgence of the plagiarisms of Abu ‘l-Tayyib al-Mutanabbī” (*al-Munṣif li ‘l-sārik wa ‘l-masrūk fī izhār sarikāt Abi ‘l-Tayyib al-Mutanabbī*). In an introductory section he discusses the figures of speech, basing himself on Ibn al-Muʿtazz, Kūdāma, and (without naming him) al-Hatīmī.

The author who tried to right the wrongs committed against al-Mutanabbī was al-Kāḍī al-Djurdjānī (d. 392/1002) in his “Mediation between al-Mutanabbī and his adversaries” (*al-Wasāʾta bayn al-Mutanabbī wa-khushūmih*). The author belonged to the entourage of Ibn ‘Abbād for a while and was later appointed chief *Kāḍī* of al-Rayy; he was also a recognised poet. His book is the apex of applied literary criticism: fair to the poet, cognisant of the existing critical literature and interested in the general problems of literary evaluation (as witnessed by a fifty-page introduction, before the *Wasāʾta* actually begins).

Alongside the books and treatises written about, and often against, al-Mutanabbī, there are also the commentaries on his *Diwān* to consider, as they do at times go beyond the mere explanation of a line and offer evaluative comments. Moreover there is some disagreement among the commentators, which also may have critical implications. The earliest commentaries, the two written by al-Mutanabbī’s friend, the grammarian Ibn Djinnī (d. 392/1002 [q.v.]), contain a number of interpretations and justifications that were considered incorrect by other critics, such as al-Wahīd (Abū Ṭālib Saʿd b. Muḥammad al-Azdī al-Baghdādī, d. 385/995), Abū ‘l-Faḍl al-ʿArūdī (d. 416/1025) and Ibn Fūrradja (Muḥammad b. Aḥmad, d. after 437/1045) (on critics of Ibn Djinnī, and especially al-Wahīd, see I. ‘Abbās, *Taʾrīkh*, 279-85; for examples see also Heinrichs, *Obscurity in Classical Arabic poetry*, in *Mediaevalia*, xix [1996, for 1993], 239-59). They sometimes attacked Ibn Djinnī rather violently, and often not without reason: he was after all, in spite of his enthusiasm for al-Mutanabbī, a grammarian and expert on ancient poetry. One of Ibn Fūrradja’s “counter-commentaries” has been published (see *Bibl.*). He is also quoted about one hundred times in the commentary of al-Wahīdī (d. 468/1075), often together with al-ʿArūdī and here and there with other scholars, offering fascinating insights into their interpretive and critical activities.

The debate about al-Mutanabbī did not entirely cease after this first flurry of activity in the 4th/10th and 5th/11th centuries. Even much later, books were still composed about him, but they tend to be derivative, such as Yūsuf al-Badrīʿī (d. 1073/1662), *al-Subḥ*

al-munabbī ʿan haythiyyat al-Mutanabbī, ed. Muṣṭafā al-Sakḥā *et alii*, Cairo 1963. A notable exception is the critical comparison between al-Mutanabbī and Abū Tammām by the Andalusian author Ibn Labbāl (Abu ‘l-Ḥasan ‘Alī b. Aḥmad al-Sharīshī, d. 582/1186), *Rawḍat al-adīb fī ‘l-tafḍīl bayna ‘l-Mutanabbī wa-Ḥabīb*, ed. M. Ibn Sharīfa in idem, *Abū Tammām wa-Abu ‘l-Tayyib fī adab al-Maghāriba*, Beirut 1986, 197-222.

Further systematical research: *al-Khaṣṣāḍī and ‘Abd al-Kāhīr al-Djurdjānī*

Later poets do not appear to have become the focus of critical attention on such a grand scale. But one unique work should at least be mentioned here: a rather original literary-critical treatment of the poetry of Imru’ al-Kays by Naḍīm al-Dīn al-Ṭūfī (d. 716/1316 [q.v.]) with the title “Tables laden with date-curd, on the finer points of Imru’ al-Kays” (*Mawāʾid al-hays fī jawāʾid Imrī’ al-Kays*, ed. Muṣṭafā ‘Ulayyān, ‘Ammān 1414/1994). However, in general, the *nakd* literature returned to general treatments of the whole field. A transitional figure in this respect is the famous poet and sceptic, Abū ‘l-ʿAlā’ al-Maʿarri (d. 449/1058 [q.v.]), who was also an expert philologist and an ardent admirer of al-Mutanabbī. He composed two commentaries on the latter’s *Diwān* (see *Bibl.* for *Muḍīz Aḥmad; al-Lāma’ al-ʿAzīz* is in ms. Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Hamidiye 1148, for the Arabic text and translation of its introduction, see P. Smoor, *Kings and Bedouins in the palace of Aleppo as reflected in Maʿarri’s works*, Manchester 1985, 223-4). His other works are strewn with a number of critical ideas (see ‘Abbās, *Taʾrīkh*, 379-91), but he apparently did not treat this topic systematically in a separate book. However, his student Ibn Sinān al-Khaṣṣāḍī (d. 466/1074) did so in his *Sirr al-faṣāḥa* (see *Bibl.*), in which Abū ‘l-ʿAlā’ is quoted quite frequently. Ibn Sinān wrote poetry, but he was probably first and foremost a statesman (not a successful one, since as governor of the fort of ‘Azāz he paid with his life for his temerity in seceding from his Mirdāsīd overlord in Aleppo). He says quite clearly that the discourse of the scribe is much more important than that of the poet (*Sirr*, 280): Poetry is a superfluity that can be dispensed with” (*al-shiʿr faḍl^m yustaghna ʿanhu*). His book is thus more generally *nakd al-kalām*. His approach is very systematic, starting with sounds and letters—unlike others he is aware of the difference between the two—and going on to words (*alfāz*) in isolation and in combination, this being the domain of *faṣāḥa*, and finally discussing meanings (*maʿānī*) as expressed in those words, in isolation and in combination; this is the domain of *balāgha*. A certain similarity to Kūdāma is unmistakable; he also explicitly quotes him. Among later critics, it is characteristically the scribe Diyāʿ al-Dīn Ibn al-ʿAṭhīr (d. 637/1239 [see *IBN AL-ʿATHĪR*]), who has a predilection for him. Ibn Sinān’s *kātib* attitude also emerges from his anti-mannerist insistence on clarity and avoidance of forced style (*Sirr*, 282, final advice at the end of the book).

The same attitude can also be found already earlier in al-Marzūkī’s (d. 421/1030 [q.v.]) important introduction to his commentary on the *Hamāsa* of Abū Tammām. One of the topics discussed there is the notion of *ʿamūd al-shiʿr* “the mainstay of poetry”. Taking this term from al-ʿAmīdī and al-Kāḍī al-Djurdjānī, who used to characterise the ancient poets and the “natural” ones among the “modern” poets as following the *ʿamūd al-shiʿr*, al-Marzūkī draws up a list of qualities that defines the notion, seven in all, namely, elevated appropriate meaning, firm wording, accurate description, apposite simile, coherence and



choice of pleasant metre, affinity between donor and receptor of a metaphor, and close fit between wording and meaning. This is a veritable manifesto of anti-mannerist poetising; it clearly tries to curb the more outrageous innovations of the “Moderns”.

A contemporary of al-Khafādjī in the Eastern Islamic world was the greatest genius of Arabic literary theory, ‘Abd al-Kāhir al-Djurdjānī (d. 471/1078 or 474/1081 [q.v. in Suppl.]). He was a grammarian and minor poet, but not a scribe. He never travelled *fi talab al-‘ilm* and had few teachers of whom we know; al-Kāfī al-Djurdjānī (see above) was apparently one of them. His two critical works, *Asrār al-balāgha* “The mysteries of eloquence”, and *Dalā’il al-‘iḍāz* “The signs of the [Kur’ān’s] inimitability”, do overlap to some extent, but the former deals with poetic discourse while the latter focuses on Kur’anic discourse. Both are highly original and proved to be historically most important. The *Asrār* concentrate on imagery, i.e. the essence and the function of simile, simile-based metaphor, analogy and analogy-based metaphor. Al-Djurdjānī was the first, and in a way maybe the last, to identify a major constituent of *muhdathūn* poetic language, the *takhyīl* [q.v.], “phantastic re-interpretation of facts”, in the guise of mock aetiologies, mock analogies and a number of other techniques, often based on metaphors taken literally. This allowed him to distinguish between “rational” (*‘aklī*) and “phantasmagorical” (*takhyīlī*) motifs and to sing the praises of the latter as nothing less than verbal alchemy; he still supports, nonetheless, the greater “ethical” value of the “rational” motifs, since *takhyīl* entails a poetic lie (and thus does not occur in the Kur’ān). While this work should thus clearly be reckoned a part of the *nakd al-shi’r* enterprise (this judgement is corroborated by the many perceptive interpretations of poetic prooftexts included in it), his book on the inimitability of the Kur’ān, though replete with valuable observations on poetry, focuses on *naẓm* [q.v., section 2, in Suppl.], “syntactic ordering to achieve a certain meaning.” *Naẓm* is the only criterion by which the *‘iḍāz* can be proven, since it applies to every text, and thus to every *āya*, while other textual phenomena that might be evaluated, as e.g. metaphors, occur only sporadically. Even metaphor itself is constituted by *naẓm*, i.e. the context determines the metaphoricalness of the expression at hand.

The influence of the Kur’anic discourse

Despite the overlap between the two books of al-Djurdjānī, the *Dalā’il* belongs to a different strand of tradition. The Kur’anic discourse of the *Dalā’il* had, of course, its forerunners, which need not detain us here, except inasmuch as they may have had an influence on *nakd al-shi’r*. There are, actually, at least two Kur’anic discourses that have some bearing on *nakd al-shi’r*. One appears as part of the works on legal theory; it often forms a section called *bayān* (“clarity”) and deals with linguistic questions of hermeneutics, such as literal (*ḥakīka*) vs. figurative language (*maḍjāz*). There is, however, comparatively little overlap between the *bayān* of the legal scholars and the *bayān* [q.v.] of the rhetoricians. More important is the other Kur’anic discourse, that of the *‘iḍāz* [q.v.]. And here it is, in particular, one strand in the discussion of the inimitability of the Kur’ān, namely, the proof of the stylistic unsurpassedness of the revealed text, where contacts with *nakd* arose. The central term, with many of the authors in this field, is *naẓm*, the “ordering” of meanings and words into larger units. However, this had little impact on *nakd*. Strangely, the scholar who did not make use of the *naẓm* notion had the

most influence on the field of *nakd*: al-Rummānī (d. 384/994 [q.v.]). His little treatise, “Notes on the inimitability of the Kur’ān” (*al-Nukat fi ‘iḍāz al-Kur’ān*), based on the central notion of *balāgha*, “eloquence”, divides this notion into ten parts, a number of which are very pertinent also for evaluations of poetry: brevity (*‘iḍāz*), simile (*tashbīh*), substitution metaphor (*isti’āra*) and emphasis (*mubāligha*). Al-Rummānī was used extensively, but without acknowledgment, by Abū Hilāl al-‘Askarī (d. after 400/1010 [q.v.]) in his *K. al-Ṣinā’atayn*. This book might be called the first encyclopaedia of literary theory, as it is a compilation, though not devoid of original ideas, from most of the earlier literature on rhetoric (*khataḥa*), *nakd al-shi’r* and *‘iḍāz*. Since these different strands of literary theory at times used the same term in different meanings (e.g. *isti’āra* as “loan metaphor” in *nakd*, “substitution metaphor” or even “figurative speech in general” in Kur’anic discourse), certain contradictions in the materials collected by Abū Hilāl remain. This lack of homogeneity also besets other authors, such as Ibn Rashīk (d. 456/1063 or 463/1071 [q.v.]), who quote al-Rummānī. It was ‘Abd al-Kāhir al-Djurdjānī who in his two books (see above) cleaned up the terminological mess resulting from the confluence of the poetic and the Kur’anic discourses. But before him there was one more interesting interface between the discourses, in al-Bākillānī’s (d. 403/1013 [q.v.]) *‘iḍāz al-Kur’ān*. Three parts of this book are especially pertinent here (these parts were translated by G.E. von Grunebaum, *Tenth-century documents*): (a) an extensive section on *badī‘* “rhetorical figures”, which, however, according to him are not relevant for proving the *‘iḍāz*, since they are attainable by man through training and experience; (b) a critique of the *Mu‘allaqa* of Imru’ al-Kays [q.v.]; and (c) a critique of a famous *lamiyya* by al-Buḥturī (*Ahl’ bi-dhālikumu ‘l-khayālī ‘l-mukhlī*, see al-Buḥturī, *Diwān*, ed. al-Ṣayrafi, 1741-52). Al-Bākillānī is fairly well read in the relevant literature, quoting Kudāma, Abū Hilāl al-‘Askarī and al-Rummānī (the last one anonymously). His analyses of the two poems are, of course, intended to show their deficiency against the background of the inimitable divine style. Subsequent literary criticism was not influenced by them.

The Muslim West

At about the same time, there was a flourishing of poetry and literary criticism in Zīrid Kayrawān, which may also be considered the beginning of serious critical activities in the Muslim West. Much Eastern material was made accessible by the excellent anthologies of al-Ḥuṣrī (d. 413/1022 [q.v.]), in particular his “Flowers of maxims and fruits of keen minds” (*Ṣaḥr al-ādāb wa-ṭhamar al-albāb*, ed. ‘Alī Muḥammad al-Biḍjāwī, Cairo 1372/1953) and “Collection of jewels among jocosities and rarities” (*Djam’ al-djawāhir fi ‘l-mulāḥ wa ‘l-nawādir*, ed. al-Biḍjāwī, Cairo 1372/1953). Both of them contain many passages in which the author either reports or presents critical viewpoints. Al-Ḥuṣrī was the mentor of Ibn Rashīk (d. 456/1064 or 463/1071 [q.v.]) and Ibn Sharaf al-Kayrawānī (d. 460/1067 [q.v.]), both eminent poets and critics, and fierce competitors for most of their lives. Ibn Rashīk’s main work, “The pillar, on the beauties, etiquette, and critique of poetry” (*al-‘Umda fi mahāsin al-shi’r wa-ādābih wa-nakdh*) is a comprehensive handbook on poetry that includes discussions of the major critical issues, such as wording and meaning (*lafẓ wa-ma’nā*), natural and “artificial” poetry (*maṭbū’ wa-maṣnū’*) and plagiarism (*ṣarīka*, *akhdh*). His slim volume “Gold filings, on the criticism of the poems of the Arabs” (*Kurādāt al-dhahab fi nakd ash’ar al-‘arab*) gives the impression of



a collection of notes on various topics of literary criticism, including very subtle instances of intertextuality (see especially the chapter on *tafīk*, *Kurāda*, 95-106, “piecing together” a line of poetry from two or more existing lines, a method skilfully used by Abu Ḵalīf al-Maʿarrī). Ibn Raṣṣīk’s rival, Ibn Sharaf, is less well known, due to the loss of most of his writings; his evaluation of earlier poets is preserved in a short work, probably fragmentary, with the title “Questions of [literary] criticism” (*Masā’il al-intikād*, or more fully, as in the colophon, *al-makāma al-maʿrūfa bi-Masā’il al-intikād*). The rather aphoristic critique of a large number of poets is followed by a second part in which general guidelines for the critic are developed, in part on the basis of a critical, and moralistic, reading of verses from the *Muʿallaqa* and other poems by Imru’ al-Qays [q.v.]. Particularly noteworthy is the literary genre of the *makāma* [q.v.] that Ibn Sharaf has chosen for his presentation: he attributes the critical opinions in his work to one Abu Ḵalīf al-Rayyān and he says unmistakably in his introduction that he “invented” (*ikhtalaktu*) the narratives included in his work.

At about the same time, al-Andalus also entered the scene with important contributions (disregarding here the works that introduced Eastern transmissions and ideas into al-Andalus, like the *adab* encyclopaedia “The unique necklace”, *al-ʿIkd al-farīd* of Ibn ʿAbd Rabbih [d. 328/940 (q.v.)] and the “Dictations”, *al-Amālī*, of al-Kāfī [d. 356/967 (q.v.)]). The eminent poet Ibn Shuhayd (d. 426/1035 [q.v.]), needled by adverse criticism of his poetry, wrote an imaginative and imaginary report, full of wit and haughtiness, about his visit to the country of the jinn and his discussions with the familiar spirits of famous poets and prose writers, with literary critics among the jinn, and, finally, with two animals, a mule and a goose, who turn out to be the familiar spirits of two contemporaries. Much of the story revolves around the question of talent and training as prerequisites for successful poetic activity; the translator, James Monroe (see *Bibl.*), discovered a Neo-Platonic blueprint underlying the author’s theory of “creativity”.

Ibn Shuhayd’s friend, Ibn Hazm (d. 456/1064 [q.v.]), should briefly be mentioned here, because his logical work “Bringing close to the definition of logic” (*al-Taḥrīb ilā ḥadd al-manṭiq*) leads over to the philosophical poetics in the next paragraph, although it is still very much “Arabic” in its contents. Two ideas stand out in his presentation. One is the notion that the essence of poetry is that it consists of false statements. This is not a new statement, being both part of the Greek tradition known to the Arab world (see below on Ibn al-Bannā) as well as the indigenous one, where the adage *aḥsanu* (var. *khayru*) *ʿl-shiʿri akdhābuh* “the best poetry is the most untruthful one” is often quoted. However, the exclusivist view maintained by Ibn Hazm is rare (on the various non-formal definitions of prose and poetry, see Heinrichs, *Dichterische Rede*). The other unusual notion is his tripartite typology of poets: to the usual types characterised by *ṭabʿ* “natural talent” or *ṣināʿa* “artfulness” he adds a third one, distinguished by *barāʿa* “virtuosity”. From his description this type appears like a synthesis of *ṭabʿ* and *ṣināʿa*; *barāʿa* is the ability to make intricate conceits appear natural (on this and related topics, see G. Schoeler, *Einige Grundprobleme der autochthonen und der aristotelischen arabischen Literaturtheorie* [AKM, Band xli, 4], Wiesbaden 1975, 33-56, and his additions in *ZDMG*, cxxvi [1976], *79*).

Philosophical poetics and the Maghribī “school”

A short aside on philosophical, or logical, poetics

is appropriate here. Aristotle’s *Rhetoric* and *Poetics* were translated from Syriac into Arabic. The former exists in a *naql kadīm*, an “old” pre-Hunayn translation, the latter in the translation of Abū Bishr Mattā (d. 328/940 [see MATTĀ B. YŪNUS]) and, in the commentaries, also in a revision by Abū Bishr’s disciple Yahyā b. ʿAdī (d. 363/974 [q.v.]). These translations remained for a very long time the domain of the logicians, because since the days of the Neo-Platonic Alexandrian commentators the *Rhetoric* and the *Poetics* had become part of the *Organon*, the logical writings of Aristotle. We have summaries and commentaries on these two books by a number of important philosophers, al-Fārābī, Ibn Sīnā and Ibn Ruṣṣid [q.v.] among them, and many short characterisations of them in general exposés of logic. The basic notions of Arabic logical poetics are *takhyīl* “image-creation in the listener’s mind” and *muhākāt* “image-creation from reality”, the latter going back to the Aristotelian *mimesis* but here reinterpreted as “imagery” (for further details, see TAKHYIL). Probably due to the compartmentalisation of knowledge into Arabic and Ancient disciplines, the indigenous theorists of poetry did not show any interest in the logical approach, except in the Muslim West. While in the East Ḍiyāʾ al-Dīn Ibn al-ʿAṭhīr, in a well-known passage of his *al-Maṭhal al-sāʿir* (ed. al-Ḥūfī and Ṭabāna, Cairo 379-81/1959-62, ii, 5-6), is the only indigenous theorist to take notice of the philosophers, by rejecting and scorning Ibn Sīnā’s “Greek” poetics, in the Maghrib there are several authors who, in one way or another, make use of the basic terms and ideas of this unusual branch of logic. The first among these seems to have been Ibn ʿAmīra (d. 656/1258 or 658/1260 [q.v.]), who wrote his *al-Tanbīhāt ʿalā mā fi ʿl-Tibyān min al-tamwīhāt* as a critique of a work by Ibn al-Zamlakānī (d. 651/1253) (see *al-Tibyān* in *Bibl.*). The polemical format of this work precludes a systematic introduction of technical terms; but the central terms of philosophical poetics, *takhyīl*, *muhākāt* and *akhyisa shiʿriyya*, are employed (see *Tanbīhāt*, 125, 134 and 135, respectively), and *muhākāt* is used in the sense of “imagery” by means of similes or metaphors.

The most important among “philosophising” critics is Ḥāzīm al-Ḳarṭājannī (d. 684/1285 [q.v.]), who used the two basic notions of the logical approach, *takhyīl* and *muhākāt* (the latter further reinterpreted as “image-creation by both descriptive and figurative processes”), in order to give a foundation to the hitherto more analytical and taxonomic indigenous approaches in the theory of poetry (for the details of his theory, see *Minḥādī*, 62-129, translated in W. Heinrichs, *Arabische Dichtung und griechische Poetik*, 173-262).

His younger contemporary al-Sidjilmāsī (d. after 704/1304 [q.v.]), in his “Novel method in classifying the modes of figures of speech” (*al-Manẓaʿ al-badīʿ fi taḍjīs asālib al-badīʿ*), like Ḥāzīm quotes al-Fārābī and Ibn Sīnā verbatim but understands *takhyīl* in the narrower sense of “imagery”, including *tashbīh* “simile”, *istiʿāra* “loan metaphor”, *mumāthala* “analogy” and *maḍjāz* (see *Manẓaʿ*, 218-61, 406-7; note that *takhyīl* here is used as a synonym of *muhākāt*, due to a *pars pro toto* application of either term for the entire activity of the poet of shaping images from reality and creating corresponding images in the minds of the listeners). It is noteworthy that *maḍjāz* in al-Sidjilmāsī equals the Ḍjurdjānīan *takhyīl* (see above) (on this strange use of the term, see Suʿād al-Mānī, *Maḥūm muṣṭalah “al-maḍjāz” ʿinda ʿl-Sidjilmāsī fi ʿalākatihī bi-muṣṭalah “al-takhyīl”*, in *Abḥāth al-Iarmūk*, xvii [1420/1999], 89-137).



The last of the “philosophising” Maghribī critics, who is known to us through his own work, is Ibn al-Bannā’ (d. 721/1321 [q.v.]); there are a few others, about whose views we know little (see M. Ibn Sharrīf, *Muḥaddima* to Ibn ‘Amīra, *Tanbīhāt*, 32). Ibn al-Bannā’ gives a short overview on the various truth values of the logical disciplines (*burhān*, *djadal*, *ḫaṭāba*, *shīr*, *mughālaṭa*) and defines poetry as “address by means of false, image-evoking (*mukhāyila*) statements based on image-making (*muhākāt*), which result in the excitement (*istifzāz*) [of the listener] by those fancies (*tawahhumāt*)” (see *Rawḍ*, 81, and cf. 103). By stressing the falseness of the poetic statements he diverges from Ḥazim and al-Sijilmāsi, who declare “true” and “false” as immaterial in poetry; Ibn al-Bannā’ resumes another tradition, which also has Greek roots and later Arab adherents (see above).

Much of the literature devoted to the criticism of poetry ultimately feeds into scholastic rhetoric (*ilm al-balāgha*), on which see BALĀGHA, BAYĀN, AL-MA‘ĀNI WA-’L-BAYĀN, AL-SAKKĀKĪ AND AL-ḲHAṬĪB AL-ḲAZWĪNĪ. But the main goal of rhetoric is as a tool to understand the *‘iḏāz al-Ḳur’ān* [q.v.]. The whole literature based on the third chapter of al-Sakkākī’s *Miftāḥ al-‘ulūm* will thus not be treated here. The same is also true for most of the later works outside the al-Sakkākī tradition.

The main topics of naḳd

The historical outline presented so far should be complemented by a short topical outline of the basic themes of *naḳd al-shīr*. (1) *Poetry vs. prose*. The most popular definition of poetry is the formal one proposed by Ḳudāma, *Naḳd*, 2: *ḳawl^{um} mawzūn^{um} muḳaffā^{um} yadullu ‘alā ma’nā^{um}* “metrical rhymed utterance indicating a meaning”. This would include didactic versification [see NAZM] and thus cannot be considered satisfactory. Some authors have, therefore, tried to establish an essential difference between poetry and prose (cf. Heinrichs, *Dichterische Rede*). Three approaches can be distinguished:

(a) The first is based on the idea that reality can be expressed in different ways. Al-Zandjānī (d. 650/1262 [q.v. in Suppl.]) in his “Yardstick for students of the disciplines concerning poems” (*Mīyār al-nuẓẓān fī ‘ulūm al-aṣṣḥār*) uses the threefold system of denotation (*dalāla*), i.e. *muṭābaka* (“congruence”, “house” denotes a house), *taḍammun* (“implication”, “house” denotes a ceiling) and *iltizām* (“concomitance”, “ceiling” denotes a wall) and says that *muṭābaka* is the “original denotation” (*dalāla waḍ‘iyya*) and is used in the rational sciences (*‘ulūm ‘aqliyya*), while *taḍammun* and *iltizām* are “rational denotations” (*dalālatān ‘aqliyyatān*), i.e. one has to think about their meaning) (*Mīyār*, ed. al-Ashkar, 5-7). Of these, *iltizām* is the kind of denotation that matters in “eloquence” (*balāgha*), because the “concomitants” (*lawāzim*) are numerous and there are many ways, good and bad, in which a certain idea can be conveyed. Two points need emphasis here. (i) Although his book is devoted to poetry, in this passage he speaks about “eloquence”, which, of course, extends to ornate prose as well; and (ii) the opposite of eloquent speech is scientific texts. Al-Zandjānī’s approach may thus be somewhat askew when it comes to defining poetry. (As an aside, one might mention that al-Sakkākī uses the same theory of denotation but applies it only to imagery, *bayān*, see *Miftāḥ al-‘ulūm*, ed. Na‘īm Zarzūr, Beirut 1403/1983, 329-30.) There is a certain similarity between al-Zandjānī and Ḥazim al-Ḳartādjannī in this respect. The latter defines poetry, with the help of terms from the Aristotelian-Fārabian tradition, as a speech that

“imitates” (*muhākāt*) the object by describing its accidents and then “generates representational images” (*takhyīl*) of the object in the mind of the listener/reader. Scientific propositions, on the other hand, consist in naming the essence of things and creating understanding (*ifhām*) (*Minhādj*, 98-9, 118-20). Again we have a dichotomy of poetic and scientific speech.

(b) The second attempt at defining poetry is based on the idea of “untruth” (*kaḍhib*). The adage *aḥsanu ‘l-shīrⁿⁱ akḍhabuḥ* “the best poetry is the most untruthful one”, sometimes said to be of Greek origin, has been interpreted as referring to (overblown) hyperbole (*ghulūw*) (Ḳudāma, *Naḳd*, 24-7) and to al-Djurdjānī’s “phantastic re-interpretation” (*takhyīl*, see above), thus to “distortions” of reality (or of the mirror quality of language) in the course of increasing mannerism. Most critics did not conclude that all poetry was untrue, but at least two explicitly did so: the philologist Ibn Fāris (d. 395/1004 [q.v.]) in *al-Ṣāhibī fī fikh al-lughā* (ed. al-Sayyid Aḥmad Ṣaḳr, Cairo 1977, 466) and Ibn Ḥazm (see above).

(c) The third approach contrasts the “obscurity” (*ghumūd*) of poetry with the “clarity” (*wuḍūḥ*) of literary prose. This was done by the *ḳātib* Ibrāhīm b. Ḥilāl al-Ṣābī (d. 384/994) in an epistle, in which he says that, due to the shortness and rigidity of the verse and the constraints of rhyme and metre, poems could not avoid being “obscure” (A. Arazi, *Une épître d’Ibrāhīm b. Ḥilāl al-Ṣābī sur les genres littéraires*, in M. Sharon (ed.), *Studies in Islamic history and civilization in honour of Professor David Ayalon*, Jerusalem and Leiden 1986). Later critics have usually not agreed, saying that the *balāgha* of both poetry and ornate prose required clarity (cf., e.g., Cantarino, *Poetics*, 195).

Since the middle ‘Abbāsīd period, when the idea had taken hold that the *ḳaṣīda* and the *risāla* were identical but for formal differences, the terminology of the poetry-critics was to a large extent applied to ornate prose as well. But there are also some relatively early sets of terms that were developed by the state scribes for the description of the epistolary style. Ḳudāma b. Dja‘far, in the introduction to his work on synonymous words and phrases, “Gems of words” (*Djawāhir al-alfāz*, 3-8), lists and exemplifies fourteen features that make for the highest degree of eloquence (*balāgha*) in ornate prose. His fellow-*ḳātib* al-Ḳh‘ārazmī (2nd half of 4th/10th cent. [q.v.]), in his “Keys of the sciences” (*Mafātīḥ al-‘ulūm*), has a chapter on “the conventions of the epistolographers” (*muwāda‘āt kutūb al-rasā’il*), which clearly harks back to Ḳudāma’s list but also goes beyond it by adding a paragraph on defects (*Mafātīḥ*, 72-8). Al-Ḳh‘ārazmī is particularly instructive, because his encyclopaedia also contains a chapter on *naḳd al-shīr* (*Mafātīḥ*, 94-7); a comparison of the two lists shows surprisingly little overlap in terminology and only slightly more when the figures themselves are considered. A third list was compiled later by al-Yazdādī (dates unknown) in the introduction to his “Perfection of eloquence” (*Kamāl al-balāgha*, 19-32), a selection of epistles by Ḳābūs b. Wushmgīr (d. 403/1012 [q.v.]). The author says that he isolated, from the epistles themselves, such figures as Ḳudāma had not yet identified (*Kamāl*, 19); it is likely but not certain that he is referring to *Djawāhir al-alfāz* rather than to *Naḳd al-shīr*. All of this shows that, before the final confluence of terminologies, we have to assume separate traditions of poetic, rhetorical (epistolary) and Ḳur’ānic (see above) technical vocabulary.

For a critique of a piece of eloquent prose—not a very common event—one may point to al-Ḳāḍī ‘Iyāḍ’s (d. 544/1150 [see ‘Iyāḍ]) exhaustive interpretation of



the *ḥadīth Umm Zār* (on this text, see F. Rosenthal, *Muslim social values and literary criticism—reflections on the Ḥadīth of Umm Zār*, in *Oriens*, xxxiv [1994], 31-56). This includes a chapter on *bayān* that deals with the literary aspects of the *ḥadīth* (*Bughyat al-rā'id li-mā tadammannahū ḥadīth Umm Zār min al-fawā'id*, ed. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn b. Ahmad al-Idlibī *et alii*, al-Muḥammadiyya 1395/1975, 186-214).

(2) *Truth vs. falsehood*. Ibn Rashīk states that most of poetry is *wasf* "description" (*Umda*, ii, 294), thus true. As mentioned, some critics have maintained the opposite (Ibn Hazm, Ibn Fāris, see above); this has to be seen against the background of the mannerist trends in "modern" poetry—with their irreel hyperboles (*ghulūṭ*), substratum-less metaphors (*isti'āra [takhyīliyya]*), and phantastic re-interpretations (*takhyīl* of al-Djurdjānī). Critics often became a little nervous when confronted with "falsehoods" (*kadhīb*) of this type, but the poets were not deterred. The idea of poetry being *per se* "untrue" is also highlighted by Abu 'l-ʿAlā' al-Ma'arrī's assertion that the sceptical poetry in his *Luzūmiyyāt* is not poetry, because it is true (ed., 'A. Zand, Cairo 1891, 9, 42).

Explicit fiction is not of common occurrence in Arabic literature, and certainly not in poetry. There are, it is true, cases like the versification, in couplets, of *Kalīla wa-Dimna* and similar fictional works by Abān al-Lāḥikī (d. ca. 200/815 [q.v.]); but these would presumably be regarded as *naẓm* rather than poetry. However, the often stereotypical adventures that a poet, or his persona, would describe were, of course, known not to be the historical truth, but this kind of non-explicit fiction, because it could not be recognised from the poem itself, elicited little interest on the part of the critics. It is only Ḥāzim al-Karṭājannī who paid some attention to the notion of "fiction" (*ikhtilāq*, as he calls it) and who distinguished the type of fiction just mentioned from the one that is plainly fictional on the surface (e.g. the talking animals in *Kalīla wa-Dimna*) by calling the former "possibility-fiction" (*ikhtilāq imkānī*) and the latter "impossibility-fiction" (*ikhtilāq imtināʾī*) (*Minḥādī*, 76-9).

(3) *The unit within the poem*. A large amount of poetic criticism is directed to the single line. This "molecular" approach is driven to the extreme by Tha'lab, who considers lines with semantically independent hemistichs the best of all. Several critics do quote larger passages (e.g. Ibn Ṭabātabā), but they do not normally discuss the structure of larger entities. An exception is the analysis of transitions from one theme to the next in the polythematic *qaṣʿida* (*takḥallus*). Al-Ḥatīmī uses the image of the human body in order to stress the overall "organic" unity of the poem (see in general G.J.H. van Gelder, *Beyond the line. Classical Arabic literary criticism on the coherence and unity of the poem*, Leiden 1982; the passage in question is translated and discussed at 82-3). But for a thorough discussion of "passages" (*fusūl*, sing. *fasl*) as building-blocks within a poem, one has again to turn to Ḥāzim al-Karṭājannī (see van Gelder, 171-90).

(4) *Wording (lafz) vs. meaning (ma'nā)*. This dichotomy is basic to all disciplines dealing with language. It was, e.g., used by the logicians in their dispute with the grammarians in the 4th/10th century, when they alleged that their domain was the *ma'ānī*, while the grammarians dealt with the *alfāz*. This oversimplification did not go down well with the grammarians, who rightly claimed that they dealt with semantic matters as well. Among the earlier critics, the most commonly encountered attitude is that the *lafz* is the object of the poet's artistic endeavour, the "form" that

he tries to achieve, while the *ma'nā* is the material that he works on. Poetry is thus a *sinā'a*, a "craft" like that of the carpenter, weaver or goldsmith, and indeed the poet's craft is often compared to these professions and many of the terms denoting figures of speech are taken in the way of metaphors from these other crafts. However, wording and meaning cannot easily be separated: if one wants to talk about the wording without any reference to the meaning, the topic becomes restricted to euphony, stylistic acceptability of words (cf. *WAḤSH*), and grammatical features (everything covered by the term *faṣāḥa* [q.v.]). In most discussions of the critics *lafz* is used in the sense of a "particular expression" of a general idea (*ma'nā*); it thus clearly partakes in the *ma'nā* side of language. The term *ma'nā* itself acquires several meanings:

(a) the meaning of a specific verse (especially when it is difficult to gauge)—this is dealt with in early philological *ma'ānī* works, such as al-Uṣnāndānī (d. 256/870), *Ma'ānī al-ḡhūr* (ed. 'Izz al-Dīn al-Tanūkhī, Damascus 1969);

(b) the motif expressed in a line, i.e. a popular poetic commonplace; these were collected, together with their most famous realisations, in motif catalogues, such as Ibn Kūṭayba, *K. al-Ma'ānī al-kabīr* (Ḥaydarābād, Deccan 1949), Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī, *Diwān al-ma'ānī* (Cairo 1352 [1933-34]), al-Rāghib al-Iṣfahānī (d. 502/1108 [q.v.]), *Maḍmūʿat al-balāgha* (ed. 'Umar 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Sarīsī, 2 vols., 'Ammān 1406/1986) and the anonymous *Maḍmūʿat al-ma'ānī* (ed. 'Abd al-Salām Ḥārūn, Beirut 1992), as well as in catalogues of similes, such as Ibn Abī 'Awn, *K. al-Tashbīḥāt* (ed. 'Abdul Mu'īd Khān, London 1950) and Ibn al-Kattānī, *K. al-Tashbīḥāt min aṣḥār ahl al-Andalus* (ed. Iḥsān 'Abbās, Beirut 1967); and

(c) the specific meaning, which results from the application of rhetoric and imagery to a known motif, thereby refashioning it as a conceit (*conceito*)—these are the *ma'ānī* that the admirers of Abū Tammām, al-ʿAmīdī's *ahl al-ma'ānī* (see above), cherish and which Ibn Rashīk calls the *ma'ānī al-ṣan'a* (*Umda*, i, 133). An example would be Abū Tammām's notorious line: *lā tashkīnī mā'a 'l-malāmi fa-innāni/ṣabḥam qad-i 'sūdhabtu mā'a buḳā'i* "Do not pour for me the water of blame, for I am a man in love, I have come to find the water of my weeping sweet" (*Diwān*, ed. Muḥammad 'Abduḥ 'Azzām, 4 vols. Cairo 1964-5, i, 22). Here the simple idea "Do not blame me, for I am in love and like weeping" has been transformed into a conceit, by "applying" to it (i) a loan metaphor ("the water of blame") and (ii) a *muḳābala* (the contrast of the two waters). It is clear from these literarily ever more meaningful uses of the term *ma'nā* that *ma'nā* and *lafz* become inextricably bound together; this *ma'nā-lafz* conglomerate came especially to the fore in discussions of the historical development of motifs, i.e. discussions of borrowings, imitations, and plagiarisms. 'Abd al-Kāhīr al-Djurdjānī realised the inefficiency of the rigid dichotomy "wording/meaning" and introduced the term *ṣūra* "form, structure" which he puts in the middle between the *lafz* as "linguistic material" (*adīrās al-ḥurūf* "the sounds of the letters") and the *ma'nā* as "thematic material" (*gharad* "intention"); one could say that the *ṣūra* forms both the linguistic and the thematic material and thus creates a structured *lafz* and a structured *ma'nā* that are completely congruent.

(5) *Originality vs. plagiarism*. On the whole gamut of possibilities between *ikhtirā'* "original invention" and *sariḳa* crude "plagiarism", see *SARIKA*, in Suppl.

Influence on other literatures

Arabic literary criticism and poetics have had an



influence on two linguistic-cultural domains outside of it. One is Persian literary theory. The first work in this field was Rādūyānī's [q.v.] "Interpreter of eloquence" (*Tarjūmān al-balāgha*, ed. Ahmed Ateş, Istanbul 1949), written between 482/1089 and 507/1114 (see also Ateş, *Tarjūmān al-Balāgha, das frühe neupersische Werk über rhetorische Figuren, in Oriens*, i [1948], 45-62). This work is based on an Arabic precursor, namely al-Marghīnānī's (middle of the 5th/11th century) "Beauties in poetry and prose" (*al-Maḥāsīn fī 'l-naẓm wa 'l-naṭh*, ed. van Gelder, *Two Arabic treatises on stylistics*, Istanbul 1987, 66-110).

The other cultural domain open to Arabic influence was the Jewish community, primarily in al-Andalus but also elsewhere, who had adopted Arabic prosody, or an adaptation thereof, for the composition of Hebrew poetry. This drew their attention also to the critical literature of the Arabs; this in turn confronted them with the notion of *ʿiḍjāz al-Kurʿān* and motivated them to discover rhetorical and figurative use of language in their own Scripture. The most important author here is Moshe b. ʿEzra (d. after 529/1135), who wrote two relevant works in Judaeo-Arabic: the *K. al-Muḥādara wa 'l-muḥākara* (ed. [in Hebrew script] and tr. into Hebrew by A.S. Halkin, Jerusalem 1975, ed. [in Arabic script] and tr. into Spanish by Montserrat Abumalhan Mas, 2 vols. Madrid 1985-6), dealing mainly with poetry, and the *Makālat al-Hadika fī ma'nā 'l-maḍjāz wa 'l-ḥakika*, ed. and tr. (into Hebrew) by P. Fenton (Jerusalem, forthcoming), see also Fenton, *Philosophie et exégèse dans le Jardin de la métaphore de Moïse Ibn ʿEzra* (Leiden 1997), with the main focus on scriptural issues. Recently, extant fragments of another Judaeo-Arabic work on poetics (including prosody), this time by a man from the East, have been published: J. Yahalom (ed. and tr. into Hebrew), *Perākīm be-torat ha-shūr le-ʿEzār ben Yaʿakov ha-Bavli, Judaeo-Arabic poetics. Fragments of a lost treatise by Elazar ben Jacob of Baghdad* (Jerusalem 2001). Some early copies of this work and of Moshe b. ʿEzra's *K. al-Muḥādara* seem to have been written in Arabic script, as can be seen from mistakes attributable to misreadings of Arabic letters. This may point to some amount of give-and-take between Muslim and Jewish critics.

On the poetics of mediaeval dialect poetry, see ZADJAL (toward the end).

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(W.P. HEINRICHS)

NAQL.

1. In the central Islamic lands and North Africa. Add to the articles mentioned there the following article.

In the caliphal lands.

The emergence of Islam is known to have coincided with the disappearance of wheeled carts or wagons [see *adḡala*] in many parts of the Middle East, although the extinction of such transport cannot be conclusively proved. In fact, wheeled vehicles were in existence in the Middle East for many centuries after the rise of Islam, although they were rarely used.

The wheel was replaced by the camel in the Middle East during the era of the caliphates. Camels [see *ibn*] were a means of everyday transport which was eminently suitable for long-distance overland journey across deserts and valleys in Arabia, Syria, Egypt or North Africa, or Anatolia or in Central Asia along the Silk Road, being used for transport of goods or passengers or pilgrims in large caravans. Caravan trade and caravan cities existed in the Middle East since the pre-Islamic period, when the Arabs of Mecca used to go on seasonal caravan journeys for commerce to Yemen in the winter and to Syria in the summer (cf.

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Qurʾān, CVI, 1-2). The nomadic peoples of Arabia, Syria and Persia were the camel-breeders who appreciated the value of their animals as the "ships of the land" (*al-sufun al-barriyya*); they knew that the skins of their animals provided them with water-bags (*qirab*) and that the animals' meat was a source of protein, and they could sell them in exchange for gold (cf. al-Thaʿalibī, *Thimār al-kulūb*, 284). At the beginning of Islam in the 7th century A.D. many individuals owned camels which they could use as a means of transport or as a source of milk or as a commodity for trade, but by the 8th century A.D., cameleers or professional camel-drivers emerged as a group of transport workers who used to hire out the camel(s) to travellers or traders (al-Wohaibī, *The northern Hijaz*, 393). The cameleers (see *Ḍammāl*, in Suppl.) contributed much to the transport of pilgrims from all parts of the Middle East to Mecca and Medina. The Egyptian and North African pilgrims as well as traders started their caravan journey from Fustāt (Old Cairo) through Kulzum to ʿĀila (ʿAkāba) and Yanbuʿ, thence to Mecca or Medina. The Anatolian and Syrian pilgrims assembled at Damascus and travelled through ʿAmmān and Tabūk to Medina and Mecca. Similarly, the pilgrims from Persia, Central Asia and ʿIrāk started their journey from Baghdād and travelled through Kūfa and the Arabian desert to Mecca or Medina, or they took the alternative route from Baghdād to Wāsiṭ, Baṣra, the Arabian desert and Mecca. Arab settlements grew up along the pilgrim routes and there were brisk seasonal trade during the pilgrimage season. Caravanserais were built throughout the Middle East to cater for travellers and traders and their mounts. Camels and horses were also used to transport arms and warriors to the battle front during the early Islamic conquests and the Umayyad period.

Among other means of transport, donkeys were the most popular among the tribesmen and the peasantry. Mules (Ar. *baghl* [q.v.], pl. *bighāl*) were also used as a means of transport especially in the hilly or mountainous terrains of Syria, Anatolia and Persia. Muleteers (Ar. *mukārī* [q.v.], *baghghāl*, or *hammāra*) emerged as a distinct group of transport workers during the ʿAbbāsīd period (A.D. 750-1258). They could transport merchants or ordinary travellers from Baghdād along the Khurāsān trunk road to Nishāpūr or beyond (cf. al-Ḳazwīnī, *Athār al-bilād*, 224-5) or transport pilgrims in a caravan of 50 donkeys from Kūfa to Mecca (al-Djāhīz, *K. al-Bukhālāʾ*, 18). Mules were not popular animals in mediaeval Arab society, and al-Djāhīz wrote a treatise on mules entitled *Kutāb al-Bighāl*. He voiced the public opinion of his time when he recorded the popular argument against the mules by saying that the Prophets rode on camels and donkeys but never on mules (cf. *Rasāʾil al-Djāhīz*, ii, 326), but he refuted the popular prejudice against them by citing the evidence that the Prophet Muḥammad rode on a mule, as did the early caliphs like ʿUthmān and ʿAlī and the Umayyad caliph Hishām b. ʿAbd al-Malik. Moreover, al-Djāhīz cited the fact that pilgrims from Syria went from Damascus to Mecca in a caravan of sixty mules during the reign of caliph ʿAbd al-Malik (cf. *Kutāb al-Bighāl*, 231).

The horse was a means of speedy transport which was owned mainly by the wealthy, for the price of an Arabian horse with a pedigree was very high. This last was also introduced into eastern Turkey and Persia as a means of transport. Horses were used for postal service by the Umayyad and ʿAbbāsīd caliphs for the dispatch of royal mail and military intelligence from various provinces to the capital city [see *BARĪD*]. The

ʿAbbāsīd and Fātimīd caliphs had stables full of horses ready as mounts kept near the royal palaces for riding by the caliphs and their family members, as well as by top officials both civilian and military (cf. Hilāl al-Šābiʿ, *Rusūm dār al-khilāfa*, 22-3).

The price of owning a pack and riding animal during the era of the ʿAbbāsīd caliphs was not, however, totally beyond the means of the common folk, but the maintenance of an animal involved extra expense. The income of a muleteer or a donkey-driver was meagre, but a cameleer (*ḍammāl*) or a boatman (*mallāh*) had an adequate income by hiring out camels or boats for transporting goods or passengers. A camel was sold for 2 or 3 dinārs in Baṣra during the 4th/10th century (al-Tanūkhī, *Nishwār*, i, 89). The price of a donkey in Khurāsān was usually 5 dirhams, but it could go up to 50 dirhams or more in a year of scarcity during the ʿAbbāsīd period (Yāqūt, *Muʿḍam*, iii, 412). The price of a horse in Kh̲ārazm was an extraordinarily low cost of 4 dinārs during the 14th century (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, *Travels*, tr. Gibb, 167).

Inland transport in the Middle East also made use of boats and small ships in the navigable rivers like the Tigris, the Euphrates and the Orontes, part of the Kārūn river in Persia and the Nile in Egypt. The city of Baghdād was founded by the ʿAbbāsīd caliph al-Manṣūr in 145/762 on the banks of the Tigris river *inter alia* to facilitate inland transport from Baghdād upstream to Mawṣil, Diyār Rabīʿa, etc., and downstream to the cities of Wāsiṭ, Baṣra and onwards to the Persian Gulf waters. There were many boats [see *SAFĪNA*] in the Baṭāʾih [q.v.] (swamps) of the lower ʿIrāk. A port was built at Sāmarrāʾ on the Tigris by al-Wāṭḥik. The *Shatt al-ʿArab* [q.v.] was very suitable for navigation by ships. The Euphrates river and the *Shatt al-Gharrāf* were also navigable, and goods could be transported from Diyār Muḍar and al-Rakka to Baghdād through the Nahr al-Malik canal (cf. Yaʿkūbī, *Buldān*, 234). There were thirty thousand river craft plying in the waters of the Tigris river to transport passengers or cargo during the 3rd/9th century (Ibn al-Djawzī, *Manāḳib*, 24; Shābushṭī, *Diwārāt*, 158). The *muhtasib* [see *HISBA*] supervised the transportation work by the boatmen so that the boats or ships were not overloaded, endangering the lives of the passengers by drowning or loss of cargo in mid-river. Similarly, the Nile was a busy highway of boat traffic for the people of Fustāt on the bank of the river.

The 5th/11th century Persian traveller Nāsir-i Khusrāw, travelled across the mediaeval Middle East by means of all available transport, including camels, horses, donkeys, boats and ships. While visiting the cities of Fustāt and Cairo (ca. 439/1047), he observed that traders rode on saddled donkeys. Everyday 50,000 beasts of burden were ready for hire. He saw that soldiers and militiamen rode on horses, while peasants, merchants and craftsmen were transported by donkeys (*Safar-nāma*, tr. 55).

On the whole, riding and pack animals such as donkeys, mules, camels and horses were the primary means of transport in the pre-industrial society of the Middle East during the Umayyad, ʿAbbāsīd and Mamlūk periods, while horse- or camel-drawn wagons were hardly seen in the streets prior to the 13th-14th century A.D. Boats and coracles, and a kind of catamaran (Ar. *zaww*/zawḍī), played a limited role in the inland transport network in the countries of the Middle East during the periods of the caliphates. The absence of wheeled vehicles on the streets had an impact on town planning in the Middle East, whose towns had consequently narrow streets and cul-de-sacs.



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AL-NA'L AL-SHARĪF, NA'L RASŪL ALLĀH (A.), the sandal of the Prophet Muḥammad.

Sandals belong to the pre-Islamic Arabian clothing (see LIBAS. 1), and are considered one of the features distinguishing Arabs from non-Arabs ('*adīm*). The scholar Mālik b. Anas (d. 180/796 [q.v.]) reportedly declared that only Arabs used to wear turbans and sandals (Ibn Abī Zayd, *al-Djāmi' fī 'l-sunan wa 'l-ādāb wa 'l-maghāzī wa 'l-ta'rīkh*, Tunis 1982, 228). The Prophet himself reportedly advised the believers to wear sandals as well as boots to distinguish themselves from the People of the Book who only wore boots (Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, *Musnad*, 6 vols., Cairo 1313/1895, repr. Beirut n.d., v, 264). Muslim tradition turned the sandals into a component of the legacy of Abraham and Ishmael, the prototypes of Arabian monotheism. In a letter of the caliph 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb [q.v.], the believers are requested to adhere to the clothes of their father Ismā'il and to wear sandals instead of boots (Ibn Hibbān, *al-Ihsān fī takrīb Ṣaḥīḥ Ibn Hibbān, tarīb 'Alā' al-Dīn al-Fārisī*, ed. Shu'ayb al-Arna'ūt, 16 vols., Beirut 1988, xii, no. 5454). Abraham, says a Shī'ī tradition, was the first to wear sandals (al-Kulīnī, *al-Uṣūl wa 'l-furū' min al-Kāfi*, ed. 'Alī Akbar al-Ghifārī, 8 vols., Beirut 1980, vi, 462). Wearing sandals is especially recommended during the pilgrimage to Mecca, which is the main centre of Abrahamic rites [see IHRĀM].

The Prophet Muḥammad is regarded as the ultimate model of Arab piety, and sandals feature as an essential element in his descriptions as a messenger of God. Already Jesus is said to have announced the emergence of the Arabian prophet, whom he described as wearing sandals among other things (al-Bayhaqī,

Dalā'il al-nubuwwa, ed. 'Abd al-Mu'ī Kal'adī, 7 vols., Beirut 1988, i, 378). Muḥammad himself is said to have stated that God instructed him to wear sandals and a seal (al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Mu'djam al-saghīr*, ed. 'Abd al-Rahmān Muḥammad 'Uthmān, 2 vols., Cairo 1981-3, i, 166).

Islamic tradition provides detailed descriptions of the Prophet's sandals. According to most of the earliest traditions, each sandal had two leather thongs (*kibāl*, *zimām*, *shis'*), which passed between the toes and were attached to the sole. The other end of the pair of thongs passed through two loops ("ears") to which were also attached the two arms of the *shirāk*, i.e. the folded strap that passed behind the wearer's ankle. In some versions, the sandal is said to have had a "heel" in the Yemeni style, i.e. a wide strap that embraced the wearer's heel. At the forepart of each sandal there was an extension shaped like a tongue (*mulassan*), and the middle part of the sole was narrow, with hollows (*khayrān'*) cut on each side. The sole consisted of two layers sewed or patched together (*makhṣūfa*). It was made of tanned hide of oxen (Ibn Sa'd, *Ṭabakāt*, 8 vols., Beirut 1960, i, 478-82; Abu 'l-Shaykh, *Akhḥāk al-nabī*, ed. 'Iṣām al-Dīn Sayyid 'Abd al-Nabī, Cairo 1993, 142-7; al-Zurkānī, *Sharḥ al-mawāhib al-laduniyya li 'l-Kaṣṭallānī*, Cairo 1911, repr. Beirut 1973, v, 44-52; al-Shāmī, *Subul al-hudā wa 'l-raḥād fī sirat khayr al-'ibād*, ed. Muṣṭafā 'Abd al-Wāḥid, 11 vols., Cairo 1990, vii, 499-507). The colour of Muḥammad's sandal, according to the usual reports, was yellow (al-Zurkānī, *op. cit.*, v, 46; al-Makḥārī, *Wasf n'āl al-nabī (s) al-musammā bi-faṭḥ al-muta'al fī madh al-n'āl*, ed. 'Alī 'Abd al-Wahhāb and 'Abd al-Mun'im Farajī Darwīsh, Cairo 1997, 141-3).

A two-thong sandal remained a common fashion among pious believers, although it was sometimes regarded as extravagant (Ibn Ḥaḍjar al-ʿAskalānī, *al-Matālib al-'āliya bi-zawā'id al-masānīd al-thamāniya*, ed. Ḥabīb al-Rahmān al-A'zamī, 4 vols., Beirut, 1987, ii, no. 2231). Such sandals were said to have been worn by the Righteous Caliphs Abū Bakr and 'Umar [q.v.]. Only the third caliph, 'Uthmān b. 'Affān [q.v.], reportedly began to wear sandals in which the two thongs were tied together and attached to a single strap passing between the toes (al-Tirmidhī, *al-Shamā'il al-muḥammadiyya* (with commentary of Ibrāhīm al-Bādjūrī), Cairo 1925, 70; al-Ṭabarānī, *op. cit.*, i, 92; al-Zurkānī, *op. cit.*, v, 45).

Sometimes the sole of Muḥammad's sandal was said to have consisted of only one layer, not two, and this was said to have been the style that the Arabs considered superior to the style of kings (al-Makḥārī, 89).

The fashion of cutting hollows on both sides of the middle part of the sole was preserved mainly among Shī'īs, to whom soles without hollows represented a deplorable deviation from the Prophetic model (al-Kulīnī, vi, 463). Moreover, sandals without such hollows were considered Jewish by style (al-Ṭabrisī, *Makārim al-akhḥāk*, ed. Muḥammad al-Ḥusayn al-A'lamī, Beirut 1972, p. 123; al-Kulīnī, vi, 463-4). The habit of tying the *shirāk* of the sandal (and not simply folding it through the loop, as was reported concerning Muḥammad's sandal) was considered among Shī'īs as a fashion set by Satan (al-Ṭabrisī, 123).

The supposedly original sandal or sandals of the Prophet were preserved by believers of later generations. Beginning with the generation of the Companions, the most prevalent is the tradition about the Baṣran Anas b. Mālik [q.v.], who is said to have exhibited to the believers the sandal with its two thongs (e.g. Ibn Sa'd, i, 478; Abu 'l-Shaykh, *Akhḥāk al-nabī*, no. 390).



He was reportedly the official keeper of Muḥammad's sandals (Ibn Sa'd, i, 482), but according to other traditions, the Kūfan Companion 'Abd Allāh b. Mas'ūd [see IBN MAS'UD, 'ABD ALLĀH] was in charge of them (e.g. al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 9 vols., Cairo 1958, v, 31, 35 [kitaḥ 62, bāb 20, 27]).

'Alī's son, Muḥammad b. al-Ḥanafīyya [q.v.] was also able to show the relic (Ibn Sa'd, i, 478). The Meccan Ḥishām b. 'Urwa (d. 146/763) claimed that he had seen the sandal and gave its description (Ibn Sa'd, i, 478).

As for the later history of the sandals, some reports relate that the descendants of the Syrian Companion Shaddād b. Aws (d. 46/683), who lived in Jerusalem, preserved them. He reportedly left them to his son Muḥammad, but the latter's sister got hold of one of them. This was passed on to her children. When the 'Abbāsīd caliph al-Mahdī visited Jerusalem, the sandal held by the sister's descendants was presented to him for a handsome reward. He summoned her brother Muḥammad b. Shaddād, by then a sick old man, and requested the other sandal, but Muḥammad refused to part with it and the caliph consented (Ibn Manzūr, *Mukhtaṣar Ta'rīkh Dimashk li-Ibn 'Asākir*, 29 vols., Damascus 1984-8, x, 278-9). A sandal of the Prophet was also claimed to have been in the possession of Ismā'īl b. Ibrāhīm al-Makḥzūmī who obtained it from his grandmother Umm Kulthūm, the daughter of Abū Bakr. She had received it from her sister 'Ā'isha (al-Makḥkārī, 175-6).

The last station of the "original" sandal seems to have been the Aṣḥrafī madrasa at Damascus. It was placed there by the Ayyūbīd of Egypt al-Malik al-Aṣḥraf b. al-'Ādil, who had confiscated it in 625/1228 from the last descendant of the Companion Sulaymān Abū 'l-Ḥadīd, whose descendants claimed to have held it for centuries. Another sandal of the Prophet was kept elsewhere in Damascus, and during Ṭīmūr Lang's take-over of Damascus in 803/1400, both relics disappeared (Ibn Ḥaǧǧar al-'Askalānī, *al-Iṣāba*, ed. 'Alī Muḥammad al-Bidjāwī, 8 vols., Cairo 1970, iii, 173; Sibṭ Ibn al-'Adjāmī, *Nūr al-nibrās 'alā sirat Ibn Sayyid al-Nās*, ms. B.L. Or. 8276, fōl. 316b; al-Makḥkārī, 513-24; Goldziher, *Muhammedanische Studien*, ii, 363-4).

The Prophet's sandals served as a model according to which shoemakers designed sandals for pious believers. A sandal of the Prophet, as seen at the house of Fāṭima, daughter of 'Ubayd Allāh b. 'Abbās, was copied by a shoemaker who applied its two-thong style to sandals ordered by the eminent Baṣran scholar 'Abd Allāh b. 'Awn (d. 150/767). However, when the latter came to collect them, he found that Ibn Sirīn (d. 110/728 [q.v.]) had already bought the sandals for himself (Ibn Ḥaǧǧar, *Maṭālib*, ii, no. 2232; cf. Ibn Sa'd, i, 479).

Drawings (*mithāl*, *timthāl*) representing the supposedly original sandal were in circulation among scholars, especially in the Maghrib, where access to the sandal itself was more difficult than in the Mashrik (al-Makḥkārī, 167-8). Such representations were also used by shoemakers for sandals ordered by pious believers (al-Ṭabrisī, 122; al-Makḥkārī, 175-6). The representations became an object of veneration in their own right and were believed to provide one with safety in journeys, victory in battles, etc. Therapeutic powers were attributed to them and they were often hung up in houses for protection against the evil eye (al-Zurkānī, v, 48; al-Makḥkārī, 469-70; Goldziher, *op. cit.*, ii, 363). Some samples of them can be seen in al-Makḥkārī's *Fath al-muṭā'āl fī madhī al-ni'āl*, where numerous *kaṣīdas* in praise of them are also recorded.

Closely associated with the veneration of the Prophet's sandals is that of his footprints [see KĀDAM SHARĪF].

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(U. RUBIN)

AL-NAMIR B. KĀSIT, BANŪ, a tribe of the Rabī'a b. Nizār group [see RABĪ'A AND MUḌAR; NIZĀR B. MA'ADD]. It must be noted that not every Namarī mentioned in the sources belonged to the Namir b. Kāsit, since tribal groups called al-Namir were also found among the Azd, the Kuḏā'a and the Iyād. The fortunes of the Namir were closely linked to those of their relatives, the Taghlib [q.v.]. When the Taghlib migrated to the eastern part of the Dījazira [q.v.] or the Dīyār Rabī'a [q.v.] in the second half of the 6th century A.D., they were joined by part of the Namir. However, there were still Namarīs in Arabia after that time, more specifically in Yamāma and Baḥrayn. Some tribe members settled in al-Andalus. Most Namarīs remained Christian for at least two centuries after the advent of Islam.

The semi-legendary leader of the Namir, 'Āmir al-Dahyān, would sit in judgement in the early part of the forenoon, hence his nickname al-Dahyān, or "the one exposing himself to the sun". Ibn al-Kalbī reported that the leadership of the Rabī'a shifted among the Rabī'a tribes. Leadership meant command in the battlefield, arbitration, the right to appoint the banner-carrier and entitlement to one-fourth of the spoils. When the leadership of the Rabī'a reached the Namir, it was held by 'Āmir al-Dahyān. After a long term in this role he was killed by a man of the 'Abd al-Kays [q.v.]. Having received half the ransom for him, the Namir murdered the 'Abd al-Kays hostages whom they held as a guarantee for the delivery of the other half. In the internecine war that followed, the Namir joined forces with the rest of the Rabī'a against the 'Abd al-Kays. Ibn al-Kalbī's account is quoted in a small genealogical treatise, *al-Inbāḥ 'alā kabā'il al-nuwāt*, by Ibn 'Abd al-Barr [q.v.], himself a Namarī. Namarī partisanship on Ibn 'Abd al-Barr's part is evident with regard to the origin of the Prophet's Companion Ṣuhayb b. Sinān, the most important individual in the genealogy of the Namir. Ṣuhayb's affiliation to the Namir, disputed by some, was for Ibn 'Abd al-Barr beyond doubt, and in his Companion dictionary he emphasised that there was no dispute over it. But the claim that Ṣuhayb was of Arab stock stands in sharp contrast to a famous saying attributed to Muḥammad, namely, that he himself was the first Arab to enter Paradise, while Ṣuhayb was the first Byzantine, Salmān al-Fārisī the first Persian and Bilāl b. Rabāḥ the first Ethiopian.

While Ṣuhayb is invariably mentioned in the genealogies of the Namir, Ḥumrān b. Abnā, a prominent figure in early Islamic history, is only mentioned in some. Ḥumrān, who was captured during the conquests in 'Ayn al-Tamr [q.v.], is supposed to have been Ṣuhayb's relative. But it is doubtful that Ḥumrān, said to have been of Jewish origin, was an Arab, since the claim of Arab descent originated with his offspring (*wa 'dda'a wulduhu fī 'l-Namir b. Kāsit*). Family sources were likewise behind the claim that Ṣuhayb was an Arab.

The Namir boasted of a pre-Islamic link with the Quraysh: the mother of the Prophet's uncle, al-'Abbās b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib [q.v.], was one of them. She is supposed to have been the first Arab woman to provide a covering for the Ka'ba, following a vow she made when little al-'Abbās went lost.

Before Islam the Namir (like the Taghlib) were



within the sphere of influence of the Sāsānids and the Lakhmids [q.v.] of al-Hīra. Mā' al-Samā', the mother of the Lakhmid king al-Mundhir III (ca. 505-54), who was of the Namir, was taken captive in a raid carried out by al-Mundhir's father; the fact that al-Mundhir had a half-brother among the Namir did not go unmentioned by the genealogists. One of the Arab units that fought on the Sāsānid side in the battle of Dhū Kār (ca. 605) included warriors from the Taghlib and the Namir. In the *ridda* [q.v.], there were Namarīs among the troops who came from the Djazīra with Sadjāh [q.v.], the false prophetess of the Tamīm [q.v.]. A whole subdivision of the Namir, the Aws Manāt b. al-Namir b. Kāsīt, was wiped out (*ubirū*) during the *ridda* by Khalid b. al-Walid. In 'Ayn al-Tamr during the conquests a Namarī led a large force made of Christians from the Namir, the Taghlib, the Iyād and others, which was defeated by Khālīd. Later during the conquests Christians of the Namir fought alongside al-Muthannā b. Hāritha against the Sāsānids in the battle of al-Buwayb (near al-Hīra).

Some Namarīs who converted to Islam during the conquests settled in Kūfa together with members of the Taghlib and the Iyād. Members of these very tribes who fought as Sāsānid auxiliaries at Takkrit are said to have handed the town over to the Muslim besiegers. In the battle of Šiffin [q.v.], there were Namarīs on both sides, probably because the Djazīra which was their homeland was divided at that time between 'Alī and Mu'āwiya. The old association between the Taghlib and the Namir was still in place during the rebellion of 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, when both tribes fought several battles in the Djazīra against the Kays 'Aylān [q.v.].

Bibliography: Caskel, *Ġamharat an-nasab*, ii, 444; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ġamharat al-nasab*, ed. N. Hasan, Beirut 1407/1986, 576-81; idem, *Nasab Ma'add wa 'l-Yaman al-kabīr*, ed. Hasan, Beirut 1408/1988, i, 96-100; Ibn Hazm al-Andalusī, *Ġamharat ansāb al-'arab*, ed. Hārūn, Cairo 1382/1962, 300-2; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *al-Inbāh 'alā kabā'il al-ruwāt*, Cairo 1350/1931 (bound with *al-Kasd wa 'l-amam* by the same author), 97-100; Ṭabarī, index; F.M. Donner, *The early Islamic conquests*, Princeton 1981, index; M.G. Morony, *Iraq after the Muslim conquest*, Princeton 1984, index.

On the capture of Mā' al-Samā' by the king of al-Hīra, see al-Wazīr al-Maghribī, *Adab al-khawāṣṣ*, ed. H. al-Djāsir, Riyāḍ 1400/1980, 151. On the poet Manšūr al-Namarī [q.v.], see also Sezgin, *GAS*, ii, 541-2. On Christianity among the Namir, see J.S. Trimingham, *Christianity among the Arabs in pre-Islamic times*, London and Beirut 1979, 176-7, and also NAŠARĀ. On the tribal groups of the Namir, particularly those living in the vicinity of Aleppo, see Ibn al-Adīm, *Bughyat al-talab*, ed. S. Zakkār, Damascus 1408/1988, i, 555-6. (M. LECKER)

NANDANA, the name of a hilly tract and a fortress of mediaeval India and Indo-Muslim times. It lies in a fold of the Salt Range, to the north of the Jhelum river in northern Pandjāb, and the place is still marked by ruins of a fortress and a Hindu temple near the modern Čao Saydān Shāh (lat. 32° 43' N., long. 73° 17' E.), in the Jhelum District of the Pandjāb province of Pakistan.

The place is mentioned in early mediaeval Indo-Muslim history. In 404-5/1013-14 Maḥmūd of Ghazna [q.v.] attacked the Hindūshāhīs [q.v.] of northwestern India and marched against the Rādjā Triločanapāla's son Bhīmapāla, besieging him in the fortress of Nandana and capturing an immense booty there (al-'Uṭbī, *al-Ta'rikh al-Yamīnī*, with comm. of al-Manīnī, ii, 146-

53 (calling the place Nardīn); Gardīzī, *Żayn al-akhbār*, ed. Nāẓim, 72; M. Nāẓim, *The life and times of Sultān Maḥmūd of Ghazna*, Cambridge 93, 91-3). Thereafter, the Ghaznawids tried to retain control of Nandana as a *thaghr* or entry point into the plains of northwestern India, as Abu 'l-Faḍl Bayhaḳī, *Tārikh-i Mas'ūdī*, ed. Ḡhanī and Fayyād, 149, describes it.

In the early 7th/13th century, the fortress of Nandana, in what was then in Islamic sources called the Djūd hills, was held by a former commander of the Ghūrids, Kamar al-Dīn Karmānī (in the surmise of Boyle, to be equated with Nāṣir al-Dīn Kūbāča, the ruler in Multān and Sind). Čingiz Khān, in his pursuit of the Kh'ārazm Shāh Djalāl al-Dīn Mingburnu, sent an army under Törbey Toḳshin which sacked Nandana in 618/1221, and then went on to attack Multān (Djūzdjānī, *Tabakāt-i Nāṣirī*, tr. Raverty, i, 534-5; Djuwaynī-Boyle, i, 141-2). Nandana was later temporarily captured by the Dihlī Sultan Ilutmish [q.v.], whose son and eventual successor Maḥmūd Shāh in 644-5/1247 ravaged the region in revenge for the local Rāna having guided a Mongol raid (Djūzdjānī, i, 677-9). It does not, however, seem thereafter to have played a significant role in history.

Bibliography: See also Djūzdjānī, i, 536-9 n.; *Punjab District gazetteers*, xxvii, Lahore 1904, 46-7; *Imperial gazetteer of India*², xviii, 349.

(C.E. BOSWORTH)

NATHR (A.), prose. The word is a noun denoting activity, derived from a verb meaning "to disperse, disseminate"; its opposite is *naẓm*, from a verb meaning "to join, set out in order", which is used to designate poetry. For Arab theorists, prose can be distinguished from poetry as the genre of literature which is not subjected to the order and constraints imposed by rhyme and metre. Such a formal definition is due to the fact that the prose they made the object of their attention was either the artistic prose of chancery documents, *rasā'il* (pl. of *risāla* [q.v.]), or the prose of the addresses or sermons, *khutab* (pl. of *khutba* [q.v.]). Whatever level of literary elaboration or rhetorical device required, they are all the same for the genres of prose and poetry, and are collectively referred to under the general term *balāgha* [q.v.].

In a striking manner, this fact is shown, *inter alia*, by the procedures known as *hall al-manẓūm* and *naẓm al-manthūr*, setting a passage of prose into verse or verse into prose, in which the *ma'nā* [q.v.], the image of an idea expressed in the smallest unit of discourse, whether verse or colon, is launched in poetry or prose respectively. This procedure has been discussed since the 4th/10th century and was presented as a subtle form of plagiarism by theorists like Abū Hilāl al-'Askarī (d. 395/1005) in his *K. al-Sinātayn*, ed. 'A.M. Bidjāwī and A. Ibrāhīm, Cairo 1957, 198. The author al-Tha'libī (d. 429/1037), one of whose works was *Nathr al-naẓm wa-hall al-'akd*, and later on Diyā' al-Dīn Ibn al-Athīr (d. 637/1239) in his *al-Mathal al-sā'ir*, ed. A. al-Hūfī and B. Ṭabāna, 4 vols., Cairo 1959, i, 126-7, considered that rendering a verse into prose in a *risāla* was a way of achieving a higher level of literary expression. However, the formal point of view, which presumes a substantial literary equivalence between poetry and prose, did not exhaust the attention of the theorists to this problem. For example, they would raise the question of the superiority of one of the genres over the other, often basing their judgement more on sociological than on literary considerations; such considerations were the function of the chancery clerk or secretary (*kātib* [q.v.], *mulassil*) and the poet, or the importance of the subjects they



were dealing with, or the attitude adopted by the two genres towards religion and morals. Some authors (e.g. Ibn Khaldūn, *Mukaddima*, fasc. 46), moreover, note that the essence of poetry does not reside in prosodic form but in the images that are expressed by this form.

The thinking of the Arab theorists developed from the 3rd/9th century onwards and was stimulated first of all by poetry. There is a detailed stylistic study of these ideas and of the scholars involved in Z. al-R. az-Zu'bi, *Das Verhältnis von Poesie und Prosa in der arabischen Literaturtheorie des Mittelalters*, Berlin 1987, and the bibliography cited there; to this should be added A. Arazi, *Une épître d'Ibrāhīm b. Hilāl al-Ṣābī sur les genres littéraires*, in *Studies in Islamic history and civilization in honour of Professor David Ayalon*, ed. M. Sharon, Jerusalem-Leiden 1986, 473-505; also in M. Darabseh, *Die Kritik der Prosa bei den Arabern*, Berlin 1990, which is less careful and less original than the first work; see also Z. al-Zu'bi, *Ibrāhīm b. Hilāl al-Ṣābī*, *Risāla fi 'l-farq bayn al-mutarassil wa 'l-shā'ir*, in *Abḥāth Yammuk*, xi (1993), 129-65; A. Sanni, *The Arabic theory of prosification and versification*, Beirut 1998; see also *SH'R*.

The origins of prose

We can find examples of prose dating from the pre-Islamic period, such as proverbs (*mathal* [q.v.]), the prophecies of soothsayers (*saḍī'* [q.v.] *al-kuhhān*) and sermons. Many formal characteristics of these documents, of which the authenticity in the literal meaning of that word can, of course, be debated, are the same as those of poetry: conciseness, allusive language and independent, paratactic clauses. These oral examples of prose can be connected with the remnants of prose of the same genre from the time of the Prophet and the very beginning of Islam. It was the arrival of Islam that saw one of the ancient literary genres, the *khutba*, the address or sermon, acquire new traits and gradually gain great popularity; for the importance of the orator in the pre-Islamic period see further *KHAṬĪB*.

While from the point of view of style these documents maintain the solidity and simplicity of pre-Islamic prose, far removed from the embellishments which these genres would later present, one is no longer faced with detached aphorisms (as in the case of the famous sermons of Kuss b. Sā'ida [q.v.] of the Iyād, al-Djāhiz, *Bayān*, i, 308-9), but with contents that need to be communicated and thus articulated in a logical manner, the contents being of a religious nature as well as pertinent to the organisation of the new community. The new conditions were not without consequences on the level to which the prose could be elaborated. Similarly, the collections of *ḥadīth* [q.v.] take the form of short disjointed statements, often in the form of direct speech, and only a small number of fragments composed in literary prose remain from this period (cf. W. Fischer, *Ein Stück vorklassischer, arabischer Kunstprosa in der Umm Ma'bad Legende*, in *Festschrift W. Eilers*, Wiesbaden 1967, 318-27; he points out the similarities in this text with poetry).

Among the examples of prose from this period, the letters as well as other documents emanating from the Prophet and the first caliphs should be included. These documents from older sources have been collected by M. Hamidullah in *Documents sur la diplomatie musulmane à l'époque du Prophète et des Khalīfes Orthodoxes*, Paris 1935; also an Arabic edition, *Madjmu'at al-wathā'ik al-siyāsiyya fi 'l-ahd al-nabawī wa 'l-khilāfa al-rāshida*, Cairo 1941.

The problem of their authenticity has been, of course, raised and the criterion most often used is that of linguistic usage (*op. cit.*, 4-5, in the French edition; B. Reichel-Baumgartner, *Parameter des Idiolekt*

des Propheten Muhammad auf Grundlage des Saḥīḥ von al-Buḥārī, in *WZKM*, lxxviii [1988], 121-59). Problems of authenticity as well as of the transmission of ancient texts are examined by G.H.A. Juynboll, *On the origin of Arabic prose: reflections on authenticity*, in *Studies on the first century of Islamic society*, Carbondale, Ill. 1982; and R.B. Serjeant, *The Caliph 'Umar's letters to Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī and Mu'āwīya*, in *JSS*, xxix [1984], 65-79.

The influence of the Kur'ān on the evolution of prose

Without any doubt, the Kur'ān is the primary example of a complex text in Arab literature that has not been composed in verse. The language that is used is one elaborated as a poetic koine, the only one capable of communicating such a message. In form, especially in the more ancient sūras, it is close to poetic style. In the Muslim tradition, however, Scripture is distinguished from poetry as it is from prose, for literary as well as religious reasons; the deliberations of Muslim scholars about the form of the sacred text have taken on the form of the dogma of *ʿiḍāz* [q.v.], the "stylistic uniqueness" of the Kur'ān.

Classical texts on poetry use the same criteria for analysis in order to show that the divide between the Kur'ān and literary discourse was uncrossable (see e.g. *Fihraz al-Kur'ān* of al-Bakillānī, d. 403/1013 [q.v.]; G.E. von Grunebaum, *A tenth-century document of Arabic literary theory and criticism*, Chicago 1950). On the other hand there are some treatises drawn up to show that the decorative style of poetry could be found also in the Kur'ān (Ibn Abi 'l-Iṣḥāq, d. 654/1256, *Baḍī' al-Kur'ān*, ed. H. Sharaf, Cairo 1957). In short, the Kur'ān plays an integral part in Arabic literary discourse, but it reaches a certain level of style which removes it far away from any other type of this discourse. In modern times, one typical example of this attitude is that of Tāhā Ḥusayn, who does not look at the Kur'ān when dealing with poetry and prose, for "it is neither poetry nor prose" (*Min ḥadīth al-shi'r wa 'l-nathr*, Cairo 1936, 25).

It can therefore be concluded that, although the influence of the Kur'ān on the evolution of Arabic prose is immense from the point of view of religious content, the political and cultural effect its message has brought with it, and the status that has been imparted to the language in which it was transmitted, its influence on style is much more subtle to define. Treatises such as *Husn al-tawassul ilā sinā'at al-tarassul* of Shihāb al-Dīn al-Ḥalabī (d. 725/1325), ed. A. Yūsuf, Baghdād 1980, insist that the strongest way for an argument to be confirmed is that citations from the Kur'ān must be inserted into a letter or into an official document, on condition that neither form nor basis is modified (72-3). Perhaps the earliest evidence for this exhortation to the *kātib*, secretary, to get to know and use quotations from the Kur'ān as part of his professional training dates from the *Risālat al-Adhrā'* of Ibrāhīm al-Shaybānī (d. 298/910, ed. Z. Mubārak, Cairo 1931, under the name of Ibn al-Mudabbirī, 7; see Sanni, *op. cit.*, 6).

There is a more liberal attitude towards the text of the Kur'ān when it is approached from the viewpoint of *mu'ārada* [q.v.], "the fact of wishing to equal it". From the point of view of literary sentiment, and disregarding religious aspects, one could say that *mu'ārada* is to the Kur'ān what *sariḥa* is to poetry: there exists a threshold of literary propriety beyond which one should not tread without incurring blame, to be respected even more in the case of the Kur'ān. As stated by W. Marçais, "from very early on it appeared futile and even sacrilegious to want



to imitate it" (see *Les origines de la prose littéraire arabe*, in *Rev. Afr.*, lxxviii [1927], 15-28).

But at the outset, literary prose shows evidence of a different attitude. Systematic studies conducted by W. al-Kāḍī show that two prose writers adopted a more liberal attitude to the sacred text (*Bishr b. Abī Kubār al-Balaṭī, namūdḥaḍḡ al-nathr al-fannī al-mubakkir fi l-Yaman*, Beirut 1985 [a *kātib* from Yemen who was alive up to the end of the 2nd/8th century, and whom the author considered an intermediary between 'Abd al-Ḥamīd and al-Djāhīz in the history of Arabic prose]; eadem, *The impact of the Qur'ān on the epistolography of 'Abd al-Ḥamīd*, in G.R. Hawting and A.A. Shareef [eds.], *Approaches to the Qur'an*, London and New York 1993, 285-313). Passages from the Qur'an could be paraphrased to adapt them to the new syntax, and paraphrases and citations could even be combined; a quotation could be extended with phrases composed in the same rhythm.

On the other hand theorists recommended to the prose writers the *iktibās* of the Qur'an, inserting a passage which is not an explicit quotation (for this see for example the presentation of Ibn al-Aḥfār, *al-Mathal al-sā'ir*, i, 44). It is widely used as a literary device by *kuttāb* and orators; al-Tha'ālibī devotes a work to this, *al-Iktibās min al-Qur'ān al-karīm*, ed. I.M. al-Ṣaffār, Baghdād 1975, see Sanni, *op. cit.*, 5-7; the work has recently been described by Cl. Gilliot in *Arabica*, xlvii (2000), 488-500. Of course, in contrast to poetry, the insertion of a fragment from the Qur'an could be identified immediately (*Husn al-tawassul*, 323) and within these limits did not appear to be taken as a tentative *mu'arada*. Other studies, such as those undertaken by W. al-Kāḍī, are very much a desideratum; cf. recently K. Zakharia, *Les références coraniques dans les Maqāmāt d'al-Hariri*, in *Arabica*, xxxiv [1987], 275-86; U. Marzolph, *The Quran and jocular literature*, in *Arabica*, xlvii [2000], 478-87.

Classical prose

The turbulent times of the Umayyad period found expression in the art of oratory. As it developed in this period, it represents the transition from oral to written Arabic prose. Al-Djāhīz (*K. al-Bayān wa l-tabyīn*) classified *khutba* alongside poetry and noted the use of *saḍf* as characteristic. A recent study has investigated the harangues that are to be found in this work and has uncovered a technique not only in the especially careful structure but also in the presence of recurring phraseology which the author is able to assemble at will; see M.-H. Avril, *Rhétorique et ḥuṭba dans le Kitāb al-bayān wa-l-tabyīn de Ḡāhīz*, thesis, Université de Lumière-Lyon II 1994, 369; also I. Ḥawī, *Fann al-khiṭāba wa-taṭawwunuh 'ind al-'arab*, Beirut n.d.

However, Arabic prose of the classical period acquires its character from the written genre of the *risāla* as found in the Umayyad *kātib* 'Abd al-Ḥamīd (d. 123/750 [q.v.]) and his contemporary Ibn al-Muḳaffā' (d. 139/756 [q.v.]) (see J.D. Latham, *Ibn al-Muḳaffā' and early 'Abbasid prose*, in *Camb. hist. of Ar. lit.*, *'Abbasid belles-lettres*, Cambridge 1990, 48-77); it is versatile with an ease of expression, rich in rhythmic balance in the phrases used and in the parallelism. The latter characteristic in particular was not typical of ancient Arabic prose; instead it preferred a more concise style, like poetry (M. Kurd 'Alī, *Umarā' al-bayān*, Cairo 1937, 18-19, 21; A. al-Maḳḍisī, *Taṭawwun al-asātib al-nathriyya fi l-'adab al-'arabī*, Beirut 1960, 151; I. 'Abbās, *'Abd al-Ḥamīd b. Yahyā al-kātib wa-mā tabakkā min rasā'ilih wa-rasā'il Ṣalīm Abī l-'Alā'*, 'Ammān 1988, 145, who quotes the opinions of ancient writers on the style of 'Abd al-Ḥamīd).

There is some discussion about whether these characteristics came into Arabic prose under the influence of Persian or Greek, because the master of 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, Ṣalīm Abī l-'Alā', *kātib* of the Umayyad caliph Hishām, composed his epistles, probably intended for the same caliph, from a Greek original (Latham, *The beginnings of Arabic prose literature*, in *CHAL. Arabic literature to the end of the Umayyad period*, Cambridge 1983, 154-64; 'Abbās, *op. cit.*, 141).

What one can say is that this prose was born in the atmosphere and under the influence of the chanceries, which were permeated with a Sāsānid ambience, particularly from the 'Abbāsīd period onwards. As they combined together, the influence of the intellectual customs of these environments and the activity of philologists concerned with the Arabic language produced this marvellous tool. Without contravening the rules or the spirit of the Arabic language, it was used to express ethical thoughts, dialectic procedures, and philosophical and scientific ideas, none of which had been familiar in the circumstances in which this language first appeared. There are two particular areas in which the influence of non-Arab but Islamicised intellectual circles can be traced in particular: the dialectic and rhetorical procedures of the Mu'tazila [q.v.], and the moral and intellectual values upheld by the secretarial class. Ibn Ḳutayba (d. 276/889 [q.v.]) deplored the fact that the *kuttāb* of his time allowed themselves to be dazzled by a pompous-looking empty science, which took them away from the solid items of knowledge they required in their position and from the knowledge of the traditional sciences: "Right there we have the whole history of *kalām* and Mu'tazilism" (G. Lecomte, *L'introduction du Kitāb adab al-kātib d'Ibn Qutayba*, in *Mélanges L. Maassigmon*, Damascus 1956-7, iii, 55).

It was in this period and in this atmosphere that such major questions stopped being treated in verse (H.A.R. Gibb, *The social significance of the shu'ūbiya*, in *Studia orientalia Ioanni Pedersen, dicata*, Copenhagen 1953, 105-14). It was because of the role played by the *kuttāb*, the literary training demanded by their function and the intellectual climate created under their influence, that works appeared which claimed a position of superiority for prose above that of poetry, as we have seen earlier (e.g. Z. al-Zu'bi; Ibrāhīm b. Hilāl al-Ṣābī, *Risāla fi l-Fark bayn al-mutarassil wa l-sha'ir*, 143-4; or the introduction to the work already mentioned of al-Tha'ālibī, *Nathr al-naẓm*).

At the beginning of the 'Abbāsīd period, a high peak in style was reached here by al-Djāhīz [q.v.], who had an inestimable influence on later Arabic prose and who contributed to the enunciation of a technical terminology for the *balāgha*. Al-Djāhīz was a Mu'tazilī, and his belief can be seen in the dialectical skill of which he seeks to give proof in a number of his treatises, where he expounds arguments to praise and to condemn the same thing or the same idea (I. Gerles, *Un genre littéraire arabe: al-Mahāsīn wa-l-Masāwī*, Paris 1977). But Al-Djāhīz was not the first, for there is preserved a fragment from Sahl b. Ḥarūn (d. 215/830 [q.v.]) in which he argues for glass to be given pre-eminence over gold (Ibn Nubāta, *Ṣarḥ al-'uyun, sharḥ risālat Ibn Zaydūn*, Cairo 1957, 139).

Besides this, 'Abd al-Ḥamīd, in his epistle addressed to the *kuttāb*, lists among the qualities necessary for the accomplishment of their duties a knowledge of ancient poetry, including its vocabulary and its themes; he himself proved his ability in a *risāla* describing a hunting expedition which has echoes of pre-Islamic verse on the same theme; more details on 'Abd al-



Hamīd are to be found in e.g. H. Schöniß, *Das Sendschreiben des 'Abd al-Hamīd b. Yahyā (gest. 132/750) an den Kronprinzen 'Abdallāh b. Marwān II*, Stuttgart 1985; and al-Kādī, *Early Islamic state letters: the question of authenticity*, in A. Cameron and L.I. Conrad (eds.), *The Byzantine and early Islamic Near East*, i, Princeton 1992, 215-75, which examines the transmission of these epistles.

The later development of prose

The way style evolved is the most obvious feature in the history of this prose, especially from the formal point of view in the use of richer and more laboured ornamentation (*badī'* [q.v.]) and *sadī'*. Such a style figures primarily but not exclusively in documents emanating from the *kuttāb*, and it has been studied because, as has been seen, what interested the theorists was the *kitāba* (the prose of the literary secretaries [q.v.]). The fragments we have of Sahl b. Hārūn already display a style involving rhythmic scansion in short phrases; here the thought is developed in two or more colons, which has the double effect of the extension of the main idea and the musical quality of the form.

At the end of the 2nd/8th century, the chancery documents coming from the Barmakids [see AL-BARĀMIKA] are composed as *sadī'* (*Bayān*, 3,215). The same is true for 'Amr b. Ma'sāda, in the period of al-Ma'mūn, who belonged to an originally Turkish family known by the eponym Sūl; another member of this family was Ibrāhīm b. al-'Abbās al-Šūlī, the *kātib* of al-Mutawakkil (see AL-ŠULĪ, ABŪ BAKR; ŠH. Dayf, *al-Fann wa-madhahibuh fi 'l-nathr al-'arabī*, Cairo 1960, 197-9; M. Kurd 'Alī, *Umarā'*, 191-217).

After the time of al-Muqtadir (d. 320/932) there was a general use of *sadī'*, as can be seen from the documents from this period transmitted by Hilāl b. al-Muḥassin al-Šābī (d. 448/1055), *Tuḥfat al-umarā' fi ta'rīkh al-wuzarā'*, Cairo 1958. There is a balance of rhythmic phrases and rhymes which is developed by accumulation and synonyms; it is permeated with stylistic figures (in particular, paranomasia and antithesis) which contribute to the overall sonority of the phrases. This rich and subtle use of words, polishing every detail before they become complicated and turgid, was much appreciated, not only because they were a proof of the dexterity and hence the value of the *kātib*, but also because they reduced once again the distance between poetry and prose. The *rasā'il* of the three famous *kuttāb* of the Būyids, Ibn al-'Amīd (d. 360/970 [q.v.]), al-Šāhib Ibn 'Abbād (d. 385/995 [q.v.]) and Abū Ishāq al-Šābī (d. 384/994 [see ŠĀBĪ]) all share this style, in which a rhythmic symmetry of phraseology is accompanied by figurative language, which is compared to embroidery and drawing by Dayf (*op. cit.*, 209-10); he defines it as poetry in the form of prose (216) with the same qualities of lightness and elegance.

Incidentally, part of the *ikhwānīyya* letters exchanged between Abū Ishāq al-Šābī and al-Šarīf al-Raḍī (ed. M.Y. Naḍīm, Kuwait 1961) was composed in verse. But al-Tawḥīdī (*al-Imtā' wa 'l-mu'ānasa*, i, 64) considered the prose of Ibn 'Abbād somewhat stiff in his choice of words (perhaps because of his preference for words with velar consonants) and complicated by the inclusion of numerous parenthetical phrases, attentive to form even to the detriment of the meaning. There is another bitter critique from a literary point of view of the *kuttāb* which is found in the work of an unknown author from the 4th/10th century (see J. Sadan, *La littérature vue par un administrateur frustré*, in *SI*, lxxi [1990], 29-36).

The principal sources for literary prose up to this

period are: al-Djāhīz, *al-Bayān wa 'l-tabyīn*; al-Tha'ālibī, *Yatimat al-dahr*; Yāqūt, *Mu'djam al-udabā'*; the collections of the epistles and of the other works of al-Šāhib Ibn 'Abbād and of Abū Ishāq al-Šābī have been published; apparently for those of Ibn al-'Amīd, despite his fame, all we have is what has been mentioned in works cited here and in other encyclopaedias of *adab*. More modern collections include A.Z. Safwat, *Djamharat khutab al-'arab fi 'usūr al-'arabiyya al-tāhira*, i-iii, Cairo 1933, and *Djamharat rasā'il al-'arab*, i-iv, Cairo 1937; Kurd 'Alī, *Rasā'il al-bulaghā'*, Cairo 1946. A state-of-the-art report on the general themes and the principal authors can be found in the recently-published CHAL. *'Abbasid belles-lettres*.

Literary prose from a non-scribal environment has retained something of this style: a diffuse tendency towards parallelism, the construction of a phrase through which variations of the same idea are expressed by using a structure of parallel segments; these can repeat the idea by using synonyms or by expressing its antithesis or by making it more complete and more precise (A.F.L. Beeston, *The role of parallelism in Arabic prose*, in CHAL. *Literature to the end of the Umayyad period*, 180-5).

In each segment the syntactic structure is the same, as also to a certain degree is the morphological structure, by the selection of the patterns of nouns and verbs. This confers on the phrase its typical rhythm, without any insistence on assonance or rhyme. Beeston (*op. cit.*, 185) underlines the difference between this elaborated style and the simplicity of the primitive *sadī'*. Al-Djāhīz makes very moderate use of the style; his arguments are developed in a full and diffuse manner; sometimes he uses the same syntactic device but without seeking any symmetry. In those parts of his work which are not a collection of *akḥbār*, Ibn Kutayba likes to make use of the style here described, in the well-constructed introduction to *Adab al-kātib*, for example; some elegant examples of this style are to be found in Abū Ḥayyān al-Tawḥīdī (d. 414/1023 [q.v.]), or Ibn Ḥazm (d. 456/1064 [q.v.]) from al-Andalus.

Frequently, different registers of style can be found in the same author; e.g. Ibn al-Muḥaffā' uses a simple and uncontrived style in *Kaḥila wa-Dimna* [q.v.], in contradistinction to the laboured style which he adopts for his original work and which was to influence later prose. Miskawayh (d. 421/1030 [q.v.]) has a sober, concise style of prose in his *Tadjarib al-umam*, but more expansive in *al-Hawamīl wa 'l-shawāmīl*.

Prose which does not keep to the rules of *sadī'* is called *al-nathr al-mursal*, and it is in this style that the majority of works in classical prose have been written; in them the use of *sadī'* and the other stylistic conventions, if they exist at all, is often restricted to the author's opening prologue. Such is the case in e.g. Abū 'l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī (d. 363/972-3 [q.v.]), *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, where the introduction explains the purpose of the book without any literary embellishment; or Abū Dja'far al-Tabarī (d. 310/923 [q.v.]), *Ta'rīkh al-Rusul wa 'l-mulūk*, who commences his book with a praise to God in *sadī'*.

Prose that relates a series of events, which is strictly concerned with facts, whether they be historical or scientific, and that uses in general short, juxtaposed phrases must be distinguished from prose whose purpose is argument or exhortation. This latter type of prose, whether or not it uses parallelism, displays a syntax consisting of complex phrases and a number of parentheses. A remarkable example of such prose is the style of the famous writer of verse 'Abd al-Kāhīr al-Djurdjānī (d. 471/1078 [q.v. in Suppl.]).



Evidently there was a technical vocabulary for each science (see e.g. L. Massignon, *Essai sur l'origine du lexique technique de la mystique musulmane*, Paris 1959; C.E. Bosworth, *Abū 'Abdallāh al-Khwarazmī on the technical terms of the secretary's art*, in *JESHO*, xiii [1969], 113-64; A.M. Goichon, *Lexique de la langue philosophique d'Ibn Sīnā*, Paris 1938). There also existed stylistic conventions of form, like the fictitious dialogue, through which argument in theological texts was conducted; the earliest examples of this technique seem to date from the a period before the Mu'tazila, and have been investigated by J. van Ess, *Disputationspraxis in der islamischen Theologie*, in *REI*, xlv [1977]; idem, *Early development of kalām*, in *Studies on the first century*, 109-23; idem, *The logical structure of Islamic theology*, in von Grunebaum (ed.), *Logic in classical Islamic culture*, Wiesbaden 1970, 21-50. In this last study, the author makes a close investigation of the method and the terminology in the theological argumentation based on Aristotelian logic, and he shows how al-Ghazālī, once he had adopted this method as the only one capable of demonstrating religious truth, in order to get it accepted preserved the terminology of *uṣūl al-fikḥ* [q.v.]. This manner of argumentation goes beyond the field of theology and was followed, for example, in the grammar of 'Alī b. 'Isā al-Rummānī (d. 384/994 [q.v.]) in his commentary on the *Kitāb* of Sibawayh (M. al-Mubārak, *al-Rummānī al-naḥwī fī daw' sharḥih li-Kitāb Sibawayh*, Damascus 1963). For the characteristics of the prose of the Sūfī, which often appears in the form of exhortation and advice addressed to a disciple, see the remarks of al-Kāḍī in her introduction to *al-Iṣḥārāt al-ilāhiyya* of al-Tawḥīdī, Beirut 1973.

There is a classification of *Schrifttum* in Arabic to be found in M. Shak'a, *Manāhid al-ta'tīf 'ind al-ulamā' al-'arab*, Beirut 1973; see also now the organisation in *CHAL. Religion, learning and science in the 'Abbasid period*, Cambridge 1990.

The development of decorative style

This technical refinement of style which was shown by the *kuttāb* of the 4th/10th century evolved during the course of the following century into a quest for effects, turning it into more and more complicated prose. Not only could the rhyme of the *saḍī'* comprise two or more consonants, but the style decorates itself with archaic lexemes from ancient poetry, with historical allusions, with word-plays based on double meanings of technical grammatical, metrical and philosophical terms. This style goes beyond the administrative sphere and extends its influence also to literary works, such as first of all the *makāma* [q.v.] or the *Risāla Hazliyya* of Ibn Zaydūn (d. 463/1070 [q.v.]); also to historical works, such as 'Abd al-Djabbār al-'Uṭbī (d. ca. 427/1036 [q.v.]), *al-Kitāb al-Tamīnī*, see C.E. Bosworth, *Early sources for the history of the first four Ghaznavid sultans (977-1041)*, in *IQ*, vii [1963], 3-22, or 'Imād al-Dīn al-Iṣfahānī (d. 597/1201), *kātib* of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn (for the differences in style of these historians see F. Gabrieli, *Storici arabi delle crociate*, Turin 1969; D.S. Margoliouth, *Lectures on Arabic historians*, Calcutta 1930). By contrast, al-Bīrūnī (d. 440/1048 [q.v.]) used *saḍī'* when he wrote the introduction to his *al-Āthār al-bākiyya*, ed. C. Sachau, Leipzig 1878, dedicated to Kābūs b. Wushmagīr (d. 403/1013 [q.v.]), the *amīr* of the Ziyārid dynasty, famous for his immoderate use of stylistic techniques. His *rasā'il* have been collected by 'A. al-Yazdādī, *Kamāl al-balāgha*, Cairo 1341/1922-3 (see Ḍayf, *op. cit.*, 255-9), but al-Bīrūnī's style is sober and tight in the introduction to the book *Fī taḥkīk mā li 'l-Hind min maḳūla*, ed. Sachau,

London 1887, and elegant in the description of the customs of the Indians.

The most remarkable representative of this ornate style is Abu 'l-'Alā' al-Ma'arrī (d. 443/1058 [q.v.]), whose prose was made deliberately obscure by the use of words that are not only rare but even obsolete, and by a profusion of erudite allusions to the world of ancient Arabia, including proverbs and the names of stars, wells and idols. Al-Ma'arrī has even provided a commentary to accompany his prose; 'A. 'Abd al-Raḥmān (Bint al-Shāfi'), *al-Ghufrān li-Abi 'l-'Alā' al-Ma'arrī*, Cairo 1962, picks out examples of divergence from normal syntax into which the complications of his *saḍī'* have led al-Ma'arrī; she lists those ancient critics who recognised a heaviness in that style, despite the prestige it enjoyed, and she analyses the use of different registers in the work.

For the history of prose works after the 6th/12th century, see *CHAL. 'Abbasid belles-lettres*, in which the prose from the different areas (Yemen, Egypt) is discussed; see also *ibid.*, *Religion, learning and science*; and see further *INSĪĀ'*; *MADRASA*; *NAḤḌA*; *TA'RĪKĪ*; *ULAMĀ'*.

Prose genres

As well as the *risāla*, there were other literary genres recognised by the ancient theorists, especially the *makāma*, the *khuṭba*, the *hikāya* [q.v.] and the *ḳiṣṣa* [q.v.]. In addition there were also "genres" that were less well recognised by those theorists but that form a part of *adab* and to which modern research devotes particular attention. They are designated by names such as *nawādir*, *mulah*, *akḥbār*, and *ḥikam* (see Sadan, *Death of a princess: episodes of the Barmakid legend in its late evolution*, in S. Leder (ed.), *Story-telling in the framework of non-fictional Arabic literature*, Wiesbaden 1998, 131, and *HIKĀYA*).

The *khbar* in particular, whether it derives from a work of history or of *adab*, presents itself as the report, seen from the outside, of a real event. A very valuable set of studies being undertaken now has produced an analysis of these stories from the standpoint of narrative structure. The results that have so far appeared tend on the one hand to bridge the gap between the "lack of fiction", which one can see in classical Arabic literature, and modern literary fiction, and on the other hand to examine the forms of awareness that the "reporter" of a *khbar* could have in composing in reality a work of literature. Further studies include those to be found in Leder, *op. cit.*; see Sh. Ayyād, *Fann al-khbar fī turāthihā al-ḳiṣaṣī*, in *Fuṣūl*, ii (1982), 11-18; Leder, *Features of the novel in early historiography*, in *Oriens*, xxxii (1990), 72-96; idem, *The literary use of the Khabar: a basic form of historical writing*, in Cameron and Conrad (eds.), *op. cit.*, 277-315; H. Kilpatrick, *Context and the enhancement of the meaning of aḥbār in the Kitāb al-aḡānī*, in *Arabica*, xxxviii (1991), 351-68; eadem, *Aḥbār manzūma. The romance of Qays and Lubnā in the Aḡānī*, in *Festschrift E. Wagner*, 2 vols. Beirut 1994, 350-61.

Studies on the evolution of prose from the point of view of language are rare, but one may refer to some studies about an author's use of language, such as Schönig, *op. cit.*; or F. al-Djāmi'ī al-Habbābī, *Lughat Abi 'l-'Alā' al-Ma'arrī fī Risālat al-ghufrān*, Cairo n.d.; or the works on syntax based on texts, such as Y. Peled, *Conditional structures in Classical Arabic*, Wiesbaden 1992; also the contributions in the *Beiträge zur Lexicographie des klassischen Arabisch*, in *Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, phil. hist. Klasse* (1979-).

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‘A. Balba’, *al-Nathr al-fannī wa-athar al-Djāhiz fih*, Cairo 1954; Ch. Pellat, *La prose arabe à Bagdad*, in *Arabica*, ix (1962), 407-18; M. Cook, *Early Muslim dogma: a source-critical study*, Cambridge 1981, who presents and examines texts relative to the doctrinal controversies at the end of the 1st century; H. Kilpatrick, *Selection and presentation as distinctive characteristics of medieval Arabic courtly prose literature*, in K. Busby and E. Kooper (eds.), *Courtly literature, culture and context*, Amsterdam and Philadelphia 1990; A. Gully, *Epistles for grammarians: illustration from the inshā’ literature*, in *BRISMES*, xxiii (1996), 147-66; R. Allen, *The Arabic literary heritage: the development of its genres and criticism*, Cambridge 1998; S. Leder, art. *Prose, non-fiction, medieval*, in *Encyclopedia of Arabic literature*, London and New York 1998, ii, 615-18; Leder and Kilpatrick, *Classical Arabic prose literature: a researcher’s sketch map*, in *JAL*, xxiii (1999), 2-26; A. Ben Abdesslem, *La vie littéraire dans l’Espagne musulmane sous les Mulūk al-tawā’if (V/XI^e siècle)*, Damascus 2001. (LIDIA BETTINI)

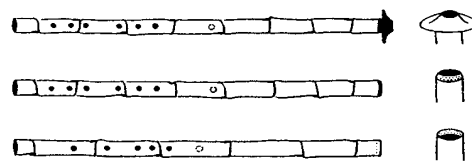
NĀY (P., in Tkish., *ney*), a rim-blown flute made of reed (*arundo donax* L.). The name, meaning basically “reed”, is known from Pahlavi, in which it was a loanword from Aramaic *qn*’ (cf. Assyrian *qanū*, *qanū’u*, Heb. *qnh*). However in early Arabic sources, such as the *Kitāb al-Aghānī*, the term *nāy* most probably denoted not a flute but a double-reed woodwind instrument of the *mizmār* [q.v.] family. The *mizmār*, because of its colour, was also called *nāy siyāh* “black *nāy*” in contrast to the *nāy safid* “white *nāy*”, i.e. the flute.

The rim-blown flute has been known since the 3rd millennium B.C. in Ancient Egypt as well as in Mesopotamia. For Ancient Egypt, written and iconographic testimonies of flute players are frequent. While the Sumerian flutes found at Ur are metal fragments, the Egyptian ones are of reed. The ancient Egyptian flutes that are preserved in the Egyptian Museum of Cairo were played and recorded by Maḥmūd ‘Ifāt in 1991. Some of them produced a pentatonic scale, others a heptatonic one.

After its peak in Antiquity, the rim-blown flute survived as a folk instrument until Ṣūfī movements in Islam gave it a new and prominent place in religious music (see below). The folk flutes do not conform to the norms of the classical instrument. They may be made of wood, reed or metal and have many local names, as e.g. the Palestinian and Syrian *shabbāba*, the ‘Irāqī *blūr*, the Turkish *kaval*, the Egyptian *kavala* and *salāmīyya*, the Algerian *gaṣba* or the Ethiopian *washint*.

The *nāy/ney* is cut out of one naturally grown piece of reed of 15 to 25 mm diameter. Each end lies between two nodes; the whole instrument has 8 nodes and 9 internodes (persian *nāy*: 6 nodes/7 internodes). The *nāy* is held obliquely. It is blown upon the rim, which is the edge of the uppermost internode (*khazna*). Persian players place the rim between their teeth (“*īṣfahān* technique”); the rim of Persian instruments is often set in a metal ring. The Turkish *ney*, from Ottoman times onwards, has a mouthpiece (*baṣpare*) made of wood, ivory, gold or—in modern times—synthetic materials. The *nāy/ney* has 6 (Persian *nāy*: 5) fingerholes and one thumbhole.

The *nāy/ney* fits particularly well with oriental modes (*maḳāmāt* [see MAḲĀM]), because its basic fingering includes the typical three-quarter-tone intervals. A set (*taḳm*) of 7 to 12 instruments of different length allows to transpose the *maḳāmāt* to nearly every note. Arabic *nāys* are named after their fundamental note, given by opening the last hole. A standard Arabic (Egyptian)



Turkish *ney*, Arabic and Persian *nāy* (from above)

taḳm consists of: *nāy Rāst* (C, length approximately 680 mm; the exact length depends on the width of the reed), *nāy Dūkāh* (D, 600 mm), *nāy Būsālīk* (E, 540 mm), *nāy Čehārkāh* (F, 510 mm), *nāy Nāvā* (G, 445 mm), *nāy Husaynī* (A, 405 mm) and *nāy ‘Adjām* (B[♭], 375 mm). Higher, lower or “half-tone” *nāys* as e.g. *Dūkāh nisf* (D[♭], 665 mm), are seldom in use. Turkish *neys* are longer and lower; the third step gives a higher *sikāh* (three-quarter-tone) than the Arabic *nāy*. The Turkish set (*taḳim*) consists of: *Bolahenk ney* (length approximately 1040 mm); *Davud ney* (910 mm); *Şah ney* (858 mm); *Mansur ney* (806 mm), *Kız ney* (702 mm), *Müstahzen* (598 mm) and *Süprüde* (572 mm). For high levels, there are “half” (*nısfıye*) instruments, e.g. *Kız nısfıye* (350 mm). The Persian *nāys* vary from 400 to 800 mm in length.

Impressed by the modern European flute, several attempts have been made to technically improve and modernise the *nāy*. Until now, none of these attempts has been widely accepted. The simplicity of its construction and the naturalness of its sound are still essential for the instrument, which demands high skill of its players and plays an important role even in modern music.

The *nāy* has been the favoured wind instrument of art and court music from around the 8th/14th century onwards. As a court music instrument, the *nāy* is frequently represented in Persian miniature paintings. It is played solo or in mixed ensembles, but normally not with other *nāys*. Turkish ensembles, however, sometimes have many *neys* playing together. The dances of the Mevlevi dervishes, for example, are accompanied by drums and *neys* only. When playing with a singer, the *nāy* is especially used for short melodic formulas (*lāzima*, pl. *lawāzim*) and improvisations (*taḳsim*, pl. *taḳāsım*).

The sound of the *nāy* is regarded as particularly similar to the human voice. According to a legend in the *Maḡhar al-‘adji’ib*, ascribed to Farīd al-Dīn ‘Aṭṭār (ca. 513-618/1119-1221 [q.v.]), the *nāy* voices the Prophet’s secret revelations which no other human being has ever heard. Before this, ‘Alī had told the secrets to a well at the edge of which reeds grew.

In Ṣūfī music, the *nāy* is the most prominent melodic instrument of all. The Ṣūfīs hear the sound of the *nāy* as the crying of the reed after it is cut. It is like the crying of the soul because of its separation from God. The famous *Mathnawī* of Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī (604-72/1207-73 [q.v.]) opens with a dramatic articulation of this symbolic meaning of the *nāy*.

Bibliography: H.G. Farmer, *EP*² art. *Mizmār*; S.Q. Hassan and J. During, in *The New Grove dictionary of musical instruments*, London 1984, art. *Nāy*; M. ‘Ifāt et alii, *Taḳrīr ‘an al-dirāsa allatī kāma bihā farīk mashrū’ dirāsat ālāt al-nāy al-fī’awānīyya bi ‘l-maḡhaf al-mīṣrī li ‘l-ta’arūf ‘alā ‘l-sullam al-mūsīqī ‘l-fī’awānī*, Cairo (unpub. ms. July 1991); D. Franke and E. Neubauer, *Museum des Institutes für Geschichte der Arabisch-Islamischen Wissenschaften: Beschreibung der*



Exponate. I. Musikinstrumente, Frankfurt am Main 2000, 166-87; 'A. Maṣḥ'al, *Dirāsāt al-nāy/The method of El Nay*, Cairo 1967; R.'A. Sulaymān, *al-Nāy al-'arabī al-ḥadīth/The modern Arabic flute*, Cairo 1997 (unpubl. ms.); A. van Oostrum, *The music of the Egyptian nāy* (in press); J. During, *La musique iranienne: tradition et évolution*, Paris 1984, 67-73; S. Erguner, *Ney metodu*, Istanbul 1986; H. Ritter, in *ZDMG*, xcii (1938), 37. (CLAUDIA OTT)

NAZM.

1. In metrical speech. Literally meaning "stringing (pearls, beads, etc.)", in early 'Abbāsīd times *nazm* acquired the meaning of "versifying", "versification", and became almost synonymous with "poetry", *shī'r* [q.v.], especially when contrasted with prose, *nathr*, literally "scattering". The comparison of a poem to a necklace, or verses to pearls, is apt in view of the relative independence of the individual verses, held together on the string of the uniform metre and rhyme. The image has pre-'Abbāsīd origins, and although the noun *nazm* was not used in the sense of "verse" until later (and Kudāma b. Dja'far [q.v.] still does not do so in his poetics), at least the related verb had already been used, when the 1st/7th century poet al-Nadījāshī said *Sa-anzimu min ḥurri 'l-kalāmi kaṣīdatan* "I shall string/compose an ode of noble speech" (al-Hātimī, *Hilyat al-muḥāḍara*, Baghdād 1979, i, 426). Yet Abū Nuwās [q.v.] could still speak, in an ode addressed to al-Amin, of "my scattering (*nathr*) pearls on you" (*Dīwān*, ed. Wagner, i, 241). The many discussions on the relative merits of prose and poetry regularly employ the terms *nazm* and *nathr* (on this debate, see e.g. Ziyad al-Zu'bi, *Das Verhältnis von Poesie und Prosa in der arabischen Literaturtheorie des Mittelalters*, Berlin 1987). Not rarely, however, a distinction is made between *shī'r* as "true" poetry and *nazm* as merely versifying, i.e. either prosodically correct but unintentionally bad poetry, or didactic verse (see e.g. Ishaq b. Ibrāhīm b. Wahb, *al-Burhān*, Cairo 1969, 130; Ibn Khaldūn, *The Muqaddimah*, tr. F. Rosenthal, Princeton 1967, iii, 381-2).

(G.J.H. VAN GELDER)

2. In Qur'anic studies. Here, the "arrangement of pearls on a string" is used metaphorically to indicate "ordering of words-cum-meanings", i.e. "composition" (note that *ta'rif* is sometimes used synonymously with *nazm*), or, more freely, the "style" of the Qur'an. In this sense it is closely connected with the discussions of the dogma of *ʿiḍāz al-Kurʿān* [q.v.]; more particularly, it is evidently the backbone of the conception of *ʿiḍāz* as "stylistic inimitability" of the Qur'an.

The first known work devoted to this notion is the *K. fi 'l-iḥtiḍāḍ li-nazm al-Kurʿān wa-salāmihī min al-zayāda wa 'l-nuḡṣān* of al-Dījāhīz (d. 255/868-9 [q.v.]), which is unfortunately lost (Ch. Pellat's reference in *Nouvel essai d'inventaire de l'œuvre Gāhizienne*, in *Arabica*, xxxi [1984], 117ff., no. 191, to a ms. copy of this work preserved in the Escorial library is erroneous, see J. van Ess, *Theologie*, vi, 314). The work is usually cited with the brief title *Nazm al-Kurʿān*. Al-Khayyāt describes it as follows: "No book is known concerning the argument for the well-orderedness (*nazm*) and the wondrous composition of the Qur'an, and that it is proof for the prophethood of Muḥammad—God bless him—, except the book of al-Dījāhīz" (*al-Intisār*, ed. A.N. Nader [Beirut 1957], 111). This description contains all the elements of the *ʿiḍāz* concept, as generally adopted later. Al-Dījāhīz radically breaks with the *ṣarfā* notion of his teacher al-Nazzām [q.v.], who did not believe that the composition of the Qur'an

was stylistically unattainable and who thought that Muḥammad's pagan contemporaries, challenged to produce something like a sūra, were "turned away" by God from carrying out this task.

Claude Audebert has compiled a list of works on *nazm* up to the time of al-Khaṭṭābī, eight in all (*al-Ḥaṭṭābī*, 58-61). The most explicit title—and mostly we have but titles—is the one given to the Mu'tazilī al-Wāsiṭī's (d. 306/918 or 307/919) book: *K. ʿiḍāz al-Kurʿān fi nazmihī wa-ta'rifihī* (*ibid.*, 59). It states the connection between *ʿiḍāz* and *nazm* and the near-synonymity of *nazm* and *ta'rif*. It is remarkable that the authors of these works are partly *mutakallimūn* and partly traditionists.

Al-Khaṭṭābī (d. 386/996 or 388/998 [q.v.]), in his treatise *Bayān ʿiḍāz al-Kurʿān*, postulates a triad of elements that make up "speech" (*kalām*), namely, *lafẓun ḥāmīlun wa-maʿnan bihī kāʾimun wa-ribāʿun lahumā nāẓim* "words as carriers, meaning subsisting in them, and a connection that orders both of them" (ed. M. Khalaf Allāh and M.Z. Salām, 24 l. 11; tr. Audebert, *al-Ḥaṭṭābī*, 120, cf. also 87). The third element is usually called *nazm*; al-Khaṭṭābī not infrequently also uses the plural *nuzūm* to refer to the syntactic-stylistic "structures" or "molds" (this plural is not in the dictionaries). In all three elements the Qur'an is the superior text, as the continuation of the quoted passage says. The workings of *nazm* are several times metaphorically characterised (the various "types of ordering" [*nusūm al-nazm*] are a "bride on the words and a rein on the meanings" [*liḍām al-alfāz wa-zimām al-maʿanī*]; cf. ed., 33; tr. 128), but not defined and explicitly discussed. A large part of al-Khaṭṭābī's *Bayān* is devoted to linguistic-stylistic criticisms (i.e. criticisms of the *nazm*) of Qur'anic passages by others, followed by the author's refutation (*al-Ḥaṭṭābī*, 97-102).

Al-Bakillānī (d. 403/1013 [q.v.]), in his *ʿiḍāz al-Kurʿān*, lists the excellent *nazm* of the Qur'an as the third reason for its inimitability (after [1] prophesying passages, and [2] the illiteracy of the Prophet, which proves Divine instruction about creation, etc.). He enumerates ten aspects of this *nazm*: (1) The Qur'an is *sui generis* as a literary genre (35). (2) The Arabs had not produced any eloquent text of such enormous length (36). (3) The Qur'an is homogeneously eloquent in all its subgenres (*wajūh*), such as narratives, admonitions, argumentations, etc., whereas a poet may excel in panegyrics but not in invective, or vice versa (36-8). (4) The smooth transition from one topic to the next in the Qur'an is unrivalled (38). (5) Not only man is unable to produce anything similar to it, but so are the jinn (38-41). (6) All stylistic and rhetorical possibilities occur in the Qur'an (42). (7) Expressing new ideas, rather than well-worn ones, with beautiful words is the highest level of language mastery (*barāʿa*); this the Qur'an does when it speaks about legal and religious matters (42). (8) When a Qur'anic phrase is quoted, it stands out in its new textual surrounding through its beauty (42-4). (9) The "mysterious letters" at the beginning of twenty-eight sūras show an amazingly regular selection of phonemes, when measured against the various groups of phonemes that the grammarians have established (44-6). (10) The style of the Qur'an is easy though impossible to imitate (*karībān ilā 'l-afḥāmī yubādīru ma'nahu 'l-lafẓa ilā 'l-kalb . . . wa-huwa ma'a dhālika muntamī'u 'l-maṭlab*); it is equally distant from lexical uncouthness (*waḥshī*) and unusualness (*gharīb*) [q.v.], on the one hand, and from affected artfulness (*al-ṣan'a al-mulakkallafā*), on the other (46).

The list clearly shows that al-Bakillānī is not interested in the micro-analysis of what constitutes *nazm*,

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nor does he establish, as al-Khaṭṭābī does, the strict correlation between *naẓm* and the two other elements of speech, “words” and “meaning”. He focuses more on the overall linguistic-literary quality of the Qur’ānic text.

‘Abd al-Kāhīr al-Djurdjānī (d. 471/1078 or 474/1081 [q.v. in Suppl.]), in his *Dalā’il al-’iḍḡāz* (“Proofs for the Inimitability”), comes again closer to al-Khaṭṭābī, who may be called his precursor in matters of *naẓm*. But al-Djurdjānī surpasses him by far. Over hundreds of pages he subjects Qur’ānic phrases, or syntactic phenomena in general, to the most painstaking semantic analysis and thus manages to fill the notion of *naẓm* with real content. He defines it as *taṭawakkukhī ma’ānī ‘l-naḥw* (“minding the meanings of syntactic relations”). The syntactic-semantic phenomena discussed include *inter alia*: word order (*taḥḍīm wa-ta’kḥīr*), ellipsis (*ḥadhf*), syndetic and asyndetic coordination (*wasl wa-fasl*), and the various functions of the sentence-initial particle *inna* (see also Weisweiler, in *Bibl.*)

The “ordering” (*naẓm*) creates a specific shape/form (*sūra*) for a general *gharad* (“intention”) in the mind and, parallel to it, in the language; the meaning (*ma’nā*) and the expression/wording (*lafẓ*) of a proposition (*kalām*) thus become mirror images. The inherited but, according to al-Djurdjānī, misunderstood dichotomy *lafẓ-ma’nā* is thus reinterpreted: the wording (*lafẓ*) is no longer a “garment” for a “naked” *ma’nā*. The two are inseparable, no “meaning” can be expressed by two “wordings” equally well; the two “wordings” would express two different “meanings”.

K. Abu Deeb (*Poetic imagery*, 24-64) and, more recently, N. Kermani (*Gott ist schön*, 253-84, esp. 264, and n. 144) have argued that, with many of his deep-cutting analyses, al-Djurdjānī is a precursor of modern semanticists or even on a par with them. As a whole, his book is indeed highly original but not very well arranged. Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (d. 606/1209 [q.v.]) and al-Sakkākī (d. 626/1229 [q.v.]) later turned his ideas into a textbook format, thus creating the discipline called *‘ilm al-ma’ānī* (i.e. *ma’ānī ‘l-naḥw*) [see MA’ĀNĪ WA-BAYĀN].

All authors so far discussed restrict the notion of *naẓm* to single Qur’ānic or poetic phrases (lines, verses). Ibn Rashīk (d. 456/1063 or 463/1071 [q.v.]), in his handbook on poetry, includes a chapter on *naẓm*, in which this notion has at times a wider compass, referring as it does to the cohesion of consecutive lines (*‘Umda*, i, 258-63). A similar approach to structures within a *sūra* can sometimes be found in books on the Qur’ān. Al-Khaṭṭābī al-Iskāfī (d. 421/1030), in his exegetical work *Durrat al-tanzīl wa-ghurrat al-ta’wīl fī bayān al-āyāt al-mutashābihāt fī Kitāb Allāh al-‘azīz* (Beirut 1995), several times tries to do just that: a “knitting of part to part”, as Hamori calls it (*Iskāfī*, 40-2). Some scholars seem to have gone even further and asked about the meaning of the place, within the Qur’ān, of individual *sūras*. Al-Zarkashī (d. 794/1392 [q.v.]) mentions one Abū Bakr al-Nisābūrī, who “whenever the Koran was read to him, used to ask: Why is this verse put next to that one? For what reason does this *sūra* stand next to that one?” (G.J. van Gelder, *Beyond the line*, Leiden 1982, 100; the author suggests that we are possibly dealing here with Abū ‘l-Kāsim [?] al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Nisābūrī, who wrote a *Kitāb al-Tanzīl wa-tarṭībih*, see n. 214). However, al-Zarkashī also mentions that this subject did not attract much attention (*al-Burhān fī ‘ulūm al-Kur’ān*, ed. M.A. Ibrāhīm, Cairo 1972, i, 36).

In the modern period this has changed. In the

Indian subcontinent we find Ḥamīd al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Ḥamīd Farāhī (d. 1349/1930) and his disciple Amīn Aḥsan Islāhī (d. 1997) upholding the idea of the coherence (*naẓm*) of the Qur’ān on all levels (see M. Mir, *Coherence*, in *Bibl.*). The main motivation behind this seems to be traditional Orientalist criticism of the Qur’ān that stressed its structural incoherence on all levels. It should be noted that in more modern Western literary approaches the perceived “incoherence” is considered to be rather one of the strengths of the Holy Book (see Kermani, *Gott ist schön*, 281).

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NISSĪM B. YA’QŪB, IBN SHĀHĪN, outstanding leader and rabbi of North Africa and, Judaeo-Arabic author.

He was born ca. 300/990, and studied under his father and R. Hushiel, who emigrated from Italy and settled in al-Qayrawān [q.v.]. Like his father, Nissīm was head of the Academy there and the representative of the Academies of Sura and Pumbedita near Baghdād. He was famous as a scholar and enjoyed much glory, but the last period of his life was a sad time for him. His son died at an early age and his daughter was unhappily married to a son of Samuel ha-Nagid of the Banu ‘l-Naghrala, who served the Zīrids [q.v.] of Gharnāṭa. Nissīm visited Granada and taught there. Of importance during his time was the disturbed political situation in North Africa, since the local Zīrid dynasty there was in conflict with the Fāṭimids, and when the Bedouin of the Banū Hilāl [q.v.] and the Sulaym attacked Ifrīkiya, and the Zīrid ruler had to leave al-Qayrawān in 449/1057 and take refuge in al-Mahdiyya, Rabbi Nissīm fled to Sūsa [q.v.], where he died in 454/1062 after a serious illness.

The language of his important Judaeo-Arabic literary work, the *Kitāb al-Farajī ba’d al-ṣhidda* (“Relief after hardship”), is one of the best examples of a Middle Arabic text that at times follows the rules of Classical Arabic, but at other times is influenced by the practice of Arabic dialects, with many hyper-corrections. The contents of the text, which was more widely known in its early Hebrew translation called *Hibbur yafeh me-ha-yeshu’ah* (“A beautiful collection about relief”, printed at Ferrara 1557), go back to the same



genre as practiced by al-Madā'inī (d. 225/840), Ibn Abi 'l-Dunyā (d. 281/894) and al-Muḥassin al-Tanūkhī (d. 384/994), and have a religious, perhaps Jewish, origin. Nissīm Ibn Shāhīn's stories do not have a secular character like most of al-Tanūkhī's stories, but are embedded in a religious context. Some stories such as "The perfidious wife" and "The story of Kidor" found their way into other mediaeval belletristic collections.

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(A. SCHIPPERS)

NIẒĀM 'ASKARĪ (A.), military organisation, the system of military rule in modern Islamic lands (for a consideration of military organisation before ca. 1900, see [QAYṢH](#); [HARB](#); [ISTĪRĀP](#)).

1. In the modern Arab world
2. In modern Iran
3. In the late Ottoman Empire and the Turkish Republic
4. In Pakistan

1. In the modern Arab world.

The frequent appearance of military régimes in the Arab sector of the Muslim world during the second part of the 20th century owes less to a tradition of interaction between military conquest and the diffusion of Islam than to the heritage of the style of power exercised by the Ottoman Sultans [see ['OTHMĀNLĪ](#). I.]. It is explained both by the game of the European imperialisms and the influence of the Kemālist model in the region since 1921. Colonial domination depended on the separation between an allogenic military organisation and local society. It took the form of political régimes (mandates, protectorates or direct colonisation) in which the military played a dominant role through the actual or potential use of brute force (D.A. Rustow, to S.N. Fischer 1963, 3). While the officer corps of the colonial army was European, there was a preference for recruiting the troops from among the ethnic and religious communities. Senior officers often exercised civil functions, such as that of the High Commissioner of the French Mandate in Syria and in Lebanon (1920-43), the British High Commissioner in Palestine (1920-46) or in 'Irāk (1920-32) [see [MANDATES](#)]. Furthermore, the period of colonial domination was marked by the two World Wars which justified exceptional forms of government. It came to an end after sometimes prolonged and violent confrontation: in particular, the conflict in Palestine from 1936 onwards, the Algerian war (1954-62), and numerous suppressions of uprisings, as in Egypt by Great Britain in 1919 and 1924, in Syria by France in 1919, 1924-6 and 1945; and in 'Irāk by Great Britain, in 1921 and 1941.

After independence, the incidence of military régimes in the Arab region can be correlated to the frequency and the intensity of inter-state conflicts, through the implementation of preparations for war by senior officers with the object of imposing constitutional forms, social control and economic priorities, which justified and prolonged their domination: Israeli-Arab wars (1948-9, 1956, 1967, 1973, 1982), the Yemeni con-

flict from 1960-7, the Algerian-Moroccan war in the Sahara in 1963, then the war of the eastern Sahara from 1975 onwards, the Iran-'Irāk war from 1980 to 1988, and the Gulf War of 1990-1. The regional and ethnic tensions within young states with fragile national identities also favoured the seizure of power by the military, as in 'Irāk at the time of the 1958 revolution or in Sūdān from 1958 onwards. The principal motivating force was dissatisfaction with the poor economic performance of the civilian régimes.

After the Arab countries had gained their independence, the army became in the space of one or two decades the primary institution in terms of numbers—up to 30% of the workforce of certain countries—and of its budget, which often exceeded that of education, but also through the central place that it occupied in executive power. It permeated all the fields of political activity including the parties, exercised a tight control over the population using the force authorised by emergency laws and with recourse to the *mukhabarāt*, the intelligence and police services. Arab republics and monarchies were thus transformed into "military societies" (Abdelmalek 1962).

The analysis of Arab military régimes has given rise to three distinct interpretations of their nature and their effect on the state and the society of the countries concerned. The first credited the dominant participation of officers in the government with the qualities of order, efficiency and honesty as well as technical and organisational capacities. The army was seen as the best agency for the purpose of ensuring the development of the country, educating society and being the bearer of modern values and practices, since the generation of officers trained since independence belonged to a "new middle class" with modernising tendencies (Halpern 1962, 278); their nationalist sensibility, whether Arab (*kaumī*) or patriotic (*watanī*), manifested through various anti-colonial and revolutionary ideologies, gave them the legitimacy to impose on society a modernisation "from above" (industrialisation, agrarian reform) inspired by the Kemālist model (Allush 1968).

After the Arab defeat of 1967 and in view of the poor economic performance of Egypt and of Syria under military rule, then that of Algeria in the 1980s, a second analysis has prevailed. It described *niẓām 'askarī* as "praetorian", and considered the army an agency for the maintenance of order in the service of an authoritarian and barely representative political power, pursuing its corporatist interests rather than a social project (Perlmutter 1974).

Until the turn of the 1990s, oil revenues and the priority given to the war effort assured the perpetuation of the *niẓām 'askarī*. Subsequently, Arab armies had a tendency to return to their military function while a number of officers became economic entrepreneurs benefiting from the *infitāḥ*. The *niẓām 'askarī* progressively gave way to civilian governments, still under military control. A third analysis then placed the accent on the simultaneously policing and predatory nature of these régimes (R. Owen, *State, power and politics in the making of the modern Middle East*, London 1992).

(a) Egypt

Although it was not historically the first, the prototype of *niẓām 'askarī* in the Arab regions of the Muslim world in the 20th century is that of the *qubbāt al-aḥrār*, the Free Officers who on 23 July 1952 overthrew the Egyptian dynasty which had itself been founded by an officer of the Ottoman army, Muḥammad 'Alī [q.v.]. This group of some three hun-



dred officers (T. Aclimandos, *Les militaires égyptiens. Esprit de corps et révolution*, in *Peuples méditerranéens/Mediterranean Peoples*, xli-xlii [1988], 87-104), graduates of the Military Academy after 1936 (the date of its opening to indigenous Egyptians), had particularly resented the indifference of the monarchical régime during the Palestine war of 1948-9. Their nine leaders, constituted into a *Maǧlis kiyādat al-thawra* (Revolutionary Command Council), installed military personnel in the higher ranks of the executive on a permanent basis. Originally, the RCC united personalities of diverse tendencies, Miṣr al-Fatāt, al-Ikhwān al-Muslimūn [q.v.] and Communists, who held in common the nationalist and socialist objectives summarised in the *Falsafat al-thawra* of Ǧamāl 'Abd al-Nāṣir [q.v. in Suppl.]. In the competition for power, the leftists of the RCC led by Yūsuf al-Ṣiddīq, and the liberals led by Khālīd Muhyī 'l-Dīn, were ousted in March 1953 and March 1954 respectively. The rupture with the Muslim Brotherhood took place on 12 January 1954. Whether socialistic pan-Arabist as in the 1960s, or patriotic liberal as in the 1980s, Egyptian power henceforward depended on the alliance between the military institution and the bureaucracy of state.

The executive was the prerogative of generals: presidency of the Republic was taken by Muḥammad Naǧīb, on 18 June 1952, and after his ousting on 14 November 1954, by Nāṣir until his death on 28 September 1970, by Anwar al-Sādāt (assassinated 5 October 1981) and by Ḥusnī Mubārak, who began his fourth presidential period of power on 26 September 1999. In the government, one-fifth of the ministerial posts (in particular Defence, Military Production and the Interior) were occupied by senior officers under Nāṣir, and 7.5% under Sādāt (M. Cooper, *The demilitarization of the Egyptian cabinet*, in *IJMES*, xiv [1982], 209). More than 80% of the posts of provincial governors belonged to them. Of the five categories "allied to the régime"—workers, peasants, intellectuals, nationalist capitalists and army—only the latter was authorised to organise itself, whereas the political parties were abolished on 16 January 1953 and replaced by a single party. After the defeat of 1967 and until the expulsion of the Soviet advisers in July 1972, a policy of raising the standard of recruitment and of strategic co-operation with the USSR made the institution the best endowed financially and the most advanced in technological terms in the country (with the acquisition of the Mig-27), barely troubled by internal conspiracies in October 1972, April 1974 (attempted uprising at the Military Academy by the radical Islamist movement *al-Takfīr wa 'l-Hiǧra* [q.v.]) and October 1981 (assassination of Sādāt during a military parade).

According to the National Charter (*al-Mithāk al-waṭanī*) of 1962, the Egyptian military régime presented itself initially as revolutionary. It initiated economic and social reforms—the first agrarian reforms in September 1952 limiting property to 300 acres per family, Egyptianisation of British and French assets (nationalisation of the Suez Canal, 26 July 1956), nationalisation of heavy industry and textiles—and launched major works of infrastructure such as the Aswan Dam. However, the failures of economic policies combined with demographic growth of more than 3.5% per annum, and costly military defeats in Yemen and in the war of June 1967, impelled military leaders, in the second half of the decade of the 1970s, towards a liberalisation that opened the way for substantial investment by the military institution and by senior officers individually in the private sector. While

the army was less visible on the political plane, its armaments enterprises such as the Arab Organisation for Industrialisation (*al-Hay'a al-'Arabiyya li 'l-Taṣnī'*), founded in 1975 as a joint venture with Saudi Arabia, Qatar and the United Arab Emirates, and becoming exclusively Egyptian after the Camp David Accords with Israel (1978), exported more than a billion dollars worth of arms per year in the 1980s. Under the cover of ensuring security of food supplies (*al-amm al-ghidhā'i*), the army also penetrated the civilian production sector, where it benefited from exemptions and privileges (Sadowski 1993).

The perpetuation of *nizām 'askarī* went in tandem with a progressive sidelining of members of the Revolutionary Command Council by Nāṣir, who cultivated the image of a populist leader with no time for intermediary institutions and procedures. It was accentuated by Sādāt to the benefit of the Arab Socialist Union (*al-Ittihad al-'arabī al-iṣṭirākī*), the single party from 1961 to 1977, to which military personnel were not permitted to belong (J. Waterbury, *The Egypt of Nasser and Sadat: the political economy of two regimes*, Princeton 1983). It was accelerated following the adoption of the Constitution of 11 September 1971 authorising multi-partyism, while, in the context of the peace process with Israel, from October 1975 to March 1979 (the Washington Treaty), the army benefited by military assistance from the United States worth 1.3 billion dollars per year. In principle, the army did not control the political parties, legalised from June 1977 onwards. In practice, it drew inspiration from the Turkish model, constituting itself as informal guardian of the state and master of society, leading police operations at the time of the hunger riots in January 1977, and the uprising of the Interior Security Forces in 1986. From the 1990s onward, the Egyptian *nizām 'askarī* became a security régime whose principal enemy was the Islamist movement and its extremist groups, both of these violently repressed.

(b) *Syria*

The developments of political life in the part of the Ottoman Bilād al-Shām, which became Syria under French Mandate on 28 April 1920, hardly predisposed this country to a military régime. The civil, economic and religious élites were firmly based there and were dynamic, whilst the army numbered fewer than 5,000 men at Independence, recruited among the ethnic and religious minorities, and staffed by French officers (N. Bou-Nacklie, *The Special Troops: religious and ethnic recruitment, 1916-1946*, in *IJMES*, xxv [1993], 649-60). However, thirteen coups d'état followed the independence of the country and, after the seizure of power by Colonel Ḥusnī al-Za'īm [q.v.] on 30 March 1949, the army remained a dominant political actor, except during the period of the United Arab Republic (1 February 1958-28 September 1961).

The first three military régimes in Syria were the result of an *inkilāb*, an uprising of officers discontented with the political direction of the country, in particular the treatment reserved for the armed forces and the circumstances of the defeat in Palestine. The Colonels Ḥusnī al-Za'īm, Sāmī al-Hinnāwī (14 August-19 December 1949) and Adīb al-Shīshaklī (exiled 25 February 1954) were motivated more by personal ambition than by a political project. Like Za'īm, Shīshaklī launched important constitutional reforms (5 September 1950 and 10 July 1953), including the reform of penal, civil and commercial codes as well as a first agrarian reform (30 July 1952). He granted the right to vote to literate women, and abolished the special treatment of Bedouin and the system of *awḳāf*



[see WAKF]. The accession of Za'im to the presidency of the Republic on 25 June 1949, and that of Shīshaklī on 10 July 1953, marked the apogee of authoritarian régimes characterised by the banning of political parties (replaced by Shīshaklī with the *ḥarakat al-tahrīr al-'arabī* on 25 August 1952), censorship of the press and tight control of public life by an oppressive police force. The *niẓām 'askarī* was characterised also by a Syrian patriotism bordering on chauvinism in reaction to the "struggle for Syria"—real or imagined threats posed to the independence of the country by neighbouring states.

Returning to the shadows, the Syrian army nevertheless did not cease from intervention in the political arena during the parliamentary period of 1954-8. Fourteen senior officers made their way to Cairo on 12 January 1958 to demand from Marshal 'Amr and from Nāṣir the creation of the United Arab Republic. The army subsequently gave its support to the parliamentary restoration of September 1961, implemented under the leadership of Colonel 'Abd al-Karīm Naṣlawī, who intervened again to "rectify" the policy directions of the government in March 1962 (M. Colombe, *La République arabe syrienne à la lumière du coup d'état du 28 mars 1962*, in *Orient*, 1st trim. [1962]).

The type of *niẓām 'askarī* which came into effect following the coup of Colonel Ziyād Ḥarārī on 8 March 1963 was simultaneously both specific to Syria and also evolutionary. Between 1963 and 1970 it was possible to speak of an army-party symbiosis (I. Rabinovich, *Syria under the Ba'th 1963-66: the army-party symbiosis*, Jerusalem 1972). It was not only a military Committee of between four and fourteen members set up in Cairo ca. 1959 (*al-ladīna al-'askariyya*; see M. al-Razzāz, *al-Taḍjīnba al-murra*, Beirut 1967, 88) which played a clandestine role throughout this period, but in the Regional Command (*al-ḥiyāda al-kuṭriyya*), senior officers constituted 34.5% of members from September 1963 to February 1966, then 25% until November 1970 (H. Batatu, *Syria's peasantry, the descendants of its lesser rural notables, and their politics*, Princeton 1999, 165, 167). In this group, with its majority consisting of natives of the peripheral regions of the country, the revolutionary tendency and the representation of minority communities gradually gained the upper hand, ending with the installation of a clandestine dictatorship under Colonel Ṣalāḥ Ḍjadīd, assistant general secretary of the Ba'th Party from the time of the disbandment of the civil wing of the Party on 23 February 1966. Nationalisations in industry and commerce (1965), international isolation and provocations on the Israeli front, favouring popular war, characterised revolutionary Syria under this régime weakened by the disaster of the war of June 1967.

Excluding his rivals by a display of force within the Regional Command of the Ba'th Party on 13 November 1970, General Ḥāfiẓ al-Asad turned the Syrian military régime in the direction of a more liberal economy through two *infītāhs*, in 1971-4 and then from 1986 onwards. The legislative elections of 1990, and Law 10 of 1991 on investments, marked the entry of a new entrepreneurial bourgeoisie into the coalition of power and the increased participation of senior officers in the world of business. But this economic liberalisation was not accompanied by political liberation, despite the creation of a Progressive National Front of six parties, including the Communist Party and the Arab Socialist Union around the Ba'th (7 March 1972). The Constitution of 12 March 1973 installed a presidential régime. The state of emergency declared in 1963 remained in force. The army has

maintained tight control of local life and internal security through its networks of *mukhābarāt*, and in 1978-81 there was a massive crackdown on Islamists (H.G. Lobmeyer, *Opposition und Widerstand in Syrien*, Hamburg 1995, 204-336). Finally, to succeed his father as Head of State on 17 July 2000, Baṣṣhār al-Asad was obliged to re-invent himself in some haste as a military figure.

(c) 'Irāk

The modern 'Irākī state, where the élites surrounding King Fayṣal (Dja'far al-'Askarī, Yāsīn al-Ḥāshimī, Ḍjamīl al-Midfā'ī and Nūrī al-Sa'īd) were in the main former officers of the Ottoman army, was born in the violent suppression of the anti-British uprising in November 1920 (P.-J. Luizard, *La formation d'Irak contemporain*, Paris 1991). Even though 'Irāk [q.v.] has not lived continuously under *niẓām 'askarī*, the army has remained the primary political force in the country, appointing and deposing governments, and controlling ethnic and social groups through violence (H. Batatu, *The old social classes and the revolutionary movements of Iraq*, Princeton 1978, 319-61). The suppression of the Assyrian revolt in June 1933, then that of the tribal uprisings in 1935-6 under the command of General Bakr Ṣidkī gave the latter the incentive to launch the first coup d'état inspired by Kemālism of the modern Arab world on 29 October 1936. His assassination on 11 August 1937 at the instigation of four nationalist officers ("the Gold Square"), led by Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Ṣabbāgh, was the prelude to the seizure of power by them and the inauguration of a régime independent of the British, of which the public figurehead was Raṣhīd 'Alī al-Ḡhaylānī (5 April-9 October 1941). From the creation of the state until the fall of the monarchy on 14 July 1958, the dominant personality of authority remained that of General Nūrī al-Sa'īd who had been prime minister for a total of 11 years and 9 months. While the monarchy neglected the institutionalisation of the state and the development of the country, governments supported by the army maintained order through repression.

After the revolution of July 1958 and the fall of the monarchy, General 'Abd al-Karīm Kāsim [q.v.] quickly ousted the nine members of the Commanding Council of Free Officers, in particular Colonel 'Abd al-Salām 'Arīf, to impose himself as single leader (*al-za'im [q.v.] al-awḥad*). His first government (27 July 1958) comprised five military figures out of sixteen members (Batatu 1978, 812) and the second (10 February 1959), six out of fourteen (Batatu 1978, 843). He authorised political parties, promulgated agrarian reforms (30 September 1958), inaugurated a state planification scheme (1959), partially nationalised the Iraq Petroleum Company (1961) and adopted measures to assist the disadvantaged urban classes. The régime of Kāsim was destabilised and its military character reinforced by confrontations between Communist and Nationalist Arabs in Mawṣil and Kirkūk (March-July 1959) and by the revival of the Kurdish revolt (September 1961). The military coup of 8 February 1963 perpetrated by Nāṣirist and Ba'thist officers led to a repetition of the same scenario: 'Abd al-Salām 'Arīf ousted the National Council of the Revolution and dismantled the Ba'thist National Guard to take for himself presidency of the Republic and supreme command of the armed forces (18 November 1963). He imposed the Arab Socialist Union as the sole party on 14 July 1964. Under the régime of his brother, Colonel 'Abd al-Rahmān 'Arīf (13 April 1966-17 July 1968) a series of military governments ensued, their domination dependent on the use of force and the maintenance of martial law, while nationalised institu-



tions were placed under the supervision of retired officers (M. Khadduri, *Republican Iraq: a study in Iraqi politics since the revolution of 1958*, London 1969, 280-9).

After the two coups which ensured the accession of the Ba'ṯh Party to power (17 and 30 July 1968), the Revolutionary Command Council (R.C.C.), composed of five officers and led by General Ḥasan al-Bakr, carried out purges in the army to turn it into a *djaysh al-'akā'idī*, an instrument of the Party alongside the militia, *djaysh al-sha'b*, under the direction of the Military Bureau. The admission of ten civilians to the R.C.C. in November 1969 did nothing to alleviate the security-orientated character of the régime, which became a dictatorship after the accession of the (self-proclaimed) "General" Ṣaddām Ḥusayn, to the presidency of the R.C.C. and supreme authority over the state and the armed forces in July 1979. The state of civil war against the Kurds and the Shī'īs, and external war against Iran (1980-88) and then against Kuwayt and the international coalition (1990-1), favoured a privatisation of public wealth which worked in particular to the benefit of military cadres (Isam al-Khafaji, *War as a vehicle for the rise and demise of a state-controlled society. The case of Ba'ṯhist Iraq*, in Heydemann 2000, 272-5).

(d) Sudan

The "Free Officers" of Sudan [*q.v.*] who organised the overthrow of civil power two years after the independence of the country (1958) were strongly influenced by their Egyptian alter ego. The junta led by General Ibrāhīm 'Abbūd until 1964 included radical officers close to the Sudanese Communist Party; in 1964 the rift between 'Abbūd and this powerful ally brought to an end the first Sudanese *nizām 'askarī*. After half a decade of civilian government, General Dja'fār al-Numayrī in his turn imposed fifteen years of military dictatorship after a brief attempt at co-operating with civilians in the context of the Commanding Council of the Revolution, dissolved in October 1971. The Communist opposition was firmly suppressed on 22 July 1971 and the Arab Socialist Union became the sole authorised party, while the ministries of Defense, the Interior, Foreign Affairs, Information and Culture (*al-Irshād al-waṭanī*) remained in the hands of the military. Numayrī's régime formally recognised the right of the southern provinces to autonomy on 9 June 1969 and imposed radical nationalisation measures (Sequestration Act, May 1970). The second Sudanese civil war, provoked by the Islamising decrees of September 1983, accelerated the downfall of Numayrī in 1985, introducing a brief period of pluralism. The coalition between military figures and Islamists which characterised military régimes in Sudan returned to power following the coup d'état of General 'Umar al-Bashīr on 30 June 1989. The National Salvation Revolutionary Command Council was based on a single party, the National Congress of Ḥasan al-Turābī. He imposed strict application of the *Shari'a*, banned parties and independent syndicates, organised popular local Islamist committees, and the Popular Defense Forces, an Islamist militia waging war against civilians in the south. Under pressure from humanitarian organisations and oil companies whose revenues were financing the war in the south, military leaders distanced themselves from the Islamists from 1997 onward. Bashīr re-established the state of emergency in 1998 to implement the institutional changes demanded for the survival of the régime and, on 12 December 1999, he suspended the parliament which was dominated by the Islamists of Turābī, arrested in February 2001.

(e) Yemen

The influence of the Egyptian Free Officers was felt as far away as Yemen [see AL-YAMAN] where a group of Nāṣirist officers led by Colonel 'Abd Allāh Sallāl proclaimed the United Arab Republic on 26 September 1962 and received reinforcements of 26,000 Egyptian soldiers commanded by Marshal 'Abd al-Ḥakīm 'Amr—a contingent doubled over the next four years for the purpose of fighting a destructive Saudi-Egyptian war which lasted until the decision to withdraw, taken by Nāṣir at the Khartūm Summit in November 1967. Significant efforts in the fields of education and health were made by the new régime, which was characterised by the imposition of a heavy bureaucracy before its demise on 14 June 1970.

Military leaders, populists and developmentalists returned to the forefront of the stage with Colonel Ibrāhīm al-Ṣamadī (June 1974), and Colonel Ahmad al-Ghāshimī (11 October 1977), both of them assassinated, then Colonel 'Alī 'Abd Allāh Khalīl, on 24 June 1978. The latter gradually handed over government to civilians (adoption of a constitution in October 1980, first legislative elections in July 1985) and guided the process of reunification with the Democratic and Popular Republic of Yemen: a constitutional reform in September 1994 legalising political pluralism, exclusion of armed forces from membership of parties (F. Djallūl, *Al-Yaman: al-thawratūn al-djumhūriyatūn, al-wahda, 1962-94*, Beirut 1999, 272-97). As Marshal and President of the Republic of Yemen since 24 May 1990, Khalīl continues to control the state, supported by the Supreme Council of National Defense and by members of his entourage, occupying key posts in the security and armed forces.

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2. In modern Iran.

The period of military rule in Iran may be said to have been inaugurated by the coup d'état of 21 February 1921, and to have endured until the overthrow of Pahlavi rule in 1979. However, although the régime that resulted from the coup of 1921, and the Pahlavi state itself, was based on the army, there was no direct military rule, nor was there a military dictatorship in the straightforward sense.

The Pahlavi régime was one that owed its existence to military coups, in 1921 and in 1953, both Riḍā Shāh and his son, Muḥammad Riḍā Shāh [*q.v.*], having been brought to power by the army. The army played a key role in the construction of the Pahlavi state, dominating both urban and rural opposition, and till 1979 remained, together with the various security forces, the main institution sustaining the régime internally.

Although the military occupied a pivotal position in Pahlavi Iran, it remained subordinate to the rule of the shahs. Both Riḍā Shāh and Muḥammad Riḍā Shāh were successful in dominating the military and in developing a monarchical system of government quite different from that found in conventional military régimes. Riḍā Shāh originally rose to power as an army officer, but in transforming his personal ascendancy into the form of a monarchy he distanced himself from other senior commanders and made a challenge from any one of them more difficult. Riḍā Shāh having established the dynasty, his son succeeded him and increased further the distance between the military and the throne, making it difficult for any army officer to challenge his authority without undermining the very structure of the régime (F. Halliday, *Iran, dictatorship and development*, London 1979, 51-2). Yet although both Pahlavi rulers secured and maintained their theoretical and actual control of the army, each also essentially relied on it to guarantee their régime.

In 1921 Riḍā Shāh arrived at the centre of political power using as an instrument a small Cossack force. He immediately embarked on the task of constructing a strong, modern, national army, organised and equipped on European lines, and based his rise to supremacy on the support of this army (Bākir Akallī, *Riḍā Shāh wa Kūshūn-i muttahiḍ-i Shāhī, 1300-1320*, Tehran 1377). He reorganised the system of military education inside Iran and began sending officers to France for training. He began a massive programme of arms purchases in Europe, including large numbers of tanks and aircraft. In 1925 he forced a conscription bill through the Maḍjlīs and the army mushroomed, rising from 42,000 men in 1930 to 127,000 men in 1941, with a total mobilisable force of 400,000. In the early 1920s, the army already accounted for approximately 40% of budget expenditure; between 1930 and 1941 spending on the army nearly quadrupled, and massive sums from oil revenues were allocated directly for weapons purchases.

Riḍā Shāh used this army to form a centralised state in Iran for the first time in the modern period. However, in the years 1921-5, although the army became dominant, it co-existed with a number of other political players and institutions. The cabinet was largely civilian in character, the constitution, although increasingly disregarded in practice, was not suspended, political parties functioned, elections were held, the Maḍjlīs passed legislation, and the Kādjār shah remained nominally commander-in-chief of the army.

Although the military did not rule directly in the

early Pahlavi period, Riḍā Shāh used the army both to intervene directly in the political process and also to manipulate, in a more subtle way, the political life of the country. His direct intervention began, of course, with the coup d'état itself, and continued with episodes such as the repeated cowing of the Maḍjlīs by the threat of armed force, in 1922 and, more seriously, after the failure of the republican movement in 1924. As well as openly intimidating the Maḍjlīs at certain key moments, the military, with its increasing control over elections, had by 1926 fatally compromised the independence of that body. The army also sponsored and orchestrated political movements and prepared the ground for constitutional change. Furthermore, Riḍā Shāh, having come to dominate the cabinet, reducing it largely to an appendage to his own position, systematically promoted the military at the expense of the civil authorities throughout the country. In fact, the army came to dominate the civil authorities throughout Iran, sometimes via the establishment of formal military government, sometimes through informal and unregulated mechanisms of pressure and control. Each military conquest of a recalcitrant area or population was invariably accompanied by the establishment of military government and there was considerable pressure from within the army to ensure that control, once established, remained in its own hands. Military government was especially important as a tool of tribal subjugation and control, army officers regularly replacing deposed tribal chiefs. Even when a provincial civil régime was officially in existence, the local military authorities encroached upon its sphere, appropriating its authority and many of its functions. The declaration of martial law and the establishment of military government was a frequent occurrence in both the capital and the provinces and gave the military authorities an opportunity to tighten their control over all aspects of civilian life, especially political dissent. The two periods of martial law in the capital, 1921-2 and 1924-6, were crucial to Riḍā Shāh's rise to supreme power. The role of the army was also positively enhanced by its transformation into a focus of nationalism and a pioneer of social progress, military personnel leading the way in clothing reform, the abolition of titles, rudimentary town planning, linguistic reform, etc. (Stephanie Cronin, *The army and the creation of the Pahlavi state in Iran, 1910-1926*, London and New York 1997, 182-221).

In the early Pahlavi period, the new Iranian army, although of questionable conventional military capability, was extremely successful in advancing the political ambitions of its chief and in safeguarding and extending his power. By far the most important function of the new army was to ensure the survival of the régime or, more narrowly interpreted, of Riḍā Shāh's personal position. This involved, first, the army's establishment of internal security throughout the country, and, second, the military authorities' enforcement of the subordination of all civilian political elements to their own dominance.

In making himself monarch, Riḍā Shāh profoundly altered the balance between the military and the centre of power. However, by 1926 the relationship between state and society in Iran had already been radically transformed, with the new, centralised army playing a crucial role. Furthermore the weight of the army vis-à-vis civil state institutions, the government, the Maḍjlīs, provincial civil governors, etc. had increased in a dramatic and wholly novel way. Although in becoming Shāh, Riḍā Shāh transformed what had been an incipient military dictatorship into a dynastic



despotism, nonetheless the régime over which he presided was firmly marked by its military origins and continued to exhibit many features typical of military rule. Although institutions such as the *Madjlis* and a civilian government would continue to exist, their role was, after 1926, purely decorative and ornamental. Independent political activity would not resume until after the abdication of the *Shāh* in 1941.

Riḍā *Shāh* had risen to power as a career officer and he remained, even after ascending the throne, deeply involved in the day-to-day running of the army. His son, however, although he had attended Tehran military academy and frequently appeared on official occasions in military uniform, in reality lacked the connection with the army and with the upper echelons of the officer corps that his father had possessed.

In the 1940s the new *Shāh*, checked by a variety of social and political forces, was not able to utilise the army as his father had done. Between 1941 and 1953 the army receded into the background, reemerging only after the coup which overthrew Muṣaddik [q.v.]. Immediately after the coup, the *Shāh* placed its leaders in key positions, General Faḍl Allāh Zāhidī became prime minister, General Taymūr Bakhtiyār military governor of Tehran and General 'Abd Allāh Hidāyat chief of the general staff. But, most importantly, the *Shāh* also began to work towards restoring monarchical control of the army, and in 1955 dismissed Zāhidī, who left the country. The *Shāh* then began the serious rebuilding of the army while, at the same time, with the reorganisation and reinforcement of the gendarmerie and the police, the army's overt role in maintaining public order was reduced (M.J. Sheikh-ol-Islami, in *Elr*, art. *Army*. V. *Pahlavi period*, at ii, 510). From 1963 to 1978, the army remained garrisoned near towns and was sent into tribal areas on a number of small-scale campaigns. But the régime only resorted once to military force to crush urban civil unrest, sc. in June 1963 in Tehran and a number of other towns.

Although its public order duties were reduced, during the 1960s and 1970s the army became increasingly prominent in national life through its involvement in projects initiated under the White Revolution. Many high school and college conscripts served in the Literacy Corps, the Health Corps, and the Construction and Agricultural Development Corps, with such duties as building roads, schools, improving preventive medicine and teaching rudimentary reading and writing. In addition to these activities, which were largely carried out in rural areas, the military performed a host of other functions. In the administration of justice, the military courts had authority over a wide range of offences, including treason, armed robbery, hoarding, profiteering and trafficking in narcotics. The judgements were swift and the penalties harsh (Sheikh-ol-Islami, *loc. cit.*). The army gathered political intelligence and cooperated with SAVAK, the state security agency. Indeed, many of the SAVAK senior personnel came from the army. Many army officers also served in the Imperial Inspectorate, investigating inefficiency and corruption in the civil bureaucracy.

Although Riḍā *Shāh* had always used the army as a bulwark of his régime, he had been equally careful to prevent either military factions, or individual senior officers, from engaging in independent political activity or developing political ambitions of their own. During the 1930s, he had harboured a particular fear of assassination, believing that, were he to die while the Crown Prince was still young, the new dynasty would be threatened either from an overt

challenge from the army or covertly, through the establishment of a regency exercised by one or more of the most powerful generals (Cronin, *The politics of radicalism within the Iranian army: the Jahansuz group of 1939*, in *Iranian Studies*, xxxii/1 [1999], 5-25). Muhammad Riḍā *Shāh*, like his father, also feared the consequences of the military's involvement in politics. During the 1940s, while the new shah remained weak, the army became deeply politicised, visible political factions emerged, and certain generals began to establish their own followings (Halliday, *op. cit.*, 67). After 1953, however, and particularly after 1955, the *Shāh* worked consistently to depoliticise the army and to isolate the most powerful senior officers.

Muḥammad Riḍā *Shāh* employed various mechanisms to control his officer corps. The armed forces were highly compartmentalised. The chief of staff had little authority over the other chiefs, who all reported to the *Shāh* directly (W. Sullivan, *Mission to Iran*, New York 1981, 74-5). Each branch was literally headed by the *Shāh* and without the *Shāh*, the armed forces as a whole were structurally immobilised. The three services were not in fact allowed to communicate except via the *Shāh*'s own staff. No general could visit Tehran or meet with another general without the *Shāh*'s specific permission. The *Shāh* was reported to check all promotions above the rank of major, and personally vetted all entrants in the air force training school. He frequently moved senior commanders to ensure that they did not form power bases and used a personal secret police, the Imperial Organisation, as well as conventional military intelligence, to carry out surveillance of the officer corps. Occasionally, he purged officers suspected of disloyalty under the guise of waging anti-corruption campaigns (Halliday, *op. cit.*, 68-9).

As the political crisis of 1978 unfolded, the *Shāh* again fell back on the army, employing martial law and military government in the capital and a number of provincial cities. By the autumn, a number of generals were advocating direct military intervention. However, the army did not act, the *Shāh*'s system of personal control still paralysing the high command, and the *Shāh* himself apparently feared that a military coup might prove to be simply another way of terminating his reign (Sepehr Zabih, *The Iranian military in revolution and war*, London and New York 1988, 13). By early 1979, after the *Shāh*'s departure, the army was palpably disintegrating. Ten days after Ayatallāh Kḥumaynī's return, the Supreme Council of the Armed Forces issued the Declaration of Neutrality of the Armed Forces concerning the conflict between Kḥumaynī and Dr Shāhpūr Bakhtiyār's government (Zabih, 78).

Bibliography: In addition to references given in the article, see R.E. Huyser, *Mission to Tehran*, London 1986; 'Abbās Karābāghī, *Ḥakāyik dar bāra-i buhrān-i Irān*, Paris n.d. (STEPHANIE CRONIN)

3. In the late Ottoman Empire and the Turkish Republic.

Although the ruling élite in the pre-*Tanzīmāt* Ottoman Empire was referred to as military ('*askerī*'), it was in fact composed of both civilian and military elements. In the classical Ottoman Empire, this élite had three major branches: the *seyyiye* (men of the sword), the '*ilmiyye* [q.v.] (i.e. the '*ulamā'*') and the *kalemiyye*, later referred to as *mülkiyye* (men of the pen, bureaucrats). In their explanations based on the idea of "circle of justice", the political thinkers of the classical Ottoman state likewise underscored the importance of statesmen and men of the sword, attributing



the utmost importance to these two categories for the survival of the state ('Alī Kinalizāde, *Akhlāk-i 'Alā'ī*, iii, Bulāḡ 1833, 49; Na'imā, *Tārīkh*, Istanbul 1281/1866 i, 40). Despite the existence of these distinct categories within the ruling élite, and the various special rights of the military class (e.g. the *Yeniçeri Aghası* and the Grand Admiral could judge certain cases between Janissaries or members of the Arsenal and could pronounce verdicts, see *Tevkī'ī 'Abd ul-Rahmān Pasha kānūnnāmesi*, in *'Othmānī kānūnnāmeleri*, in *Milli Tefebbū'lar Medjmu'ası*, i/3 [1915], 524-5, 536-7), the boundaries between these two branches were somewhat fluid, more than so in a modern state.

For example, many Grand Admirals later became Grand Viziers (in 1037/1628 the *Yeniçeri Aghası Khosrew Pasha* became Grand Vizier); local governors enjoyed decision-making authority on military matters in their domains; and duties such as law enforcement and fire fighting were generally viewed as the military's responsibility (in Istanbul, Janissaries carried out these duties). Since the military played the most important role in succession and dethronement, it is difficult to speak of a civilian administration free of military intervention in the pre-reform Ottoman Empire. Nevertheless, while the power of the military fluctuated over this long period, it was always at the centre of policy and decision-making.

Late 18th and early 19th century Ottoman attempts at modernisation and Westernisation [see NİZÂM-İ 'İDARİ] had two important effects on the role of the military. First, since the reforms aimed at imitating superior Western military organisation and techniques, the Ottoman military was the first institution to be thus affected, and the process confirmed its clear superiority in relation to the other branches of the ruling class. Second, the eventual reorganisation of the entire state bureaucracy transformed the three branches of the old administration into more distinct entities. The destruction of the Janissaries in 1826 and their replacement with *Nizāmīyye* troops resulted in the establishment of the *Bāb-ī Ser'askerī* (Office of the Commander of the Land Forces). The *Ser'asker* became the commander of all Ottoman land troops, and the old Ottoman practice of despatching the Grand Vizier to campaign with the title *Serdār-ī Ekrem* was abandoned. In 1836 a *Dār-ī Shūrā-yi 'Askerī* (Military Council), similar to the *Dār-ī Shūrā-yi Bāb-ī 'Alī*, was charged with oversight of the military affairs of the empire. Other than a *mufī* and a representative of the *mülkiyye*, all members of this body were officers. Although the new military establishment initially inherited the Janissaries' duty of law enforcement in the capital, this was transferred to the *Dahtīyye Nezāreti* (Police Ministry) when it was established in 1845. In the state bureaucracy the title *Ser'asker* became the highest military rank, being on the same level as the Grand Vizier and the *Shaykh ul-Islām*. In 1843 the army was reorganised on the model of the French and Prussian armies. Commanders of the armies were now appointed by the *Ser'asker* and responsible to him. With the increasing distinction between the various branches of the Ottoman administration, the division of power between the military and civilian elements came to be formally regulated. The most important document showing the clear separation of military establishment from other branches of the state was the *Idāre-i 'Orfiyye Karānāmesi* (Martial Law Regulations) enacted by imperial decree on 24 September 1877 (*Düstūr*, 1st Series, iv, Istanbul 1295/1878, 71-2).

The third article of these regulations clearly distinguishes between the civilian and military adminis-

trations. Even after these formal arrangements, however, the military continued to enjoy a substantial role in the civil administration by the standards of a modern state. For instance, until the end of the empire, the Minister of War and the Minister of the Navy, who were both officers, and until 1908 the *Tophkāne Mūshiri* (Marshal of the Imperial Arsenal of Ordinance), served as members of the *Hey'et-i Wukela'* (Council of Ministers), and participated directly in decision-making on non-military matters. Although there were exceptions, it remained a common practice until the end of the empire to appoint a military commander to a remote province or sub-province, such as 'Asir or North African Tripoli, in the dual role of governor and commander. As in earlier times, during this late period many military figures, such as Ahmed Djawād Pasha, Mahmūd Shewkat Pasha Ghāzī Ahmed Mukhtār Pasha and Ahmed 'Izzet Pasha [q.v.], served as Grand Vizier.

During the pre-*Tanzīmāt* era, the military element also played the leading role in major political events, often leading to drastic changes in the political shape of the empire. Thus the military element played a very important role in the deposition of 'Abd ul-'Azīz in 1876. The 1908 revolution was initiated by a para-military committee, the Committee of Union and Progress [see İTTİHÂD WE TERAKKİ DJEM'İYYETİ] and various army units in Macedonia. The 1909 counter-revolution [see İTTİHÂD-İ MUHAMMEDİ DJEM'İYYETİ] was carried out by troops led by *alaylıs* (officers who had not attended military colleges); the military rebellion led by the *Khalāskārān Dābitān* ("Saviour Officers") in Macedonia and Albania in 1912 paved the way for the forming of the first government opposing the Committee of Union and Progress Committee since 1908. Finally, the Committee regained power in January 1913 through the Sublime Porte Raid led by Enver Bey (Pasha) and other military leaders who were members of it.

Although 'Abd ul-Hamīd II had kept the military establishment under strict control until the Young Turk Revolution of 1908, from this date onwards the military gained ground in the administration of the empire, though most of its power did not stem from legal adjustments but rather from the fact that many important figures within the Committee were officers. With the establishment of the authoritarian rule of the Committee in June 1913, the military share in the administration of the empire increased further, despite a temporary law of 11 October 1912 barring officers from participating in any political activity (*Düstūr*, 2nd Series, iv, 650-1). (Another temporary law, issued on the same day, disqualified military personnel from voting (*ibid.*, 651-2); because of this, Ottoman and, later, Turkish officers did not vote in elections until 1961.) A para-military intelligence service called the Special Organisation acted under the command of Enver Pasha, reporting directly to him and working almost independently of the civilian administration. Yet despite the growing military grip on the administration, and despite the fact that martial law was in effect in the Ottoman capital during most of the decade from 1908 to 1918, no fully military régime was ever established in the Ottoman Empire.

The Ottoman military establishment led the Turkish resistance against the peace terms imposed upon the Ottoman government, and organised the armed struggle against the invasion of the Turkish heartland. Many leaders of the *Anadolu ve Rūmeli Mūdāfa'a-ı Hukūk Djem'iyeti*, and later of the Ankara government, were



military figures including Muṣṭafā Kemāl (Atatürk [*q.v.*]). The latter led the armies and the Turkish (Grand) National Assembly while he was the speaker of this assembly, controlling all three branches of power. Despite this fact, the movement never turned into a fully military one.

Following the success of the Turkish War of Independence in 1922 and the establishment of the Turkish Republic in 1923, Muṣṭafā Kemāl instituted one of the most important principles of the new régime, according to which the army should play no part in politics. A law of 29 December 1923 required all army officers to resign from active duty if they wished to run for parliament. A law of 3 March 1924, abolished the Ministry of War and established the Office of the Commander-in-Chief, attached to the Ministry of Defence. Under the command of Marshal Fewzî Çakmak [see ÇAKMAK, MUSTAFA FEVZÎ], who held the position from 1921 to 1944, the Turkish army remained loyal to the new republican régime, many founders of which were former military leaders, and to its principles. Even after Çakmak's retirement, the military did not show any interest in politics until the end of the single-party system in 1946. The first free elections in 1950 and the victory of the opposition caused many military leaders to rethink their role in Turkish politics and to reassess the loyalty of the political leaders to the tenets of the republican régime. Increasing political tension, clashes between law enforcement personnel and college students, and the Democrat Party government's strong measures against the opposition prompted a group of officers to form a revolutionary organisation and initiate a coup on 27 May 1960. This coup was not staged within the chain of command. In fact, the Commander-in-Chief and many high-ranking officers who had remained loyal to the Democrat Party government were arrested and expelled from the army. In a similar fashion, the Chamber of Deputies was dissolved, and the president, prime minister, cabinet members and leading figures of the Democrat Party were arrested and later tried by a special court. The leaders of the coup based their action on the 34th article of the Armed Forces Regulations, which charges the military with "defending and protecting the Turkish Republic and Turkish homeland". A special committee of law professors issued a document the day after the coup legitimising the revolutionary officers' action. Under the direction of General Cemal Gürsel, the Commander of the Land Forces and the highest-ranking officer to join the revolutionaries, an executive committee of thirty-six officers of various ranks, named the National Union Committee, was formed and assumed the power of issuing laws on 12 June 1960. Despite the formation of a government composed of civil and military leaders under Gürsel, the National Union Committee remained the most powerful institution in the country. On 13 November, a schism within the National Union Committee resulted in the elimination of fourteen of its members who had been promoting the idea of a prolonged military régime and more active participation in government. On 13 December, the committee issued a law for the establishment of a constitutional assembly; this would be composed of the members of the National Union Committee and of an Assembly of Representatives, members of which would be elected by various institutions, such as political parties, provincial administrations, the legal bars, and press and guild organisations. The new assembly was convened on 6 January 1961 and worked until 4 September. In the

meantime, a new constitution was ratified by a referendum of 9 July. This constitution broadened individual liberties, and at the same time limited the power of the government. This was done by establishing new legal and bureaucratic bodies such as the Constitutional Court and the National Security Council, and by granting autonomy to various institutions such as the universities and the Turkish Radio administration. New elections for the Chamber of Deputies and the newly-established Senate were held on 15 October 1961, and the members of the National Union Committee became "natural" members of the Senate for life. As one of its last decisive actions, the National Union Committee discussed the death sentences pronounced by the special court against the leaders of the Democrat Party on 15 September 1961. By a vote of 13 to 9, the committee approved four death sentences out of sixteen, and three former ministers were hanged on 16 September 1961. The next day, Adnan Menderes [*q.v.*], former prime minister, was executed.

Despite the new elections and the formation of a new civilian government, the military continued to make its power felt in political life for two more years. New revolutionary organisations within the army attempted to dissolve the parliament even before its opening. Despite the agreement of right-wing parties on Ali Fuad Başgil as the next president, under heavy military pressure the deputies and senators elected the leader of the coup, Gürsel, to this post, and the military played a significant role in the formation of a new government under İsmet İnönü [*q.v.* in Suppl.]. On two occasions, 22 February 1962, and 21 May 1963, a group of officers led by Colonel Talât Aydemir attempted to stage a coup to establish a military régime. Both attempts were foiled by Prime Minister İnönü with the support of loyal forces. Following the first attempt, the leaders of the venture were only forced to retire; their second attempt led to the trial and hanging of Col. Talât Aydemir and Lt.-Col. Fethi Gürcan.

Military intervention in politics gradually receded after the second coup attempt in 1963, and normal political activity resumed. But in 1971, the military was prompted to intervene by increasing left-wing activity, and tension between the right-wing Justice Party government and civil-military bureaucratic institutions. There had been various military groups promoting the idea of the establishment of a military régime. One of these groups was also supported by renowned left-wing intellectuals, and promoted the idea of a régime of the Arab Baʿth type; it attempted a stillborn coup on 9 March 1971. Three days later, on 12 March, the military establishment presented an ultimatum to the President and the Speakers of the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate, accusing the Parliament and the government of not adhering to the Kemālist reforms, causing social and economic disorder and inviting anarchy. The military commanders threatened the Parliament and the government that they would take power unless a new Kemālist government was immediately established. Süleyman Demirel, the prime minister, tendered his resignation, and a new non-party government was established with the approval of the military. Up to the elections held on 14 October 1973, civilian governments under military control administered Turkey and made radical changes in the constitution, limiting many of the liberties granted in 1961. During this period, the major socialist party in Turkey, the Turkish Labour Party, was dissolved, along with the National



Order Party, the major Islamist one; new state courts with extraordinary powers were established, and many left-wing and Islamist politicians and activists were tried.

Following the 1973 elections, the army returned to its barracks and normal political activity resumed until 12 September 1980. However, increasing clashes between left-wing and right-wing groups, which resulted in the killing of approximately 5,000 people between 1977 and 1980, once again prompted the military to intervene. This time, a régime under a National Security Council composed of General Kenan Evren, Commander-in-Chief; three generals in command of the Land, Air and Gendarmerie forces; and the Admiral in charge of the Navy, ruled the country with the help of a government under former Admiral Bulend Ulusu, and a "House of Representatives" virtually hand-picked by the National Security Council; this continued until elections were held on 6 November 1983. In the meantime, thousands of left-wing and right-wing activists were arrested and tried, and all political parties were dissolved, their leaders being arrested or sent to military bases. A provisional article (no. 4) of the new constitution banned leaders of what had been the governing party and the major opposition party in the legislature at the time of the coup from any political activity for ten years, and deputies and senators belonging to these parties were excluded for five years. The 1982 constitution, which created a hybrid system of government involving the president and parliament and which pruned the liberties granted by the former constitution, was put into effect through a referendum. In accordance with a provisional article of the constitution, its ratification also conferred the presidency on the leader of the coup. General Kenan Evren, and made the other members of the National Security Council members of the Presidential Council for seven years. This constitution also remodelled the National Security Council by giving a 5 to 4 majority for the military members of this ten-person body under an impartial president (Article 118).

The importance of the National Security Council function in policy-making after 1983, and especially after 1996, and its role in imposing terms on a government led by the Islamist Prime Minister Necmettin Erbakan on 28 February 1997, have generally been interpreted as to mark a new period of military dominance in Turkish politics.

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(M. ŞÜKRÜ HANIOĞLU)

4. In Pakistan.

The pre-eminence of the Pakistani military within the country's political set-up, either through direct coups or by simply controlling the economic and external policies, has led to a growing academic debate on several inter-related issues. On the one hand, one notices an unbroken continuity of the British imperial tradition, as is evident through the recruitment, training and other organisational matters, while, simultaneously, the armed forces have taken upon themselves an extra-professional role justified in the name of national interests and ideology. Within the armed forces, it is the army, and not the navy or air force, which has frequently assumed such a flagship role. To its admirers, the army is the only stable institution that can keep the pluralistic country together, whereas to its detractors, the army is in league with secret agencies and a *de facto* state within a state. Certainly, the army is the steel frame of the country's administration, and its leadership reflects a nation-

wide representation whereas the lower echelons—*javans*—are mainly recruited from the Northwestern Punjab and eastern districts of the Frontier Province (NWFP).

The Pakistani armed forces have retained the regimental character, with the gradual addition of newer and diverse corps and training facilities. The introduction of aircraft, gunships, tanks, mountain regiments, missiles and nuclear capabilities has collectively turned the Pakistani armed forces into a complex and quite a significant establishment. For decades, Pakistan's top military leadership has maintained close professional contacts with its U.S. and British counterparts, and while benefiting from huge budgetary allocations, they have established themselves as the most important politico-economic pressure group. Pakistan has been spending most of its revenues and foreign loans on the upkeep of a half-million strong military establishment, several cantonments and bases, besides a huge recurring expense on pensions, semi-private foundations and infrastructures to look after the welfare of the serving or retired officials.

Due to Pakistan's strategic and equally difficult location with a hostile neighbour separating the erstwhile two wings, and because of disputes such as that over Kashmir, her security perceptions have always centred around a "credible level and proportion of deterrence" to an Indian threat. In the 1950s and during the 1980s, the alliances with the United States led to a major inflow of military aid, which further strengthened the defence establishment. Growing intolerant of the political processes and, especially, of the criticism from the eastern wing, the generals decided to take over the country's leadership in 1958. Earlier on, their influence on national policies had been indirect; now they directly controlled the domestic and foreign policies. The first martial law led by General Ayub Khan was initially well received, but subsequently led to greater socio-ideological cleavages. A mass movement to dislodge General Khan led to the imposition of another martial law under General Yahya Khan, who promised unfettered elections in the country. However, following the split vote between East and West Pakistan in 1970, the junta refused to transfer power to the elected majority party—the Awami League of Shaikh Mujibur Rahman—and, instead unleashed a massive military operation in East Pakistan. The local insurgency, aided by India, resulted in the surrender of Pakistani troops at Dhaka in December 1971, and Bangladesh became an independent state. In the 1970s, Zulfikar Ali Bhutto, the elected Prime Minister, tried to reinvigorate the Pakistani military establishment, in addition to sponsoring Pakistan's nuclear programme. Despite his deep desire to rein in the generals, he was finally overthrown by General Zia-ul-Haq [see *ZIYĀ' AL-HAKK*] in July 1977, who then ruled the country for the next eleven years. His death in an air crash led to the re-emergence of party-based politics, but the vital decisions were still being made by the Chief of Army Staff. The elected politicians Benazir Bhutto and Nawaz Sharif, in their own ways, tried to minimise the armed forces' interventionism, but to no avail. On 12 October 1999, Sharif was overthrown in another military coup, which brought in General Pervez Musharraf as the new Chief Executive. The new military rule stopped short of calling itself martial law, though Musharraf elevated himself to the presidency in July 2001. The relationship with India has remained very tense, and the Western countries also initially shunned the new military régime until the United States acquired vital Pakistani support and



bases against Osama bin Laden and his Al-Qaeda organisation in Afghanistan.

Pakistan's army has not only ruled the country for almost three decades but it has also decided on vital policy matters. The development of the nuclear programme, support for specific groups in Afghanistan, the nature and extent of relationship with India, and active assistance for Kashmiris in their war against India, have all figured quite significantly in the recent past. The army has been engaged in the formulation and suspension of Pakistani constitutions, and has occasionally engaged itself in the formation and dissolution of numerous political alliances. Its various professional, political and other civilian roles make it the most crucial actor in the running of the country, whilst the security agencies such as the Military Intelligence (MI) and the Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) implement such policies. The senior officials make up an élite class in which ethnic loyalties are considered unimportant. General Musharraf would like to revert to the old modernist postulation of the Ayub Khan-Yahya Khan era, i.e. away from Zia's Islamisation, but, given the conservative nature of khaki bureaucracy, the army may never undertake such radical steps. The relationship with India; the fragile nature of the country's economy, with defence accounting for a huge expenditure; the role in creating or denting political processes; and the extra-professionalism required, especially since the fall of Dhaka, are some of the main areas of debate and contestation amongst the supporters and the critics of the military élite. The army, through its information efforts, has been able to convince many Pakistanis in the upper Indus region of its own invincibility and its professional credentials, whereas lower Pakistan remains highly critical of the military's dictatorial role.

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(IFTIKHAR H. MALIK)

AL-NUBĀHĪ (or, more probably, **AL-BUNNĀHĪ**, see M. Bencherifa, *al-Bunnāhī lā al-Nubāhī*, in *Académie. Revue de l'Académie du Royaume du Maroc*, xiii [1998], 71-89), Abu 'l-Ḥasan 'Alī b. 'Abd Allāh al-Djūdhamī, equally known as IBN AL-ḤASAN, Andalusī jurist, *adīb* and historian of the period of the Nasrids [q.v.], born at Malaga in 713/1313 and died, probably at Granada, after 798/1389-90.

He was *kādī al-djāmā'a* [q.v.] during almost the whole reign of the Nasrid sultan Muḥammad V. His name often appears linked with that of Lisān al-Dīn Ibn al-Khaṭīb [q.v.], with whom he had a relationship that passed from friendship and collaboration to enmity. This is why Ibn al-Khaṭīb presents an image of al-Bunnāhī in his later works (*A'māl al-a'lām*, ed. Lévi-Provençal, Beirut 1956, 78-80; *al-Kaṭība al-kāmina*, ed. Iḥsān 'Abbās, 146) completely opposite to what he had given in the biography consecrated to him in *Iḥāṭa*, iv, 88-100. Ibn al-Khaṭīb wrote, moreover, two opuscula bringing together anecdotes in which the personality of the *kādī* Ibn al-Ḥasan is presented as one of ridicule, the *Tanbīh al-sāhī 'alā ṭuraf al-Bunnāhī* and *Khaṭ' al-rasan fi 'l-ta'rīf bi-aḥwāl Ibn al-Ḥasan*.

As well as being a composer of epistles, poetry and other texts which the sources have preserved on account of their quality, he also wrote: 1. *al-Marḳaba* (var. *al-mirḳāt*) *al-'ulyā fi man yastahikḱ* (var. *fi masā'il*) *al-kadā' wa 'l-futūyā*, ed. Lévi-Provençal, *Histoire des juges d'Andalousie*, Cairo 1948 (an edition which attracted important critical observations, e.g. by Ḥ. Zayyāt, in *al-Mashriq*, xlii [1948], 461-74, and was revised by A. Cuellas in his 1983 Univ. of Granada diss., unpubl.), 2. *Nuḣḣat al-baṣā'ir wa 'l-aḥṣār* (mss. Escorial 1653 and Bibl. Générale de Rabat 198 Kāf), commentary on a *maḳāma* by the same author *al-Ikhlā' fi tafḍīl al-nakhīl*, also called *al-maḳāma al-nakhliyya*. Some extracts from it were published by Müller in his *Beiträge*, i, 101-60, and 3. *Dhāyḥ* (var. *tadhīyḥ*) *Ta'rīkh Mālaka*, now lost, probably a continuation of Ibn 'Askar's history [see MĀLAKA].

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O

OIRATS, OYRAT [see KALMUK; WĀFIDIYYA].

ÖREN KALE, in Russian Orenkale, a site in the southern part of the modern Azerbaijan Republic, in the mediaeval Islamic province of Arrān [q.v.]. It lies in lat. 39° 50' N., long. 47° 30' E. above the confluence of the Kur and Araxes rivers, close to an ancient canal, the Gyaur Arkh [see MÜKAN, at Vol. VII, 498b]. The site marks the mediaeval Islamic

town of Baylakān [q.v.] conclusively established by the discovery of wasters of spheroconic vessels, stamped with the inscription '*amal Fadlūn bi 'l-Baylakān*, in the course of excavations which began there in 1953 as part of a planned archaeological survey of the region above the confluence of the two rivers mentioned above. This last was, however, abandoned in 1959, and after the death of the director, A.A. Yessen, in



1963, the Ören Kāl'e excavations were abandoned also. Vol. II of the report (see *Bibl.*) is mostly devoted to sites in the surrounding area; a projected Vol. III on work at Ören Kāl'e in 1956-8 evidently never appeared. The excavation material is now in the reserves of the State Historical Museum at Bākū.

More contentious is the site's identification with the Late Antique fortress of P'aytakaran, for the earliest remains at Ören Kāl'e, as attested by a copper coin of the Byzantine Emperor Anastasius (A.D. 491-518), are 6th century. But the only possible site for P'aytakaran lies close to the modern village of Tazakend some 8 km/5 miles to the south-east, where Late Antique stone column bases for a palace or temple, together with a small hoard of denarii of Augustus, but no mediaeval glazed pottery, were brought to light. Ören Kāl'e was therefore a new foundation, connected with the Sāsānid Emperor Kawādh I (A.D. 488-531) and his fortifying of the Kur-Araxes steppes, though P'aytakaran continues to figure in the Armenian historians' accounts of Heraclius's campaign in Atropatene.

Under the Umayyads, Baylakān was an important city of the province of Armīniya [*q.v.*] and was a notorious centre of Khāridjism, which persisted there until the mid-9th century. The local Shaddādīd rulers passed under the control of the Great Saldjūks ca. 1050 and, subsequently, of the Saldjūks of 'Irāk, under the immediate administration of the Ildegizid Atabegs of Ādharbāydzān [see ILDEŪZIDS]. Though sacked by the Mongols late in 1221, it had recovered sufficiently for Djalāl al-Dīn Kh'arazmshāh to install his harem and his treasury there in 1230. Under the Il-Khānids it slowly declined, but was then rebuilt by Timūr in 1403, evidently to serve as his base in Transcaucasia. This long and varied history notwithstanding, the coin-finds were predominantly Ildegizid, especially of the last atabeg, Muza'far al-Dīn Özbeg.

The town at Ören Kāl'e was a square walled enceinte, with round towers at the corners and semi-circular towers between and a main gate on the south-west. The original walls, probably originally 6th-7th century, were of mud brick with a mud cladding. Later repairs were of mud brick with a fired brick revetment, but by the 12th century they had been abandoned. In the eastern corner was a smaller enceinte, 1,525 m², also walled: its dimensions are extraordinarily close to those given by Sharaf al-Dīn 'Alī Yazdī in his account of Timūr's restoration of the town. Excavations here brought to light a large bath, probably early 12th century in date, built on several levels, with walls of decoratively coursed fired brick, an entrance with terra cotta revetment plaques and a stalactite canopy, and one section with remains of wall-painting and carved or moulded plaster. Following its ruin, perhaps in an earthquake, it was intensively colonised, yielding abundant remains of both glazed and unglazed pottery.

Ören Kāl'e was one of a group of Transcaucasian potteries active in the pre-Mongol period—Gandja, Kābāla, Bākū, Dwīn and especially Mingečawr, though none of the material from this last has been published. As at these sites, the 12th-13th century material from Ören Kāl'e, both in quantity and quality, is much more impressive than that from earlier periods. A trial excavation in the potters' quarter outside the walls to the south-west of the town brought four kilns to light, one of them containing spheroconic vessels. Unglazed 12th-13th century pottery included cooking pots, some decorated with spots of turquoise glaze; lavishly decorated storage jars, with barbotine

stamped or incised ornament, sometimes with craftsmen's signatures; jugs and bowls, often with moulded decoration; and spheroconic vessels, with a characteristically yellowish-grey body and engraved, stamped or applied decoration. Of particular importance was a group of red-bodied storage vessels, perhaps wine jars with archaising friezes of horned animals, birds and fishes, and even crosses, recalling the impressions of cylinder-seals and, like these, applied with a cylinder. Such wares, with local peculiarities, are also known from Ānī, Gandja, Dwīn, Garnī and Mingečawr.

The earlier locally manufactured glazed wares were mostly varieties of polychrome-stained splash- and drip-ware, characteristic of 'Abbāsīd Mesopotamia and Persia, though one fragment with a mounted huntsman was an imitation of opaque-glazed figural wares with polychrome decoration characteristic of the production of 10th-century Nishāpūr. In the 12th-13th centuries the pottery seems to show a change also in orientation, to the Caucasus, Anatolia and northern Syria, with many versions of polychrome-stained sgraffiato and champlévé wares. Particularly noteworthy are champlévé wares, one signed 'amal Khattāb, with bold strapwork and panels of delicate scrolling arabesque, deriving from fine engraved Khurāsānī metalwork of ca. 1200; and a group of figural sgraffiato with animals clambering in foliage, so-called "Aghkand" wares, which are, however, known from many sites, including Dmanisi and Urbnsi in Georgia. As at Gandja, these may have been imports.

One important group of glazed wares, virtually exclusive to Baylakān, is red-bodied and underglaze-decorated, heavily potted but with exceptionally fine decoration scratched in a black manganese slip. They may be local versions of silicon-enriched 12th-century Kāshān "frit" wares painted in black slip under a colourless or a turquoise glaze, but here their repertoire makes use of Persian verse inscriptions, comparable in choice and execution to those on pre-Mongol Kāshān lustre wares, and elaborate knot patterns on grounds of fine scrolls. Several pieces were also signed 'amal Khattāb. Among signatures on other pottery types from Ören Kāl'e, the most interesting is from an unglazed storage jar, with a distich incised in a fair hand and a signature, 'amal Ibn 'Alī b. 'Azīzī al-fahkhār ("the potter"). Its phraseology is clear, if difficult to parallel, but errors in the transcription of the distich suggest that the signature, too, may contain mistakes.

Kiln furniture was abundant, including cockspurs, though most of the pottery recorded was fired without them. Most of the later glazed wares bore stamped designs on their bases, though, oddly, these were absent from the more highly decorated pieces and practically none of them are inscriptions. Similar stamps on wares of different groups show that the potters, like the decorator Khattāb, did not specialise; they could have been bank marks, to identify the work of a craftsman in a large workshop who was paid by the piece.

Imported wares included silicon-enriched lustre pottery (but not tiles) of most of the documented late 12th- to early 13th-century Kāshān types. Some of them, however, are characteristic of the 1260s-1270s, suggesting that the site may have continued to flourish under the Il-Khānids and that the types of pottery discussed above may therefore have later termini than the Mongol invasion of 1221. Other Kāshān products, notably *mina'i* and underglaze wares, do not seem to have been recorded.



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ÖZAL, TURGUT, modern Turkish statesman (1927-93). He was born in 1927 in the province of Malatya in south-eastern Turkey. After graduating as an electrical engineer in 1950, he served in a number of important technical and economic posts between 1967 and 1980, initiating a programme of liberalising economic reforms in January 1980. Following the coup d'état led by General Kenan Evren on 12 September of that year, Özal continued these policies as Deputy Prime Minister, but he was forced to resign in July 1982 after a banking scandal. During the transition back to civilian rule in 1983, Özal established the Motherland Party, which won a comfortable majority in the general elections of November 1983. He

thus became Prime Minister in the following month, increasing his party's majority in the next elections, held in November 1987. As premier, his main achievement was to free the economy from government constraints, producing high economic growth and an impressive increase in foreign trade; his main failures were the continuation of high inflation, and increasing allegations of corruption and disunity in his government during the late 1980s. When General Evren retired from the presidency in October 1989, Özal was elected to succeed him; however, his party lost its parliamentary majority in the general elections of October 1991, thus reducing his real political power. As President, Özal played a major role in foreign policy determination, controversially directing Turkey's support for the coalition powers in the Gulf crisis of 1990-1. His sudden death from a heart attack in April 1993 removed a towering figure in Turkish politics, distinguished by his attachment to economic and political liberalism, as well as the integration of moderate Islam into the country's political life.

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P

Imamshah and
Satpanth

PASHTO [see AFĠĤĀN. ii].

PIRPAÑTHĪ (from Pers. *pīr* + *panth* "way of the spiritual master"), the name given in what is now Western India and in Pakistan to Hindus who follow Muslim *pīrs*, whether living or dead, these being generally Śūfis or Ismā'īlis. To be precise, the term Pīrpanth is applied more strictly to two specific groups: (1) the disciples of Imām Shāh [q.v.], a dissident Ismā'īlī who was one of the sons of the Ismā'īlī *pīr* Ḥasan Kabīr al-Dīn, whose tomb is situated near Ahmādābād [q.v.] in Guḍjarāt; and (2) more rarely, to the Hindu disciples of Śūfī masters, Muslims or occasionally Hindus, originating from Sindh, Pañdjāb or Rāḍjāsthān, such as Rāmdēv Pīr (or Rāmā Pīr), Pithoro Pīr, Paṭho Pīr, etc., with whom we are not concerned here.

The existence of the Pīrpanthīs attests the importance of interpenetration of Islam and Hinduism in this part of the subcontinent. Rather than speaking of syncretism, it would be more sensible to speak of a charismatic consensus at which these sects arrived. Sprung from the Mathīa Kanbī caste of agricultural labourers, the Pīrpanthīs were also known by the name of Momnahs (or Mōmnas). Established within Guḍjarāt [q.v.] proper, but spilling out into Khāndesh and Kačch [q.v.], they are divided into several sub-sects according to whether they venerate Imām Shāh himself or one of his descendants or representatives. In the period from the late 19th century onwards, when confessional allegiances crystallised, fundamentalist Hindu organisations like the Ārya Samāḍj convinced a great number of them to revert to "orthodox" Hinduism. They generally assumed the name of Paṭel, and continued to venerate Imām Shāh, whom they

considered as the *guru* who spoke in the name of the tenth *avatār* of Viṣṇu, Nīklankī.

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(M. BOIVIN)

PRESTER JOHN, the name of a mysterious potentate, said to be a Nestorian Christian and inimical to Islam, whom the Christians of medieval Europe placed beyond the Islamic lands in Inner or Far Asia.

The name Presbyter Johannes first occurs in the chronicle, called *Historia de duabus civitatibus*, of the German prelate Otto, Bishop of Freising, in which he describes, on the authority of a meeting in 1145 with the Latin Bishop Hugh of Djabala (= ancient Byblos, in Lebanon), how Prester John was a monarch, of the lineage of the Magi of the Gospels, living in the Far East (*in extremo oriente*) beyond Persia and Armenia. He had attacked the *Saniardi* brothers, kings of the Persians and Medes, had defeated them and had advanced to the Tigris in the hope of aiding the Church in Jerusalem, but had then been forced to



turn back. The passage seems almost certainly to contain an allusion to the defeat of the Saljuq sultan Sandjar [q.v.] (= the kings *Samiardos/Saniardos*, here made plural) and his Karakhanid allies by the Western Liao, known to the Muslims as the Kara *Khitay* [q.v.] at the battle of the Katwan Steppe in Transoxania in 536/1141 (the remainder of Otto's story about Prester John's advance across Persia into Mesopotamia being unhistorical).

However, this does not necessarily mean that the later, elaborate stories of Prester John, which contained connections with the Indian Ocean coastlands and, above all, with Ethiopia, all had their origins in this battle. It is not impossible that stories of Prester John were known before the news of Sandjar's defeat percolated through to the Crusader principalities in the Levant, providing a convenient peg on which to hang the stories. In the opinion of the late Prof. C.F. Beckingham, such stories were probably connected with the legend of the shrine of St. Thomas in South India (modern Kerala) and the existence of an ancient Christian community there; but the intricacies of the later history of Prester John do not concern us here. It should be noted, however, that the assertion of B. Spuler in his article *GURKHĀN* at Vol. II, 1143b, that *Johannes* stems from the title *Gurkhān* (itself almost certainly Turkish in origin, according to G. Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*, iii, Wiesbaden 1967, no. 1672) seems most unlikely.

Bibliography: The bibl. on this enigmatic figure is large, ranging from the pioneer work of F. Zarncke, *Der Priester Johannes*, in *Abh. Königl. Sächsischen Gesell. der Wiss., phil.-hist. Cl.*, vii-viii (1879-83), to C.F. Beckingham's *Prester John, the Mongols and the Ten Lost Tribes*, London 1995. A succinct and stimulating study is this same author's *The achievements of Prester John*, Inaugural Lecture, SOAS, London 1966. Most recently, see E. Ciurtin, *La mythologie asiatique et la légende africaine du Prêtre Jean*, in *Archaeus. Études d'Histoire des Religions*, v/3-4 (Bucarest 2001), 5-21. (C.E. BOSWORTH)

PUASA, the Indonesian term for the month of fasting, *Ramaḍān* [q.v.].

During *Ramaḍān* in Indonesia all levels of local, indigenous and normative interpretations of Islam congregate. On the national level, the country converts

into a large *Kur'ān* school with religious programmes dominating the news media, mobile *Kur'ān* schools, *Kur'ān* clinics and *Kur'ān* reciting marathons. In the month prior to *Ramaḍān*, many areas will hold "praise rallies" in order to prepare spiritually for *Ramaḍān*. These are nightly events of *Ṣūfī*-type *dhikr* that rotate from house to house.

Simultaneously, reaching back to the pre-Islamic, Hindu-Buddhist elements of Javanese culture, there is great stress on rituals surrounding the graves of ancestors. These take place in the weekend prior to the beginning of the fast and at the end. In certain areas, e.g. in Java, the so-called "Kraton culture" of the sultan's palace performs rituals that are entirely non-Islamic. For instance, after the 'Id prayers a grand parade called *Gerebeg* is held in front of the Kraton with as its centre piece a magical "mount of blessing" that conveys some of the sultan's mystical power.

Attitudes toward the practice of fasting are influenced by Javanese ascetic practices that are followed for a variety of reasons year round. As a result of this, children as young as four years old start to practice abstinence for *Ramaḍān*. In general, the fast is broken in restrained manner with many Muslims limiting their first meal to a small snack and a glass of sweet juice.

Although *Ramaḍān* is a time of promoting unity among Muslims, differences between Reformist and Traditionalist Muslims are played out with fervour. This starts with the issue of identifying when the fast begins and ends, and is visible during *Ramaḍān* in different practices concerning the *tarāwīḥ* prayers and the 'Id al-Fiṭr gatherings.

Celebrations for the 'Id last up to one month, and serve to renew harmony and unity. People travel all over the country (*mudik*) in order to visit relatives and to ask forgiveness for wrongs committed during the past year. Neighbourhoods, businesses and schools organise special *halal bi 'l-halal* parties.

Bibliography: There are innumerable numbers of books about *puasa* in the Indonesian language. Many leading preachers and scholars of Islam have published their *Ramaḍān* sermons and reflections, such as Hamka, *Puasa tarawih dan Iedul Fitri*, Jakarta 1995; M. Ouraish Shihab, *Sahur bersama*, Bandung 1997. (NELLY VAN DOORN-HARDER)

R

RADJĀ' B. ḤAYWA b. *Khānzal* al-Kindī, Abu 'l-Mikdām or Abū Naṣr (full *nasab* in Gottschalk, 331, from Ibn 'Asākir), a rather mysterious *mawla* or client who seems to have been influential as a religious and political adviser at the courts of the early Marwānid caliphs, from 'Abd al-Malik to 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz. His birth date is unknown, but he died in 112/730, probably around the age of seventy.

According to one account, Radjā's family stemmed from Maysān in Lower 'Irāq, hence from the local Nabaṭ or Aramaeans, where the bond of *wala'* with the Arab tribe of Kinda [q.v.] must have been made, the Kinda being especially strong in Kūfa. The family moved westwards to the Palestine-Transjordan area,

where again there were many Kindīs in such districts as the Balkā' [q.v.], providing strong military support for the Umayyads. It is likely that Radjā himself was from that area, from Baysān in the Jordan valley, as the *nisbas* sometimes applied to him, "al-Filastīnī" and "al-Urdunnī", would imply. He appears, together with Yāzid b. Sallām, a *mawla* of the caliph 'Abd al-Malik and a native of Jerusalem, as being involved in the construction of the Dome of the Rock [see *KUBBAT AL-SAKHRA*], probably as financial controller (Mudjir al-Dīn al-'Ulaymī, *al-Uns al-djā'il*, Cairo 1283/1866-7, i, 241-2 = 'Ammān 1973, i, 272-4), and he was also employed by al-Ḥadjdjadj b. Yūsuf [q.v.] on a diplomatic mission to conciliate the Ḳaysī Arab tribes of northern Syria under their leader Zufār b. al-Ḥārith al-Kilābī.



Radjā' was further famed for his piety and knowledge of the religious sciences, and was high in the counsels of 'Abd al-Malik and his son al-Wālid (I), accompanying the latter on his Pilgrimage of 90/709 or 91/710, when he first came into contact with the caliph's cousin 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz, governor of Medina, a relationship to be of significance later. During the short caliphate of Sulaymān b. 'Abd al-Malik (96-9/715-17 [q.v.]), Radjā' appears as both an executive official and a spiritual adviser to the ruler and then to his successor 'Umar (II) b. 'Abd al-'Azīz; some sources make him head of Sulaymān's *diwān al-khātām* or chancery. He clearly lent his religious backing to the caliphs, and his role thus marks a stage in the acceptance of *mawālī* in the sphere of legal and religious authority hitherto jealously guarded by the Arabs (cf. the role, parallel in many ways, of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī [q.v.]); one may also view it as an aspect of the increasing concern of the Umayyads with the religious and spiritual aspects of their authority.

The historical sources make Radjā' s great moment the events at Sulaymān's death in Ṣafar 99/September 717. It had been 'Abd al-Malik's intention that his sons by free wives should succeed him, and there were still four of these eligible at Sulaymān's death. Yet a temporary re-routing of the succession was now achieved, to the collateral branch of 'Abd al-Malik's brother 'Abd al-'Azīz (in fact, it had been the wish of the founder of the Marwānid line, Marwān (I) b. al-Ḥakam [q.v.], that 'Abd al-'Azīz should follow 'Abd al-Malik in the caliphate).

What happened when Sulaymān was on his death-bed at Dābīk [q.v.], north of Aleppo, is related in detail by al-Wākidī, preserved by Ibn Sa'd, *Tabakāt*, v, 246-9, and al-Ṭabarī, ii, 1341-5, tr. in Bosworth, 52-9, and D.S. Powers (tr.), *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, xxiv, *The empire in transition*, Albany 1989 (with an *isnād* going back to Radjā'), with a few additional details in al-Dhahabī. According to these accounts, Radjā' was able to persuade Sulaymān to set aside his own children and half-brothers in favour of 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz, and secured adhesion to this arrangement by the device of requiring allegiance to the person named in a sealed *'ahd* of Sulaymān. However, since much of the information on this episode goes back, directly or indirectly, to *riwāyas* stemming from Radjā' himself, it has been suggested that he may have exaggerated his personal share in events (see Eisener, *Zwischen Faktum und Fiktion*, 222ff., and idem, art. SULAYMĀN B. 'ABD AL-MALIK, at Vol. IX, 822a).

During 'Umar's brief ensuing period of power (to Radjab 101/February 720), Radjā' may have been an adviser of the caliph, but specific detail is lacking; one would like to know whether, for instance, he had any part in 'Umar's administrative and financial measures, including his famous "rescript". He apparently spent the last decade of his life in retirement, and died, in unknown circumstances, in 112/730, according to Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Beirut, v, 172, at Kussīn near Kūfa.

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2. Studies. Wellhausen, *Das arabische Reich*, 165-

6, Eng. tr. *The Arab kingdom and its fall*, 261-2; H. Gottschalk, *Rajā' ibn Haywa und der theologische Einfluss am Hofe der Marwaniden von Damaskus*, in *Festschrift für Wilhelm Eilers*, Wiesbaden 1967, 328-40; C.E. Bosworth, *Rajā' ibn Haywa al-Kindī and the Umayyad caliphs*, in *IQ*, xvi (1972), 36-80, repr. in *Medieval Arabic culture and administration*, London 1982, no. III; R. Eisener, *Zwischen Faktum und Fiktion. Eine Studie zum Umayyadenkalifen Sulaimān b. 'Abd al-Malik und seinem Bild in den Quellen*, Wiesbaden 1987, 213ff. See also 'UMAR II B. 'ABD AL-'AZIZ.

(C.E. BOSWORTH)

RĀDJASTHĀN, a historic region of the western part of the Indian subcontinent, and now the name of a province in the Indian Union. It is bounded by the Pakistan provinces of Sind and Pandjāb on the west and northwest, and by the Indian states of Pandjāb, Haryana and Uttar Pradesh on the northeast, Madhya Pradesh on the east, southeast and south, and Guḍjarāt on the south. With an area of 342,267 km²/132,149 sq. miles, it is the second largest state in the Indian Union (after Madhya Pradesh), but because of its climate and habitat, has a less dense population than any other state. The population (1986 estimate) was 37,000,000. The state capital is at Jaipur, formerly the centre of a princely state [see JĀYPUṚ], and the state is divided into 26 Districts.

1. Geography and habitat.

The topography of Rādjasthān is dominated by the range of Aravalli Hills, which run in a transverse fashion across the state from northeast to southwest, culminating in Mount Abu (1,722 m/5,650 feet) at the southwestern end and ending just over the border of Guḍjarāt State. The three-fifths of the state lying to the northwest are largely sandy, with the Great Indian or Thar Desert in the far west but with more fertile and habitable lands as one goes eastwards. The two-fifths lying to the southeast of the Aravalli Hills are diversified in character and more fertile, with the Districts of Kota and Bundi forming a tableland. In the south is the hilly tract of Mēwār [q.v.], centred on Udaipur [see UDĀYPUṚ]. On the state's northeastern edge, the plains around Bharatpur form part of the Jumna/Yamunā basin. The only large perennial river is the Chambal, which flows northeastwards into the Jumna.

Rādjasthān is predominantly an agricultural and pastoralist state. Despite a low and erratic rainfall, with a subsequent need for irrigation, nearly all types of crops are grown, including various cereals, rice and vegetables. Despite the arid or semi-arid nature of more than half the state's area, there is a large livestock population in comparison with the rest of India, including camels and draught animals, and Rādjasthān is the largest produce of wool in the Union.

2. Ethnology.

There are aboriginal tribes in various parts of the state, especially to the east and south of the Aravalli Hills, including Bhils, and various tribes of Rāḍjpūt stock, such as the Mē'ōs [q.v.], a part of whom was nominally converted to Islam in the 8th/14th century. Rāḍjpūts form the most significant element in Rādjasthān and have dominated its political and cultural history, even though, at present, Rāḍjpūts form only a small proportion of the total population, with many more Rāḍjpūts outside the state in the Pandjāb, Uttar Pradesh, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh, etc. The princely states of Rādjasthān were almost all ruled by Hindu Rāḍjpūt princes, with the exceptions of Muslim Tonk [q.v.] in the east of the state whose founder



was a Pāthān chief, and the D̲jāt [*q.v.*] states of Dholpur and Bharatpūr in the northeast. The Rāj̲p̲ūts claim to be the descendants of the Kshatriyas of Vedic times, and take great pride in their ancestry and their warlike traditions (Skr. *rājaputra* "king's son"). But such claims are based on fictitious genealogies, and the Rāj̲p̲ūts must be of very diverse ethnic origins, with some remains of the old Kshatriyas but with many later admixtures of invading peoples who became Hinduised, with new families recognised as Rāj̲p̲ūt. The term Rāj̲p̲ūt is, accordingly, not of racial significance but denotes a tribe, clan or warlike class whose members claimed aristocratic rank. At present, some 10% of the population of Rāj̲jasthān State is Muslim.

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3. Languages and literature.

The dialects of Rāj̲jasthān belong to the Western Hindi group of New Indo-Aryan, with the Aravalli Hills marking the main internal divide between the north-western and the south-eastern dialects. Predictably closer in many respects to Brajbhāṣā (and to standard Hindi), the main south-eastern dialects are D̲jāy̲p̲ūrī (D̲h̲ūndhārī) and its southern neighbours Mēwārī and Hārawī, in turn flanked to the east by Mēwārī and to the south by Māl̲wī. Possibly also reflected in the Romani of the European gypsies, earlier migrations from this region are certainly responsible for the close resemblances between south-eastern Rāj̲jasthānī and the speech of several nomadic groups, including Lamānī in central India and the Godj̲rī (Gudjarī) spoken by the Muslim Gudjar herdsmen of Kāsh̲mīr and the adjacent areas of northern Pākistān. The Mār̲wārī dialects spoken in the desert areas of north-western Rāj̲jasthān are collectively distinguished by such features as the distinction of implosives from explosives in the voiced series *g d b* or the retention of an organic passive in -*īdj-*, both with close parallels in Sindhī [*q.v.*] and Sirāikī [see LAHNDĀ], as well as individual shibboleths like the possessive marker *rā*.

Following a period of several centuries during which Old Gudjarātī (confusingly termed "Old Western Rāj̲jasthānī" by Tessitori) was the common literary language of both Gudjarāt and Rāj̲jasthān, Old Mār̲wārī emerged as an independent literary language around the middle of the 15th century, when it is attested in the semi-popular poetic treatments of romantic themes found in the *Viśaladevarāsa* and the *Dholā-Mārū rā dūhā*. In the hands of the Chāraṇs, the hereditary bards of the ruling Rāj̲p̲ūts [*q.v.*], Old Mār̲wārī was developed as a specialised literary medium for heroic poetry with the incorporation of numerous Sanskritisms and special poetic forms. This bardic language is known as Dīngal, as opposed to "Pīngal", the literary Brajbhāṣā cultivated for other types of poetry in the period down until the later 19th century when both were replaced as literary standards by modern Hindi.

In its celebration of the chivalric ideals of the Rāj̲p̲ūts and of their resistance to the Muslims, the heroic literature of Rāj̲jasthān is of very great cultural importance. It finds its first classic statement in

the Old Gudjarātī *Kānhadadē-prabandha* (1456) by Padmanābh, which celebrates the victories achieved over the Dīhlī Sultan 'Alā' al-Dīn Khaldjī [*q.v.*] and his generals by Kānhadadēv, the Rāj̲p̲ūt ruler of Djalōr, until his final defeat (dated ca. 1312) is followed by his queens performing collective ritual self-immolation (*d̲jāuhar*). In addition to panegyrics and elegies (*marsiyyā*), Dīngal literature includes many similar treatments of such historical episodes, beginning with the mixed prose-verse *Achal Khichī rī vachānikā* based on the resistance mounted by its eponymous Rāj̲p̲ūt hero to the invasion in 1423 of Sultan Hūshang Ghūrī of Māndū [*q.v.*]. For stylistic as well as linguistic reasons, however, Dīngal literature has attracted less interest from modern scholars than the more approachable prose chronicles of the Rāj̲p̲ūt states dating from the early 17th century which were written in Middle Mār̲wārī, and whose most celebrated exemplar is the *Khyāt* by Naynāsī, minister to Djaswant Singh of Mār̲wārī (d. 1670).

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4. History.

Archaeological researches in western Rāj̲jasthān show that people were living there in the 3rd and 2nd millennia B.C. who were close to the Harappan and post-Harappan cultures of the Indus valley. Late rulers of the whole or parts of the state included the Bactrian Greeks, Sakas, Guptas, and White Huns, until from the 7th century A.D. onwards, various Rāj̲p̲ūt dynasties arose, including the Gurdjara-Pratihāras, who fended off the Arab colonists in Sind; but for the most part, these Rāj̲p̲ūt princely lines were involved in internecine warfare, which was to facilitate Muslim probes into the region. The last of the Cāhamāna or Cāwhān line, Prithivirādja III, was defeated and killed by the Ghūrīd sultan Mu'izz al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Sām [*q.v.*] in the second battle of Tarā'in in 588/1192. The capital Adjmēr [*q.v.*] was briefly restored by the Ghūrīd to Prithivirādja's young son after the latter had accepted the Sultan's suzerainty over his lands. Only the strategic fortress of Ranthambhor in eastern Rāj̲jasthān was occupied permanently, with a garrison under Kiwām al-Mulk



Rukn al-Dīn Ḥamza. In 591/1195 the Rājṣpūts rebelled against Muslim control under the leadership of the chiefs Harirādjā and Djarā'ī who occupied Adjmer [q.v.], threatened Ranthambhōr and fomented dissension in the region towards Dihlī, where Kuṭb al-Dīn Aybak [q.v.] resided as Mu'izz al-Dīn's viceroy. Aybak restored the situation and regained Adjmer. Nāgawr [q.v.] in the region of D̥jōdhpūr [q.v.] seems to have been occupied at this time. Thangar, capital of the territory of Bayānā in this eastern part, was besieged and captured by Mu'izz al-Dīn in 592/1196 and then entrusted to Malik Bahā' al-Dīn Toghril, who later transferred his capital to a newly-founded town, Sulṭānkōt, that later became known, from the name of the province, as Bayānā. Thus with the exception of the chief of D̥jālōr in western Rādjasthān, most of the region had been nominally at least subdued. In the last years of the 6th/12th century, Kh*ādja Mu'īn al-Dīn Ḥasan Sidjī (d. 633/1236 [see ʿṣṣṣṣṣṣ]), founder of what was to become one of the most influential Ṣūfī orders in India, the ʿṢṣṣṣṣṣṣ [q.v.], came to reside at the Cāhamāna capital Adjmer, and his shrine there later became one of the most celebrated shrines, for both Muslims and Hindus, in the subcontinent. His disciple Shaykh Ḥamīd al-Dīn Suwalī Nāgawrī (d. 673/1274) was sent by Mu'īn al-Dīn to Nāgawr, which likewise became an important ʿṢṣṣṣṣṣṣ shrine.

The relaxation of power in the Dihlī Sultanate [q.v.] on the death in 633/1236 of Ilutmish [q.v.] gave an opportunity for the Rājṣpūt princes to reassert their power. A revolt in eastern Rādjasthān forced his daughter Sultan Rāḍiyya [q.v.] to withdraw the Muslim garrison from Ranthambhōr, and except for the districts around Adjmer and Nāgawr, the whole region reverted to Rājṣpūt rule, allowing powerful lines like those of Ranthambhōr and ʿĪtōr to come into existence; for the rest of the century no Muslim ruler was able to contemplate a reconquest. This only came in the reign of 'Alā' al-Dīn Muḥammad Khaldjī (695-715/1296-1316), who aimed to secure at least eastern Rādjasthān in order to open a line of communication towards Mālwa and Guḍjarāt, which he coveted. An army was sent in 700/1301 to besiege the powerful and prestigious ruler of Ranthambhōr, Rā'ī Hammīr Dēva, a descendant of Pṛthivīrādjā III. This attempt failed ignominiously, and only after the Sultan had to come from Dihlī in person with reinforcements did Ranthambhōr fall after a year's struggle. It was then placed under the general Ulugh Khān, and in 701/1302 the Sultan invested the fortress of ʿĪtōr, then ruled by another noted prince, Ratnasimha of the Guhila clan of Mēwār and the grandson of Djarā'ī, and captured it in the next year, annexing the territory of ʿĪtōr to the Dihlī Sultanate and placing it under the governorship of the crown prince, Khidr Khān. Thereafter, the chiefs of smaller principalities either submitted or were overthrown by military force. Thus in 711/1311 the commander Malik Kamāl al-Dīn Gurg defeated Rā'ī Karan Dēva and seized his principality of D̥jālōr, and after this, lesser chiefs in D̥jaysalmer, etc. likewise submitted and acknowledged Khaldjī suzerainty.

Thus throughout the 8th/14th century, Rādjasthān was controlled by the Dihlī Sultans and their governors from such centres as Adjmer, Ranthambhōr, Nāgawr and D̥jālōr. However, the invasion of northern India and sack of Dihlī by Tīmūr [q.v.] in 801/1398 eventually led to the end of the Tughlūq Sultans and heralded a period of weakness for the Sultanate, with various Muslim powers arising in the provinces.

It was also the opportunity for a re-assertion of power by the Rājṣpūt chiefs, with the Rānā of ʿĪtōr organising a confederacy of chiefs and with the Rājṣpūts of Mēwār driving the Muslims from Adjmer, held by them till 859/1455 when the Sultan of Mālwa recaptured, with the rulers of Mālwa now holding it for almost eighty years. It was also an opportunity for Sultan Muzaḥḥār Shāh (I) of Guḍjarāt [q.v.], now independent of Dihlī, to send his younger brother Shams al-Dīn Khān Dandānī against Nāgawr, at which his descendants established a local dynasty that endured till Dawlat Khān Nāgawrī was killed ca. 932/1525-6 by Rā'ī Māldēva of D̥jōdhpūr. D̥jālōr was ruled by a Nuhanī Afghan chief and his descendants until it was conquered by Māldēva after 932/1526, but the latter's power was then overthrown by the Dihlī Sultan Shīr Shāh Sūr (r. 947-52/1540-5 [q.v.]), who also attacked the Rādjā of D̥jōdhpūr in his principality of Mārwar in 949/1542-3. Previous to this, Mēwār had been built up into one of the most powerful principalities of northern India under its energetic ruler Rānā Sangrām Singh or Sāngā (r. 1509-28), who led successful campaigns against the Sultans of Mālwa and Guḍjarāt. He went on to acquire imperial ambitions, defeating the Dihlī Sultan Ibrāhīm Lōdī [see Lōdīs] in 929/1523 and made overtures to the Mughal adventurer Bābur [q.v.] for a concerted attack on the Lōdīs. He soon realised, however, that Bābur would be a powerful rival for power and turned against him; but in 933/1527 Bābur secured a decisive victory over Sāngā at Khānu'a. This was a turning point in the history of northern India, for after this the Rājṣpūt princes remained essentially on the defensive in their territories against the rising power of the Sūrs and then the Mughals.

Shīr Shāh Sūr's biographer 'Abbās Sarwānī mentions the territories acquired by him in Rādjasthān as the *mulk-i Nāgawr u Adjmer u D̥jōdhpūr*, and he also speaks of the desert regions of the west as the *zamīn-i rīgīstān*. Shīr Shāh now divided up the whole region into extensive *sarkārs* [q.v. in Suppl.], each under a *faujdār* with his commander Khawāṣṣ Khān as *amīn* or overall governor. The emperor Akbar's policy in Rādjasthān was based on conquest and conciliation. The captures of ʿĪtōr and Ranthambhōr made him master of the greater part of the region, with the exception of Mēwār, not completely subdued until D̥jahāngīr's reign, when Rānā Amar Singh submitted at Udaypūr in 1023/1614. The emperor took Rājṣpūt wives, and both his son D̥jahāngīr and the latter's son Shāh D̥jahān were born of Rājṣpūt mothers. Rājṣpūt troops, typically dismounting from their small horses to fight, formed contingents in the Mughal army under Akbar. Rādjasthān was organised into the *ṣūba* [q.v.] of Adjmer under a *ṣubadār* [q.v.], with seven component *sarkārs*: Adjmer, ʿĪtōr, Ranthambhōr, Sirohi, Nāgawr, D̥jōdhpūr and Bikāner. The districts of Alwār and Bharatpūr, which are now within modern Rādjasthān State, were included in the *ṣūba* of Āgra.

The reversing of Akbar's conciliatory policies under Awrangzib [q.v.] left the emperor faced with such powerful enemies as the Rājṣpūts in northern India and the Marāṭhās [q.v.] in the northwestern Deccan. The new policy of militant Muslim orthodoxy affected the emperor's relationship with the Rājṣpūt nobility, who formed a highly influential element in the Mughal state apparatus; the highest-ranked noble in the empire was Mīrzā Rādjā D̥jay Singh Kachwaha of D̥jaypūr, and in 1090/1679 all Rājṣpūts in the state service were excused the newly-imposed *ḡziya*, though the mass of Rājṣpūt subjects were not. Nevertheless, the

With the defeat of the Marāṭhās by British forces in 1817-18, before the end of 1818, the group of principalities and chiefdoms which came to comprise the British Indian province of Rājapūṭāna had been taken under British protection. Their borders were now precisely delimited, with the whole of the province comprising these native states (totalling eighteen princely states and two chiefdoms) except for the small enclave of Adjmer-Merwāra which was a directly-ruled British Indian province. The chief commissioner of this last was also the political officer there, styled agent to the governor-general, for the Government of India, and there with various residents and political agents accredited to the native states. The outbreak of the Sepoy Mutiny in 1857 found Rājapūṭāna devoid of British troops; there were local disturbances, but the native princes, whose positions were often threatened, managed to restore order. The administrative system outlined above lasted until Partition and Indian independence in 1947; during the previous century or so, the province had, from its particular political constitution, remained largely outside the nationalist and westernising currents that affected other parts of the subcontinent. During the civil strife that raged around Partition, many Muslims were driven out of the Hindu princely states of Alwār and Bharatpūr. When the Indian Union was established, the central government in 1956 set up a Boundary Commission for the re-organisation of states on a linguistic basis. A recommendation, implemented in 1958, was that Alwār and Bharatpūr should be included in the new state of Rājasthān, though linguistically they do not form part of it.

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After Awarangzib's death in 1118/1707, the main power in the empire was that of the Bārha Sayyids [*q.v.* in Suppl.], who in 1124/1712 raised to the throne Farrukh-siyar b. 'Azīm al-Sha'n Muḥammad 'Azīm [*q.v.*] but deposed him in Rabi' II 1131/February 1719 and substituted for him Rafī' al-Daradījāt; but in June, the latter died of tuberculosis, to be succeeded by yet another puppet of the Bārha Sayyids, Shāh Dīshān II b. Rafī' al-Sha'n.

Bibliography: See that to FARRUKH-SIYAR, and add J.F. Richards, *The Mughal empire*, Cambridge 1993, 272. For chronology, see C.E. Bosworth, *The New Islamic dynasties*, Edinburgh 1996, 331 no. 175. (C.E. BOSWORTH)

AL-RAMLĪ, MUHAMMAD B. AḤMAD ABŪ BAKR IBN AL-NĀBULUSĪ, a traditionist originally from Nābulus [*q.v.*] who was the *raʿīs* of Ramla and who used often to make retreat with his disciples in the *Akuwāḥ* Bāniyās ("the huts of Bāniyās") at the foot of Mt. Hermon in the Syrian Djaqlān.

He publicly opposed the Fātimid occupation of Syria. Taken from Damascus and sent in a cage to Egypt, on the orders of the caliph al-Mu'izz [q.v.] he was flayed alive in 363/973 at the Manzār, the belvedere on the road connecting Fuṣṭāṭ with Cairo (the relevant Arabic texts and details of his biography and of the numerous famous *muhaddiths* and historians whom he taught or frequented are to be found in Th. Bianquis, *Imn al-Nābuluṣī, un martyr sunnite au IV^e s. de l'hégire*, in *AI*, xii [1974], 45-66; idem, *ʿAbd al-Ghanī b. Saʿīd, un savant sunnite au service des Fātimides*, in *Actes du XXI^e Congrès international des orientalistes*, Paris 1975. i, 39-47).

He exercised a more important influence on the historians of Damascus and Baghdād who tended towards the *ahl al-hadīth* than on those of Ash‘arī ten-



dencies, so that Ibn al-'Asākir does not seem to hold many of his disciples in very high regard. One should mention in regard to him a curious *ḥadīth* which he transmitted and which after his death extended the mission of guiding the consciences of the Sunnī community entrusted collectively to the 'ulamā'. His Sunnī disciples, gathered together at the Akuwākh Bāniyās, lived a life close to nature which is described by al-Muḥaddasī (160, 188, tr. Miquel, 176, 238); these persons were mainly refugees from Tarsūs expelled by the Byzantines. The *nisba* of al-Ballūfī borne by their head Abū Ishāq seems to go back, not to their eating acorns but to a distant remembrance of Andalusī origins. After the Revolt of the Suburb at Cordova, these forebears had reached Alexandria, then Crete, then Tarsūs, and finally had sought refuge in Syria.

What made Ibn al-Nābulusī famous was the *fatwā* which he gave in reply to a question whether priority be given to the war against the Byzantines, who were regularly ravaging northern Syria, or to resistance against the Fāṭimid army which, it was true, could protect the province against Byzantine raids. He said, "If I had ten arrows, I would loose nine of them against the descendants of 'Ubayd Allāh (sc. the Fāṭimids) and one against the Byzantines." He justified his attitude thus: "In fact, the Byzantines are People of the Book, whereas the former are impious associators of others with God... enemies of all the prophets and all the scriptures that God has sent" (Kādi 'Abd al-Djabbār, *Talḥībī*, ed. 'A. al-K. 'Uthmān, Beirut 1970, ii, 608). According to Ibn al-Djawzī (*Muntazam*, Haydarābād 1375, vii, 82), he is even reported to have altered his reply when interrogated in Egypt, asserting that not merely nine arrows but also the tenth arrow should be launched against the Fāṭimids because they had improperly claimed for themselves the divine light. The later sources expatiate on his sufferings, which lasted for three days. The expressions attributed to the sufferer, about to be flayed alive, by a pitying Jew stem from the Ṣūfī vocabulary. Al-Dhahabī mentions that there was, at this same time as Ibn al-Nābulusī, another Sunnī who offered resistance, Abū 'l-Faraj al-Tarsūsī, who was subjected to humiliations in the Akṣā Mosque by the Fāṭimids' Maghribī soldiery, and he records for the year 364/974 the punishment, likewise at Jerusalem, of Abū 'l-Kāsim al-Wāsiṭī, who had his tongue cut out. Having been miraculously restored by the Prophet Muḥammad, al-Wāsiṭī climbed the minaret in order publicly to proclaim his Sunnī faith, and was then crucified, remaining on the cross for three days. His "corpse" was thrown down in a street, where some pious persons took it in order to wash it, but then discovered that he was still alive. Abū Bakr gave back to him his tongue, which had been cut out a second time and he climbed up to proclaim his faith from the top of a minaret. Tired of all this, the governor contented himself with expelling him from the city. References to Christ's life and crucifixion are frequent in the Hanbalī milieu of Palestine; accordingly, one finds an ascetic walking on the Lake of Tiberias. Ibn 'Asākir does not hide his ironic scepticism when he mentions such occurrences among the literalists, whom he despised and cordially hated, considering them to be liars who exploited the populace's credulity. It is furthermore known that militant Hanbalī Sunnism remained alive in Palestine up to the time of the Crusades (see H. Laoust, *Le précis de droit d'Ibn Qudāma*, Beirut 1950, introd.).

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(TH. BIANQUIS)

RAMY AL-DJIMĀR (A.), literally, "the throwing of pebbles", a practice which probably goes back to early Arabia and whose most celebrated survival is in the ritual throwing of stones in the valley of Minā by the pilgrims returning from 'Arafāt in the course of the Meccan Pilgrimage [see AL-DJAMRA; *HADJ*, iii. c]. In Fahd's view, the rite does not seem to have had any divinatory significance, but among suggestions regarding its origins is the one that it could have been a gesture of solidarity with a dead person, on whose tomb stones are placed. See the discussion in T. Fahd, *La divination arabe*, Leiden 1966, 188ff.

Bibliography: Given in the article. (Ed.)

RA'Y (A.), a verbal noun of *ra'ā*, the common Arabic verb for seeing with the eye, has among its various closely related meanings that of opinion (i.e. a seeing of the heart) on questions of Islamic law not within the literal scope of the revealed texts (*naṣṣ*) of the Qur'ān or *ḥadīth*. Although sometimes used for an opinion on a specific question of law (for which *kaṭ'* is most common), *ra'y* is more often used for the body of such opinions held by a particular jurist (i.e. the *ra'y* of Abū Ḥanīfā) and for the reasoning used to derive such opinions. It is also found in the sense of the intellectual faculties that underlie such legal reasoning. Discrimination among these and other possible meanings of the term is not always easy (cf. Ch. Pellat, *Ibn al-Muqaffā' (mort vers 140/757)*, "conseiller" du calife, Paris 1976, 82) and *ra'y* never achieved the status of a fully technical legal term. Although the legal usage of *ra'y* is the most important historically, *ra'y* was also used for adherence to a body of theological doctrine (i.e. *ra'y al-Djāmiyya*), and its narrowest recorded sense appears to be that of adherence to the doctrine of the Khāridjīs (on the use of *ra'y* for the holding of specific theological dogmas, such as freewill, see al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā, *al-Dharī'a ilā uṣūl al-sharī'a*, ed. Abū 'l-Kāsim Gurdjī, Tehran 1376/1956, ii, 673, where, however, the examples are all of the verb *ra'ā* and the context is polemical). In all of the above senses, the singular *ra'y* is far more common than the plural *arā'*.

As a process of deriving law *ra'y* does not constitute any single method of reasoning but can be used of such methods as *kiyās*, *istihsān*, and *istiṣlāḥ* [*q.v.*], severally or together, although its use specifically in relation to *kiyās* is the most frequent (e.g. *yaḳīṣūna bi-ra'yihim*). Consequently, identifying the precise forms of reasoning labelled as *ra'y* by one or another early jurist or school of jurists requires specific examination of their legal arguments (J. Schacht, *The origins of Muhammadan jurisprudence*, Oxford 1950, 98-132, 269-328, still of fundamental importance). Insofar as *ra'y* does not include the process of authenticating *ḥadīth* or interpreting texts, it constitutes only part of the scope of *idjtihād* [*q.v.*] as generally understood, although the expression *idjtihād al-ra'y* (the exercise of *ra'y*) figures prominently in the *ḥadīth* (e.g. the *ḥadīth* of Mu'adh b. Djabal, on which see al-Mubārakfūrī, *Tuḥfat al-ahwadhī*, Beirut 1422/2001, iv, 637-9) and in the polemics concerning *ra'y*.

There is general agreement among both Sunnī and Shī'ī writers that there was some recourse to *ra'y* on the part of certain Companions (*ṣaḥāba* [*q.v.*]) of the Prophet, including such leading figures as Abū Bakr and 'Umar, and then on the part of their Successors (*ṭābi'ūn*) (Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Djāmi' bayān al-'ilm wa-fadlīhi*, ed. al-Zuhayrī, al-Dammām 1414/1994, ii, 858-9). This early *ra'y* was accorded some measure of authority, at least by the mainstream of Muslims, and



was transmitted by scholars together with Prophetic *ḥadīth*. This early *ra'y* is preserved in such collections as *al-Muṣannaf* of 'Abd al-Razzāk al-Ṣan'ānī (d. 211/826) and *al-Muṣannaf* of Ibn Abī Shayba (d. 235/849) [q.v.].

A critical development in the history of Islamic law occurred during the late Umayyad and early 'Abbāsīd periods with a dramatic growth in the scope and intensity of *ra'y* (cf. Ibn Taymiyya, *Maḍmū'at al-fatāwā*, ed. al-Djazzār and al-Bāz, al-Riyāḍ 1419/1998, xx, 175 which names Rabi'a wa-Ibn Hurmuz (so read) [in Medina], 'Uthmān al-Bāṭi (so read) in Baṣra, and Abū Ḥanīfa as the leading figures at the beginning of the 'Abbāsīd dynasty, cf. I. Goldziher, *Muslim studies*, tr. C.R. Barber and S.M. Stern, London 1971, 78-85 [on foreign influence], 201-2). The proponents of this new version of *ra'y* became known as the *ahl al-ra'y* or *aṣḥāb al-ra'y* [q.v.]. The *ahl al-ra'y* were met with opposition from a number of quarters: the scholars of tradition (the *ahl al-ḥadīth*) (Ibn Kutayba, *K. Mukhtalif al-ḥadīth*, Cairo 1326, 62-71; Shāh Walī Allāh al-Dihlawī, *Hudūd al-Allāh al-bāliḡa*, ed. Ḍamīriyya, al-Riyāḍ 1420/1999, i, 455-62 [explaining the dispute]), certain Mu'tazilī theologians, and large segments of the Shī'ī community. Although opposition to *ra'y* in these various groups was in its origin based on different considerations, anti-*ra'y* arguments developed by one group could come to be adopted by the others (Ibn Ma'sūm, *al-Daradīāt al-rafi'a*, Naḍjaf 1382/1962, 26). The Mu'tazilī opponents of *ra'y* were particularly influential in propagating an epistemologically sophisticated anti-*ra'y* position that came to influence the opposition among the traditionists and Shī'īs.

The opposition to *ra'y* from among the traditionists is extensively preserved in *ḥadīth* collections, above all that of al-Dārimī (d. 255/868), the writings of Ibn Ḥazm (d. 456/1064), Ibn 'Abd al-Barr (d. 463/1070), and Ibn Qayyim al-Djauziyya (d. 751/1350) [q.v.], and traditionist biographical works such as that of al-Fasawī, *K. al-Ma'rif wa 'l-ta'rīkh*, (ed. Akram Diyā' al-'Umari, Baghdad 1394/1973). This material provides far richer historical resources for tracing the details of the development of the new *ra'y* movement than do the more dogmatic Mu'tazilī and Shī'ī anti-*ra'y* sources. The *ahl al-ra'y* were regarded by their traditionist opponents as undermining the authority of the *sunna* that the traditionists had dedicated their lives to preserving. Familiarity with the *sunna* (which included knowledge of the *ra'y* of the first generations) was sometimes labelled real knowledge (*'ilm*) in contrast to subjective legal opinion (*ra'y*, *ẓann*). The *ahl al-ra'y* were set on a course of expanding Islamic law far beyond the resources of the traditionists and to this extent were inevitably led to expose the contradictions and limitations of the traditionist approach.

Although the traditionist anti-*ra'y* sources do point to the subjectivity and instability of the results of the new *ra'y* and to the many instances where the *ra'y* of the jurists was in contradiction to well-established *sunna*, their most frequent complaint concerns the relentless questioning on the most abstruse possible legal cases that was characteristic of the new *ra'y*. The anti-*ra'y* sources condemn the difficult questions (*mu'dilāt*, *ughlūṭāt*) of the *ahl al-ra'y*, the relentlessness with which they were pursued (*tashdīd*), and the unwarranted speculative character of the answers these questions evoked (*takalluf*, *tanaffu'*). Numerous anti-*ra'y* statements single out for criticism the annoying and virtually inescapable formula of eliciting a legal opinion (*ara'ayta*) (on the form and syntax of this expression, found in the Qur'ān and *ḥadīth*, see H.L.

Fleischer, *Kleinere Schriften*, Leipzig 1885-8, i, 481-7; G. Bergsträsser, *Vernennungs- und Fragepartikeln*, Leipzig 1914, 93). The *ahl al-ra'y* are the *aṣḥāb ara'ayta* (al-Dārimī, *al-Sunan*, ed. Dahmān, Beirut n.d., i, 66). The expression is characteristic of certain genres of early legal literature from *ra'y* circles and sometimes appears in these works with unremitting frequency (e.g. al-Shaybānī, *K. al-Makhārīj fi 'l-ḥiyal*, ed. J. Schacht, Leipzig 1930). It was also employed to introduce an objection in debate (cf. Schacht, *Origins*, 120). The importance of this veritable flood of questions to the development of the Islamic law cannot be overstated. It was the questions that generated the growing scope of legal discussion (*ta'tid al-su'āl*, in Ibn Abī Zayd al-Qayrawānī, *al-Nawādir wa 'l-ziyādāt*, ed. 'Abd al-Fattāḥ Hulw, Beirut 1999, i, 9) and led directly to the production of the large legal treatises that remain standard to this day (cf. the account of the Mālikī classic *al-Mudawwana* in Ibn Khaldūn, *al-Mukaddima*, ed. al-Sa'id al-Mandūh, Beirut 1414/1993, ii, 133; Ibn Taymiyya, *Maḍmū'at al-fatāwā*, xx, 180).

At the forefront of this new style of legal learning founded in posing questions were the 'Irākī jurists headed by Abū Ḥanīfa. The questions posed by these jurists were often unabashedly hypothetical and among the jibes directed at Abū Ḥanīfa was that he was among the most knowledgeable about what has not occurred but among the most ignorant about what has occurred. The posing of such hypothetical questions enabled the jurists to gauge the extent to which they could found the law on general principles, and in fact the efforts of the *ahl al-ra'y* to render the law systematic are noted, sometimes critically (Ibn Abī Ḥatīm, *Adāb al-Shāfi'i wa-manākiḥuhu*, ed. 'Abd al-Khālik, Cairo 1372/1952, 171).

The *ahl al-ra'y* were able to gain substantial successes in their competition with the *ahl al-ḥadīth* and to attract talented students of *ḥadīth* to their camp (Ibn Sa'd, vi, 270; Zufar b. al-Hudhayl). In such cases the sources speak of *ra'y* gaining mastery of the individual, and his eventual identification with *ra'y*. The most obvious examples of such an identification are the Medinan Rabi'a Ibn Farrūkh (d. 136/753), known as Rabi'at al-Ra'y and the Baṣran Ḥanafī Hilāl b. Yahyā (d. 245/859), known as Hilāl al-Ra'y. Often, however, *ra'y* was adopted but not in its most aggressive form, and the line dividing the *ahl al-ra'y* and *ahl al-ḥadīth* could not always be clearly drawn. Many writers, for example, include Mālik with the *ahl al-ḥadīth*, others with the *ahl al-ra'y* (Ibn Kutayba, *al-Ma'arīf*, ed. 'Ukāsha, Cairo n.d., 498). Moderate forms of *ra'y* balanced by traditions were able to make some inroads among the *ahl al-ḥadīth*.

There is universal agreement on applying the label *ahl al-ra'y* to Abū Ḥanīfa and his followers in 'Irāk, and Abū Ḥanīfa was the favoured target of the barbs of the traditionists, who sometimes portrayed him in satanic terms (there is an extensive collection of such denigrating remarks in al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, *Ta'rīkh Madīnat al-Salām*, ed. Bashshār 'Awwād Ma'rūf, Beirut 1422/2001, xv, 543-86). The many instances in which Abū Ḥanīfa was regarded as having contracted the *sunna* were collected (see Ibn Abī Shayba, *al-Kitāb al-muṣannaf*, Bombay 1403/1983, xiv, 148-282). Even Abū Ḥanīfa, however, did not lack entirely for admirers among the *ahl al-ḥadīth*, and one of these, 'Abd Allāh Ibn al-Mubārak (d. 181/797 [q.v.]), approved of *ra'y* for the purpose of interpreting *ḥadīth*.

Al-Shāfi'i was regarded by some leading representatives of the *ahl al-ḥadīth* as having supported their cause with arguments that the *ahl al-ra'y* could not



dismiss, and Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal not only encouraged traditionists to study al-Shāfi'ī's *al-Risāla* (Ibn Abī Ḥatīm, 61-3) but himself made a careful study of al-Shāfi'ī's legal works and was thus exposed to a moderate version of *ra'y*. The very development of the discipline of legal theory (*uṣūl al-fikḥ* [q.v.]) ushered in by al-Shāfi'ī's *al-Risāla* led to increased scrutiny of the epistemological foundations of the various methods of legal reasoning falling within *ra'y* and to a revaluation of *ra'y* in all its forms. The question was now raised, for example, of whether the Prophet himself had ever had recourse to *ra'y*, albeit infallibly, as suggested in the *ḥadīth* (Abū Dāwūd, *al-Sunan*, ed. al-Khālidi, Beirut 1416/1996, ii, 509; cf. Kur'ān, IV, 105: *bi-mā arāka Allāh*, a question to which al-Shāfi'ī was unable to give a definitive answer, cf. al-Bayhaqī, *Mārifat al-sunan wa 'l-āthār*, ed. Aḥmad Ṣakr, Cairo n.d., i, 7-8).

Al-Shāfi'ī himself favoured the limitation of *ra'y* to *kiyās* to the exclusion of *istiḥsān* (Schacht, *Origins*, 120-8), and others in his wake reconciled the traditions for and against *ra'y* by identifying the *ra'y* that was acceptable with *ra'y* that was grounded in the revealed texts, that is, *kiyās*. Nonetheless the Ḥanafīs and Mālikīs continued to support a broader notion of *ra'y* and interpret the condemnation of *ra'y* in the *ḥadīth* to refer to *ra'y* in the sense of theological heresy (Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *Dhāmī bayān*, ii, 1052-4) or to offer accounts of *istiḥsān*, for example, that brought it within the scope of *kiyās*.

More radical forms of legal theory emerged, however, which imposed a standard of certainty for Islamic law in all its elements. Among the proponents of this elevated standard was the Baṣran Mu'tazilī al-Nazzām (d. between 220/835 and 230/845 [q.v.]) whose attack on probable reasoning in all forms including *kiyās* did not spare the Companions who resorted to *ra'y* (van Ess, *Das Kitāb an-Nakḥ des Nazzām und seine Rezeption im Kitāb al-Fuṭyā des Gāhiz*, Göttingen 1972). Among the Baghdadī Mu'tazilīs who took a similar position was Dja'far b. al-Mubashshir (d. 234/848-9), who unlike al-Nazzām sought to justify recourse to *ra'y* on the part of the Companions by way of compromise of a dispute or theoretical inquiry without practical consequences ('Abd al-Djabbār al-Hamadḥānī, *al-Mughnī*, ed. Amin al-Khūfī, Cairo 1962, xvii, 298).

The Zāhirī school of law, inaugurated by Dāwūd b. 'Alī al-Iṣfahānī (d. 270/834 [see DĀWŪD b. KHALAF]) came from the ranks of the *ahl al-ḥadīth*, and Dāwūd, like Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal, was a fervent admirer of al-Shāfi'ī (I. Goldziher, *The Zāhirīs*, tr. W. Behn, Leiden 1971). Dāwūd's son Muḥammad (d. 297/910) impelled the Zāhirīs in a more independent direction and was unsparing in his critique of al-Shāfi'ī (D. Stewart, *Muḥammad b. Dā'ūd al-Zāhirī's manual of jurisprudence: al-Wuṣūl ilā ma'rifat al-uṣūl*, in B.G. Weiss, *Studies in Islamic legal theory*, Leiden 2002, 129-30). Each in somewhat different fashion propounded a version of Islamic law that excluded all forms of probable reasoning and both were in a position to draw upon their Mu'tazilī contemporaries (cf. al-Sarakhsī, *Uṣūl al-fikḥ*, ed. Abu 'l-Wafā' al-Afghānī, Cairo 1372, ii, 119). In the apparent absence of surviving writings by these early Zāhirīs, it is the extensive works of the Andalusī Zāhirī Ibn Ḥazm [q.v.] that shed light on the Zāhirī contribution to the anti-*ra'y* movement and exhibit the lingering influence of the Mu'tazilī theorists. According to Ibn Ḥazm, *ra'y* was already a feature of the period of the Companions before the appearance of analogy in the following generation (*Mulakhkḥas ibtāl al-kiyās wa 'l-ra'y wa 'l-istiḥsān wa 'l-taklīd wa 'l-ta'tīl*, ed. Sa'īd

al-Afghānī, Beirut 1379/1969, 4-5). He understands *ra'y* to involve the enunciation of legal opinion on the basis of sheer expediency and he regards the process as equivalent to *istiḥsān*, and *istinbāt* (derivation) (*al-Iḥkām fī uṣūl al-aḥkām*, ed. Aḥmad Muḥammad Shākir, Cairo 1347, vi, 16). He vigorously rejects the effort on the part of the jurists of his day to identify *kiyās* as a form of *ra'y*, in fact as identical to acceptable *ra'y*. There is no acceptable form of *ra'y*. The Companions' recourse to *ra'y* was misconceived, but in their case never amounted to an endorsement of *ra'y* as a method of deriving law because they did not, as did the later proponents of *ra'y*, regard their *ra'y* as God's law (*ḥukm*). They saw it rather as providing a rule they individually might follow out of pious precaution, or they offered their *ra'y* by way of compromise to settle a dispute. Insofar as any sound Prophetic traditions mandate recourse to *idjtihād al-ra'y*, what must be meant is exhaustive seeking for the applicable revealed texts.

Opposition to the movement of *ahl al-ra'y* was also found among the Twelver and Ismā'īlī Shī'īs, and resort to *ra'y* (also *irṭiyā'*), *kiyās*, and *idjtihād* is condemned in numerous Shī'ī *ḥadīth*, sometimes in terms familiar from the Sunnī *ḥadīth*. Prominent in this connection are the *ḥadīth* going back to the Imām Dja'far al-Ṣādiq, who is portrayed as meeting with Abū Ḥanīfa, whose pretensions to legal understanding he quickly shows to be groundless (i.e. al-Madjlisi, *Bihār al-anwār*, Tehran n.d., ii, 291-6, cf. Kāfī al-Nu'mān, *Dā'ir al-Islām*, ed. Faydī, Cairo 1379/1960, ii, 266). Of particular interest is a purported letter from Dja'far to the proponents of *ra'y* and *kiyās* in which the Imām argues that if resort to *ra'y* were permitted, there would have been no point in God's sending of the prophets. He could have left humans to direct their own affairs (al-Barkī, *al-Mahāsīn*, ed. Mahdī al-Radḡā'ī, Kum 1413, i, 331-2). The same Imām is also found warning his followers against turning to *ra'y* when they are unable to find answers to their questions in the revealed texts, an injunction that is not always followed (Hossein Modarressi Tabatabā'ī, *An introduction to Shī'ī law*, London 1984, 30-1).

The anti-*ra'y* position was defended in the dogmatic writings of the Ismā'īlī Kāfī al-Nu'mān [q.v.] b. Muḥammad (d. 363/974), whose polemics against *ra'y* were bolstered by arguments from Muḥammad b. Dāwūd al-Zāhirī (*K. Ikhtilāf uṣūl al-madḥāhib*, ed. S.T. Lokhandwalla, Simla 1972, 202). A line of Twelver Shī'ī scholars, al-Shaykh al-Mufīd (d. 413/1002) and his students al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā (d. 436/1044) and Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-Tūsī (d. 460/1067) [q.v.], writing under Mu'tazilī influence, maintained their community's rejection of *ra'y*. Even after the 7th/13th century when Twelver Shī'ī jurists came to recognise the validity of *idjtihād*, they continued to exclude *ra'y* and *kiyās* from their sources of law.

The competition between the proponents of *ra'y* and their various opponents ended in a clear victory for the *ahl al-ra'y*. Islamic law as it can be found in the enormous literature of the Sunnī schools is largely the product of *ra'y*; the books of *fikḥ* are the books of *ra'y*. It was this version of Sunnī law that formed a model for the elaboration of law in other circles, even those opposed to *ra'y*. In this sense al-Shāfi'ī was fully justified when he stated that "all are dependent on the 'Irākīs in *fikḥ*" (Ibn Abī Ḥatīm, 210, var. "in *ra'y*"). At another level, however, the deep division within Sunnism between *ahl al-ra'y* and *ahl al-ḥadīth* was never entirely bridged but continued to manifest itself to one degree or another within the



Sunni schools of law (al-Khattābī, *Ma'ālim al-sunan*, ed. Muḥammad Rāghib al-Ṭabbākh, Aleppo 1351/1932, i, 2-8 [on reconciling *ahl al-hadīth* and *ahl al-ra'y*]). Not only an Ibn Taymiyya (d. 728/1327 [q.v.]) (*Maḍmū'at al-fatāwā*, xix, 151) could take offence at the statement of the Shāfi'ī Ash'arī al-Djawaynī (d. 478/1085) that nine-tenths of the law depended on pure *ra'y* (*ra'y maḥd*) (al-Burhān, ed. 'Abd al-'Azīm al-Dīb, Cairo 1400, ii, 768). *Ra'y* was never entirely reputable as a source of law, and many centuries after the Central Asian Ḥanafī Abu 'l-Yusr al-Bazdawī (d. 493/1100) claimed that far from *aḥbāb al-ra'y* being a label of opprobrium (reading *subba*) for the Ḥanafīs as some thought—it was in fact “one of the most beautiful names as indicating their special connection with knowledge of the heart” (*Kitāb fihī ma'rifa al-hudūd al-shar'iyya*, ed. M. Bernand and E. Chaumont, Cairo 2003, 4)—Ḥanafīs and their allies felt called upon to address the label (Murtaḍā al-Zabīdī [d. 1205/1790], *K. 'Ukūd al-djawayhir al-munifa*, ed. al-Albānī, Beirut 1406/1985, i, 25; Ibn Ḥadjar al-Haytamī, *al-Khayrāt al-hisān*, ed. al-Barnī, Beirut n.d., 62-3).

A small but significant remnant of the *ahl al-hadīth* movement continued to take its inspiration from the anti-*ra'y* polemics of the early *ahl al-hadīth*, which remained accessible to them primarily through the writings of Ibn 'Abd al-Barr and Ibn Kayyim al-Djawayniyya. The latter in his *Flām al-muwakkkī'īn 'an rabb al-'ālamīn* (ed. Muḥammad Muḥyī al-Dīn 'Abd al-Hamīd, Cairo 1374/1955, i, 67-85) had, in addition to citing a wealth of material on the *ra'y* debate, established an elaborate categorisation of *ra'y* under three headings: valid (*ṣaḥīḥ*, *maḥmūd*), invalid (*bāṭil*, *madhmūm*), and dubious (*maudū'ī*, *ishtibāḥ*). Ibn al-Kayyim is true to the early *ahl al-hadīth* in recognising the authority of the *ra'y* of the Companions but also admits the validity of *kiyās* in the absence of other sources. His dubious *ra'y* is *ra'y* employed under exigent circumstances when all else fails. It is not meant to establish a generally binding norm from which further rules can be derived, although in fact later jurists have developed this form of *ra'y* at the expense of the revealed texts and statements of early authorities (*al-nuṣūṣ wa 'l-āḥādīth*). Those inspired by the writings of Ibn al-Kayyim shared his sense that much of the law of the schools was pure *ra'y* with very little in the way of textual support of any kind and thus of no authority. In their opposition to *taqlīd* [q.v.] of such mere fallible opinions, they looked to the abolition of the existing schools. Among such jurists are Šāliḥ al-Fullānī (d. 1218/1803), Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Shawkānī (d. 1250/1834 [q.v.]) and Aḥmad b. Idrīs (d. 1253/1837 [q.v.]) (B. Radtke et al., *The exoteric Ahmad b. Idrīs*, Leiden 2000, including an edition and translation of his *Risālat al-radd 'alā ahl al-ra'y*).

The arguments of these and other anti-*ra'y* writers were promoted during the twentieth-century reform movement inaugurated by Muḥammad 'Abduh (d. 1905 [q.v.]) and continued by his disciple Muḥammad Raḥīd Riḍā (d. 1935 [q.v.]). This movement has been quite successful in its intended goal of divesting the law of the schools of its aura of sanctity and revealing it as the body of *ra'y* that it is. It has, however, not put in its place a law that would have pleased the *ahl al-hadīth* but has inclined rather toward an eclecticism open to a wider body of *ra'y* than ever before (see the instructive preface of Riḍā to Ibn Kudāmā, *al-Mughnī*, Medina n.d., i, 21-8).

To a certain extent related to the great debate over *ra'y* in law is the prohibition reported in the *ḥadīth*

of interpreting the Qur'ān according to *ra'y* (*al-tafsīr bi 'l-ra'y*) (Ibn Taymiyya, *Mukaddima fī uṣūl al-tafsīr*, ed. Zarzūr, Kuwayt 1392/1972, 105-13; I. Goldziher, *Die Richtungen der islamischen Koranauslegung*, Leiden 1920, 61-2, 84), a prohibition frequently cited in the anti-*ra'y* material discussed above. Although the vast literature of Qur'ānic commentary does contain works in which the interpretations given are entirely or largely in the form of transmitted explanations from the Prophet and his early followers, the prohibition did not prevent the rapid growth of exegetical works along more independent lines. In some cases this was justified by distinguishing between *tafsīr*, which depends on eyewitness knowledge of the circumstances surrounding the Qur'ānic revelations and was thus limited to the Companions, and *ta'wīl*, which, disclaiming knowledge of the real meaning of the Qur'ān, simply explores possible meanings of the Qur'ānic wording. This was the solution of the theologian al-Māturīdī (d. 333/944 [q.v.]) (*K. Ta'wīlāt ahl al-sunna*, ed. Muḥammad Mustafīd al-Raḥmān, Baghdad 1404/1987, i, 5-6). More commonly, the *ra'y* in the prohibition was understood to refer to theological heresy or subjective inclination, and interpretations not offered in defence of heretical doctrines or prompted by unlearned instinct without a basis in language or logic were deemed not to violate the prohibition (Ibn al-'Arabī, *Kānūn al-ta'wīl*, ed. Muḥammad al-Sulaymānī, Beirut 1990, 366-8; Ibn Aṭīyya, *al-Muḥarrar al-waḍḥīz*, Beirut 1423/2003, 27; Muḥammad 'Abd al-'Azīm al-Zurkānī, *Manāḥil al-'irfān fī 'ulūm al-Kur'ān*, Cairo n.d., ii, 49-69 [defending *tafsīr bi 'l-ra'y*]; Muḥammad Ḥamad Zaḡhlūl, *al-Tafsīr bi 'l-ra'y kaḥwā'iduhu wa-dawābiḥuhu wa-d'lāmuhu*, Damascus 1420/1999).

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(JEANETTE WAKIN and A. ZYSOW)

RIBĀ.

B. In modern commercial usage.

In the modern period, debates on *ribā* among Muslims followed the pre-modern conceptions and arguments developed in *fikḥ*. With the introduction of interest-based banks into Muslim lands, debate on the permissibility or otherwise of interest began, which intensified from the 1940s in the context of the emergence of the global Islamic neo-revivalist movements.

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These movements such as the Muslim Brotherhood [see *AL-IKHWĀN AL-MUSLIMŪN*] of Egypt and *Djamā'at Islāmī* of Pakistan and those influenced by their ideological frameworks called for the transformation of the existing political, legal, social and economic institutions of Muslim societies to ones more in line with "Islamic" norms and principles. One such institution that was targeted for transformation was what they considered to be *ribā* (that is, interest)-based banking and finance in Muslim societies.

Ribā in its *fiqhī* sense is associated with a range of contracts, from loans (*karḍ*) to debts (*dayn*) to sales (*bayʿ*). However, in the mid-to late-20th century, in the Islamic finance literature, *ribā* came to be discussed mainly in the context of interest in financial transactions, and interpreted as interest. This close association between *ribā* and interest is generally accepted today among many Muslims. In his discussion on *ribā*, Khurshid Ahmad, a prominent advocate of Islamic finance in Pakistan, emphasised how *ribā* is to be understood today, and argued that Islam forbids "any premium or excess, small, moderate or large, contractually agreed upon at the time of lending money or loanable funds". (Ahmad, *Elimination of Riba*, 42). However, for some Muslims, *ribā* should not be interpreted simply as interest. For them, only some forms of interest may be *ribā*, and not others.

Muḥammad 'Abduh (d. 1905) and Rashīd Riḍā (d. 1935) [q.v.] were among the first to address the question of interest on deposits. While uncomfortable with the idea, they were prepared to concede it if a *mudāraba* (commenda [q.v.]) scheme could be devised to legitimise the interest (Mallat, *The debate on Riba*, 74). The Egyptian authority on Islamic law, 'Abd al-Razzāq Sanḥūrī (d. 1971), saw compound interest as the main intent of the *Qur'ān*'s prohibition of *ribā*. Interest on capital, in his view, could be justified on the basis of "need" (*ḥāḍja*), but to prevent misuse and exploitation the state should limit interest rates and control methods of payment (*Maṣādir al-ḥakk*, iii, 241-4). The contemporary Syrian thinker Doualibi argued that the *Qur'ān* prohibited interest on "consumption loans" specifically, presumably because of its concern for people who may have borrowed just to meet their basic needs. Following this line of thinking, some have argued that there is no *ribā* in interest paid or received by corporate bodies such as companies and governments, and others that Islam prohibits "usury" not "interest". There is also the idea that *ribā* should be equated with real interest, not nominal interest. Several scholars of the mid- to late-20th century also interpreted *ribā* from a "moral" perspective, away from the literalism that dominates much of the thinking on *ribā*. Muḥammad Asad (d. 1992), a modernist commentator on the *Qur'ān*, maintained that *ribā* involved "an exploitation of the economically weak by the strong and resourceful" (*The message*, 633). Fazlur Rahman (d. 1988), the Pakistani-American academic, argued that the *raison d'être* of the prohibition of *ribā* was injustice (*ẓulm*), as was stated in the *Qur'ān* (II, 279), and that "well-meaning Muslims with very virtuous consciences sincerely believe that the *Qur'ān* has banned all bank interest for all times in woeful disregard of what *ribā* was historically, why the *Qur'ān* denounced it as a gross and cruel form of exploitation and banned it" (*Islamic challenges*, 326).

Despite the appeal of these views, the neo-revivalists and their followers and sympathisers, who increasingly represent mainstream Muslim opinion today, have continued to reject any reinterpretation of *ribā* to accommodate bank interest. Mawdūdī (d. 1979), the founder

of *Djamā'at Islāmī* of Pakistan, for example, asserted that there was no question that *ribā* was interest. The Council of Islamic Ideology of Pakistan (*Consolidated recommendations*, 7), which in the 1980s developed a blueprint for the transformation of the Pakistani financial system into an Islamic one, claimed that there was "complete unanimity among all schools of thought in Islam that the term *ribā* stands for interest in all its types and forms".

In the 1970s, the oil-producing Gulf states found themselves with massive cash surpluses to invest, which shifted the debate on *ribā* from the theoretical to the practical. One of the strategies adopted by these states was to develop financial institutions on an interest-free (that is, *ribā*-free, or Islamic) basis. Examples include the Islamic Development Bank based in Saudi Arabia, the Faisal Islamic Banks based in the Middle East, Kuwait Finance House and the Dubai Islamic Bank. *Shari'a* advisers guided the design of contracts and products and the drawing up of principles for productive ventures, in which capital could be combined with the skill of entrepreneurs to lead to socially beneficial incremental returns. The system created is understood in Islamic finance today as Profit and Loss Sharing (PLS), in which both provider and user of the funds share in the outcome of the venture, be it positive or negative, and no interest is paid or received (Saeed, *Islamic banking*, 51-75). Contracts developed cover *mudāraba* (commenda), *mushāraka* (partnership), *iḍjāra* (leasing), *istisnā'* (manufacturing or "made-to-order") and *murābaha* (mark-up finance based on sale of goods). Driven by these new strategies, Islamic banking and finance grew strongly in the 1980s and 1990s.

With the 21st century, the role of Islamic (that is, *ribā*-free) financial institutions in Muslim communities has become even more significant, with institutions ranging from village banks to major international development banks, to insurance (*takāful*) companies, to investment funds—all in competition with conventional interest-based institutions but often in co-operation with them as well. Several Muslim majority states such as Malaysia, Kuwait and Egypt, for instance, have dual banking and finance systems (one based on interest, the other based on Islamic principles). Even interest-based banks (including major international banks) now offer Islamic products or Islamic windows to their Muslim clientèle, and to interested non-Muslims.

The drive to develop modern, *ribā*-free banking, finance and insurance was accompanied by some serious difficulties and also pragmatic shifts in the understanding of *ribā*. Because of competition, Islamic financial institutions felt they had to provide their Muslim clients with "competitive" products, which at times meant interest-based products under different contractual arrangements and labels. These pragmatic adjustments tended to make the Islamic finance, at times, less distinguishable from interest-based finance in the eyes of their critics. What follows are some examples where critics argue that there are pragmatic shifts in the understanding of *ribā* by the proponents of Islamic finance.

First, Islamic bankers and their *Shari'a* advisers came to see *ribā*, interpreted as interest, as a *legal* rather than an *economic* concept. For them, *ribā* occurred mainly in the context of contractual obligations on borrowers to pay an *increase* in a loan transaction (Nienhaus, *Islamic economics*, 44). Islamic law prohibited any positive return to the provider of capital in a purely financial transaction, such as where an entrepreneur



received funds from a bank for utilisation at the entrepreneur's discretion. This was governed by the requirements of the contract of loan (*kard*). If the contract changed, e.g. from loan to sale (*bay'*), a return, even if in reality it might appear little different from fixed interest, was permissible. An example of this is the mark-up in *murābaha*, which from a legal point of view is not a purely financial transaction and therefore a positive return (= mark-up) is considered permissible.

Second, practical realities also meant that Islamic banks needed to compensate themselves if customers defaulted on contractual obligations, for example by failing to pay a debt on time. Thus, in such cases, a "fine" (compensation equivalent to the "opportunity cost" of the capital) became the practice, not without criticism, however. On the other hand, there are depositors who do not want to put their funds at risk in a PLS account but prefer to keep them in a non-PLS account to avoid any risk, primarily for safe-keeping purposes. While such depositors are not entitled to any profits, in practice in order to retain these deposits, Islamic banks have begun to offer "rewards" to such depositors saying that as long as no contractual obligations were involved, they had the discretion to offer incentives (Saeed, *Islamic banking*, 112).

Third, a question currently being debated is whether "profit" can be pre-determined in PLS contracts. In Islamic law, as well as in the literature on Islamic finance, the concept of legitimate profit is closely associated with the uncertainty of a positive return in a PLS venture or a sale transaction. One view, albeit a minority one, is that there is nothing wrong in determining profit in advance as long as this is done by the two parties by choice and consent. While this position is not accepted in the mainstream Islamic finance, it is possible that this position may become more acceptable at least in practice as more emphasis is put on developing investment products with less risk and more predictable returns.

Fourth, a further question is whether it is permissible to invest in a business which engages in an activity prohibited by Islamic law, for instance, in interest-based dealings. Since most publicly-listed companies in developed countries rely heavily on interest-based finance, paying and receiving of interest is normal. This is problematic from an Islamic finance perspective even if the businesses produce *halāl* (permissible) goods or services. The debate has produced two camps, one declaring that investment in such companies is unambiguously prohibited and unlawful for Muslims according to *fiqh*. In the other camp, the proponents of permissibility, relying on concepts such as "necessity", "public interest", "general need", and analogy (*kiyās*), have attempted to find a legal justification, a pragmatic position that recognises that such investment is a modern global phenomenon and difficult for Muslims to avoid. The pragmatists have accepted permissibility of investment in such companies with certain conditions and introduced concepts such as "cleansing" of investment profit from prohibited elements, i.e. the estimated interest component of the company.

Many Muslims who are interested in genuine *ribā*-free finance argue that these pragmatic adjustments have largely rendered Islamic banking and finance over to an interest-based system except in name. The trend to develop more and more products that are similar to those offered by the interest-based system would only blur any distinction that may exist between the Islamic and interest-based systems. Despite these

reservations, "Islamic" banking and finance appear to be becoming increasingly acceptable among Muslims and their use consistently increasing, however pragmatic it may be.

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AL-RIDDA (A.), lit: "apostasy", the name given in Islamic historiography to the series of battles against tribes, both nomadic and sedentary, which began shortly before the death of the Prophet Muḥammad and continued throughout Abū Bakr's [q.v.] caliphate.

In many cases the term *rida* is, however, a misnomer since numerous tribes and communities had had no contact whatsoever with the Muslim state or had no formal agreements with it. Several tribes were led by chieftains who posed as prophets. These were 'Abhala al-Ansī, pejoratively nicknamed al-Aswad [q.v.] or the black one (also *Dhu 'l-Khimār* or the veiled one) in the Yemen, Maslama or Musaylima [q.v.] (the small or wretched Maslama) of the Hanīfa b. Luḍjaym [q.v.] in Yamāma, Talha or Tulayha [q.v.] (the small Talha) of the Asad [q.v.] and Saḍjāh [q.v.] of the Tamīm [q.v.]—both of them in Naḍjd—and *Dhu 'l-Tādj* Lakīṭ b. Mālik of the Azd [q.v.] in 'Umān. Most of the tribes which prior to the *rida* had been under Medinan domination merely refused to go on paying taxes, while stating their readiness to continue practicing Islam. Had it not been for Muḥammad's premature death, Islam would have gained a better foothold in tribal Arabia through his effective tactics. He would give a tribal representative—sometimes it was a tribesman who came on his own initiative—authority over both the Muslims and pagans in his tribe and instruct him to "fight against those who turn away with those who come forward". Consequently, in many tribes the Muslims and pagans neutralised each other. Among the *Madhhidj* [q.v.], for example, Farwa b. Musayk, the Prophet's representative to the Murād [q.v.], the Zubayd and the rest of *Madhhidj*, was confronted by a frustrated rival, 'Amr b. Ma'dikarib [q.v.] al-Zubaydī. When Muḥammad died, the latter rebelled. There were Muslim enclaves in many tribes, and consequently the Prophet and Abū Bakr could confront



the rebels "by means of messengers and letters". Many Muslims were killed by the rebels and the Muslim representatives were driven out.

The reconstruction of the course of events beyond the general outline is complicated by the many contradictory accounts which are often of apologetic or polemical nature. Obviously, this problematic chapter of tribal history was of acute importance for the tribal informants who preserved the accounts for posterity, often improving the place in history of a tribal leader, rehabilitating an individual or a tribal group and vilifying an opponent.

When Abū Bakr ascended the throne, he defied threats from several nomadic tribes to attack Medina by dispatching to Syria an expedition force under Usāma b. Zayd. Some must have considered this move reckless, hence the claim that it was in fulfillment of a wish made by the dying Prophet. Yet the threat posed by the nomads must not be exaggerated. First, a nomadic takeover of a settlement was most unusual, although the risk of a raid for plunder was no doubt real. Second, the tribes living in the immediate vicinity of Medina remained unwavering. They included, among others, the *Ashdja'* or part of them, the *Aslam*, the *Dhuhayna* [see *ḡurā'a*] and the *Muzayna* [q.v.]. These tribes were not major players in Arabian politics, but their combined military weight should not be underestimated. They provided Medina with an inner circle of defence, continuing their pre-Islamic links with its tribes. Indeed, Abū Bakr managed to organise the Muslim army in *Dhu 'l-Qaṣṣa* and send *Khālīd* b. al-Walīd [q.v.] of the *Kurashī* clan of *Makhzūm* [q.v.] to Najd even before Usāma b. Zayd's return.

Yet on the whole the situation looked bleak. The sedentary false prophet Musaylima and the nomadic one Tulayha were amassing power. The latter was also followed by the *Tayyi'* [q.v.]. Most of the *Ghatafan* [q.v.] apostatised, as did parts of the *Sulaym* [q.v.], while the *Hawāzin* remained undecided with the exception of the *Thakīf* who remained steadfast. Also, the *Aḡūz/Aḡūz Hawāzin* "the rear part of the *Hawāzin*", that is, the *Naṣr* b. *Mu'āwiya*, *Djusham* b. *Mu'āwiya* and *Sa'd* b. *Bakr*, did not rebel, and the same is true of *Djadilat* *Kays*, that is, the *Fahm* and *Adwān* tribes.

The only battle which preceded the return of Usāma's force took place east of Medina against tribes of the *Ghatafan* group, namely, the *'Abs* and *Dhubyān* (more precisely, the former and the *Murra* subdivision of the latter). Following their defeat, the *'Abs* and *Dhubyān* killed the Muslims living in their midst, and their example was followed by other tribes. *Tulayha* al-*Asadi* lost the battle of *Buzākha* [q.v.], having been deserted by his non-*Asadi* allies. First the *Tayyi'* left unimpeded, having created the impression that their own tribe was threatened by the Muslims (whom they subsequently joined). Then the *Ghatafan* under *Uyayna* b. *Hiṣn* [q.v.] of the *Fazāra* [q.v.] defected.

The most important events of the *ridda* involved the *Tamīm*, the largest nomadic tribe in Arabia, and the sedentary *Hanifa* who lived in *Yamāma*. Many of the *Tamīm* (perhaps even most of them) yielded to Muslim control during *Muḥammad*'s lifetime. For example, the *Sa'd* b. *Zayd* *Manāt*, the most numerous subdivision of the *Tamīm*, had two tax-collectors appointed by *Muḥammad*: *al-Zibriḳān* b. *Badr* [q.v.] and *Kays* b. *ʿAṣim* [q.v.]. Typically, the latter was waiting to see what the former would do with the camels which he had collected for Medina, in order to do the opposite. Indeed, *Tamīm*'s subdivisions, not to mention the *Tamīm* as a whole, did not form a unified group and the same could be said of every

single tribe, be it nomadic or sedentary. Two events dominate the accounts on the *ridda* of the *Tamīm*. First, the affair of the false prophetess *Sadjāh*, above all her infamous encounter with *Musaylima*. Now *Musaylima* required of his men strict asceticism, and the obscene descriptions of his meeting with *Sadjāh* were probably meant to call his ascetic image into question. Second, the killing of *Mālik* b. *Nuwayra* [q.v.] and the ensuing criticism concerning *Khālīd* b. al-Walīd's conduct.

The sedentary *Hanifa* who were unified (with the exception of the *Suhaym* subdivision) under *Musaylima* were Medina's staunchest enemies. After an initial defeat, the Muslims pushed the *Hanafis* to "the orchard of death" (*ḥadīkat al-mawt*) in *'Akrabā'* [q.v.], not far from *Musaylima*'s home town *al-Haddār* (modern *al-Hudaydir*). The historical traditions of the *Kuraysh* and the *Anṣār* preserved lists of the members of these groups who were killed in the battlefield, but one looks in vain for the names of the many nomads who died there. The fortresses of the *Hanifa* remained intact and the *Hanafi* *Mudjdjā'a* b. *Murāra* who had been taken captive at an earlier stage in the fighting and negotiated with *Khālīd* on behalf of the *Hanifa* tricked the latter by disguising the children, women and old people who remained in the fortresses as men, thus improving the terms of his tribe's capitulation. But the ruse may have been invented in order to protect *Khālīd*'s policy because the negotiated treaty—fortified by his marriage to *Mudjdjā'a*'s daughter—caused the Muslims great losses.

The story of *al-Aswad* in the Yemen which is full of intrigue involves a struggle between the Persian *Abnā'* [see *AL-ABNĀ' (II)*] and several Arab tribes for the control of *Ṣan'a'* and the rest of the Yemen. During this power struggle Medina remained in the background; when the *Abnā'* managed to regain control of *Ṣan'a'*, Abū Bakr recognised them, precisely as the Prophet had done in his time. The *Abnā'* were then challenged by *Kays* b. *al-Makshūh* al-*Murādi* who took *Ṣan'a'*, but they managed to drive him out shortly afterwards.

The road to the Yemen was secured by a Muslim expedition force which brought the rebellious *'Amr* b. *Ma'dikarib* and *Kays* b. *al-Makshūh* back to the Muslim camp, and the Yemen as a whole could now be pacified. Then the Muslims turned to deal with the rebellion in *Ḥaḍramawt*. Here the dominant tribe *Kinda* [q.v.] yielded to superior forces, one under *al-Muhājir* b. *Abī Umayya* (of the *Makhzūm*) arriving from the Yemen, and another under *'Ikrima* b. *Abī Djahl* (also of the *Makhzūm*) arriving from the land of *Mahra* [q.v.]. The kingly family from the prestigious subdivision of *Kinda*, *'Amr* b. *Mu'āwiya*, was destroyed in a surprise night attack. Members from this subdivision and from the *Hārith* b. *Mu'āwiya* subdivision later surrendered in *al-Nudjayr* [q.v.]. Following the war against the *Kinda*, *al-Ash'ath* [q.v.] b. *Kays* of the *Hārith* subdivision rose to prominence. This shift in the leadership was atypical, since tribal leaderships usually survived the *ridda*. For example, *Uyayna* b. *Hiṣn* is said to have been the only Arab who received one *mirbā'* or a quarter of the captured booty in the *Djāhiliyya* and one *khums* or a fifth of the booty in Islam.

The war in *Ḥaḍramawt* was preceded by fighting in the southeastern corner of Arabia where *Dhu 'l-Tādj* *Lakū* b. *Mālik* al-*Azdi* pushed the sons of the *Djulandā* [q.v., and see *AZD* and *ṢUHĀR*] who were Abū Bakr's allies to the mountains and to the sea-side of *Ṣuhār*. Tribal forces sent by Medina to aid



its allies besieged Lakīṭ in Dabā and were joined by other tribal forces under 'Ikrima b. Abī Djaḥl. The Muslims were also supported by troops from the Naḍīya [cf. AL-KHURRĪ] and the 'Abd al-Kays [q.v.].

'Ikrima continued his march to the land of Mahra with his tribal units (a subdivision of the Azd called Rāsib and the Sa'd b. Zayd Manāt of Tamīm are specifically mentioned). Among the Mahra there was internal strife, and the weaker party allied itself with the Muslims (in other words, it converted to Islam). After the stronger party was subdued, the leader of the weaker one brought to Medina one fifth of the spoils. When 'Ikrima continued his march to Ḥaḍramawt, his army also included warriors from the Mahra.

Shortly after the Prophet's demise, his governor in Baḥrayn, al-Mundhir b. Sāwā [q.v.] of the Tamīm, also died. The Kays b. Tha'labā of the Bakr b. Wā'il [q.v.] "and the whole of the Rabi'a" rebelled under al-Ḥuṭam, who was one of the Kays, while al-Djārūd of the 'Abd al-Kays, among others, was steadfastly loyal to Islam. A client of the Kuraysh, al-'Alā' b. al-Ḥaḍramī, who had replaced al-Mundhir as governor of Baḥrayn fought against the rebels with the Arabs and Persians who joined him. Among others he was supported by a large force of the Tamīm. Al-Ḥuṭam controlled al-Kaṭīf [q.v.], Ḥaḍjar [see AL-ḤASĀ], Dārīn (modern Tārūt) and al-Khaṭṭ [q.v.], while the Muslims had been besieged in their stronghold, Djuwāṭhā, until they were rescued by al-'Alā'. The rebels were defeated on the mainland and fled to the island of Dārīn which the Muslims took after having miraculously crossed the sea.

The *ridda* can be seen as a prelude to the wider conquests. The Kurashī generals gained precious experience in mobilising large multi-tribal armies over long distances. They benefited from the close acquaintance of the Kuraysh with tribal politics throughout Arabia.

A crucial role was played by Khālīd b. al-Walīd whose mother was a nomad. Indeed, the Bedouin way of life was not alien to him: he is said to have consumed a lizard, while Muḥammad was watching loathed it. Already in the conquest of Mecca (8/630), Khālīd was leading a troop of nomads (referred to as *muhājīrat al-'arab*), and in the battle of Hunayn [q.v.] shortly afterwards he led the nomadic Sulaym at the vanguard of the Muslim army.

The *ridda* changed for ever the relationship between the central government and the strong tribes of Arabia. The latter were trying to abolish whatever ascendancy the Muslim state had achieved during the lifetime of Muḥammad, but were overpowered by large expedition forces mobilised by able Muslim generals. The battlefield successes of the Muslims secured for them the cooperation of tribes living between Medina and the territories of the rebellious tribes. Medina re-established its prestige and dealt the severest forms of punishment to those who had killed Muslims earlier in the fighting.

New realities were created on the ground. Khālīd's treaty with the Ḥanīfā prescribed that he receive one orchard and one field of his choice in every village included in the treaty. The villages in the Yamāma area which were not included in the treaty bore the full consequences of the defeat. The inhabitants of the Mar'āt village were enslaved and a tribal group of the Tamīm, the Imru' l-Kays b. Zayd Manāt b. Tamīm, settled there. Musaylima's home town of al-Haddār was not part of the treaty. Khālīd enslaved its people and settled there the Banu l-A'raḍj, i.e., the Banu l-Hārith b. Ka'b b. Sa'd b. Zayd Manāt b. Tamīm. These changes demonstrate how local

groups of the Tamīm benefited from their co-operation with Khālīd in Yamāma. Other villages not included in the treaty were al-Suyūh, al-Ḍayk, al-'Ariḳa, al-Ghabrā', Fayshān, al-Kurayya (one of the central villages of Yamāma), al-Kaṣabāt, al-Kaltayni, al-Kirs, Makhrāfa and al-Maṣānī. In addition, the al-Maḍjāza village was inhabited by the Hizzān of the 'Anaza [q.v.] and by people of mixed descent (*akhlāt min al-nās*), including *mawālī* of the Kuraysh and others who settled there after the *ridda*, since it had not been included in Khālīd's treaty.

The new balance of power between the central government and the tribes is reflected in the takeover by the state of tribal protected grazing grounds [see ḤIMĀ]. The thousands of camels and other beasts taken as booty in the last years of Muḥammad's life, in addition to those collected from the nomads in taxes, needed large grazing grounds. In addition, several influential Kurashīs, such as the future caliph 'Uthmān b. 'Affān and also al-Zubayr b. al-'Awwām and 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. 'Awf, were competing with the state because they were themselves owners of large herds. 'Abd al-Raḥmān left to his inheritors 1,000 camels, in addition to 3,000 ewes and 100 horses. The ewes and the horses were grazing in al-Nakī' [see AL-'AḲĪK] (often written erroneously al-Bakī'). It was Muḥammad who declared the Nakī', some 120 km/75 miles south of Medina a state *ḥimā* "for the horses of the Muslims", probably at the expense of the Sulaym, and put in charge of it a member of the Muzayna. Moreover, Muḥammad reportedly abolished the tribal grazing grounds by declaring that the only legitimate *ḥimā* belonged to God and His messenger, in other words to the state. Previously, the tribes feared the takeover of their land and water resources by other tribes, but now the powerful state and certain individuals coveted the same resources. The size of the state *ḥimās* grew constantly under the caliphs. A telling example of this is linked to the above-mentioned battle against the 'Abs and Dhubyān which took place in al-Abraḳ in the area of al-Rabadha [q.v.] some 200 km/125 miles east of Medina. Abū Bakr actually conquered Dhubyān's territory (*ghalaba banī Dhubyān 'alā l-bilād*) and expelled (*adlā*) its owners. He made al-Abraḳ a *ḥimā* for the horses of the Muslims (in other words, he made it state property) and permitted everybody to graze in the rest of al-Rabadha at the expense of the Tha'labā b. Sa'd b. Dhubyān. Later he declared the whole of al-Rabadha *ḥimā* for the camels collected as taxes (*ṣadaqāt al-muslimīn*). One report attributes the expulsion of the Tha'labā from al-Rabadha to 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, while another has it that the state *ḥimā* in al-Rabadha was created by Muḥammad, in which case Abū Bakr was merely reestablishing state authority there.

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(M. LECKER)

RIMĀYA [see **KAWS**].

ROHTAK, the name of a region and a town of northwestern India, now in the Hariyana State of the Indian Union.

The region is not mentioned in the earliest Indo-Muslim sources, but from the Sultanate period onwards, its history was often linked with that of nearby Dīhlī, to its southeast. In the 18th century, it was fought over by commanders of the moribund Mughals and the militant Sikhs [q.v.]; for its history in general, see **HARIYĀNĀ**. In early British Indian times, till 1832, it was administered by a Political Agent under the Resident in Dīhlī. During the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857-8, the whole of the Rohtak region fell into rebel hands. In contemporary Hariyana State, as in post-Mutiny British India, Rohtak forms an administrative District.

The town of Rohtak (lat. 28° 54' N., long. 76° 35' E.) lies 72 km/44 miles to the northwest of Dīhlī; in British Indian times, Hindus and Muslims were fairly evenly balanced within its population, with a small preponderance of Hindus, a situation altered by the bloody aftermath of Partition in 1947.

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(C.E. BOSWORTH)

AL-RU'AYNĪ, **ABŪ DJĀ'FAR AHMAD al-Ġharnāṭī** (or al-Ilbīrī) al-Mālikī, d. 779/1377, Andalusī scholar, author of *al-Hulla al-siyarā*, a voluminous commentary on the *Badi'yya* (a poem praising the Prophet Muhammad while illustrating the *badi'* [q.v.]) of his companion, Ibn **Djābir** (d. 780/1378-9). The *Badi'yya* itself and important grammatical and lexicographical sections of the book have been published by 'Alī Abū Zayd, Beirut 1405/1985, but numerous historical and geographical data, poetry, as well as a wealth of information in the domain of *adab* [q.v.] in the widest sense of the term remain unpublished, even though quotations from al-Ru'aynī's book appear in acknowledged and unacknowledged borrowings, e.g. by al-Tanāsī. Al-Ru'aynī also wrote a commentary on a similar poem by Ibn **Djābir** consisting of *tauriyyas* [q.v.] on the *sūras* of the *Kur'ān*.

Both scholars began their careers in Spain and both were pupils of 'Alī b. 'Umar al-**Kidjāṭī** (d. 730/1329), a scholar of *fikh*, *Kur'ān*, grammar and philology, who lived in Granada. They left Spain together in 738/1337 on a pilgrimage having become, in the words of Lisān al-Dīn Ibn al-Khaṭīb, "like two souls in one body" and, Ibn **Djābir** being blind, they were also known as "the blind and the seeing". They lived in Egypt (where they attended the lectures of Abū Hayyān al-**Ġharnāṭī**), Damascus, where they arrived in 741/1340-1, and Aleppo in 743/1342-3, before settling finally in al-Bīra.

Ibn **Ḥaḍjar**, *Durar*, iii, 300, claims that Ibn **Djābir** in composing his *Badi'yya* was inspired by a similar work by Ṣaḥī al-Dīn al-**Ḥillī** (d. 749, 750, or 752).

Ibn Ma'sūm in his *Anwār al-rabī'* (ed. **Sh. H. Shukr**, Nadjaf 1388/1968, i, 31-2) holds that the first *Badi'yya* was composed by one [Abu 'l-Ḥasan] 'Alī b. 'Uthmān al-Irbilī al-**Sūfī**. The classical division between *ma'ānī*, *bayān* and *badi'* [q.v.] by **Djālāl al-Dīn al-Kāzwīnī** (d. 739/1338) and **Badr al-Dīn Ibn Mālik** (d. 686/1287) in relation to the *Tirāz* as analysed by Soudan, 93-7, and Bonebakker cannot be discussed here. To illustrate the individual chapters of his friend's *Badi'yya*, al-Ru'aynī uses examples in prose and poetry that are not limited to the Muslim West. Of special interest are the examples composed by Ibn **Djābir** and al-Ru'aynī themselves. Though in some moving verses they express nostalgia, there is, so far, no indication that the two authors after settling in al-Bīra ever returned temporarily to Spain (which would explain the *nisba* al-Ilbīrī used by al-Ṣafādī, d. 764/1363). According to a report by Sibṭ Ibn al-**Adjamī** quoted in Ibn **Ḥaḍjar**'s *Durar*, their friendship ended when Ibn **Djābir** married, though Ibn **Djābir** composed a *marthiya* on al-Ru'aynī when he died.

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RŪḤ ALLĀH [see **NAFS**. I. B.].

RUḤĀM (A.), in modern Arabic usage, the usual word for marble in general, whereas *marmar*, which clearly derives from the Greek *marmor*, usually refers to white marble or alabaster. Historically, however, *ruḥām* and *marmar* were often used interchangeably to refer to a wide variety of hard stones, including marble, granite and diorite. Where the two terms were distinguished, it usually had to do with colour: *marmar* was white, whereas *ruḥām* could assume various shades and hues.

Geographically, the use of marble in the Islamic world was largely restricted to those regions whose predominant building material was stone rather than brick or adobe. Generally speaking, places to the west and northwest of the Euphrates river—including Anatolia, Greater Syria, and Egypt, in addition to the Iberian peninsula and the Indian subcontinent—used stone and marble in their architectural monuments. Elsewhere, brick with a stucco or tile revetment predominated.

Marble in the Islamic world was obtained from two main sources: ancient buildings and quarries. Interestingly, the use of salvaged marble far outweighed that of freshly-quarried marble, which was only quarried by the later Islamic dynasties, especially the Ottomans and the Mughals. Exceptions did exist, such as the robust marble capitals in Madīnat al-Zahrā' in 4th/10th century al-Andalus and the exquisite columns and capitals in the Alhambra Palace in the 8th/14th one. But on the whole, marble in early and mediaeval Islamic monuments was taken from ancient, Christian, or even earlier Islamic buildings.

Historically, the use of marble in Islamic architec-



ture may be divided into three characteristic phases: Late Antique and early Islamic (7th-10th centuries A.D.), mediaeval (11th-15th centuries) and pre-modern (10th-18th centuries). In the first period, which is dominated by Umayyad architecture, the use of marble shows direct continuities with Late Antique practice. Thus multi-coloured marble and granite columns and heavy marble architraves and arches are used in the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem and the Great Mosque of Damascus. Perhaps more interesting is the continued use in both of these structures of split or quartered marble, whereby the distinctive pattern in a sheet of marble is displayed in mirror image along one or two axes. Equally impressive is openwork marble, which is used in the Great Mosque of Damascus as a series of window grilles, which most likely also existed at the Dome of the Rock (K.A.C. Creswell, *A short account of early Muslim architecture*, revised and supplemented by J.W. Allan, Cairo 1989).

With the exception of an outstanding series of Ghaznawid marble dadoes and cenotaphs dating to the 5th-6th/11th-12th centuries, the architectural use of marble goes into an extended decline after the Umayyads. But marble ornament and stone architecture undergo an important revival in the 6th/12th century, a revival centred in Aleppo during the time of the Ayyūbids. Polychrome marble ornament in the form of large interlaces around *mīhrābs*, *iwāns* and portals, and geometric patterns in pavements, soften and enliven an otherwise austere architectural style (Yasser Tabbaa, *Constructions of power and piety in medieval Aleppo*, Pittsburgh 1997).

These ornamental forms are transmitted in the 7th-8th/13th-14th centuries to the rest of Syria, as well as to Palestine, Egypt and Anatolia. Until the end of the 7th/13th century, marble revetments maintain their formal and stylistic affinities with Aleppo, as exemplified by the robust designs at the mausoleum of al-Zāhir Baybars al-Bundūqdārī (constructed 675-80/1277-81) in Damascus and the portal to the complex of Qalāwūn in Cairo (684/1285). But an increasingly intricate ornamental style develops in the next century, lasting with few changes till the end of the Mamlūk period and beyond. Applied internally to *mīhrābs* and fountains, and externally to portals and window frames, this miniature style of polychrome marble inlay becomes a hallmark feature of Mamlūk architecture [see MAMLŪKS. 2. Art and Architecture, in Suppl.].

Although this Mamlūk ornamental style continued in Egypt and Syria under the Ottomans, it was largely shunned by classical Ottoman architecture, whose monuments demonstrated a marked preference for large stretches of lightly ornamented marble revetment. This return to an earlier style of marble decoration may have been motivated by the greater availability of marble, or perhaps by the emulation of nearby Byzantine structures.

In India, marble was rather sparingly used in Dīhlī Sultanate architecture, often as a highlight to the predominant red sandstone. This attractive juxtaposition continues in early Mughal mosques and mausoleums, reaching an apogee in the tomb of Humāyūn at Dīhlī. At first, white marble was reserved for saints' tombs, such as the spectacular tomb in Fathpūr Sikrī [q.v.] of Shaykh Salīm Īshū (1573-7), which also boasts some of the earliest and finest openwork marble screens, commonly known as *jali*. But by the 11th/17th century, various monuments were being sheathed in white marble inlaid with polychrome stones, including the Mosque of I'timād al-Dawla (1031-6/1622-7), and the Tādj Mahall (1041-53/1632-43 [q.v.]), both at Āgra [q.v.] (Ebba Koch, *Mughal architecture*, Munich 1991).

Bibliography (in addition to references given in the article): R. Lewcock, *Materials and techniques*, in G. Michell (ed.), *Architecture of the Islamic world, its history and social meaning*, New York 1978, 119-43; Luciana and T. Mannoni, *Marble, the history of a culture*, New York 1985. (YASSER TABBAĀ)

RŪSHANĪ, DEDE 'UMAR, Turkish adherent of the Ṣūfī order of the *Khalwatiyya* [q.v.] and poet in both Persian and Turkish. He was born at an unspecified date at Güzel Hışār in Aydıń, western Anatolia, being connected maternally with the ruling family of the Aydıń Oghulları [see AYDIN-OGULLU], and died at Tabrīz in Ādharbāyđjān in 892/1487.

Dede 'Umar was the *khalīfa* of Sayyid Yahyā Shīrwānī, the *pīr-i thānī* or second founder of the *Khalwatī* order, and as head of the Rūshanī branch of the order engaged in missionary work in northern Ādharbāyđjān. He came to enjoy the patronage of the Ak Koyunlu ruler Uzun Hasan [q.v.], whose wife built a *zāwiya* for him in the capital Tabrīz, and he lived there up to his death, being buried in the *zāwiya*. His *murīds* included the Turkish mystical poet from Diyārbakr, Ibrāhīm Gulshanī (d. 940/1533-4 [q.v.]), who founded his own order of the Gulshaniyya, and the Azeri Turk Muḥammad Demirdāsh Muḥammadī (d. 929/1524), founder of the Cairo order of the Demirdashiyya [q.v. in Suppl.]. Dede 'Umar's *diwān* included three Persian *mathnawīs*, in one of which, the *Nāynāma*, the influence of Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī [q.v.] is especially clear, and poems in Turkish; one volume of the *diwān* has been published as *Āthār-i 'ishk* (Istanbul 1315/1897-8).

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(C.E. BOSWORTH)

S

ṢABYĀ (Sabaya on Philby's map), a town in the Tihāmat 'Asīr [see Tihāma; 'Asīr and map] in south-western Saudi Arabia, at about 30 km/21

miles inland north-east of the port of Dījayzān [q.v.]. In 1339/1920 Sayyid Muḥammad al-Idrīsī (see below) concluded a treaty with Ibn Su'ūd [see 'ABD AL-'AZİZ



ĀL SU'ūd, in Suppl.], but after his death in 1340/1922-3 internal dissensions among the Idrisiyya led to a Su'ūdī protectorate. The Imām of Yemen maintained a claim to the Idrisid territories, but the Treaty of al-Ṭā'if (1353/1934) determined that they belong to Saudi Arabia, including Šabyā [see 'AṣṬR]. The town lies in what is called the central part of al-Mikhlaḥ al-Yamanī, a district which includes all the Tihāmat from al-Šuḥayḳ in the north to Wādī 'Ayn in the south. The central part extends from Umm al-Khaṣṣab to just south of Abū 'Arīṣ [q.v.]. Being traversed by the wādīs Bayṣh, Šabyā, Damad and Dījayzān, the region is among the most densely populated of the Tihāmat 'Asīr. At the beginning of the 20th century, the largest part of the population was of Sudanese origin. They were partly unemancipated slaves but chiefly freedmen, the other inhabitants being *mulatalids* or Sudanese with an Arab strain, Arabs of pure blood, *sayyids* and *ṣarīfs* [q.v.]. (Cornwallis, 39-40).

In the 4th/10th century Šabyā, and a number of other places and wādīs, was ruled by the *Hakamiyyūn*, i.e. the Banū Hakam b. Sa'd al-'Ashīra of the Kaḥṭān [q.v.], with the Banū 'Abd al-Djadd as the ruling family (al-Hamdānī, 120.5). In the 7th/13th century, Šabyā was one of the urban settlements (*kurā*) of 'Uṣṣar, which was part of Yemen (Yāqūt, iii, 367, 979, v, 23). The town does not seem to have played any role in early and mediaeval Islam. As in Kuṣfudḥa, Abḥā and Bīṣha [q.v.], neighbouring tribes used to collect in Šabyā for a four-months' truce during the date season. In the 10th/16th century, it was one of the seats of the Sulaymānīs [q.v.], who are still to be found in the frontier districts between Saudi Arabia and Yemen [see KHAMIS MUSHAYT; MAKRAMIDS].

In 1215/1800 Šabyā was drawn into Arabian politics when an inhabitant brought the Wahhābis [q.v.] into the Tihāma (Serjeant and Lewcock, 87a), and even more so when Ahmad b. Idrīs (d. 1253/1837 [q.v.]), the Moroccan *ṣarīf* and Sūfī who had preached in a school in Mecca, sought refuge in Šabyā in 1243/1827-8 from persecution for heresy by the Meccan 'ulamā'. In the Holy City he had admitted into the circle of his disciples the Algerian Sūfī Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Sanūsī, the founder of the Sanūsīyya [q.v.]. Around 1250/1834-5 Šabyā became the centre of the Sanūsīyya and the capital of an Idrīsī semi-religious, semi-military state centred in al-Mikhlaḥ al-Yamanī with Dījayzān and Mīdī (lat. 16° 18' N.) as its main ports. The ancestor of the Idrīsīs in 'Asīr (see the family tree in Philby, 473) is Idrīs b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī [see IDRIS I] who, after the battle of Fakhkh [q.v.] in 169/786, fled via Egypt to the Maghrib where he founded the dynasty of the Idrīsids [q.v.]. Ahmad's great-grandson Sayyid Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. Ahmad, born in Šabyā in 1293/1876, by 1328/1910 had reduced Turkish power in 'Asīr with the support of the Italians, but had failed to hold Abḥā against the *ṣarīf* of Mecca. Sayyid Muḥammad died in 1341/1922 and was buried in the cemetery that lies in the northern outskirts of Šabyā on the main road to Mecca. In 1344/1925-6 his son 'Alī signed a treaty with the British resident in Aden against the Turks. He was supported by Ibn Su'ūd, but fiercely opposed by the Imām of Yemen. The Imām had at first concluded with 'Alī a defensive alliance against the Turks, but in the end he sided with his former enemy. In 1345/1926-7 'Alī was forced to submit to Saudi Arabia [see AHMAD B. IDRIS; ṬARĪKA. 3]. As followers of the Sanūsīyya, the tribes around Šabyā are *Shāfi'ī*, with no sympathy lost for

the Zaydiyya [q.v.]. The Idrīsīs used to levy taxes on grain and animals, collected primarily by the *shaykhs* of the tribes, except the pro-Turkish ones, but also through travelling inspectors. The proceeds were sent to Šabyā. Some tribes refused to be regarded as taxpayers, but sent the Idrīsī rulers presents and helped them in war. Philby mentions the presses for the extraction of oil from sesame [see SIMSIM] and remarks that the town spread over a considerable area, including Šabyā al-Baliyya and Bayt al-Sayyid, the original palace from which Šabyā al-Djadīda grew up. In Philby's days the population of the Šabyā area was estimated locally at some 25,000 souls.

Bibliography: Sir Kinahan Cornwallis, *Asir before World War I, a handbook*, London 1916, repr. 1976; Muḥammad 'Isā al-'Ukaylī, *Min ta'rīkh al-Mikhlaḥ al-Sulaymānī*, al-Riyāḍ 1378, i, 83-93; Admiralty, Naval Intelligence Division, *A handbook of Arabia*, London 1916-7, i, 143; idem, *Western Arabia*, London 1946; H.St.J.B. Philby, *Arabian Highlands*, Ithaca, New York 1952; R.B. Serjeant and Ronald Lewcock, *San'a', an Arabian Islamic city*, London 1983.

(E. VAN DONZEL)

SA'D, ATABEG OF FĀRS [see SALGHURIDS].

SA'D AL-DĪN [see KHODJA EFENDI].

SADŌZAYS [see AFGHANISTĀN. v. 3. A].

[AL-]SAHLA, literally, "level, smooth place". There must have been several places in the Arabic lands named after this obvious topographical feature. Yāqūt, *Buldān*, ed. Beirut, iii, 290-1, mentions a village in Bahrayn and a *masjid* of that name in Kūfa (perhaps the mosque also known as the Zāfir one or that of 'Abd al-Kays, cf. Hichem Djait, *Al-Kūfa, naissance de la ville islamique*, Paris 1986, 298).

Bibliography: Given in the article. (Ed.)

SA'ĪD B. DJUBAYR b. Hishām, an early Kūfan scholar of renown in the fields of Qur'ān recitation and exegesis, jurisprudence and *ḥadīth*. He was a *mawla* of the Banū Wāliba b. al-Hārith, a branch of the Banū Asad b. Khuzayma. If the biographical traditions which say that he studied with Ibn 'Abbās and Ibn 'Umar are reliable, then he brought early Meccan and Medinan scholarship to Kūfa. There he had a circle of students but also held government positions. He functioned as secretary for two of the *kādīs* of Kūfa. When al-Ḥadjdjadī, the Umayyad governor of 'Irāk, sent 'Abd al-Rahmān b. al-Ash'ath with an army to Sīstān, he put Sa'īd in charge of the troops' stipends. During the revolt of Ibn al-Ash'ath against al-Ḥadjdjadī (81-2/700-1), in which Sa'īd b. Djubayr participated, he was for a time in charge of levying the *zakāt* and the *ushr* [q.v.] in Kūfa. In this revolt he was one of the active leaders of the *kurra'*, the group of religious scholars and their followers, who joined the revolt of 'Irāk's *ashraf* against the Umayyads [see AL-KURRĀ'] and, more recent, R. Sayed, *Die Revolte des Ibn al-Aṣ'at und die Koranleser*, Freiburg i.Br. 1977]. After the revolt had failed, Sa'īd fled first to Isfahān and later to Mecca where he taught for some years. In 94 or 95 (711 or 712), more than a decade after the revolt, he was arrested by Khālīd b. 'Abd Allāh al-Kaṣrī [q.v.], then governor of Mecca, and sent to al-Ḥadjdjadī at Wāsit, who had him beheaded. Sa'īd was then 49 or 57 years old. Some legends became woven around his capture, his examination by al-Ḥadjdjadī and his execution. They underline Sa'īd's piety and condemn al-Ḥadjdjadī's death sentence. Whether Sa'īd belonged to the Kūfan Murdjī'a [q.v.] or not is a controversial issue. A few traditions say that he had good relations with and sympathy for members of the 'Alid family.

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Sa'īd's teachings in the fields of *fikh* and *tafsīr* were much sought after during the 2nd/8th century and played an important role in the development of *fikh* before the advent of the classical schools. Many traditions on his teachings have been collected in the two *Musannafs* of 'Abd al-Razzāk and of Ibn Abī Shayba, as well as in 'Abd al-Razzāk's and al-Tabarī's *Tafsīrs*. Ibn al-Nadīm mentions the existence of a *Kitāb Tafsīr Sa'īd b. Djubayr* (*Fihrist*, 34), but it is not clear whether this had been compiled by Sa'īd himself or a later scholar. An investigation of the traditions going back to Sa'īd b. Djubayr in 'Abd al-Razzāk's *Musannaf* and *Tafsīr* shows that they were collected already during the first half of the 2nd century by scholars such as Sufyān al-Thawrī (d. 161/778), Ma'mar b. Rāshid (d. 153/770) and Ibn Djaraydj (d. 150/767). The legal traditions that they transmit from him via their informants reflect in most cases (ca. 75%) Sa'īd's own opinions (*ra'y*), more rarely traditions going back to Companions (ca. 17%) or to the Prophet (8%). Most of his Companion traditions give the legal opinion of Ibn 'Abbās (70%) and Ibn 'Umar (20%), and most of his traditions from the Prophet (70%) lack any *isnād*, i.e. they are *mursal*. These peculiarities of Sa'īd's scholarship correspond to what is known from his Meccan contemporary 'Aīā' b. Abī Rabāh (d. 115/733), who was a pupil of Ibn 'Abbās as well (see H. Motzki, *The origins of Islamic jurisprudence*, Leiden 2001, ch. III.B). In the exegetical traditions transmitted from Sa'īd by the early collectors mentioned above, and compiled in 'Abd al-Razzāk's *Tafsīr*, the peculiarities are similar. Ibn 'Abbās's opinion, however, is somewhat more strongly represented (ca. 40%) in comparison to Sa'īd's own exegesis (56%).

In 'Abd al-Razzāk's *Musannaf* and *Tafsīr*, most of the material transmitted from Sa'īd by the three early collectors seems really to go back to him. However, some traditions of Sa'īd b. Djubayr transmitted by other informants of 'Abd al-Razzāk and going back exclusively to Ibn 'Abbās may be suspected of being falsely ascribed to Sa'īd. More Ibn 'Abbās exegetical traditions allegedly going back to Sa'īd may be found in al-Tabarī's *Tafsīr* (see H. Berg, *The development of exegesis in early Islam*, Richmond, Surrey 2000, ch. 5).

Bibliography: Information on Sa'īd b. Djubayr can be found in many biographical compilations. In the following only the sources with the most detailed information are given. Ibn Sa'd, vi, 178-87 (Beirut vi, 256-67); Tabarī, ii, 1076, 1087, 1261-5; Abu 'l-'Arab Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Tamīmī, *Kitāb al-Miḥan*, Beirut 1408/1988, 216-31; Mizzi, *Tahdhīb al-kamāl*, iii, 1418/1998, 141-45; Ibn Hadjar, *Tahdhīb al-tahdhīb*, iv, Haydarābād 1325-7/1907-9, 11-14; Dhahabī, *Siyar a'lām al-nubalā'*, Beirut 1413/1993, iv, 321-43 (with additional sources given by the editor, 321-2); 'Abd al-Razzāk, *Musannaf*, i-xi, 'Beirut 1403/1983; idem, *Tafsīr*, al-Riyāḍ 1410/1989, i-iv; Ibn Abī Shayba, *Musannaf*, Bombay 1399-1403/1979-83, i-xv; A.J. Wensinck, *Concordance*, viii (for a listing of traditions in the "six books" and some earlier collections in which Sa'īd is mentioned as transmitter); Khaṭīb 'Alī b. al-Husayn al-Hāshimī, *Sa'īd b. Djubayr*, Baghdād 1380/1960 (not seen); W. Madelung, *Der Imam al-Qāsim ibn Ibrāhīm und die Glaubenslehre der Zaiditen*, Berlin 1965, 231-3, 237; F. Sezgin, *GAS*, i, Leiden 1967, 28-9; Salām Muḥammad 'Alī, *Sa'īd b. Djubayr*, Najaf 1396/1976; R. Sayed, *Die Revolte*, quoted above, 352-3; J. van Ess, *Theologie und Gesellschaft im 2. und 3. Jahrhundert Hidschra*, i, Berlin-New York 1991, 151-61.

(H. MOTZKI)

SĀKIYA [see MĀ'. 3].

AL-SĀKIYA AL-HAMRA', conventionally Seguiat el Hamra, a region of the Western Sahara, situated in southwestern Morocco in lat. 27° N.

It is made up of low plateaux, dominated by rocky hamadas, sprinkled with numerous surface dayas and incised with the hydrographical network system of the Wādī al-Sākiya al-Hamrā' ("the red watercourse"), which runs westwards and includes long alluvial ribbons. At the Atlantic littoral, the end of its course is marked by vertical, abrupt cliffs, worn down by the general presence of the cold current of the Canaries, causing a misty haze almost permanently over the desert. But the aridness is attenuated by hardly visible forms of precipitation: condensation at night on the soil and the vegetation allows a well-spread carpet of vegetation (argan trees, euphorbias and groundsel), a carpet which becomes more narrowed towards the interior, with streaks of greenery and acacias, etc. along the wadis.

These austere conditions, together with the complete absence of any non-saline surface water, explain the almost total absence of oases. These lands have been used over the ages as pasture lands for herds of dromedaries and goats owned by the Reguibat and Tekna nomads. The bottoms of the wadis allow the occasional cultivation there of cereals.

Al-Sākiya al-Hamrā' has for long been a corridor of passage, in the context of trans-Saharan trade, between the southern Moroccan fringes and the trading posts of the Sahel. In the 15th and 16th centuries, it was a hive of maraboutic activity, a seed-bed of local saints, who would often depart along the roads leading eastwards to Mecca and establish themselves in some place along one of these axes (the Algerian countryside or the villages of Fezzan). The influence of these pious figures was such that, in this region, even today whole tribes consider themselves as their descendants.

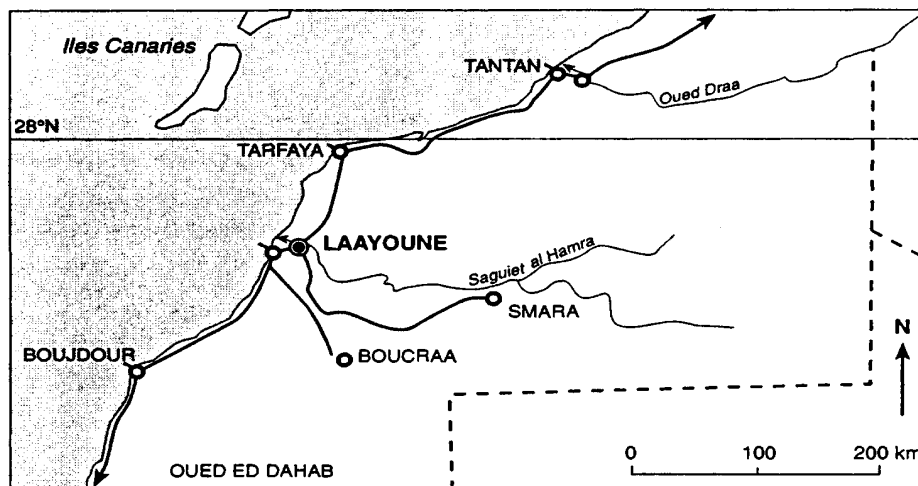
It is partly within this context that one should mention the role of an exceptional figure of the 19th century, a religious reformer and political leader who took over control of the destiny of al-Sākiya al-Hamrā', sc. Shaykh Mā' al-'Aynayn [q.v.]. Born in 1839, he studied in Tindūf and Chinguetti/Shinkīt [q.v.], created his own dervish order, the 'Ayniyya, wrote several books, established links with the sultans of Morocco, fought against the French activities to the north and the south, and in 1898 founded the town of Smāra, on the edge of the Wādī al-Sākiya al-Hamrā', with its *kaṣaba*, mosque, *zāwiya* and a library of 500 manuscripts.

But the feeble state of the sultanate of Morocco brought with it an end to the Shaykh's dreams. In 1913, a corps of French troops bombarded the town of Smāra. Established on the coast, the Spanish gradually penetrated into the interior, and in 1930 founded Laayoune. From that time onwards, al-Sākiya al-Hamrā' became the official name of one of the two colonies comprising the Spanish Sahara, the other being Rio de Oro (Wādī al-Dhahab).

In 1975, after the episode of the "Green March", reaching as far as Tarfaya, Spain evacuated the territories, and the Moroccan army and administration henceforth controlled their destinies. But they became the region for a political and military contest between Morocco and the Polisarios, a contest which the United Nations is still trying to resolve.

In the last 25 years, the Moroccan state has created a network of paved roads, built various installations and has begun exploiting the great deposits of phos-

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phates at Boucraa. Since the coast is full of fish, thanks to the Canaries current, fishing has become extensive and is an important activity through the creation of the ports of Tarfaya, Port Laayoune and Boudjour. The capital of al-Sākiya al-Ḥamra' and the whole of the Western Sahara, Laayoune, has today 150,000 inhabitants, with another 35,000 at Smāra.

Bibliography: F. Joly, *L'homme et le Sud au Maghreb Atlantique, in Méditerranée* (1979), 27-37; M. Vieux-chance, *Smara, carnets de route*, Paris 1993; M. Boughdadi, *Le passé et le présent marocains du Sahara (avec textes, documents et citations à l'appui)*, Maroc Soir, Rabat 1998. (M. CÔTE)

SAKK (A.), pl. *sikāk*, a technical term of early Islamic financial, commercial and legal usage, appearing in Persian, through a standard sound change, as *ṣak*, meaning "document, contract of sale, etc.", which has been suggested—for want of any other etymology—as the origin of Eng. "cheque", Fr. "chèque", Ger. "Scheck," see E. Lütmann, *Morgenländische Wörter im Deutschen*, Tübingen 1924.

The term's range of applications is wide, see Lane, *Lexicon*, 1709. In legal contexts, it has a similar meaning to *ṣajjill* [see *ṢIJILL* 1.], sc. a signed and sealed record of a judge's decision. In financial contexts, it often means "a written order for payment of a salary, allowance, pension, etc.", "a financial draft or assignment". Thus in *Kudāma* b. *Dja'far's* [q.v.] section on the 'Abbāsīd *diwān* of military affairs contained in his *Kitāb al-Kharāj* (early 4th/10th century), a soldier displays at the pay session a certificate of assignment of pay (*sakk*) from the *diwān* (W. Hoernerbach, *Zur Heeresverwaltung der Abbāsiden. Studie über Abulfarāḡ Qudāma: Diwān al-ḡaiš*, in *Isl.*, xxix [1950], 281). See for further references on the term's usage in mediaeval Islam, C.E. Bosworth, *Abū 'Abdallāh al-Khwarazmī on the technical terms of the secretary's art. A contribution to the administrative history of mediaeval Islam*, in *JESHO*, xii (1969), 125-6.

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(C.E. BOSWORTH)

ṢALĀT-ī MA'KŪSA (A., P.), literally, "the act of Muslim worship performed upside-down", one of the extreme ascetic practices found among extravagant members of the dervish orders,

such as in mediaeval Muslim India among the *Ḥishīyya* [q.v.], where it formed part of the forty days' retreat or seclusion (*khalwa*, *arba'īniyya*, *cilla*) undertaken to heighten spiritual awareness [see *KHALWA*]. This practice was one of those done in tortured or difficult circumstances, in this case hanging on the end of a rope over the mouth of a well; see *ḤISHIYYA*, at Vol. II, 55b, and *HIND*, v. Islam, at Vol. III, 432b. (Ed.)

SALLĀM AL-TARDJUMĀN, early traveller in Central Asia, who has left an account of his alleged journey to the barrier of Yādjūdī wa-Mādjūdī [q.v.].

In 227/842 the caliph al-Wāthiq (r. 227-32/842-7 [q.v.]) reportedly saw in a dream that *Dhu 'l-Karnayn's* barrier had been breached. Sallām al-Tardjumān ("the interpreter"), "who spoke thirty languages" and who, according to Ibn Rusta, 149, used to translate Turkish documents for the caliph, received the order to make inquiries about the barrier and to report about it. The account of his journey is given by Ibn Khurradādhbih (d. between 272/885 and 300/912 [q.v.], Ar. text in *BGA*, vi, 162-70; Eng. tr. Wilson, *The Wall*, 582-7; Fr. tr. Barbier de Meynard, *Le livre des routes*, 124-31 and Miquel, *Géographie*, ii, 498-507; Dutch tr. De Goeje, *De muur*, 104-9). He writes that Sallām told him the story of his journey and afterwards dictated to him the account he had drawn up for the caliph.

The dream is perhaps to be explained in relation to unrest caused by the Turks in Central Asia, e.g. by the movements of the *Kirghīz* [q.v.] around Lake Baykal in 226-7/841. Another reason for the mission may have been al-Wāthiq's wish to put an end to what Barbier de Meynard (*op. cit.*, 23) calls "ridiculous interpretations" current about "the people of the Cave" (*Kur'ān*, XVIII, 9-26; see *AṢḤĀB AL-KAHF*) and about Yādjūdī and Mādjūdī with whom the Turks were identified. Ibn Khurradādhbih, 106-7, relates that al-Wāthiq already had sent the famous mathematician and astronomer Abū *Dja'far* Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Kh'arazmī (d. 232/847 [q.v.]) to the land of Rūm in order to investigate the story of the men of *raḳīm* [see *AṢḤĀB AL-KAHF*]. As Sallām would do later, al-Kh'arazmī informed Ibn Khurradādhbih personally

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about his journey. Al-Muḥaddasī, 362, relates that al-Wāṭhik had sent the same al-Kh̲ārazmī to the Tarkhān [q.v.], the king of the Khazar.

Sallām's journey, which probably brought him to the Tarim Basin, took two years and four months. Leaving Sāmarrā' in the summer of 227/842, he first travelled north to Tiflis, where he handed al-Wāṭhik's letter to Ishāk b. Ismā'īl, the governor of Armenia [see AL-KABK; KARŞ; AL-KURDJ]. The journey then went on to "the lord of al-Sarīr", the present-day Avaristān, a district in the middle Kōy-su valley in southern Dāghistān [q.v.], then ruled by a Christian prince who bore the title of Filān-Shāh. Sallām went on to the king of the Alans [see AL-LĀN], an Iranian people in the northern Caucasus, who held the Bāb al-Lān [q.v.] or Darial Pass, known to classical authors as "the Caspian Gates". Sallām does not mention the Bāb al-Abwāb [q.v.] near Derbend, the real Caspian Gate. Via the Filān-Shāh, he went on to the Tarkhān of the Khazar, who resided at Atīl [q.v.] near modern Astrakhan [q.v.]. While travelling back and forth in the Caucasus, Sallām must have convinced himself that Dhu 'l-Karnayn's barrier was not to be looked for in those regions. From Atīl he probably travelled in an easterly direction to Ikku, which is identical with modern Ha-mi in Sinkiang (lat. 42° 47' N., long. 93° 32' E.). With Tiflis, this is the only town mentioned in Ibn Khurradādhbih's text. De Goeje (164 n. g. cf. 126 n. 4 and *De muur*, 109) remarks that the vocalisation of *Ikku* is a conjecture, but his identifying this town with *Igu* seems quite plausible. During the T'ang dynasty (618-907), and thus at the time of Sallām's arrival, Ha-mi was known as *I-chou*, which then was under the rule of the Uyghurs (cf. *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, s.v. *Ha-mi*; see also KUMUL, in Suppl.). If Sallām indeed came to this town (see below), he may have travelled north of the Aral Sea. Al-Idrīsī, who used the now lost work of al-Dīyahānī [q.v. in Suppl.], adds (*Opus geographicum*, 935) that Sallām travelled for twenty-seven days along the borders of the land of the Bashdjirt (Bashkurt) [q.v.], a Turkish people living in the southern Ural. He may have crossed the Dzungarian Basin and passed the Gate of that name in the northern spur of the T'ien Shan mountain system, on the border of modern Kazakhstan and China. But "the black, stinking land" (*ard sawda' muntinat al-rā'itha*) which he mentions (Ibn Khurradādhbih, 163) may also point to the neighbourhood of Lake Balkhash [q.v.], the evil smell being perhaps caused by asafetida (De Goeje, *De muur*, 110). Sallām may then have followed the Ili river [q.v.] upstream. The "ruined towns" (*mudun kharāb*) which he then reached are perhaps the ruins of Pei-ting (or Chin-man), the site of the ancient capital of the region. He may then have passed modern Urumchi, Guchen and Barkul (see map). If he took the southern route via Turfan, he may have seen the ruins of Yar-khoto, the capital of the Turfan region in Han times (206 B.C.-A.D. 220) (see Stein, *On ancient tracks*, 270; von Le Coq, *Auf Hellas' Spuren*, 41, 69ff.). The inhabitants told him that their towns had been destroyed by Yādjudj and Mādjudj, perhaps a reference to the Kirghiz invasions of 841, which had put an end to Uyghur rule north of the Great Wall of China. Sallām then came to "fortifications" (*huṣūn*) in the neighbourhood of the barrier, where he met Muslims who spoke Arabic and Persian, who read the Qur'ān, and had Qur'ān schools and mosques, but did not know what the term *amīr al-mu'minīn* meant. These Muslims were probably merchants who had settled in an outpost far outside the world of Islam. The religion of the Prophet came to

the Farḡhana [q.v.] valley, and to the western part of the Tarim Basin [q.v.] only around 225/840 under the Sāmānid governor Nūh b. Asad (d. 227/841-2) [see SĀMĀNIDS]. In Sallām's days the eastern part of the Basin, i.e. the Turfan region, was inhabited by the Adhkash Turks (see al-Kāshgharī, *Diwān lughāt al-turk*, tr. Dankoff and Kelly, i, 89; cf. Ibn Khurradādhbih, 31). Ikku, Sallām relates, lay at a three days' distance from the barrier and had farmed fields and mills inside its walls, which had a circumference of ten *farsakhs*, while its iron gates were let down at night. Sallām also says that Dhu 'l-Karnayn had pitched camp here. The fortifications on the road from Ikku to the barrier, i.e. on the northern branch of the famous Silk Route, were perhaps the watch-towers along the westward extension of the Great Wall of China built during the Han period (see Stein, *On ancient tracks*, ch. X; Hermann, *Atlas*, map 24). It may have been one of these impressive towers, fully 4.5 m at the base and standing to a height of over 9 metres (illustration no. 73), which inspired Sallām for his fantastic description of Dhu 'l-Karnayn's barrier (see the drawing in Miquel, *Géographie*, ii, 505). This inspiration, based on the Qur'ān, was perhaps influenced by the descriptions of Alexander's Gate, found e.g. in the Syriac Alexander Song of Jacob of Sarūdj (see Reinink, *Das Syrische Alexanderlied*, 19) and the early Islamic poets.

According to Sallām, the barrier was a double-winged iron gate, 27 m high, over which was an iron lintel, ca. 64 m long and 3 m wide, on top of which was a wall of bricks, made of iron and brass. The barrier filled the gap between "the two mountains" (cf. Qur'ān, XVIII, 93, 96). Nearby, Sallām found two enormous fortresses, in one of which were the iron cauldrons and ladles used to form the bricks. Relics of them were stuck together with rust. The governor of the fortresses rode out every Monday and Thursday (according to al-Idrīsī, every Friday). One of his men knocked on the lock of the barrier and heard a noise as from a wasps' nest. He was then assured that Yādjudj and Mādjudj had done no harm to the barrier, since they realised that it was under constant guard. The governor assured Sallām that the only damage the barrier had suffered was a crack as thin as a thread. Sallām scraped half a dirham of iron dust from the crack to show to al-Wāṭhik. The people of the fortresses told him that they once had seen some individuals of Yādjudj and Mādjudj on the top of the mountain, their size being one span and a half. A "dark wind" had blown them back. On top of the right wing was an inscription in iron letters "in the primordial language" (*al-lisān al-awwal*), namely, Qur'ān, XVIII, 98: "But when the promise of my Lord shall come to pass, He will flatten it; and the promise of my Lord is true."

On his return journey, Sallām may have travelled to Lop Nor, from where he went to Nishāpūr via Tarāz, Isfīdjāb and Balkh [q.v.], having lost 36 men and 177 mules. Via al-Rayy he returned to Sāmarrā', where he was well received by the caliph, to whom he showed the iron dust taken from Dhu 'l-Karnayn's barrier.

Ibn Khurradādhbih's text of Sallām's report was taken up over the next four or so centuries by Ibn al-Fakīh, Ibn Faḍlān, Ibn Rusta, al-Muḥaddasī, al-Bīrūnī, al-Idrīsī, Ibn al-Dījawzī and al-Nuwayrī [q.v.]. Numerous other authors dealt with Yādjudj and Mādjudj but did not mention Sallām's journey. Ibn Rusta, 149, Sallām's and Ibn Khurradādhbih's contemporary, gives Sallām's report only to show how



confused (*takhlīf*) and exaggerated (*tazayyud*) it is. Al-Bīrūnī (*al-Āthār*, 41) doubts Sallām's credibility because he cannot believe that there were Muslims who spoke Arabic and Persian but did not know about the caliph. Neither is there unanimity among the Western scholars who have dealt with Sallām's report. For Barbier de Meynard (*op. cit.*, 23), Sallām's journey at least had "a beginning", and he states that he does not see in it, as Sprenger did, an "impudent mystification". De Goeje does not leave any doubt about his view: "We have found the origin of the legend about the wall of Gog and Magog, as it appears in Pseudo-Callisthenes and the Kur'ān, in the Great Chinese Wall with the Jade Gate [*Yü-mönn*], and we have restored Sallām's travel account as the report of a real journey" (*De muur*, 116). Anderson (*Alexander's gate*, 95) argues that Sallām certainly did not go to the Chinese Wall. For Wilson (*The Wall*, 611), Sallām's story is nothing but a legend, while Miller (*Mappae arabicae*, iv, 93-5) holds that the place described by Sallām is the breach in the Altai mountains made by the river Irtysh [*q.v.* in Suppl.]. Miquel finds in the account a "côtoisement d'un certain vraisemblable avec un légendaire certain" and adds "on mesure, à cet exemple, la place du merveilleux (*ʿaḡīb*) dans le goût du temps: il va jusqu'à se superposer chez un calife, aux nécessités de l'information objective" (*Géographie*, ii, 503).

Yet, there is some reason to support the view that Sallām did travel as far as Ha-mi. The data he gives about the Caucasus can be checked successfully in the sources available. Those for the journey from there to Īkku/Ha-mi are vague, it is true, the identification of landscapes, ruined towns and fortified places being speculative yet not absurd. Sallām did reach Ha-mi, since his *Īkku* is identical with this Chinese town [see *KUMUL*, in Suppl.]. It is thus quite likely that he saw the Jade Gate and the western extension of the Great Wall. His description of the town seems to be confirmed by Chinese publications (e.g. Luo Zhewen, *The Great Wall*, 7, 41), and his remark that the function of governor was hereditary agrees with later information by Abu 'l-Ghāzī [*q.v.*], according to whom some Turkish families had been charged by the Kitai [see *KARA-KHITĀY*] to guard, in return for payment, certain sections of the Great Wall. These Turks were called Ongüt ("wall") and their function was hereditary (cf. *Histoire des Mongols*, tr. Desmaisons, 47; Grousset, *L'Empire*, 287). The reports of Sven Hedin, Sir Aurel Stein, Albert von Le Coq *et alii* (see Hopkirk, *Foreign devils*, 243-5) seem to justify the view that Sallām did indeed travel to the eastern part of the Tarim Basin and saw part of the—by then already ruined—western extension of the Great Wall of China and at least one of its gates.

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SALMĀN AL-FĀRISĪ or SALMĀN PĀK, a semi-legendary figure of early Islam, Companion of the Prophet and the person regarded in later tradition as the proto-convert to Islam from the Persian nation.

According to one tradition, the most complete version of which goes back to Muḥammad b. Ishāk, he was the son of a *dihkān* of the Persian village of Dīayy (or Dīayyān; cf. Yāqūt, ii, 170) near Iṣfahān. According to other stories, he belonged to the vicinity of Rām-hurmuz and his Persian name was Māhbēh (Māyēh) or Rūzbēh (cf. Justi, *Iran. Namenbuch*, 217, 277). Attracted by Christianity while still a boy, he left his father's house to follow a Christian monk and, having changed his teachers several times, arrived in Syria; from there he went right down to the Wādī 'l-Kurā in western Arabia seeking the Prophet who was to restore the religion of Ibrāhīm, the imminence of whose coming had been predicted to him by his last teacher on his deathbed. Betrayed by Kalbī Bedouin, who were acting as his guides through the desert, and sold as a slave to a Jew, he had occasion to go to Yathrib where, soon after his arrival, the *hiḏra* of Muḥammad took place. Recognising in the latter the marks of the prophet which the monk had described to him, Salmān became a Muslim and purchased his liberty from his Jewish master, after being miraculously aided by Muḥammad himself to raise the sum necessary to pay his ransom.

The name of Salmān is associated with the siege of Medina by the Meccans, for it was he who on this occasion advised the digging of the ditch (*khandaq*) by means of which the Muslims defended themselves from the enemy. But, as Horowitz (see *Bibl.*) has shown, the earliest accounts of the *yawm al-khandaq* make no mention of Salmān's intervention, the story of which was probably invented in order to attribute to a Persian the introduction of a system of defence the name of which is of Persian origin. The other references to the career of Salmān (his part in the conquest of 'Irāk and of Fārs, his governorship of al-Madā'in, etc.) are equally devoid of authority and almost all date from the historian Sayf b. 'Umar, the bias of whose work is well known. Indeed, the fame



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SALLĀM AL-TARDJUMĀN

PLATE LXVI



Chinese Turkistan and adjacent parts of Central Asia and Kansu. Source: Sir Aurel Stein, *On ancient Central Asian tracks. Brief narrative of three expeditions in innermost Asia and northwestern China*, London 1933, repr. New York 1971, p. 342.



Ruin of ancient Chinese fort marking the position of the "Jade Gate", seen from the northeast. Source: Sir Aurel Stein, *On ancient Central Asian tracks. Brief narrative of three expeditions in innermost Asia and northwestern China*, London 1933, repr. New York 1971, p. 180.

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of Salmān is almost entirely due to his Persian nationality: he is the prototype of the converted Persians, who played such a part in the development of Islam; as such, he has become the national hero of Muslim Persia and one of the favourite personages of the *Shu'ubiyya* [q.v.] (see Goldziher, *Muh. Studien*, i, 117, 136, 153, 212). What explains the majority of the traditions relative to Salmān is the fact that the Prophet foretells to him that the Persians will form the better part of the Muslim community; he declares him a member of his own family (*ahl al-bayt*), etc. In reality, the historical personality of Salmān is of the vaguest, and it is with difficulty that one can even admit that his legend is based on the actual fact of the conversion of a Medinan slave of Persian origin.

The figure of Salmān has had an extraordinary development. Not only does he appear as one of the founders of Sūfism along with the *Aṣḥāb al-Suffa* (*K. al-Luma'*, ed. Nicholson, 134-5) but the alleged site of his tomb very early became a centre of worship (at latest in 4th/10th century) (cf. al-Ya'kūbī, *Buldān*, 321); it is still pointed out in the vicinity of the ancient al-Madā'in, at the place called after him Salmān Pāk ("Salmān the Pure") near the former Asbāndūr suburb. His sepulchral mosque, which was seen in its older form by Pietro della Valle in 1617, was renovated by Sultan Murād IV [q.v.] and further restored in 1322/1904-5 (Herzfeld-Sarre, *Archäol. Reise im Euphrates- und Tigrisgebiet*, ii, 262, n. 1). It is the object of numerous pilgrimages, especially on the part of Shī'īs, who do not fail to visit it when returning from Karbalā'. Other traditions locate the tomb of Salmān in the vicinity of Isfahān, where there is evidence of his cult in the 7th/13th century (Yāqūt, ii, 170), and elsewhere, e.g. Lydda.

Salmān plays a remarkable part in the development of the *futuwa* [q.v.] and the workmen's corporations. He is venerated as a patron of barbers, whence comes the tradition, unknown in ancient collections of traditions, which makes him the Prophet's barber. He is also one of the principal links in the mystic chain (*silsila*) in various dervish orders.

Among the extremist Shī'ī sects, he is placed immediately after 'Alī in the series of divine emanations. The Nuṣayriyya [q.v.] make him the third member of the trinity formed by the three mystic letters 'Ayn ('Alī), M (Muḥammad) and S (Salmān), of which he forms the gate (*bāb*) (cf. R. Dussaud, *Histoire et religion des Nusairis*, Paris 1900, 62).

The death of Salmān is placed in 35/655-6 or 36/656-7, a statement which has no value except to indicate that the historical tradition had no note of his activity after the accession of 'Alī (end of 35/656). Like many other individuals, said to have embraced Islam after long experiences of other religions, he is credited with an extraordinary longevity: 200, 300, 350 and even 553 years (Goldziher, *Abhandl. zur arab. Philologie*, ii, p. LXVI).

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(G. LEVI DELLA VIDA*)

SAMAW'AL B. YAḤYĀ AL-MAGHRIBĪ, ABŪ NAṢR (?520-70/?1126-75), prominent physician and mathematician who lived and practiced among the notables of Syria, 'Irāk, Kurdistan and Aḡhar-bāydjān. Born and raised as a Jew, he gives an account of his conversion to Islam, including a brief autobiography, in an appendix attached to the second edition of his anti-Jewish polemic, *Iḥām al-yahūd* ("Silencing the Jews"). His father, Yehūdāh Ibn Abūn, was a rabbi and poet from Fās whose family came from al-Andalus. Also known as Abu 'l-Bakā' Yahyā b. 'Abbās al-Maghribī, the father moved to Baghdād and married a literate and educated woman of a noble Jewish family named Hannah bt. Ishāk b. Ibrāhīm al-Baṣrī al-Lawī (the Levite).

According to Samaw'al's autobiographical chapter, he began his studies like other Jewish boys with Hebrew writing, and the study of Torah and its commentaries. By the age of thirteen, however, the age marking adult maturity and ritual responsibility in Jewish law, his father moved him out of the traditional religious curriculum because of his perspicacity and introduced him to the study of mathematics and medicine. He excelled in these fields and wrote a number of works, most of which no longer survive. His only extant medical work, the *Nuzhat al-aṣḥāb*, centres around diseases and syndromes associated with sexual dysfunction, and it includes a collection of erotic stories and descriptions of being in love without recognising it. His most important scientific work is his book on algebra, *al-Bāhūr*, written when he was nineteen. He set out to provide the same kind of systematisation for algebra that al-Karādī did for geometry in his work, *al-Badī'*. He is the first Arab algebraist to undertake the study of relative numbers.

His early studies were taken under Abu 'l-Barakāt Ḥibat Allāh b. 'Alī, another Jew who is said to have become Muslim, though late in life. Samaw'al is associated with yet another learned Jewish convert to Islam, Isaac the son of the famous biblical exegete, grammarian and philosopher, Abraham ben Ezra.

In al-Samaw'al's time, the science of medicine was closely associated with rationalistic philosophy. It has been suggested recently that the aforementioned conversions may have been "provisional". For example, Samaw'al's polemic against Judaism expresses a philosophical relativism that may have been influenced by or associated with the Nizārī Isma'īlī *kiyāma* (resurrection/resurgence) centred around Alamūt, a contemporary movement that transcended the normative boundaries of religion and law in the lands of Syria and Persia (S. Wasserstrom, following S. Stroumsa, J. Kraemer and H. Lazarus-Yafeh). If so, then Samaw'al's anti-Jewish *Iḥām* may have been a safe way of criticising doctrinal thinking in general.

It has also been suggested that Samaw'al's conversion was a result of exactly the process about which Moses Maimonides later cautioned in his *Commentary on the Mishna*, that Jews should avoid the study of history because in the Islamic world such study was overwhelmingly anchored in Islamic perspectives and world views and would therefore encourage apostasy from Judaism. Samaw'al's conversion may have been a response to the difficult Jewish problem of accepting the negation of exile while accepting the need for infinite patience for a vague messianic redemption. Such a delicate balance of thought was difficult to



sustain when confronted by the this-worldly reality of contemporary Muslim history, which fulfilled the Jewish longing for a polity, or *dawla*, a central concept in Samaw'al's polemical attack against Judaism (Husain).

Unlike his father, whose *kunya* Abu 'l-Bakā' suggests longevity, Samaw'al died in 570/1175 at a relatively young age (Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a, *Uyūn al-anbā'*).

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(R. FIRESTONE)

SANAD (A.), pl. *asnād*, lit. "support, stay, rest", but in Islamic administrative usage coming to mean an administrative, financial or legal document on which reliance can formally be placed (*masnūd*), hence an authenticated document. From the same root *s-n-d* is derived the technical term of Islamic tradition, *isnād* [q.v.] and **HADITH**, literally "the act of making something rest upon something else".

The Turkish form of *sanad*, i.e. *sened*, was used in Ottoman practice for a document with e.g. a seal attached, thereby authenticating it and supporting it with official proof; see Pakalın, iii, 173-4. In Indo-Muslim usage, *sanad* was used for government and similar decrees, hence the definition in J.T. Platts, *A dictionary of Urdu, Classical Hindī, and English*, "London 1911, 682: "ordinance, mandate, decree, grant, certificate, etc."

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(C.E. BOSWORTH)

SARF (A.), the Islamic legal term for exchanges of gold for gold, silver for silver, and gold and silver for each other. Although *sarf* in this sense appears in the *ḥadīth*, it is generally regarded as a term of art without prescriptive significance (Ibn al-'Arabī, *Kutāb al-Kabas*, ed. Walad Karīm, Beirut 1992, ii, 822-3; al-Subkī, *Takmilat al-madīmiyya*, Cairo n.d., x, 99; but see Ibn al-Murtaḍā, *al-Bahr al-zakḥkhār*, Beirut 1409/1988, iii, 386). According to another well-established usage (al-Ba'ī, *al-Muḥṭāṭ*, Beirut 1401/1981, 239; al-'Aynī, *Umdat al-kārī*, Beirut n.d., x, 293), followed by Mālikī jurists, *sarf* applies to exchanges of gold and silver, while exchanges (by weight) of gold for gold or silver for silver are termed *murāṭala*. Further variations in usage can be found (*Sharḥ al-Khīrshī 'alā mukhtasar Sīdī Khālīl*, Beirut n.d., v, 36 [including *fulūs*]; al-Subkī, x, 149 [*sarf* vs. *muṣārafā*]). In addition, *sarf* is commonly used in the sense of the rate of exchange of gold for silver, and is sometimes used for the money-changer's commission (S.D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean society*, Berkeley etc. 1967, i, 239-40) as well as for money in general (Dozy, *Supplément*, i, 829). It has been suggested that the sense of money-changing for the Arabic word *sarf* developed under Aramaic influence (S. Fraenkel, *Die*

aramäischen Fremdwörter im Arabischen, Leiden 1886, 182-6). For a fanciful etymology from the clink (*ṣarīf*) of the metals as they are being weighed, see e.g. al-Bahūtī, *Kashshāf al-kinā'*, ed. Hilāl, al-Riyād n.d.

Sarf transactions are subject to particular stringencies. The parties, having entered into the contract, are required to take delivery before they separate. In addition, where the exchange is of gold for gold or silver for silver, the quantities on each side must be equivalent in weight. The rate of exchange of gold for silver, on the other hand, may be determined by the parties as they see fit, and even unascertained quantities (*ḍuẓāf*) of these metals may be exchanged (cf. Mālik, *al-Muwatta'*, ed. 'Abd al-Bāki, Cairo n.d., 393 [except coins]; al-Bādjī, *al-Muntakā*, Cairo 1332/1914 iv, 277-8, cf. al-Shaybānī, *K. al-Hudūdja*, ed. al-Kilānī, Ḥaydarābād 1387/1968, ii, 571-2). The regulation of exchanges of gold and silver was introduced in the year 7/628 in the course of the division of the spoils of the conquest of Khaybar [q.v.] (Caetani, *Annali*, ii/1, 38-9). The legal rules governing these exchanges derive from the prohibition of *ribā* [q.v.] as expounded in the *ḥadīth*, general principles of contract law, and certain monetary conceptions.

The validity of *sarf* contracts requires that performance on both sides be due at once (*munāḍja*, *ḥulūl*); neither party may be granted a term in which to make delivery, which would constitute *ribā al-nasā'*. In fact, virtually all jurists require that delivery on both sides (*ṭakābud*) take place during the contractual session (*maḍlīs*) (but see al-Suyūṭī, *al-Tanḳīḥ al-rā'i*, ed. al-Kūhkamarī, Kumm 1404/1985, ii, 97; al-Ṣadr, *al-Bank al-lā-ribawī fi 'l-Islām*, al-Kuwayt n.d., 147-8), which may, however, be protracted. To the extent otherwise available, the parties have the benefit of the right to rescind the executory contract while in their session (*khīyār al-maḍlīs*). The Mālikīs are stricter in this regard, insisting on prompt, if not immediate, mutual delivery, even a short delay making the exchange reprehensible (*makrūh*) (al-Ḥaṭṭāb, *Mawāḥib al-djalīl*, Tārabulus, Libya n.d., iii, 302-3, cf. Ibn Hazm, *al-Muḥallā*, ed. Shākir, Beirut n.d., viii, 493). Thus while others prohibit the parties from reserving to themselves a right of rescission (*khīyār al-shart*), Mālikī jurists go further and exclude delivery by assignment (*hawāla*) and the giving of either personal or real security for delivery, all of which are deemed repugnant to the required promptness of performance (Ibn Ḍjuzayy, *Kawānīn al-aḥkām al-shar'iyya*, Cairo 1975, 262-3; Ibn Ḍjallāb, *al-Tafṭīḥ*, ed. al-Dahmānī, Beirut 1408/1987, ii, 154, cf. the Hanafī al-Anḳirāwī, *Fatāwā*, Būlāḳ 1281/1864-5, i, 303). For the same reason, according to the Mālikīs, the *sarf* transaction is invalid if both parties borrow the gold or silver in order to make delivery (*al-sarf 'alā al-dhīmma*) (Saḥnūn, *al-Mudawwana*, Cairo 1323/1905, repr. Beirut n.d., iii, 396; al-Dardīr, *al-Sharḥ al-saghīr*, ed. Waṣfī, Cairo 1972, iii, 50 gloss).

There is disagreement as to whether the requirement of mutual delivery is satisfied by a set-off of debts (*ṭatārūḥ al-daynayn*). The Mālikīs regard the set-off as a valid *sarf* if both debts are presently due, the Hanafīs and Zaydis as being valid whether or not due. The Shāfi'īs and Hanbalīs, on the other hand, do not consider such a transaction a valid *sarf* (Ibn Rushd, *Bidāyat al-muḍṭlahid*, Cairo n.d., ii, 174; Ibn Qudāma, *al-Mughnī*, ed. al-Turkī and al-Ḥulwī, Cairo 1408/1989, vi, 106; al-Subkī, x, 101; Ibn al-Murtaḍā, iii, 389).

Where there has been only part performance of the contract the Mālikīs treat the entire contract as



void (*al-Mudawwana*, iii, 392; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *al-Kāfi*, ed. al-Murīṭānī, al-Riyāḍ 1400/1980-1, ii, 634, cf. *al-Muntakā*, iv, 264). The other schools, following the principle of the severability of contracts (*tafriḳ al-safka*), uphold the *ṣarf* to the extent it has been executed (al-Nawawī, *al-Maḍmū'*, Cairo n.d., ix, 461, cf. al-Shāfi'i, *al-Umm*, Cairo n.d., iii, 26; al-Mardāwī, *al-Insāf*, ed. al-Fikī, Beirut n.d., v, 45; al-Suyūṭī, ii, 98; Ibn al-Murtaḍā, iii, 387-8). Some jurists hold the view that the parties' failure to take delivery under the *ṣarf* contract not only voids the contract but amounts to a sin, unless they take the trouble to repudiate the contract before separating (*al-Maḍmū'*, ix, 460-1, cf. al-Bahrānī, *al-Hadā'ik al-nādira*, ed. al-Irawānī, Beirut 1405/1985, xix, 277).

The requirement that mutual delivery take place upon contracting makes it possible for either party to prevent the enforcement of an executory *ṣarf* contract by terminating the contractual session without taking delivery (*al-Muntakā*, iv, 264, cf. al-Shaybānī, *al-Amālī*, Haydarābād 1360, 15-16). Furthermore, given the widespread circulation of different mintages and sub-standard coins in the mediaeval period, the jurists had to determine how far subsequent adjustments in the interest of a dissatisfied party were consistent with the rule of mutual delivery (e.g. *Mawāhib al-djalil*, iv, 322-6; al-Mardāwī, v, 45-9).

The prohibition of *ribā* requires that exchanges of gold for gold or silver for silver involve equal quantities of the metals, any inequality constituting *ribā al-faḍl*, although some early authorities, most notably Ibn 'Abbās (d. 68/687), are reported to have rejected the doctrine of *ribā al-faḍl*, at least for a time (e.g. al-Ṭahāwī, *Sharḥ ma'ānī al-āthār*, ed. al-Nadīdjār, Cairo n.d., iv, 63-71, al-Subkī, x, 23-5), and thus to have permitted the exchange of unequal quantities of gold for gold and silver for silver—such unequal exchanges being termed *ṣarf* in the *ḥadīth* (al-Nasafī, *Talibāt al-ṭalaba*, Beirut n.d., 114; al-Nawawī, *Sharḥ ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, Cairo n.d., xi, 23-4), a sense familiar to early lexicography, see Ibn Sīda, *al-Mukhaṣṣas*, Beirut n.d., xii, 30 (quoting al-Khalīl b. Aḥmad [q.v.]). The requirement of strict equality (*tasāwū*) applies to all such exchanges, whatever the form of the metals, whether raw ore (*ṭibr*), ingots (*nukra*, *sabika*), coins (*maḍrūb*) or manufactured articles (*maṣūgh*, *maṣnū'*, *ḥaly*), with the equality to be measured by weight (*wazn*), as in the time of the Prophet, without regard to the market value (*kīma*) of the objects (e.g. al-Bahūtī, iii, 262-3). The reasonableness and hence the validity of an exchange of exactly similar coins have been questioned (Ibn Nudjāy, *al-Bahr al-rā'ik*, ed. Cairo, vi, 193, cf. N.J. Coulson, *A history of Islamic law*, Edinburgh 1964, 42).

While campaigning in Syria, Mu'āwiya (d. 60/680) reportedly exchanged manufactured articles taken as booty for their value in the same metal, for which he was rebuked by other Companions, including the Caliph 'Umar (al-Zurkānī, *Sharḥ al-Muwatta'*, Beirut n.d., iii, 278-9; *al-Muntakā*, iv, 261-2), and this practice is said to have continued in Syria until 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz (d. 101/720) put an end to it (al-Subkī, x, 79). Nonetheless, the opinion that the value added by labour should be reflected in the rate of exchange continued to find support. This teaching is attributed to Dāwūd al-Zāhirī (d. 270/884) (al-Shāfi'i, *Risāla fī masā'il al-imām Dāwūd al-Zāhirī*, Damascus 1330, 21, cf. al-Muḥallā, viii, 493), and it is reported of both al-Shāfi'i (Ibn al-Murtaḍā, iii, 387, cf. al-Shayzarī, *Nihāyat al-rubā fī ṭalab al-ḥisba*, ed. al-'Arīnī, Beirut 1969, 75) and Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal (Ibn Kūdāma,

vi, 60) that they prohibited equal exchanges by weight of whole for broken coins because of the discrepancy in value. The most prominent later proponent of this doctrine was the Ḥanbalī Ibn Taymiyya (d. 728/1328), according to whom manufactured articles of gold or silver are outside the scope of the law of *ṣarf*, which is intended to promote monetary stability (al-Ba'ī, *al-Ikhtiyārāt al-fikhiyya*, ed. al-Fikī, Cairo n.d., 127; Ibn Kayyim al-Djāwziyya, *Flām al-muwakkī'in*, ed. Sa'd, Cairo 1388/1968, ii, 154-63; al-Ḥaymī, *al-Rawḍ al-nadīr*, Beirut n.d., iii, 229-31; Ibn al-Ālūsī, *Djalā'* al-'aynayn, Cairo 1400/1980, 628-44).

The attribution to Mālik of the view that coinage might be exchanged for its value in the same metal was vigorously denied by his followers (Ibn Kūdāma, vi, 60; al-Subkī, x, 79-83, cf. J. Schacht, *The origins of Muhammadan jurisprudence*, Oxford 1950, 67). Many Mālikīs did, however, support the opinion expressed by Mālik that a traveller in dire need of coins might pay for them with the same metal in such a quantity as to cover the cost of minting (*al-Kabas*, ii, 822, cf. al-Khiṣṣī, v, 43 [no longer applicable according to Aḥḥab, d. 204/819]; *al-Muntakā*, iv, 259; al-Mawwāk, *al-Taḍj wa 'l-iklīl*, on the margin of *Mawāhib al-djalil*, iv, 318 [only if life is in jeopardy]). Furthermore, the Mālikīs permit the exchange of up to six pieces of gold or silver currency passing by tale for an equal number of pieces made of the same metal even when the latter are up to one-sixth greater in weight. Such an exchange, termed *mubādala*, must be in the nature of an accommodation (*ma'rūf*) to the party with the underweight (*nākiṣ*) coins, and, according to some, must be expressly characterised by the parties as a *mubādala*, not a sale (*al-Muntakā*, iv, 259-60; al-Tasūlī, *al-Bahḍja sharḥ al-tuḥfa*, Cairo, 1370/1951, ii, 27-9).

A further set of problems is posed when one or more objects, termed *ḍamīma* by Twelver Shī'īs (al-Shahīd al-Awwal, *al-Lum'a al-dimashkiyya*, ed. Kalāntar, Kumm 1396/1976, iii, 441) and *djārira* by Zaydīs (al-Ṣan'ānī, *Minḥat al-ghaffār*, Ṣan'a' 1405/1985, iii, 1388), including objects subject to the laws of *ribā*, are introduced into the exchange of the same metals, for example one dirham and a measure of dates as consideration for two dirhams (*ma'salat mudd 'adjiwa*) (al-Muzanī, *al-Mukhtaṣar*, on the margin of *al-Umm*, ii, 145; Ibn Kūdāma, vi, 92-4; Ibn Raḍjab, *al-Kawā'id*, ed. Sa'd, Cairo 1392/1972, 267-70; *al-Muḥallā*, viii, 494-6). The Ḥanafīs, Twelver Shī'īs and Zaydīs recognise the validity of such a transaction, by analysing it as a *ṣarf* of one dirham for another and a sale of the dates for the other dirham. The *ṣarf* contract meets the test for equality. Such transactions are valid when the gold or silver on the one side exceeds that on the other, so that the excess can be referred to the added object (*ṭarīk al-ṭibār*) (Ibn al-Murtaḍā, iii, 338-40). The Mālikīs, Shāfi'īs and Ḥanbalīs, on the other hand, regard this transaction as invalid, seeing in it the sale of a combination of things, with unascertained value, for two dirhams (cf. *Kitāb al-Hudūdja*, ii, 574-5; al-Ṭahāwī, iv, 72-3 [critical]). More pertinently perhaps, such a sale can be used to circumvent the prohibition of *ribā al-faḍl*, since an object of merely nominal value can be introduced to validate what is essentially an unequal *ṣarf* contract, and so should be prohibited as a preventive measure (*sadd al-dhārā'i'*) (cf. *al-Muwatta'*, 395; *al-Muntakā*, iv, 277). To obviate this result, some jurists, including the Zaydī Imām al-Ḥādī (d. 298/911) (*Kitāb al-Aḥkām*, Ṣan'a' 1410/1990, ii, 73; al-Kāsim b. Muḥammad, *al-Fiṣām bi-ḥabl Allāh al-matin*, ed. al-Faḍīl, Ṣan'a' 1404/1984, iv, 109) and,



reportedly, Sufyān al-Thawrī (d. 161/778) (al-Mawwāk, iv, 301), insisted that the object introduced should correspond in value to the excess (*faḍl*) on the other side, and the Ḥanafī al-Shaybānī is supposed to have regarded an unequal exchange of this sort as valid but reprehensible (*makrūh*) (Ibn al-Humām, *Fath al-kadīr*, repr. Kuwait n.d., vi, 271-2, cf. al-Nāṣir al-Uṣṣūl [d. 304/917], in R.B. Serjeant [ed.], *A Zaidī manual of Ḥisbah of the 3rd century (H)*, in *RSO*, xxviii [1957], 24 [better to exchange for the other metal]).

On the ground of hardship (*darūra*), however, the Mālikīs permit the giving of up to one-half of a dirham as change in a sale with a purchase price of no more than a dirham, the exchange of currency being deemed ancillary to the sale (*al-radd 'alā* or *fi 'l-dirham*) (al-Mawwāk, iv, 301; *Mawāhib al-djātīl*, iv, 318-21), whereas the Ḥanbalīs validate similar transactions by analysing them as made up of two distinct contracts, *ṣarf* and sale (al-Bahūtī, iii, 260-1).

The exchange of a dirham and a dīnār for a dirham and a dīnār (al-Khīrshī, v, 36-7 gloss) is also invalid according to the Mālikīs, Shāfi'īs and Ḥanbalīs, not to speak of the exchange of two dirhams and a dīnār for one dirham and two dīnārs. The Ḥanafīs, Twelver Shī'īs and Zaydīs uphold the validity of these transactions, in the latter case by referring the silver coins on each side to the gold on the other, so that there is no requirement of equality (on the use of this principle as an evasive device, cf. al-Ābī, *Kashf al-rumūz*, Kumm 1408/1989, i, 500-1).

The Mālikīs' aversion to mixed transactions goes beyond that of the Shāfi'īs and Ḥanbalīs, for they prohibit an exchange in which, for example, gold and another object is traded for silver, this constituting a combination of *ṣarf*, in the Mālikī sense, and an ordinary sale (*al-ṣarf wa 'l-bay'*) (al-Mudawwana, iii, 410), the incidents of which are deemed incompatible (al-Khīrshī, v, 40-1, cf. Ibn Rushd, *Fatāwā*, ed. al-Talīlī, Beirut 1407/1987, i, 210; *Bidāyat al-mudjtahid*, ii, 175 [approving Ashhab's rejection of this doctrine]; al-Baghawī, *Sharh al-sunna*, ed. al-Arnā'ūt, Beirut 1403/1983, viii, 67 [no basis for it]). Here, too, however, the Mālikīs recognise exceptions on the ground of hardship for transactions with a purchase price of no more than one dīnār and transactions, however large, in which the *ṣarf* component involves the exchange of less than one dīnār for dirhams. In either of these cases, where no more than two dirhams are due as change for a payment in dīnārs, the *ṣarf* is treated as ancillary to the sale, and delivery of the coins need not take place at the time of the contract (*Hāshiyat al-Dasūqī 'alā al-sharh al-kabīr*, Cairo n.d., iii, 32-3).

The problems posed by the sale of objects with gold or silver ornamentation and by debased gold and silver coins are dealt with according to the rules for mixed transactions (but see Ibn Rushd, *Fatāwā*, i, 572; idem, *al-Bayān wa 'l-tahṣīl*, ed. A'rāb, Beirut 1404/1984, vii, 30 [coins]). Where, however, the gold or silver ornamentation is in the form of a thin veneer that cannot be salvaged as saleable metal, the rules of *ṣarf* are deemed inapplicable (Ibn Kudāma, vi, 96; al-Dardīr, iii, 61-2; so also for coins, al-Kāsānī, *Badā'ī 'al-ṣanā'ī*, Cairo n.d., vii, 3137; al-'Abbādī, *al-Djawhara al-nayyira*, Istanbul n.d., i, 272; Ibn al-Ṣalāh, *Fatāwā wa-masā'il*, ed. al-Kal'adī, Beirut 1406/1985, ii, 578; Ibn al-Ukhuwwa, *Kitāb Ma'ālim al-kurba*, ed. Sha'bān and Muḥīṭī, Cairo 1976, 124-5), so that, for example, a house with a gilded roof can be sold for gold although the gold in the roof exceeds the purchase price (*al-Fatāwā al-hindiyya*, Beirut n.d., iii, 224). Where, on the other hand, the gold or silver in the article

or coin can be detached or melted down, the Mālikīs, Shāfi'īs and Ḥanbalīs, following their rules for mixed transactions and the precedent found in the *ḥadīth* (*Sharh Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*, xi, 17-19; al-Tahāwī, iv, 71-5, cf. al-Tilimsānī, *Miftāḥ al-wuṣūl*, ed. Kummī, Cairo n.d., 62-3), do not permit a sale for the same precious metal as in the ornament or coin. The metal must be detached and sold separately according to the rules of *ṣarf*. These stringencies, except according to the Mālikīs, do not apply when an article with gold ornamentation or a debased gold coin is sold for silver or *vice versa*; the Mālikīs do, however, make an exception when the ornamentation does not exceed one-third of the value (or weight, according to others) of the object (al-Muwatta', 394; al-Dasūqī, iii, 40, cf. Ibn Rushd, *al-Bayān wa 'l-tahṣīl*, ed. Ḥabābī, Beirut 1404/1984, vi, 439-40 [gold and silver combined]). Furthermore, when the gold or silver is so affixed as to be detachable only with loss of value, the Mālikīs apply the one-third rule to exchanges for the same metal, and there is no restriction on exchanges for the other metal (Ibn Djuzaayy, 264-5).

The Ḥanafīs, Twelver Shī'īs and Zaydīs permit exchanges of objects with gold or silver ornamentation or debased coins for a greater quantity of the same precious metal, although for the Ḥanafīs, coins which are predominantly gold or silver are deemed equivalent to coins of pure metal. Where such objects or coins are exchanged for each other, the jurists of these schools cross-reference the precious metal on each side to the other component (cf. al-Muḥallā, viii, 498-501). For the purpose of upholding its validity, the transaction is analysed as consisting of two ordinary sales. The *ṣarf* requirement of mutual delivery, however, continues to apply (*Fath al-kadīr*, vi, 275). This analysis would permit the unequal exchange of debased coins for each other, a consequence that the Central Asian Ḥanafīs, from fear that it would open the door to *ribā*, are reported to have refused to draw with respect to the greatly debased silver coins that served as their primary currency (*Fath al-kadīr*, vi, 275, cf. Qādikhān, *Fatāwā*, on the margin of *al-Fatāwā al-hindiyya*, ii, 252; Dāwūd b. Yūsuf al-Khaṭīb, *al-Fatāwā al-ghiyāthiyya*, Būlāq 1323, 141-2; on *ghitriḥ* dirhams, see al-Kirmīlī, *al-Nukūd al-'arabiyya*, Beirut n.d., 150-1).

The extension of the law of *ṣarf* to copper coins functioning as currency (*al-fulūs al-rā'idja* or *al-nāfika*) is most strongly represented among the Mālikīs (*Mudawwana*, viii, 395-6), although there is also some support for this view in the Ḥanbalī (al-Mardāwī, v, 15), Shāfi'ī (al-Zabīdī, *Ithāf al-sāda al-muttaḥin*, Beirut n.d., v, 447), Ḥanafī (al-Shaybānī, cf. A.L. Udovitch, *Partnership and profit in medieval Islam*, Princeton, 1970, 52-5) and Zaydī (Ibn al-Murtaḍā, iii, 391) schools. There is disagreement among modern writers as to the applicability of the rules of *ṣarf* to transactions in paper currency (al-Rūhānī, *al-Masā'il al-mustahdatha*, Kumm 1385/1965, 33 [no]; al-Ṣadr, *al-Bank al-lā-ribawī fi 'l-Islām*, 149-52 [depends on the nature of the currency]; al-'Uthmānī, *Takmilat fath al-mulhim*, Karachi 1407/1988, i, 589-90 [yes]; *Karārāt wa-taṣṣiyāt Maḍjma' al-Fikh al-Islāmī al-munbathīk min Munazzamat al-Mu'tamar al-Islāmī*, Damascus 1418/1998, 40 [yes]; see also *Maḍjallat Maḍjma' al-Fikh al-Islāmī*, iii [1408/1987], 1721-1965 cf. *ibid.*, v/3 [1409/1988], 1609-2261; and Bu 'l-Shīnkīṭī, *al-Kawāl al-musaddad fi hukm zakāt al-awrāk*, n.p. [Beirut] 1420/1999).

The restrictiveness of the laws of *ṣarf* engendered evasive devices, *hiyal* [q.v.], sometimes included as part of the exposition of the subject, even when labelled reprehensible (e.g. al-Nawawī, *Rawḍat al-tālibīn*, ed.



‘Abd al-Mawdūd and Mu‘awwad, Beirut 1412/1992, iii, 44-5). Additional pressure for such devices came from the practice of some Muslim governments of minting debased silver coins and then imposing an exchange rate that inevitably involved a violation of the law of *sarf*. One expedient was to construe these exchanges as transactions by mutual delivery (*mu‘āṭāt*), not *sarf* contracts, and thus not subject to the *sarf* restrictions (*al-Fitām*, iv, 108-9; al-‘Amilī, *Kūb al-Matādīr min miṣṭāḥ al-karāma*, Cairo n.d., 7, 159, cf. *al-Bahr al-rā‘ik*, vi, 192). Shāfi‘is are reported to have upheld unequal exchanges as reciprocal gifts (*al-Dardīr*, iii, 57 gloss, cf. *Rawḍat al-tālibīn*, iii, 45), while Mālikis validated small-scale unequal exchanges by appealing to the notion of hardship (*al-Ḍaṣūkī*, iii, 35). Others insisted that the parties employ the device suggested in the *ḥadīth* of an intervening sale of one of the currencies for goods followed by a resale of the goods for the other currency (*al-Shawkānī*, quoted in Ṣiddīq Ḥasan Khān, *al-Rawḍa al-nadiyya*, Cairo n.d., ii, 116-18), although regular resort to this device was controversial (*al-Subkī*, x, 136, cf. *al-Muḥallā*, viii, 512-13). Against the inconvenience of this cumbersome practice, the Yemenī al-Makbalī (d. 1108/1696) argued for an analysis according to which the parties were granting each other a license (*ibāha*) in the exchanged coins, thus effectively freeing all except professional money-changers from the restrictions of the law of *sarf* (*al-Aḥbāth al-musaddada*, ed. al-Iryānī, Ṣan‘ā‘ 1403/1982, 286-7, 390-1, and *Minḥat al-ghaffār*, iii, 1389).

The complexity of the law of *sarf* made it difficult for those engaged in frequent exchanges to avoid violating the prohibition of *ribā*, which put the profession of money-changing (*sarrāf*, *sayraf*, *ṣayrafi*, *musarif*) in a bad light (*al-Bayān wa ‘l-tahṣīl*, vi, 448 [better to exchange with merchants], cf. *al-Ḍaṣūkī*, iii, 43 gloss), but this did not mean that its exercise by non-Muslims was encouraged (*al-Mudawwana*, viii, 403; Ibn ‘Abd al-Ra‘ūf, in N. Ziadeh, *al-Hisba wa ‘l-muḥtasib fi ‘l-Islām*, Beirut 1963, 141, cf. Goitein, i, 229-30). The condemnation of money-changers is particularly connected with the name of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī (d. 110/728 [q.v.]) (Ibn Rushd, *al-Mukaddamāt al-mumahhadāt*, ed. A‘rāb, Beirut 1408/1988, ii, 14), whose disapproval, according to a Shī‘ī tradition, was countered by the Imām Ḍja‘far al-Ṣādiq (d. 148/765 [q.v.]), when he noted that the *Aṣḥāb al-Kahf* [q.v.] of Kurān, XVIII, were money-changers (*al-Tūṣī*, *al-Tahdhīb*, ed. al-Kharsān, Tehran 1390/1970, vi, 363; cf. al-Turayhī, *Maḍjma‘ al-baḥrayn*, Beirut 1985, v, 79-80), but this did not prevent Twelver Shī‘ī jurists from including money-changing among the reprehensible professions (*al-Lum‘a al-dimashkiyya*, iii, 218). Instructing money-changers in the rules of *sarf* and supervision of their transactions were among the duties of the *muḥtasib* [see ḤISBA] (*Ma‘ālim al-kurba*, 227; al-Shayzarī, 74). For more information on the money-changer, see *ṢARRĀF*, in Suppl.

With the rise of Islamic banking in recent decades, there has been renewed interest in such old questions related to *sarf* such as the permissibility of non-binding agreements for future exchanges of currency at fixed rates (*al-Bāz*, *Aḥkām sarf al-nukūd wa ‘l-umulāt fi ‘l-fikh al-islāmī*, ‘Ammān 1419/1999, 109-31). New questions have also arisen, such as the possibility of satisfying the requirement of delivery of the currency during the contractual session by issuance of a cheque, a practice recognised as valid by the Islamic Law Academy (Maḍjma‘ al-Fikh al-Islāmī) of the Muslim World League (Rābi‘at al-‘Ālam al-Islāmī) in 1409/1989, at the same time that it approved of delivery by entry of a record in the books of the bank (‘A.A.

al-Sālūs, *Mawsū‘at al-kaḍāyā al-fikhiyya al-mu‘āṣira wa ‘l-iktisād al-islāmī*, Bilbīs [Egypt] 1423/2003, 630-1), and the same position was adopted by the Islamic Law Academy of the Organisation of the Islamic Conference (Munazzamat al-Mu‘tamar al-Islāmī) in 1410/1990 (*Karārāt wa-taṣṣiyāt Maḍjma‘ al-Fikh al-Islāmī*, 113-4; also in *Maḍjallat Maḍjma‘ al-Fikh al-Islāmī*, vi/1, [1410/1990], 771-2). To the extent that delivery of currencies is accomplished in accord with contemporary international banking usages, mutual delivery satisfying the law of *sarf* may extend over several days (Yūsuf al-Ḳarāḍāwī, *Fatāwā mu‘āṣira*, Beirut 1421/2000, ii, 462-4).

Bibliography: In addition to the references in the text, see Santillana, *Istituzioni*, ii, 64-5, 185-92 (Mālikī); Kāsim b. Ibrāhīm *et al.*, *K. Taysīr al-marām fi masā’il al-aḥkām*, Beirut 1407/1986, 79-81 (Zaydī); al-Ḳārī, *K. Maḍjallat al-aḥkām al-shar‘iyya*, Ḍjidda 1401/1981, 191-3 (Ḥanbalī); R. Brunschwig, *Conceptions monétaires chez les juristes musulmans (viii-xiii siècles)*, in *Arabica*, xiv/2 (1967), 113-43, xv/3 (1968), 316; Goitein, *A Mediterranean society*, i, 234-40 (the profession of moneychanging); N.A. Saleh, *Unlawful gain and legitimate profit in Islamic law*, London 1992, 24-34 (*ribā al-faḍl*); ‘A.A. al-Sālūs, *al-Nukūd wa-istibdāl al-umulāt*, Kuwait and Cairo 1987; Wizārat al-Awḳāf wa ‘l-Shu‘ūn al-Islāmiyya, *al-Mawsū‘a al-fikhiyya*, Kuwait 1412/1992, xxvi, 348-74; F.E. Vogel and S.L. Hayes, III, *Islamic law and finance*, The Hague 1998; ‘Alā’ al-Dīn Ḍjankū, *al-Takābud fi ‘l-fikh al-islāmī*, ‘Ammān 1423/2004, 111-8, 284-92.

(A. Zysow)

SARĪK, the name of a Türkmen [q.v.] tribe in Central Asia. Ethnonyms derived from colour-names are frequent in Turkic languages. Čaghatay and Uzbek have *sarik*, *sarık* “yellow, yellowish, pale, blonde” where other historical and modern Turkic languages have *sarıy* or *sarı* (Laude-Cirautas, 64-8). The genealogy of the Sarık is connected to the Salur [q.v.] tribal group, including the Salur proper, the Ersari, Teke and Yomut. In his work on the historical legends of the Türkmen, the *Shadja-ra-yi Tarākima*, Abu ‘l-Ghāzī Bahādur Khān of Khīwa [q.v.] links the descent of the Sarık and the Teke to Töy Tutmaz of the Salur (ed. Kargı Ölmez, fol. 102a, ll. 4-5). The Salur are linked to Oghurdjik Alp, a descendant of the eponymous progenitor of the Türkmen, Oghuz Khān. Drawing on Sarık historical legends, Dshikjew connects the Sarık to various groups of Tatars and other peoples of Central Asia, but his arguments lack convincing support. No historical details about the habitat and history of the Sarık before the 16th century are available, except that since the Mongol period, they must have lived—along with other Türkmen tribes—between the Mangışlak [q.v.] peninsula and the Balkhān [q.v.] mountains. According to Abu ‘l-Ghāzī Bahādur Khān (references in Bregel 1981), in the 16th century, the Teke, Yomut and Sarık together paid a tax of 8,000 sheep to their Uzbek overlord, about half of what larger tribes like the Cowdur or Ersari paid at the time, or one-quarter of the tax of the Salur tribe proper. In the first Soviet census (1926), the Sarık numbered 34,000 or 4% of the whole number of Türkmen (Bregel 1981, 13ff.). Sarık were also to be found in Tadzhikistān, Afghānistān and Iran, but at the end of the 20th century, reliable figures are not available.

In the 17th century, the Salur confederation broke up and the Salur and Ersari left western Turkmenistan. Their place was taken by three junior tribes, the Teke, Yomut and Sarık (Bregel 1981, 18). In the 18th cen-



ture, the Sarik nomadised between *Kh*ārazm and the Marw oasis. Around 1800, they gradually became the dominant Türkmen tribal grouping among the population in and around the oasis, engaging in agriculture as well as in nomadic pastoralism (Wood 1998, 6-7, 70-5). Wood (1998) investigated the history of the Sarik of Marw (a large part of the Sarik tribal group) drawing on Western—including Russian—travel and political literature as well as on Persian, Bukhāran and, in particular, *Kh*īwan sources such as the chronicles of the court historian Āghāī. By 1822, *Kh*īwa succeeded in supplanting Bukhāran rule in the Marw area, keeping it until 1842 as an outpost in its frequent campaigns against Persia. At that time, the Sarik began a prolonged struggle for independence from *Kh*īwa which ended in 1855, both sides exhausted from the annual campaigns. The period of relative stability had proved profitable for the agriculture and caravan trade of the Sariks, while the *Kh*īwan khān had been able to draw revenues from them and use them as auxiliaries and border patrols. From 1857, under Persian pressure, the numerically superior Teke of Sarakhs moved into the Marw oasis and forced out the Sariks who, replacing the Salur of Yolotan and Pandjidi [q.v.] on the middle course of the Murghāb river, remained there into the 20th century.

Bibliography: This article owes much to W.A. Wood, *The Sarik Turkmens of Merv and the khanate of Khiva in the early nineteenth century*, unpubl. diss., Bloomington, Ind. 1998 (with extensive bibl.); Ebulgazi Bahadır Han, *Şecere-i Terākime (Türkmenlerin soykütüğü)*, ed., tr. and notes Z. Kargı Olmez, Ankara 1996. The chronicle of Mu'nis and Āghāī, *Firdaus al-ikbāl*, ed. and tr. Y. Bregel, Leiden 1988, 1998, regularly mentions the Sariks; for excerpts from Āghāī's further chronicles, see A.K. Borovkov, A.A. Romaskevič and P.P. Ivanov, *Materiali po istorii turkmen i turkmenii, ii, XVI-XIX vv. Iranskie, bukharskie i khivinskie istočniki*, Moscow and Leningrad 1938. See further Bregel, *Nomadic and sedentary elements among the Turkmens*, in *CAJ*, xxv (1981), 3-37; A. Dshikijew, *Das turkmenische Volk im Mittelalter*, Berlin 1994, 252-62; I. Laude-Cirtautas, *Der Gebrauch der Farbzeichnungen in den Türkdialekten*, Wiesbaden 1961.

(BARBARA KELLNER-HEINKELE)

SARIKA.

In literary criticism, "plagiarism".

Although the term *sarika* is used, no "theft" in the legal sense of the word is implied, as Islamic law does not recognise intellectual property. A modern booklet on intellectual theft stresses the moral turpitude involved, but does not invoke any *Shari'a* norms or punishments ('Abd al-Mannān, *al-Sarikāt al-ilmīyya*). The victim of plagiarism could only have recourse to public opinion or approach a man of power (*isti'dād*) to redress the situation.

Literary theft occurred and was discussed predominantly, though not exclusively, in the field of poetry.

The term *sarika* does cover "plagiarism" in the strict sense of the word, i.e. appropriation of someone else's line or poem. But of greater importance and interest is its wider application, where it indicates any kind of "borrowing" and "developing" of an existing motif. As such it should be treated in the larger context of intertextuality, alongside other phenomena such as quotation (*tadmīn*) and allusion (*talmīh*). Since the term came to cover both acceptable and unacceptable borrowings, qualifications like *sarika hasana* "good theft" and *sarika mahmūda* "laudable theft" were introduced to characterise cases considered successful by the critics. Or else the inappropriate paradoxical term was

avoided altogether and substituted by a neutral one, *akhḍh* "taking".

True plagiarism

Already pre-Islamic poets mention literary theft as a known phenomenon by stressing that they do not have to rely on it. This is, of course, meaningful only on the background of a literary culture, in which poems are attributable to individual poets and the latter take pride in their craft. Alongside the general notion of "theft", the term *intihāl* "ascribing (verses) to oneself" is specifically used here. As later handbooks make clear, this means claiming other poets' verses as one's own without further ado (the obvious danger of anachronism involved in relying on these handbooks cannot be addressed here). It is difficult to judge the truth in the cases adduced by the later critics; one would need to ascertain if (a) they may not constitute quotations or formulae (see Bauer, in *Bibl.*) or (b) the victim of the plagiarism might not be an invention produced by intertribal hostilities.

While the idea of intellectual property seems to have been well developed, there is one strange phenomenon that in a way runs counter to this notion, to wit, the behaviour of some famous poets called *ighāra*, lit. "raiding". This occurs only between contemporaries and describes a situation in which a minor poet composes an outstanding line and is then forced by a major poet to relinquish it to him, on the pretext that he, the major poet, should have composed it. The victim, under threat of a stinging invective, would more often than not comply. Most notorious in this respect was the Umayyad poet al-Farazdaq [q.v.].

In the literate society of 'Abbāsīd times and later, outright plagiarism took the form of inserting extraneous material, often whole poems, into one's own *diwān*. The term often used for this is *muṣālatā* (see e.g. al-Tha'ālibī, *Yatīma*, ii, 119, 5), a post-classical word possibly derived from *silt*, a variant—by metathesis—of *liṣṭ* "robber" (see Lane, *s-l-ṭ*). For an interesting plagiarism feud, see AL-SARĪ AL-RAFFĀ'. Even contemporary authorities admitted that it was very difficult to establish the truth in the case of poems recurring in various *diwāns*. Al-Tha'ālibī, quoting two poems that he found both in a collection of al-Sarī al-Raffā's poetry in the latter's own handwriting as well as in the *diwān* of the *Kh*ālīdī brothers in the hand of Abū 'Uthmān al-*Kh*ālīdī, admits: "I do not know if I should attribute this situation to a confluence of minds (*tawārud [al-khāṭirayn]*) or to plagiary (*muṣālatā*)" (*Yatīma*, ii, 110, 5). The first possibility flows from the Muslim virtue of *ḥusn al-zann* which enjoins people always to think best about others. But with poems consisting of five lines each, the idea of *tawārud* strains credulity (while, with one or two lines, it would not be impossible in an environment of mannerist poetising). Another way of explaining duplication of poems is, of course, uncertainty of attribution on the part of redactors.

Borrowing

While crude plagiary may have exercised the literary public, a situation of truly literary interest arose only with the introduction of skilful changes into the borrowed verse. Critical literature developed along two lines: (1) general classifications and taxonomies of *sarika*, and (2) the collection and—to a lesser extent—critical evaluation of the *sarikāt* of individual poets.

(1) Classifications

The *sarika* classifications are contained in a number of books on literary theory, sometimes also in the introductions to *sarika* collections of individual poets. They tend to be highly inhomogeneous in the early



literature. The earliest example is al-Hātimī (d. 388/998 [q.v.]) in his *Hilyat al-muḥāḍara fī sināʾat al-shiʿr* (see *Bibl.*). His terminology seems to be tentative, partly based on earlier traditions that he quotes with their chains of authorities, but without establishing a clear system. As a consequence, there is much overlap between the terms and a certain opacity prevails (see S.A. Bonebakker's painstaking articles on al-Hātimī in the *Bibl.*). Ibn Rashīq (d. 456/1063 or later [q.v.]) is aware of this inadequacy of al-Hātimī's taxonomy, but he quotes him extensively all the same, with certain alterations and re-interpretations (see von Grunebaum, *Concept*, 238-40; note that the author did not yet have the text of al-Hātimī's *Hilya*).

Ibn Wakīʿ al-Tinnīsī (d. 393/1003) and Abū Hilāl al-ʿAskarī (d. 395/1005 [q.v.]) introduced the idea that one had to distinguish between good and bad "plagiarism". The former did so in the introduction to his attack on al-Mutanabbī (*Munṣif*, 9-21, 22-39), the latter in the first encyclopaedic work on literary theory, the "Book of the Two Arts" (*Sināʾatayn*, 196-237, cf. Kanazi, *Studies*, 112-22). This approach takes into account the fact that mannerist poetry is in constant intertextual dialogue with past poetry (on the term "mannerism" in this context, see S. Sperl, *Mannerism in Arabic poetry*, Cambridge 1989); as a result, borrowing motifs and developing and improving them becomes a way of life.

Ibn Abī Ṭāhir Ṭayfur (d. 280/893 [q.v.]) expressed this idea as follows: "The discourse of the Arabs hangs together, the later instances taking from the former. The original and newly invented of it (*al-muḥtadāʾ minhu wa ʾl-mukhtaraʾ*) is rare, if you go through it and check it. Even the cautious and watchful man, who is gifted in eloquence and poetry, whether ancient or modern, will not be safe that his discourse take [something] from the discourse of someone else, even if he does his utmost in being cautious. . . . How much more so with the affected constructor of conceits (*al-mutakallif al-mutaṣannī*) who is intentionally seeking for them" (*ʾaḥud al-Hātimī, Hilya*, ii, 28). The last sentence is the description of the mannerist poet, who cannot but have recourse to the existing poetry.

After a number of further attempts to instil some order into the traditionally transmitted terms, the taxonomy of plagiarism became homogenised and solidified in the scholastic *ʿilm al-balāgha* "science of eloquence" [see BALĀĠHA], starting with al-Khaṭīb al-Ḳazwīnī (d. 739/1338 [q.v.]), in his *Talkhīs al-Miftāḥ*.

From the various endeavours of the theorists, some common notions emerge:

(a) The focus of the discussion is overwhelmingly the single line, which is, of course, the most common approach in literary criticism and theory.

(b) There is discussion about what is, and what is not, subject to a verdict of plagiarism. Universally-known or well-worn motifs are in the public domain. Newly-invented motifs that are attributable to individual poets form the other extreme. These are rare and, according to Ḥāzim al-Ḳarṭājīnī, "infertile", because later poets would hardly dare to take them up again (*al-maʿānī ʾl-ʾuḳm*, see *Minḥādī*, 194, 14). Of greatest interest is the group of motifs in between the two extremes, those that have been treated, developed and improved upon (or, possibly, ruined) by a series of poets. Here a charge of plagiarism can only be avoided if the later poet introduces changes that confer a certain novelty on the borrowed motif. There are various ways of doing this: (1) by changing the context, by (a) inserting the motif into a different genre (e.g. from praise into love poetry), or (b) combining it with

another motif of the same kind (see below); or (2) by changing the wording. If, by doing the latter, he improves on the rendition of the motif or adds a rhetorical twist to it, he can lay greater claim to it than the original poet. According to Ḥāzim, there are four relationships between a poet and his motif: "invention" (*ikhtirāʾ*), "greater claim" (*istihkāk*), "partnership" (*sharika*, which is either "equal participation" [*ishtirāk*], when there is no quality difference between the earlier and later poet, or "falling short" [*inḥitāf*], if the later poet is not up to par), and finally "plagiarism" (*sarika*) (*Minḥādī*, 192-4).

(c) Part of the taxonomy of plagiarism is based on the *lafz-mānā* dichotomy: does the alleged plagiariser take only the motif or also its wording? Taking both with only minimal changes of the wording is the worst kind of *sarika*.

(d) Plagiarism can only take place if the later poet consciously borrows from the earlier. Otherwise, identical or similar lines of poetry are due to a "confluence of two minds" (*taʾwārud al-khāṭirayn*): the two poets found the line independently of each other (see above).

(e) An identical line could also be explained as a quotation (*taḍmīn*, lit. "incorporation"). If it is not a very well-known line, the poet has to mark it as a quotation in order that it not be taken as a plagiarism.

(2) Critical assessment of individual poets

The other branch of literature devoted to *sarika* consists of collections of plagiarisms of individual poets, either in separate works or forming part of critical studies dealing with one or more poets. The most famous "modern" poets have all been made targets of such critiques: Abū Nuwās, Abū Tammām and especially al-Mutanabbī (at least six separate books have come down to us). There is usually very little in the way of naming and discussing their cases; the critics rather confine themselves instead to adducing the original (mostly by a "modern" poet) and the alleged plagiarism. They usually have a lenient approach, including many "laudable plagiarisms". They often manage to find several originals, either because the "plagiariser" has effected a combination of two "stolen" motifs or because there is some doubt as to the correct pedigree (the "originals" are sometimes not quite relevant, belonging, as it were, to a larger halo of motifs circling the motif in question). One is thus at times presented with little family trees of a motif (probably never more than four or five stages). This makes these works valuable for historical, systematic and critical research into the imbrication of motifs—molecular investigations, as it were, into the overlap of consecutive versions of the motif—, which in turn would lead, more importantly, to insights into the general tendencies governing such developments within a mannerist tradition of poetry.

The most sophisticated cases are those in which the "plagiariser" welds two different motifs together. An example would be the following (from al-ʿAmīdī, *Ibāna*, 31-2; the author starts with the pedigree verses and ends with the "plagiarising" verses by al-Mutanabbī):

al-Buḥturī: *Malāʾta aḥṣāʾa ʾl-ʾadūwī balābīlan*
fa-ʾrtadda yaḥsudu fika man lam yaḥsudi
 al-ʿAbartāʾī: *Kaṭṭaʾa aḥṣāʾa ḥāsidihi wa-lam*
yaṭṭub [s.l.] ḡhalīlu ʾl-ḥaṣā minā ʾl-
ḥasadi
 al-Mutanabbī: *Kaṭṭaʾahum ḥasadan arāhum mā bihim*
fa-taḳaṭṭaʾū ḥasadan li-man lā yaḥsudu

Here we have two motifs and their confluence in al-Mutanabbī: Motif no. 1: People envy [in you] some-



one who does not have envy [because you are the best anyway, or because envy is an evil character trait that you do not have]; motif no. 2: The praised one tears the entrails of the envious to shreds.

(a) al-Buḥturī: The first motif is there in the second hemistich without further ado. The second motif is lacking, but note that the entrails appear as a seat of emotion in the first hemistich.

(b) al-'Abartā'ī: The second motif appears in the first hemistich without further ado. The second hemistich is an elaboration on it (again with *hasā*).

(c) al-Mutanabbī: The entrails are gone, but the tearing apart is still there. Motif no. 2 is in the first hemistich (with an addition, namely, that this envy shows the envious what [evil] is in them). Motif no. 2 recurs in the second hemistich, inextricably bound together with motif no. 1.

Al-Mutanabbī achieves a logical confluence of the two motifs, and in addition a pleasant balance between the two hemistichs: root *q-ṭ-* followed by *hasadan*, followed by a contrast between "them" and "him".

This technique of knitting together two independent motifs seems to be subsumed under the term *taḥfīk*. Ibn Rashīk deals with it in one chapter of his *Kurāḍat al-dhahab* (ed. Mūsā, 95-106). He says that al-Mutanabbī and Abu 'l-'Alā' al-Ma'arrī are the outstanding masters of this procedure. (Note that al-Tha'ālibī's use of *taḥfīk* in his *K. al-Tawfīk li 'l-taḥfīk*, ed. Hilāl Nāḍir and Zuhayr Zāhid, Beirut 1417/1996, seems to differ from Ibn Rashīk's, coming closer to *murā'āt al-naẓīr* "harmony of images".)

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(W.P. HEINRICH)

SARKĀR (P.), lit. "head [of] affairs", a term used in Mughal Indian administration and also in the succeeding British Indian domination of the subcontinent.

1. In the structure of Mughal provincial government, as elaborated under the Emperor Akbar [q.v.] in 989/1580, there was a hierarchy of the *ṣūba* [q.v.] or province, under the *ṣubadār* [q.v.] (also called *ṣpāhsālār*, *nāẓim* and *ṣāhib-i ṣūba*); the *sarkār*, or district, under the *ṣawdādar* [q.v.], who combined both administrative and military functions, corresponding to the two separate officials of British India, the District Magistrate and the Superintendent of Police; and the *pargana* [q.v.] or *maḥall*, i.e. subdistrict, headed by various officials with specific functions, such as the *kādī* for the administration of justice and the *kānūngo* and *ṣawdhārī* concerned with revenue collection. Thus in Akbar's time, Abu 'l-Faḍl 'Allāmī enumerated within the province of Awadh [q.v.] (Oudh) 5 *sarkārs* and 38 *parganas* [see PARGANA and MUGHALS. 3].

2. As a term in the historical geography of more recent India, *sarkār* appears Anglicised as "the [Northern] Circars", specifically for the coastal territory north of Madras and the Coromandel Coast in peninsular South India, in part to the south of the delta of the Godavārī river but mostly to its north (hence now in the northeasternmost tip of Andhra Pradesh State in the Indian Union). This territory was ceded to the British East Indian Company in 1765 by the Mughal ruler in Dīhlī, Shāh 'Ālam II, but claimed by the Nizām of Ḥaydarābād, leading to a treaty of 1766 whereby the Nizām gave up his claim in return for the provision of a force of British troops to be at his disposal [see further, ḤAYDARĀBĀD, at Vol. III, 320b-322a].

3. In informal Anglo-Indian usage, the *Sarkār* (local pronunciation, *Śirkār*, often written "Sircar") meant the state or the government, and this continued to be the usage all through British Indian times. It may be noted that the term now popularly and almost ubiquitously used to denote the British domination in India, its government and administration, sc. "the Raj" (in Hindi and the modern Indo-Aryan languages, *rāj* is a regular derivative of *rāḍīya* "kingship, rule", cognate with *rāḍī* "ruler"), is a neologism of the post-1947 period, probably from the later 1950s, when what had been "the Raj" had in fact for several years ceased to be.

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ŞARRĀF (A.), lit. "money-changer", such persons often functioning as bankers in pre-modern Islam.

In *fikh* [q.v.], *ṣarf* is a contract of sale (*bay'* [q.v.]). It applies to currency exchange, originally of gold (dīnārs) to silver (dirhams) and vice-versa. The *Ḥadīth* provides basic rules for currency exchange, such as that the transaction should be on the spot (*yad^m bi-yad*) [see RIBĀ]. Among the famous *ḥadīths* relating to

ṣarf is "Gold for silver is *ribā* except hand-to-hand" (Mālik, *Muwatta'*, *ṣarf*).

Money-changing was an activity apparently engaged in by the earliest Muslims. This was related to their involvement in trade, including by the Prophet himself [see TĀDĪR; TIDJĀRA]. However, several *ḥadīths* warn of the dangers of *ribā* in currency exchange if parties do not follow the rules of *ṣarf*. Thus money-changing as a profession was not held in high esteem by the *fukahā*. The popular view was that non-Muslims (particularly Jews and Christians) were better suited to it than Muslims, who were constrained by the prohibition on *ribā* (for money-changing and banking in the mediaeval Arab world, see DJAHBĀD, and ŞARF, in Suppl.).

In the Ottoman Empire, *şarāfs* were more than money-changers; they were also moneylenders and brokers, and pawnbrokers. In time, many *şarāfs* became large financiers with well-recognised international connections, and played a significant role in the economy and politics of the empire. They were based mainly in the capital, Istanbul, but also operated in provincial capitals. Greeks, Jews, Armenians and Muslims were involved in the profession.

With the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople in 857/1453, the Italian predominance in finance in that city ended, to be replaced by that of Ottoman non-Muslim subjects, particularly Greeks. Meḥmed II (r. 848-50/1444-6 and 855-86/1451-81) favoured Greeks who played an active role in Ottoman finance, taxation through tax-farming (e.g. administration of customs zones and mines) and politics during his reign. From the mid-10th/16th century, Jewish bankers (*şarāfs*) and tax-farmers challenged Greek dominance in both finance and long-distance trade. Because of the activities of the Inquisition in Catholic countries in that century, under the protection of the Ottoman Sultans, several wealthy Marrano Jewish families came to settle in Istanbul. Many were to be involved in large-scale banking operations, international trade, and investment in tax farms. Financial expertise and close links to the Sultan and ruling élite gave them considerable power. Well-known Jewish names of this period include Dona Gracia Mendes, Don Joseph Nasi and Alvaro Mendes. Later, the role of the Jews declined, and Armenians became prominent as *şarāfs*, with some of their members rising to prominence; for example, Muṣṭafā III (1171-87/1757-74) appointed a member of the Armenian Duzuoglu family as manager of the imperial mint. The ability of the Duzuoglu family to mobilise credit for the state, domestically and abroad, enabled them to retain control of the day-to-day activities of the mint until the 1820s (Pamuk, *Monetary history*, 202).

Until the 10th/16th century especially, the *şarāfs* functioned in a context of expanding trade both within and without the empire. Facilitated by networks, their business was enhanced by increased credit or bartering as a result of the limited supply of gold and silver coins. They used several financial instruments, e.g. the *hawale* (Ar. *hawāla* [q.v.]) was "an assignation of a fund from a distant source of revenue by a written order. It was used in both state and private finances to avoid the dangers and delays inherent in the transport of cash" (Inalcik and Quataert, *An economic and social history*, 208). Letters of credit were also widely used, particularly from the mid-11th/17th century, by merchants and for government payment. The increase in trade also meant more opportunities for currency exchange, which was abetted by the problem of a universally acceptable currency, the fluctu-



ations in the purity of the coinage and currency values.

From the 11th/17th to the 19th centuries, the state continued to need and encourage the activities of the *şarrâfs*, tax-farming being one. Until the late 10th/16th century, the empire's financial situation had been strong, with the major part of taxation being collected locally and mostly in kind by the *sipahîs* under the *tîmâr* system. These funds were used locally. The *tîmâr* system then began to be abandoned in favour of tax-farming [see MÜLTEZİM], and tax units (*mukâta's*) began to be auctioned off at Istanbul. *Şarrâfs* based on Istanbul were thus able to purchase tax-farming privileges or to lend money to purchasers. *Şarrâfs* also became direct lenders to the treasury and were considered the most dependable source of liquid funds. As the empire sank further into fiscal decline after the 1760s, it relied on the *şarrâfs* to use their connections with European organisations to arrange short-term direct loans to the state. The *şarrâfs* also became personal financiers to the sultans and many leading Ottoman bureaucrats. It is estimated that, e.g. in 1860, the short-term debts of various government offices to private banking firms (*şarrâfs*) alone amounted to 250 million francs (Kasaba, *The Ottoman empire*, 80). By the mid-19th century, the power of *şarrâfs* as well as of tax-farmers and merchants equalled and perhaps surpassed the power of the bureaucratic élite.

Not all *şarrâfs* prospered. Of the hundreds, especially in the capital, who combined petty exchange with other small-scale money lending, relatively few became extremely rich, particularly through their dealings with the central or provincial authorities. Towards the end of the 11th/17th century, the *şarrâfs* of Istanbul organised around a guild and began to move their business to the Istanbul suburb of Galata [see GALATA, in Suppl.], later to be known as "Galata bankers". Consolidation was also taking place. For instance, in the early 1840s, eighty members of the guild of *şarrâfs* were accredited by the government; by the mid-1850s, the number was down to 18. The *şarrâf* families included the Baltazis, the Rallis, Zarafis, the Rodoconachis and Duzuoglus. These families played prominent roles in most of the major private and public banks that were established in the second half of the 19th century, starting with the Istanbul Bankası (Bank of Istanbul) in 1845 (Kasaba, *The Ottoman empire*, 76).

The stereotypical view of *şarrâfs* is that they were on the whole non-Muslims. However, Muslims appear to have been involved in all aspects of *şarrâf* business, including tax-farming, currency exchange, money lending and international trade. A sample of 534 tax farms in the 10th/16th and 11th/17th centuries shows that around 60% of tax farmers were Muslims (Cizakca, *Comparative evolution*, 154-7). Research into the 10th/16th and 11th/17th century court records of specific regions (primarily Anatolia) of the Ottoman Empire also challenges the view that Muslims were not involved in money-lending or in the traditionally problematic area of interest. While there is debate among historians as to any marked difference between the Arab and "Turkish" parts of the Empire in regard to the acceptability of lending at interest, there is evidence that such transactions were carried out by Muslims in Anatolia on a relatively large scale, and that the practice was supported by the highest religious authorities of the time and approved by the *kādîs* (judges) who were responsible for implementing the *Şharî'a* and *kānūn*. The best-known example was the cash *wakf* controversy and the associated charging of lending. Many of the *fatwās* of the time, even by the *Şeykh al-Islām*

and other religious authorities, declared the permissibility not only of the cash *wakf* but also of interest charged on loans advanced therefrom (see Mandaville, *Usurious piety*). However, towards the end of the 19th century, the Muslim role in *şarrâf* business was radically curtailed by the increasing importance of non-Muslim *şarrâf* families and the emergence of banks, established largely by Europeans and by Armenian and Greek *şarrâfs*.

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SÂTÎ' AL-HUŞRÎ, Ottoman official, educator, Arab Minister and theorist of Arab nationalism, d. 1968.

He was born in Şan'ā', Yemen in 1880 to an Arab family of Aleppo. Both his father and mother were of prominent Aleppo mercantile families. His father, Muḥammad Hilāl al-Huṣrî (b. 1840), served as an Ottoman judge after his graduation from al-Azhar University, becoming at the time of his son's birth Director of the Court of Criminal Appeals in the Yemeni capital. Owing to the pattern of his father's shifting appointments in accordance with Ottoman practice, Sâṭî' accompanied his family to a number of countries. Receiving his early education at home, Sâṭî' learnt Ottoman Turkish, Arabic and French. At the age of thirteen, he began his formal education at the College of Mülkiyye Mektebi in Istanbul, studying mathematics, history, botany, French and chemistry. Graduating with distinction in 1900, he chose to serve as a natural science teacher in a secondary school in the Balkans. During this period, he began to develop a lifelong interest in the question of nationalism and the rights of national communities. Shortly before the eruption of the Young Turk revolution in 1908, he came into contact with members of the Committee of Union and Progress [see İTTİHÂD VE TERAKKÎ DİJEM'İYETİ]. He also assumed in the same period the post of district governor in Kosovo and Florina.

After the revolution, al-Huṣrî returned to Istanbul with the determination to propagate and implement his belief in a modern education system, coupled with his desire to articulate a secular notion of Ottomanism. This he did by founding new journals, publishing new school textbooks on various scientific subjects and taking part in public debates relating to contemporary issues. Furthermore, between 1909 and 1912 he assumed the directorship of the Teachers' Training College in Istanbul, restructuring and modernising in the process its entire curricula and management. He also visited a number of European countries to acquaint himself with the latest methods of pedagogy. By the end of his directorship, al-Huṣrî had become one of the most influential educators throughout the Ottoman Empire.

His most distinctive intellectual contribution in the Ottoman period of his life was five lectures he delivered



in Istanbul in 1913 on the significance of patriotism. In those lectures, entitled *Vatan için*, he called for building a new Ottoman community based on the idea of the fatherland as an object of love. Moreover, these lectures were to form the basis of his Arab nationalist theory in the wake of his decision to leave the Ottoman capital in 1918 and join the newly formed government of Amīr Fayṣal in Damascus.

In his Arab phase, al-Ḥuṣrī resumed his interrupted career by acting as Director General of Education, and then Minister of Education in the Syrian government until its liquidation by the French in 1920. After a short sojourn in Italy and Egypt, he once again joined Fayṣal, the new king of British-mandated 'Irāq, and became Director General of Education from 1923 to 1927. He used this opportunity to create a new system of instruction geared towards the inculcation of Arab nationalism, coupled with his insistence on high standards and rigorous methods of promotions. Meeting resistance or obstruction in the course of his duties, he resigned his post and devoted himself to lecturing at the Teachers' College and publishing a new journal on education. In 1935 he assumed the deanship of the Law College and was appointed Director of Antiquities between 1936 and 1941. Following the second British occupation of 'Irāq in 1941, al-Ḥuṣrī was, along with other non-'Irāqī Arab nationalists, deported to Syria and stripped of his 'Irāqī citizenship. In 1944 he was invited by the Syrian government to modernise and overhaul its system of education. The foundation of the Arab League in 1945 afforded al-Ḥuṣrī the opportunity to develop its cultural and educational policies. After acting as a cultural adviser, he was appointed the first director of its Institute of Higher Arab Studies in 1953. After his retirement in 1957, al-Ḥuṣrī wrote and published a number of studies on pan-Arabist subjects, including his memoirs, which dealt with his 'Irāqī period. He died in 1968.

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SATR (ا.), "concealment", a term used in a variety of senses particularly by the Ismā'īliyya [q.v.] The Ismā'īlis originally used it in reference to a period in their early history, called *dawr al-satr*, stretching from soon after the death of imām Dja'far al-Sādiq in 148/765 to the establishment of the Fāṭimid state in 297/909. The Ismā'īlī imām, recognised as the *kā'im* or *mahdī* by the majority of the early Ismā'īlis, was hidden (*mastūr*) during this period of concealment; in his absence, he was represented by *ḥudūdīas* (see Dja'far b. Maṣṣūr al-Yaman, *Kitāb al-Kashf*, ed. R. Strothmann, London 1952, 98-9; al-Shahrastānī, 146). Later, the Ismā'īlis of the Fāṭimid period, who allowed for continuity in their imāmate, recognised a series of three such "hidden imāms" (*al-a'imma al-mastūrūn*) between Muḥammad b. Ismā'īl b. Dja'far, their seventh imām, and 'Abd Allāh al-Mahdī, founder of the Fāṭimid dynasty (see H.F. al-Hamdānī, *On the genealogy of Fatimid caliphs*, Cairo 1958, text 11-14).

In the aftermath of the Nizārī-Musta'li schism of 487/1094 in Ismā'īlism, the early Nizārī Ismā'īlis experienced another period of *satr*, when their imāms, descendants of Nizār b. al-Mustanṣir (d. 488/1095

[q.v.]), remained hidden for several decades. The inaccessible Nizārī imāms were now once again represented by *ḥudūdīas*, starting with Ḥasan-i Šabbāḥ [q.v.], who also ruled over the Nizārī state from Alamūt [q.v.]. The period of *satr* in early Nizārī history ended with the declaration of the *ḥiyāma* at Alamūt in 559/1164 and the resulting open emergence of the Nizārī imāmate. Subsequently, the term *satr* acquired a new meaning for the Nizāris. As explained by Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, the Nizāris had by the late Alamūt period formulated what may be called a new doctrine of *satr*. In this context, *satr* no longer referred to the physical concealment of the imāms; instead, it referred to a time when spiritual reality or religious truths (*ḥakā'ik*) were hidden in the *bāṭin* of religion, requiring the observance of *taḳīyya* in any necessary form, including the adoption of the Sunnī *Shari'a* as demanded earlier by the sixth lord of Alamūt, Djalāl al-Dīn Ḥasan (607-18/1210-21).

The Musta'li Ismā'īlis, who survived only in the Ṭayyibī form after the downfall of the Fāṭimid dynasty, have experienced a period of *satr*, in the original Ismā'īlī sense of the term, since their twentieth imām, al-Āmir bi-Aḥkām Allāh [q.v.], was murdered in 524/1130. It is the belief of the Ṭayyibī Ismā'īlis that all their imāms, starting with al-Āmir's son al-Ṭayyib who disappeared in infancy, have remained hidden to the present day. In their absence, *dā'īs muṭlaqs*, or supreme *dā'īs*, have led the affairs of the Ṭayyibiyya (q.v.).

Satr found expression also in the Ismā'īlis' cyclical conception of religious history of humankind. The Ismā'īlis believed from early on that this hierarchy was comprised of seven eras or *dawrs*, all except the last one being eras of *satr*, because the inner, immutable truths of religions or the *ḥakā'ik* remained undisclosed. In this scheme, only in the seventh and final eschatological era initiated by the *kā'im* before the end of the physical world, would the *ḥakā'ik* be fully revealed to humankind. This final age, designated as the *dawr al-kashf* or the era of manifestation, would be an age of pure spiritual knowledge when there would no longer be any distinction between the *ẓāhir* and *bāṭin* dimensions of religion, and between religious laws and their inner meanings. On the basis of astronomical calculations, the Ṭayyibīs of Yaman introduced further innovations into this cyclical scheme. They conceived of a grand aeon (*kawr al-a'zam*) composed of countless cycles, each one divided into seven eras. This grand aeon would progress through successive cycles of concealment (*satr*) and manifestation (*kashf*), and it would be finally concluded by the Great Resurrection (*ḥiyāmat al-ḥiyāmāt*) proclaimed by the final *kā'im*.

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frühen Ismāʿīliya, Wiesbaden 1978, 18-37, 99-100; F. Daftary, *The Ismāʿīlīs. Their history and doctrines*, Cambridge 1990, 102-5, 126-8, 136-40, 177-8, 257, 294-5, 404ff., 408, 409-11 (containing further bibliographical references).

(F. DAFTARY)

SAWLADJĀN (A.), said to be an Arabised form of Pers. *šawgān* "polo stick" [see *šawgān*]. The intrusive *l* makes this difficult, but D.N. MacKenzie, *A concise dictionary of Pahlavi*, London 1971, 22, has **cau*(*l*)*gān* ("of doubtful transcription"). At all events, the curve of a polo stick makes it a suitable figurative expression, either as a simile [see *TASHTĪH*] or as a metaphor [see *ISTĀRA*], in classical Arabic, Persian and Turkish literatures, for the curving eyebrows and locks or tresses of hair of a beautiful girl; see Annemarie Schimmel, *The two-colored brocade. The imagery of Persian poetry*, Chapel Hill N.C. and London 1992, 284-5. (C.E. BOSWORTH)

SEGBÂN (r., from Pers. *sagbān* "servant in charge of dogs, or keeper of the sultan's hounds"). In Ottoman Turkish, it was often spelled *sekbān*, and also written as *seğmen* or *seymen*, following popular pronunciation), a term of Ottoman palace and military organisation.

In the Ottoman Empire, the term had three general uses which evolved over time: first used for the guardians of the sultan's hunting dogs, it was then applied to members of various salaried infantry units within the Janissaries, surviving until the corps itself was abolished in 1826, and finally, as the name of groups of infantry auxiliaries or militias. Officially prohibited as a military term in the latter use at the beginning of the 18th century, it was briefly revived again in the 19th. In present-day provincial Turkish, *seğmen* refers to an armed ceremonial escort in national dress.

The first use of the term *segbān* occurs in a *wakf* deed of the late 8th/14th century. Hunting and dogs were an integral part of the early Ottoman court, especially that of Bāyezid I [q.v.], who is credited with greatly expanding the number of *segbāns*. Servants for the hunting parties were probably recruited from war captives or as part of the military levy (*devşirme* [q.v.]). Early records indicate that villagers sought protection from recruitment, or from other obligations to *segbāns*, indicating the burden which hunting could impose on the populace. Murād I [q.v.] explicitly recognised the service of his *segbāns* and falconers in his will, emancipating them at his death. *Segbāns* figure prominently in Ottoman miniature painting. Süleymān I [q.v.] himself was portrayed as a great hunter, and surrounded by dogs and their keepers (see 'OTHMĀNLĪ. viii. Painting, Pl. X, for an example).

In the 9th/15th century, the evolution of courtly retinue to fighting units became more marked, and it is at this point that *segbāns* became part of the Janissaries. In 855/1451, Meḥmed II added 7,000 *segbāns* to the Janissaries, with a separate commander, the *segbān başı*, who joined the ranks of the high officials of the empire (Chalcondyles, ed. Bonn 1848, bk. vii, 377). Other officers of the *segbāns* included a *kethüdā* and a *kātib*. After the middle of the 10th/16th century, the *segbān başı* was subordinated to second-in-command after the *agha*, and generally remained in Istanbul when the *agha* left on campaign. The *segbāns* formed the 65th *orta* of the Janissaries, and were divided into two sections: a small cavalry *orta* of 40-70 men, most of whom were sons of Janissary officers, and 34 *bölüks* (companies of infantry), known as the *segbān bölükleri*. Hunting traditions survived in the

33rd *bölük*, called the *avdî* (hunter) *bölük*, which accompanied the sultan on hunting parties but not on campaign; sons of Janissaries and statesmen alike made up its rolls.

A second general use of the term was for provincial auxiliary mercenary or militia troops, like the *lewend* [q.v.], who served the official appointees to the provinces, the *pašas*, *mīr-i mirāns*, *beglerbegi* or *sandjak begleri* [q.v.]. Initially the entourage of the governor (*paşa*), his private retinue and army (*kapı halkı*), *segbān* also came to be applied to troops called to campaign, and paid out of the central treasury (*mīr-i segbāns*, *mīr-i lewend*). Provincial officials were the recruiters of the *segbān-lewend* style of troops, and by the end of the 18th century, they were each required to mobilise 1,000-2,000 cavalry or infantry for campaigns. The essential characteristic of such auxiliaries was that they carried firearms, were recruited for short periods, and were drawn from the countryside, often from among the landless and lawless [see *BĀRUD*, iv]. Their first significant appearance in that military capacity was during the Ottoman-Habsburg War of 1593-1606, when a few hundred were noted among the troops in Hungary. They were organised as other Ottoman troops, into companies or standards (*bayrak*), the latter generally numbering 50 or 100 men. Their use was increased in the latter 11th/17th century, as both Janissary and *sipāhīs* [q.v.] proved inadequate for facing the better-armed Habsburgs.

The demobilisation of such troops led to countryside unrest, as they often stayed together as armed bands, and participated in uprisings such as the *Djelālî* rebellions [see *DJALĀLÎ*, in Suppl.] or revolts of their provincial masters. The central government endeavoured unsuccessfully to eliminate the designation *segbān* around 1700, but military necessity dictated its continuance, although the term *mīr-i lewend* was the preferred usage for such troops by the mid-18th century.

Such mercenary or militia troops could be found in all the territories of the empire, as armies of provincial officials, as the fighting units described above, or as guards of towns, where they were often in conflict with local Janissaries. They included Christian recruits, Serbians and Croats, especially in the Principalities, where they were called *seymen*, and could be found in the fighting forces of Moldavia and Wallachia well into the 18th century. In general, however, Muslims were the primary recruits, and Albanians and Bosnians the most prized for their military prowess.

The term *segbān* was revived in military usage in 1808, when Muṣṭafā Paşa Bayrakdār [q.v.] tried to continue the reforms of Selīm III [q.v.] by renaming the detested *niẓām-î dīdîd* [q.v.] troops *segbān-î dīdîd*, and incorporating them as the eighth *odjak* of the Janissaries. The new troops allied with the Janissaries, however, and were instrumental in Muṣṭafā's own downfall that same year. The term *segbān* disappeared when Mahmūd II [q.v.] eliminated the corps in 1826.

Bibliography. See GÖNÜLLÜ for further discussion; İA, art. *Sekbân* (M.T. Gökbilgin); Pakalın, iii, 145-9; Hammer-Purgstall, *Staatsverfassung*, i, 56, 48, ii, 37, 191, 203, 207-09; Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı devleti teşkilâtından kapıkulu ocakları*, i, Ankara 1943, 162-6 and *passim*; Halil İnalcık, *Fatih devri üzerinde tetkikler ve vesikalar I*, Ankara 1954, repr. 1987, 207, for Murād I's will; M. Cezar, *Osmanlı tarihinde levendler*, Istanbul 1965; İnalcık, *Military and fiscal transformation in the Ottoman Empire, 1600-1700*, in *Archivum ottomanicum*, vi (1980), 283-337; H.G. Majer, *Albainer und Bosnier in der osmanischen Armee. Ein Faktor in der Reichsintegration im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert*, in K.-D. Grothusen



(ed.), *Jugoslawien. Interpretationsprobleme in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, Göttingen 1984, 105-17; Esin Atıl, *Süleymanname. The illustrated history of Süleyman the Magnificent*, New York 1986, pls. 10-11, for illustrations of hunting parties; Karen Barkey, *Bandits and bureaucrats. The Ottoman route to state centralization*, Ithaca 1994; V. Aksan, *Whatever happened to the Janissaries? Mobilization for the 1768-1774 Russo-Ottoman War*, in *War in History*, v (1998), 23-36.

(VIRGINIA H. AKSAN)

SEMENDIRE, the Ottoman Turkish form of the Serbian town of Smederovo, older form Semendria. Lying on the Danube downstream from Belgrade [q.v.] (lat. 44° 40' N., long. 20° 56' E.), it was in pre-modern times a fortified town and, under the Ottomans, the chef-lieu of a *sanjak* of the same name. Since the break-up of Yugoslavia, it has come within the Serbian Republic.

A first conquest under Murād II (842/1438) did not lead to permanent incorporation into the Ottoman Empire, since due to the crisis of 847-8/1444 the sultan thought it necessary to preserve the Serbian despotate as a buffer state between his own lands and those of the king of Hungary (Halil İnalcık and Mevlut Ögüz (eds.), *Gazavât-ı Sultan Murād b. Mehmed Han, İzladı ve Varna savaşları (1443-1444) üzerinde anonim Gazavâtname*, Ankara 1978, 31-5, 102-3). According to Theodore Spandunes, it was George Kantakuzenos, surnamed Sachatai, a brother of the Byzantine princess Irene, consort of the Despot of Serbia George Branković, who came from the Morea to Serbia and built the fortified town of Smederovo. In 858/1454, this was one of the major centres of the Serbian despotate, with fortifications solid enough to withstand an Ottoman attack. In 860-1/1456 a Hungarian attempt to take the town was also beaten back by the same George Kantakuzenos (Th. Spandunes, *On the origin of the Ottoman Emperors*, tr. and ed. D. Nicol, Cambridge 1997, 29, 35; *Memoiren eines Janitscharen oder Türkische Chronik*, tr. Renate Lachmann, with comm. by eadem, C.-P. Haase and G. Prinzing, Graz 1975, 117, 210, this being the text supposedly written by Constantine of Ostrovia, an ex-Janissary or Janissary auxiliary; Th. Stavridis, *The Sultan of Vezirs: the life and times of the Ottoman Grand Vezir Mahmud Pasha Angelović (1453-1474)*, Leiden 2001, 82-95).

After the death of George Branković and that of his son Lazar two years later, Smederovo was inherited by the latter's son-in-law, the Bosnian king Stepan Tomasević, who in 863-4/1459 surrendered the city to Mahmūd Pasha, then *beylerbeyi* of Rumeli. Born a member of the Byzantino-Serbian aristocratic family of the Angelović, Mahmūd Pasha had been commissioned to take over the region in the name of Sultan Mehmed II. Pope Pius II viewed the Ottoman conquest of the Serbian despotate and the concomitant acquisition of Smederovo as a calamity all but equivalent to the end of the Byzantine Empire. Most possessions of the Serbian despotate within the kingdom of Hungary were confiscated by the local ruler as a measure of retaliation for the surrender of Smederovo (F. Babinger, *Mehmed der Eroberer und seine Zeit. Wellenstürmer einer Zeitenwende*, Munich 1953, 174-5).

These events had been preceded, in 862/early 1458, by an attempt on the part of Michael Angelović, Mahmūd Pasha's (probably elder) brother, a member of the regency council that took over after the death of Lazar, to make himself despot with the backing of the Ottoman sultan and take power in Smederovo. He had gained the support of Serbian nobles who

were worried about a possible subjection to the Pope, in case the Hungarian party should gain the upper hand. However, the takeover failed, and Michael Angelović was arrested by members of the pro-Hungarian party in the regency council and sent to Dubrovnik, where—probably at Hungarian behest—he was held captive by a local patrician (C. Jireček, *Geschichte der Serben*, Gotha 1918, ii, 207-15). If this version of events is the true one, Michael Angelović thus cannot have negotiated the surrender of Smederovo to his brother on the Ottoman side (Stavridis, *op. cit.*, 102; most Ottoman chronicles, however, take the agreement between brothers for granted; see for example *‘Ashîkpaşazâde târikihi*, ed. ‘Alî Bey, Istanbul 1332/1914, 152. On a divergent version of these campaigns, compare *The History of Mehmed the Conqueror* by Tursun Beg, comments and tr. by Halil İnalcık and R. Murphey, Minneapolis and Chicago 1978, 40-5; Tursun Beg claims that the outer fortress of Smederovo was conquered by force of arms, and only the inner citadel ultimately surrendered). Subsequently, King Matthias Corvinus of Hungary made various projects for a conquest of the fortress, now known in Ottoman as Semendire, but none of these led to any concrete results (Babinger, *op. cit.*, 385).

Within the Ottoman realm, the Semendire area became a *sanjak* and was divided up into *timârs* and *zi‘âmet* [q.v.], itself forming part of the *beylerbeylik* of Rumeli; in the early 10th/16th century, Belgrade was part of this *sanjak*, albeit producing far less revenue than the Semendire area (M. Tayyib Gökbilgin, *Kanuni Sultan Süleyman devri başlarında Rumeli eyaleti, livaları, şehir ve kasabaları*, in *Belleten*, xx [1956], 252-7). After the conquest of Hungary, Semendire was transferred to the newly formed *vilâyet* of Buda. In addition to the cavalry supplied by *timârs* and *zi‘âmet*, the local Eflâk (Vlach) were accorded tax remissions in return for military services (N. Beldiceanu and Irène Beldiceanu-Steinherr, *Quatre actes de Mehmed II concernant les Valaques des Balkans slaves*, in Beldiceanu, *Le monde ottoman des Balkans (1420-1566): institutions, société, économie*, London 1976, no. III; on Vlach-related issues in the reign of Bâyezîd II, see *Osmanlılarda divân-bürokrasi-aklâm, II. Bâyezîd dönemine ait 906/1501 tarihli ahkâm defteri*, ed. by İlhan Şahin and Feridun Emecen, Istanbul 1994, nos. 208, 209).

Entries in the 10th/16th-century *Mühimme defterleri* reflected the position of Semendire as a military base during the wars of Süleymân the Magnificent against the Habsburgs: its governor was called upon to purchase timber for bridge-building, see to the construction of boats to be used on the Danube and organise supplies of flour and barley for the needs of the army. The town also possessed a cannon-foundry (*topkhâne*). A text from 951-2/1544-6 refers to the fact that much of the town had been destroyed by fire, and enjoined the *kādî* to make sure that the new houses were not built so close to the walls as to endanger their military function (Hacı Osman Yıldırım *et alii* [eds.], 7. *numaralı mühimme defteri 975-976/1567-69*, 5 vols. Ankara 1997, i, 273. For one of the oldest extant *Mühimme* registers, see Halil Sahillioğlu [ed.], *Topkapı Sarayı arşivi H. 951-952 tarihli ve E-12321 numaralı mühimme defteri*, Istanbul 2002, 24-5, 192-3, 219, 306; for a selection of relevant texts from this register in French tr., see Mihnea Berindei and G. Veinstein, *L'Empire ottoman et les pays roumains 1544-1545*, Paris and Cambridge, Mass. 1987, 8-9, 14-15, 18-19, 29, 40-3, 46, 65-6, 69-70).

Economic life was based on agriculture, stock-raising



ing and fishing; Semendire functioned as a small-scale market for rural produce, while crafts seem to have been of limited importance and many townsmen cultivated fields and gardens (B. McGowan, *Food supply and taxation on the Middle Danube (1568-79)*, in *Archivum Ottomanicum*, i [1969], 139-96; Mihnea Berindei, Annie Berthier, Marielle Martin and G. Veinstein, *Code de lois de Murād III concernant la province de Smederovo*, in *Südost Forschungen*, xxxi [1972], 140-63). Timber was brought in from the surrounding forests, while imports from further afield included metals, Asian spices and also slaves; the Danube seems to have functioned as a barrier at which internal customs could be conveniently collected.

After the peace of Zsitvatorok (1015/1606 [q.v.]) had ended the Long War between Habsburgs and Ottomans, the embassy of Adam Freiherr von Herberstein was, on its return from Istanbul (1016-18/1608-9), permitted to view the fortifications of Semendire (M. Brandstetter, *Itinerarium oder Reisebeschreibung*, in K. Nehring, *Adam Freiherr zu Herbersteins Gesandtschaftsreise nach Konstantinopel: ein Beitrag zum Frieden von Zsitvatorok (1606)*, Munich 1983, 174-5). This permission may have been granted because Ottoman military men regarded the fortifications as obsolescent: Brandstetter described a once powerful stronghold that he did not, however, consider very suitable for contemporary warfare. Roofs and floors had been neglected, while heavy artillery could only be placed in the towers and on the bare ground; but the fortress did suffice to control traffic on the Danube. Brandstetter also noted the existence of an inner citadel protected by its own water-filled ditch and five towers, as well as the presence of a garrison commander, but he made no reference to a civilian population.

An 11th/17th-century description from an Ottoman perspective is owed to Ewliya Çelebi, who visited Semendire as a participant in several Balkan campaigns (*Ewliya Çelebi Seyahatnâmesi. Topkapı Sarayı Bağdat 307 yazması'nın transkripsyonu-dizini*, v, ed. Yücel Dağlı, Seyit Ali Kahraman and İbrahim Sezgin, Istanbul 2001, 316-17). Ewliya relates a set of partly counterfactual traditions concerning the Ottoman acquisition of the town, seventeen years before Constantinople, possibly an allusion to the ephemeral conquest under Murād II. These stories are, however, important because they possibly circulated among the local military men and show the "ideological" importance of Semendire even at this date. Other conquest traditions involve a marital union between Sultan Bāyezid I Yıldırım and a daughter of the Serbian despot which resulted in the conclusion of peace between the two states—this was possibly a reminiscence of the marriage of the Serbian princess Mara to Murād II. These stories also include an account of military conquest on the part of Mehmed II and a subsequent return of the town to the unbelievers in exchange for the liberation of the commander Balı Bey, who had been taken prisoner in battle. After his return, Balı Bey supposedly attacked and took Semendire, so that he was regarded as its second conqueror, his memory perpetuated by a *zāwiye* slightly to the west of the town. This latter story probably refers to one of the first *sandjak beyis* of the province, Balı Bey Malçoç-oghlu, who became famous for his two campaigns against Poland and other feats of derring-do (Babinger, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Geschlechtes der Malçoç-Oghlus*, repr. in *Aufsätze und Abhandlungen zur Geschichte Südosteuropas und der Levante*, i, Munich 1962, 355-70; and see MALÇOÇ-OGHULLARI, in Suppl.).

As in the late 10th/16th century, Semendire in Ewliya's time was a centre of the homonymous *sandjak*, famous on account of the numerous soldiers domiciled in this place ('Ayn-i 'Alī Efendi, *Kawānīn-i āl-i 'Othmān der khulāṣa-i medāmīn-i defter-i diwān*, preface by Gökbilgin, Istanbul 1979, 17; compare also the description by Kātib Çelebi, *Rumeli und Bosna*, tr. J. von Hammer, Vienna 1812). The fortress supposedly consisted of an inner and an outer section, with a circumference of 4,000 paces and four gates, protected by the Danube on three sides and in addition by 36 towers. Apart from the garrison officers, the urban élite consisted of the *kādī*, the *shahir kethudāsī* and the teachers in two local *medreses*, while four Friday mosques, one of them bearing the name of Mehmed the Conqueror, were available for worship. There was a settlement outside of the walls (*warash*) that supposedly contained 3,000 houses and 300 shops, accessible by wooden bridges crossing the river or else the water-filled ditch that made the fortress into a virtual island. Due to the marshy ground, few buildings were of stone, roofs were often covered in wooden shingles and even the streets were paved with boards. Although Ewliya claims that an abundance of goods was available in the two local *khāns* and elsewhere, the lack of a covered market probably indicates that this was not a town noted for its commerce (on the limited economic activity of the entire area, see McGowan, *The Middle Danube cul de sac*, in Huri Islamoğlu-Inan (ed.), *The Ottoman Empire and the world-economy*, Paris and Cambridge 1987, 170-7).

In the Ottoman-Habsburg war of 1094-1111/1683-99, Semendire shared the fate of nearby Belgrade: it was first taken by the Habsburgs and then re-conquered by the Ottomans. The Orthodox bishop moved to Belgrade in 1140-1/1728; this was probably a sign of the town's declining relative importance (Adolph Kunike [ed.], *Živej hundert vier und sechzig Donau-Ansichten nach dem Laufe des Donaustromes*, comments by Georg C.B. Rumi, Vienna 1826, repr. Munich n.d.; non-paginated brochure appended to the lithographs). Nevertheless, in the early 13th/19th century, Semendire formed one of the centres of a Serbian movement for autonomy; in 1219-20/1805 local troops in rebellion against the Ottoman central government took the town, before moving on to Belgrade (J. Stoye, *Marsigli's Europe, 1680-1730: the life and times of Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli, soldier and virtuoso*, New Haven 1994, 57, 74-5, 78, 95, 109; Barbara Jelavich, *History of the Balkans*, i, *Eighteenth and nineteenth centuries*, Cambridge 1983, 91, 198).

Documenting the physical shape of the town at the beginning of that century, there survive two remarkable lithographs published in 1241-2/1826 (Kunike *op. cit.*, nos. 180, 181). These show that the town preserved quite a few of the characteristics described one and a half centuries earlier by Ewliya Çelebi. While according to Rumi's comments, the fortress lay partially in ruins, this is not apparent from the images, which show a wall surmounted by towers of different shapes and sizes and protected by a palisade. The town proper was located not on the peninsula/island but on the river banks, and there was a Muslim section surmounted by many minarets, more than the four existing in Ewliya's time. Semendire possessed a sizeable Christian quarter as well, for there was also a church with a high steeple, rather Central European in character. Roofs and walls made for shingles still formed a notable feature of the local architecture, and the Austrian commentator remarked that the town had "a handsome appearance".



Bibliography: Given in the article. See also Olga Zirojević, *The Constantinople road from Beograd to Sofija (1459-1683)* (Zbornik istorijskog muzeja Srbije, 7), Belgrade 1970; and the *Bibls.* to *šrb.*

(SURAIYA FAROQHI)

SHĀH DAGH, a peak of the southeasternmost tip of the Caucasus range (4,253 m/13,951 feet high), the mountainous region which in mediaeval Islamic times separated the districts of Kūbba from Shāmākha [see KUBBA]. It now lies in the northeasternmost part of the Azerbaijan Republic.

SHĀHBANDAR (P.), lit. "harbourmaster", an official of the ports in Šafawid Persia and one also known on other shores of the Indian Ocean.

A lack of information from before the advent of the European maritime companies notwithstanding, it is likely the office of *shāhbandar* first appeared in Persia, and from there spread throughout the Indian Ocean basin. The precise status of the *shāhbandar* remains unclear for the early period. Moreland concluded that, while elsewhere around the Indian Ocean the term had a wide range of meaning in the 10th/16th century, in Hurmuz [q.v.] it clearly referred to the harbourmaster. He documents a *shāhbandar* in that port for 1521, and for 1584 the Portuguese sources identify a person with the title of *goarda mor da praya*, chief warden of the beach and customs house. The Portuguese sources also mention an official called *juiz da alfandega*, judge of the tollhouse. Already at that time the function had a political dimension as well, for at some point in the early 10th/16th century, the vizier of Hurmuz combined his position as governor of the port with that of head of customs.

Most of the subsequent information on the *shāhbandar* concerns the position in Bandar 'Abbās [q.v.] after the arrival in the Persian Gulf of the English and Dutch East India Companies in the early 17th century, and is a function of the documents generated by their agents. In the Persian sources the *shāhbandar* appears as the *dābit-i wuḍūh wa khurūḍ*, commander of imports and exports, but he is rarely mentioned, reflecting the fact that, although the Persian Gulf trade was important to the state and the official served the central administration, the region itself was not at the centre of official attention.

The *shāhbandar* wielded considerable power in the port. He administered the payment of tolls on incoming and outgoing goods, which generally amounted to 10% *ad valorem* for both. In order to secure smooth relations, merchants were forced periodically to hand him gifts, which was really a form of taxation. Thus the Dutch and the English typically paid the *shāhbandar* of Bandar 'Abbās 50 *tūmāns* annually, but in 1654 we hear of local merchants being forced to pay a sum of 1,000 *tūmāns*, and in 1661 the resident Indian merchant community was made to pay a similar amount. *Shāhbandars* were also wont to make private deals with brokers, who bribed them to let goods pass. *Shāhbandars* had their own agents in other Persian Gulf ports and India and elsewhere in Persia who tried to entice merchants to patronise Bandar 'Abbās. There are also reports of the *shāhbandar* of Bandar 'Abbās terrorising the local merchants and interfering with their trade, demanding the choicest wares available at below market prices and refusing to give a transport license when they demurred.

While sharing many of his responsibilities and traits with *shāhbandars* in other parts of Asia, the *shāhbandar* in Persia resembles the ones in India and South East India more than his colleagues in the Ottoman Empire. Whereas in a place like Aleppo the *shāhbandar* was

chosen from among the wealthy local merchants, and was sometimes a Jew or an Armenian, in 11th/17th-century Persia he was invariably a political official with a fixed salary, who was sent down by the central government with the task of collecting customs revenue for the *shāh*. At the end of his term in office he had to account for his dealings and submit his financial report to the crown's financial council. The fact that in the late 1620s Muḥayim Beg was simultaneously the *shāh*'s commercial factor and *shāhbandar* of Bandar 'Abbās suggests this strong nexus between politics and commerce. The reports of the maritime companies also make clear that the *shāhbandar* was a shadowing official, sent down to supervise and report on the *khān* of the town. As this surveillance was mutual, it often led to rivalry and even violent confrontations between the retinue of both officials. As was the case for most positions in Šafawid Persia, the post of *shāhbandar* tended to be hereditary, yet no single family managed to establish a hold over it for any length of time. For most of the 1650s, Muḥammad Beg, who later became Grand Vizier, and his family furnished a series of *shāhbandars*, beginning with Muḥammad Beg himself. Of Armenian descent, he was a *ghulām* [q.v.], one of the many originally Christian slaves from the Caucasus region who attained high political positions in Šafawid Persia. Georgian *ghulāms*, who by the 11th/17th century had taken over most of the administration in the country, infiltrated the position as well. In 1669 it was reported that the new *shāhbandar* was a Georgian *ghulām*.

Several changes occurred in this same period. Until 1656 the port of Kung fell under the jurisdiction of Lār [see LĀR, LĀRISTĀN]. When 'Avāḍ Beg left his post as *khān* of Lār, a separate governor-cum-*shāhbandar* was appointed for Kung, apparently in order to improve the central government's control over its revenues. A similar motivation underlay the changes effected in the smaller ports of the Persian Gulf, which until the second half of the 11th/17th century did not have a customs house and therefore no *shāhbandar*. As this prompted those merchants keen to evade tolls and harassment in Bandar 'Abbās to turn to those ports, the Šafawid government in the mid-1660s conducted an investigation and decided to establish a customs house in Bandar Rīg. Būshīhr [q.v.], which was of minor importance, had a *shāhbandar*, too, at this point. Smaller ports must have remained under the jurisdiction of local *shaykhs*.

In a more structural change, the position of *shāhbandar* of Bandar 'Abbās began to be farmed out in this period. Until the reign of Shāh Sulaymān (1077-1105/1666-94), each individual port had its own customs official and the office of *shāhbandar* had rotated on an annual basis. Mismanagement, corruption and the attendant dwindling income from customs in the early 1670s prompted the Šafawid government to consolidate the customs administration by bringing it under the control of one official, who now farmed the post for six to eight years at a fixed salary and a stipulated revenue of 24,000 *tūmāns*. (Chardin claims that the change came in 1674, but it is more likely that it was part of a series of reforms effected by the Grand Vizier Shaykh 'Alī Khān in 1671-2.) The term of a given official might be prolonged after expiration. Thus in 1684, Mīrzā Murtaḍā, having served one term, received the post for seven more years. He was also reinstated as *shāhbandar* of Kung. Various other sources report that, ten years later, the *shāhbandar* of Kung acted both as customs official and as *dārūgha* [q.v.], or mayor of the town, and that he



farmed the customs of Kung, Bandar 'Abbās and Bandar Rīg, for an annual sum of 20,000 *tūmāns*.

Būshīr in the mid-12th/18th century offers an example of an Armenian *shāhbandar*—as opposed to a *ghulām* who had been made to convert to Islam. This person, named Kh^hadjia Mellelsk, was a subordinate of the *shāhbandar* of Bandar 'Abbās. In 1748 the town's governor, Shaykh Nāsir, usurped the position. This may have set a precedent, for in the 19th century the head of customs in Būshīr appears to have been the port's *khān* or *kalantar* [q.v.] or mayor, rather than a *shāhbandar*. Beginning in ca. 1850, when the port's trade began to flourish, customs were collected by a private functionary called the *hammālbāshī*. In Bandar 'Abbās the term *shāhbandar* long remained in use, but here, too, it was the *hammālbāshī* who in the 19th century collected customs fees. In the smaller ports, tribal chiefs or government officials called *dābīs* were usually the ones to manage the port's customs. Having become obsolete for the port towns of Persia, the term *shāhbandar* was now used for the official who represented the interests of the Turkish merchants operating within Persia.

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(R. MATTHEE)

SHĀ'IR.

1. B. From the 'Abbāsīd period to the *Nahda*.

Poetic communication is part of a larger system of social communication governed by a particular set of rules and carried out by participants who are more or less aware of the value and meaning of these rules. The role of the poet is only one of several roles which are mutually co-formative. Any discussion of one of these social roles must perforce take into account the other roles. S.J. Schmidt (1992) described four action roles which are used below to inform the discussion of *shā'ir*.

(a) *Production*. In the period between 750 and 1850, poetry was composed by a very different range of people from all walks of society in the Arab speaking world. Among the producers of poetry we find caliphs and craftsmen, secretaries and slaves, religious scholars and rogues, members of noble Arab tribes or people of non-Arab descent, rich and poor, famous and infamous. Of the three main panegyrist of the 3rd/9th century, Abū Tammām (d. ca. 231/845 [q.v.]) was of Christian descent (and embarrassed by this fact), and had to earn his living as a weaver's assistant and a water carrier in his early years; Ibn al-Rūmī (d. 283/896 [q.v.]) was of Christian (Byzantine) descent as well (and proud of it), whereas al-Buḥturī (d. 284/897 [q.v.]) was of pure Arab stock and grew up in a tribal milieu.

There was no uniform group of poets, nor was being a poet considered a specific profession with an established and definitive course of study or a canon of specific knowledge to be learned. Instead, everybody who had learned to compose poetry that met with common approval was called *shā'ir*. Professional poets during the 'Abbāsīd period were primarily court poets who were financially dependent on the favour of a patron. In later periods, poets most typically came from the ranks of the 'ulamā'. During the whole of the period in question, however, it was taken for granted that every educated person had the ability to take part in poetic communication, at least in the role of a receptive listener/reader. Therefore, poetry composed by professional poets forms only one segment of the poetry composed, esteemed and transmitted. Even those poets who can be considered professional poets often played more than the role of producer of poetry and engaged in processing literature as anthologists, critics, or philologists. Given this multi-layered situation, the role of poets and poetry in Arabic-Islamic society can be appreciated properly only if the whole of the system of poetic communication is taken into account. This is even more important given that poetic communication played an incomparably much higher role in pre-modern Arabic societies than in modern societies.

(b) *Mediation*. The oral recitation of a poem by its producer has always been considered the basic means by which poetry was made accessible to others. Professional singers were not only important but often even famous transmitters of poetry from the later



Umayyad period onwards, not only in courtly arenas but also in other well-to-do households. Written transmission in the form of letters or books also played an increasingly important role. The output of individual poets was often collected in the form of a *diwān*, frequently by those other than the original poets themselves. For example, it was Abū Bakr al-Šūfī (d. ca. 335/947 [q.v.]) who collected the *diwāns* of Abū Nuwās, Abū Tammām, Ibn al-Rūmī and others. Of enormous importance for the transmission of poetry were anthologies [see *MUKHTĀRĀT*] and other works of *adab*. Both linguistic and historiographical works as well as collections of biographies contain a great deal of poetry. Religious texts of an edifying nature and Sūfī works are hardly to be found without poetry. After the rise of the *madrasa* [q.v.], the formal parameters of poetry (metre, rhyme) and peculiarities of literary language [see *AL-MA'ĀNĪ WA 'L-BAYĀN*] would become part of the propaedeutic discipline of *adab* (in this case meaning the whole of linguistic disciplines). Poetry itself, however, was not a regular subject in the curriculum. Only the most famous works, such as the *Diwān* of al-Mutanabbī and the *Maḳāmāt* of al-Ḥarīrī, were taught within an academic framework. Story-tellers and preachers [see *KĀSS*] included poems in their speeches and thus contributed to their own popularity among the masses. As a whole, the process by which poetry was imparted has not yet been studied adequately.

(c) *Reception*. Poetry was an everyday commodity. A poet could "réciter une *qasīda* à son entourage, à ses amis, à des confères. Qu'il aille dans les souks de la ville, parcourt ses rues, fréquente les cabarets de ses faubourgs et leurs jardins, descende son fleuve, ses canaux ou se poste sur l'un des ponts... ou sous les arcades de mosquées, dans le demeure d'un bourgeois ou d'un prince, partout... il peut déclamer sans étonner, parler d'amour sans surprendre, pleurer de douleur sans choquer" (Bencheikh, 38). Poetry was an effective system of communication in which a substantial part of the population took part and by which the emotional and affective requirements of the people were met. People listened to poetry for its social, emotional, and intellectual effect [see *ṬARAB*; *TA'ADJUB*], and it was considered the poet's task to convey information and to stir emotions, curiosity and interest rather than to express his own feelings. Modern modes of reception, influenced by the cult of the poet as a genius who is expected to be more in touch with deeper feelings and thoughts than other people, and the individualistic notion of poetry as a means to express one's very own and specific emotions, have often led to misconceptions about pre-modern Arabic poetry. Whereas modern and individualistic conceptions of poetry have fostered an acceleration of literary change, they have also led to an increasing social marginalisation of poetic communication. By contrast, although the pre-modern understanding of poetry as a social activity resulted in a greater stability of literary forms and content, it nonetheless allowed poetry to remain effective and meaningful for a wide range of people over the whole period considered here and thus allowed a greater sector of the population to participate in elaborate artistic activities.

(d) *Processing*. The Arabic pre-Islamic literary and cultural heritage forms, next to Islam itself, one of the two foundations of Arabic-Islamic culture. The collection of and commentary on pre- and early Islamic poetry therefore was one of the primary activities in the first centuries of Islamic scholarship. The disci-

plines of grammar and lexicography owed their development more to the need to comment upon ancient Arabic poetry than upon the normative texts of Islam. This creation of a consciousness of poetry was one of the prerequisites for the rise of the scientific study of contemporary poetry and of literary criticism by the 3rd/9th century. These disciplines cannot be dealt with here (see the overview by Ouyang), but it should be remarked that, during the 'Abbāsīd period, literary history and criticism was a discourse clearly separated from the production of poetry itself, notwithstanding the exertion of mutual influence. Among the major poets, only Ibn al-Mu'tazz and Ibn Rashīq were famed theorists as well. The Mamlūk period, in which the merger of a secular and religious discourse had already been perfected, witnessed the complete synthesis of poetic production, on the one hand, and literary theory and rhetorics on the other in the form of the *badī'iyya* commentaries by Šaḥī al-Dīn al-Ḥillī (d. probably 749/1348 [q.v.]) and Ibn Ḥidjda al-Ḥamawī (d. 837/1434 [q.v.]), among others.

Other important forms by which literature was processed are various forms of intertextuality such as the *mu'arafa* or the *takhmīs* [q.vv.], in which a poet transforms a given poem into a new work of literature following special rules. These techniques should be understood within the framework of similar forms of appropriation-cum-transformation of the scholarly, cultural and literary heritage of Islamic culture, such as the commentary (*sharḥ* [q.v.]) or the abbreviation (*mukhtaṣar* [q.v.]).

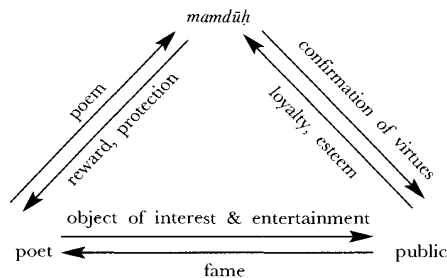
Four important social environments provided a framework for educated poetic communication between the Umayyad and the modern period.

i. *The Court*

Throughout the entirety of the 'Abbāsīd period, the courts of the caliph(s), provincial rulers, governors and the court-like households of viziers, generals, and other high officials served as centres of literary activity of preeminent importance. Two kinds of literary activities should be distinguished here: first, the recitation of panegyric poems as part of the official representation of the ruler; and second, poetry as part of court entertainment.

Panegyric poems [see *MADĪḤ*] formed the most important political discourse throughout a great deal of Islamic history. In panegyric poems, the subject personage was described as an embodiment of royal virtue, above all in terms of military prowess and generosity. The recollection of these virtues simultaneously confirmed and reinforced them, for society as well as for the ruler himself, and by confirming the ruler's ideal fulfillment of these normative values, the poems contributed to his legitimisation. Further, they served to spread the news of important events (such as battles won), and helped to memorialise them and to locate them and their protagonists within a broader historical context.

To understand the mechanism of the panegyric poem, it is important to bear in mind that the patron, to whom the poem is addressed (the *mamdūh*), is not identical with the intended public of the poem. Of course, panegyric poems could fulfil their political and social role only if a general interest in them was granted. Therefore, the dichotomy of the poet and the *mamdūh*, which appears in the texts themselves, should be expanded to a triangle with the "public" as third participant. Each of the three participants in this form of communication acted in a mutually informative give and take. This triadic interplay can be generally schematized as follows:



Given the first-rank importance of the panegyric-political discourse as a means of representation and legitimisation, even rulers who had no feeling for poetry could hardly afford not to patronise poets. On the other hand, many rulers and princes pursued an intense interest in poetry, had expert knowledge at their disposal, and often composed poetry themselves. Just to mention a few, the caliph Hārūn al-Rashīd (d. 193/809; his sister the princess 'Ulayya bt. al-Mahdī (d. 210/825); the prince Ibn al-Mu'tazz (d. 296/908), one of the greatest men of letters of the 'Abbāsīd period; the caliph al-Rāḍī bi 'llāh (d. 392/940); the Hāmdānīd Sayf al-Dawla (d. 356/967); and the Ayyūbid Abu 'l-Fidā' (d. 732/1331) [q.v.] and other members of this dynasty. In such cases, where the *mamdūh* assumed both the role of the patron as well as the role of the public, poets had to accommodate their poems not only to general panegyric standards but also to the personal taste of the patron. To mention two examples: al-Buḥturī replaced the traditional *nasīb* [q.v.] with all its intertextual strands with the more modern genre of *ghazal* [q.v.] in order to meet the taste of al-Mutawakkil, who had less literary training than his predecessors. Ibn Nubāta al-Misrī (d. 750/1349 [q.v.]) faced the opposite problem after the death of Abu 'l-Fidā' and tried to win the favour of his pious and ascetic successor by replacing the *nasīb* of his panegyric odes with ascetic poetry.

Panegyric poets hoped for an immediate reward for any given poem, which often reached rather exorbitant sums of money. Considering the fact that generosity was one of the main virtues praised in the panegyric odes and that the poet offered himself as a first object for the demonstration of this generosity, the exchange of poem for reward assumed the character of a ritual exchange. If successful, poets could even hope for a permanent patronage of the ruler, thus being spared having to wander from patron to patron. Al-Mutanabbī, the pre-eminent panegyric poet of the times, spent several years in search of a permanent patron, eulogising Bedouin chiefs and second-rank provincial dignitaries until he found the favour of Sayf al-Dawla, at whose court he spent nine untroubled years, only to start the search anew after an intrigue by his fellow-poets forced him to flee Sayf al-Dawla's court. In addition to material gains, success at a court could also provide for a broader fame of a poet due to the public nature of his task as a panegyrist. In any case, gaining the favour of patrons through panegyric poetry was nearly the only way to make a living as a professional poet during the 'Abbāsīd period. Poets who did not have an administrative or scholarly position as a starting-point therefore had to earn their living as a copyist or craftsman, or with similar jobs until they gained enough fame

to be able to live as a full-time poet. Competition for a position as court poet must have been rather rigorous. Therefore, it is small wonder that the relations between the poets enjoying the favour of a certain patron is often characterised by envy, polemics and intrigues. The relations between al-Mutanabbī, Abū Firās and the Khālīdī brothers offer a good example. Dependent as poets were on the favour of their patron, they were not completely powerless in turn. If they felt that they were treated unjustly, they had the possibility of taking revenge by composing satires (*hiǧā'* [q.v.]), and the satires of a famous poet could prove to be a sharp weapon indeed. Again, al-Mutanabbī—an extraordinary self-confident poet—provides us with examples in his invectives against the Ikhlshīd ruler Kāfūr [q.v.]. Many poets, however, experienced feelings of humiliation when forced to "beg" for monetary reward for their poems, as is repeatedly told in their biographies.

The circumstances under which courtly panegyric poetry was performed have been only little studied so far. Obviously, panegyric poems were often performed as part of public ceremonies, during a *maǧlis* or a banquet. The poems that were recited may have been pre-selected by court officials (al-Kifī, *Inbāh*, iv, 149). How these poems became known by a broader public has not yet been explored in detail. The poets themselves, philologists, compilers of anthologies and literary critics may have participated as mediators in this process. In the end, however, this process must have been rather effective, since in most books on literary criticism, panegyric poetry is given privileged interest, and anthologies and chronicles overflow with quotations of eulogies. Since without the participation of the recipients, the process of panegyric communication must have been ineffective as a whole, the study of this part must be considered a major desideratum.

In addition to the ritual and public performance of panegyric poetry, courtly life offered a great many other opportunities for poetry making. Hunting excursions provided an opportunity for the recitation of hunting poetry (*ṭarǧiyya* [q.v.]); banquets and musical gatherings gave rise to the presentation of wine poetry [see KHAMRIYYA], love poetry and other genres. On these occasions, the ruler was accompanied by his *nudamā'* "boon-companions" (sing. *nadīm* [q.v.]), a group of talented people from various fields. Even the office of the *nadīm* was institutionalised at the 'Abbāsīd court. Poetry played a prominent role in the gatherings of the ruler and his *nudamā'*, and was practiced not only by professional poets but also by *nudamā'* with other professions. And poetry itself, both ancient and contemporary, was often the subject of conversation in the *maǧlis*. It must be stressed that the kind of poetry recited and sung in these courtly environments was not fundamentally different from that practised outside the court in urban milieux. Therefore, a common term like "courtly love" characterising the relations between lover and beloved in a current type of love poetry (*ghazal*, *nasīb*) is misleading, since love poetry sung at caliphal banquets in no way differed from the poetry that was popular in other social environments. Instead, it was rather the ideals, ethical models, and literary tastes of the *udabā'* and *kuttāb* which dominated at the courts [see ZARF]. *Nudamā'* circles also existed in the households of viziers and high-ranking *kuttāb*, and the same people practised their poetic skill in circles of philologists and *udabā'* as well as in their role as *nadīm* at the court.

In the period after the fall of the 'Abbāsīds and



Ayyūbids, the importance of the court for Arab literary culture decreased considerably. Though panegyric poems in the Arabic language were still composed about Mamlūk and Ottoman sultans (and poets duly rewarded for them), the Mamlūk and Ottoman courts no longer offered the resources for a vivid literary culture in Arabic language. One of the main reasons for this development is, of course, the fact that rulers of these dynasties often had only limited (if any) command of the Arabic language. But it should also be borne in mind that, whereas in the 'Abbāsīd period political authorities were part of the culture of the civilian non-religious elite of the *kuttāb* and were eager to see their legitimisation expressed in the medium of poetry common to both, the post-'Abbāsīd period witnessed the merger of a religious and non-religious elite, which now formed a counterpart to the military elite which no longer shared this culture. Rather than poetry, Mamlūks instead patronised architecture to an hitherto unprecedented extent.

ii. The *kuttāb*

At least in the 3rd and 4th/9th and 10th centuries, the class of the secretaries (*kuttāb*, sing. *kātib* [q.v.]), which formed a rather homogenous group with a distinct group consciousness, had no lesser influence on the shaping of Islamic culture than the group of religious scholars. This is especially true in the field of literature. The *kuttāb* were the bearers and main exponents of the culture of *adab* [q.v.], which meant not only producing a certain type of literature but also adhering to an ideal of education, knowledge, manners and conduct, which became manifest in the literature called *adab*. Of course, not every *adīb* was a *kātib*, but the *kuttāb* serve as its most typical embodiment.

For the *kuttāb*, poetry had a multitude of functions. Some of them, to mention a few, are as following:

(a) Perfection in artistic prose and poetry was a prerequisite for other responsibilities. These included drafting and writing official letters and administrative correspondence in which they showed their mastery of linguistic correctness and stylistic sophistication.

(b) *Kuttāb* were expected to be able to compose poetry. In this context, it seems plausible that the first dictionary that was arranged according to rhyme consonants and rhyme schemes, the *Kutāb al-Takfīya* by al-Bandanīdjī (d. 284/897; Sezgin, *GAS*, viii, 170-1) was in all probability addressed to the *kuttāb* who needed to find rhyme words for their poetic compositions.

(c) Poetry formed part of the encyclopaedic knowledge *kuttāb* were supposed to have.

(d) Genres like love and wine poetry, besides being entertaining and emotionally affective at an individual level, were especially suitable for not only expressing the refined *Weltanschauung* of this group [see ZARIF] but also for displaying their literary taste.

(e) Literature of the *adab* type in prose and poetry was part of the *kuttāb*'s life-style and its practice served to strengthen their group identity.

Some of the *kātib* poets typical of the 3rd/9th and 4th/10th centuries were: al-'Utbi (d. 228/852-3), Ibn al-Zayyāt (d. 233/847), the *ghazal* poet Khālīd b. Yazīd al-Kātib (d. ca. 262/876), al-Nāshī' al-Akbar (d. 293/906), Ibn Bassām (d. 303-4/914-15), Abū Ishāq al-Šābi' (d. 384/994), Ibn 'Abbād (d. 385/995) [q.v.], and Ibrāhīm al-Šūlī (d. 243/857). The influence of the *kuttāb*, however, went far beyond their activity as poets: more importantly, they shaped the culture of *adab*, which proved equally dominant in courtly milieux as well as in the urban middle class in general. A sharp distinction between the court and the *kuttāb* cannot be drawn in any event, since *kuttāb* were

themselves part of the courts. Many of them participated in the composition of panegyric poetry and fulfilled the duty of *nadīm*. Many officials had risen to positions in which they acted as patrons for poets themselves.

iii. The 'ulamā'

Islamic normative texts (the Kur'ān, esp. XXVI, 224-7; *Hadīth*, see Bonebakker) display an ambiguous stance towards poetry which resulted in different interpretations, ranging from outright prohibition of many of its forms to a mild disapproval of the more entertaining and morally dubious genres like wine poetry and satire. Thus, in the first centuries, 'ulamā' rarely felt encouraged to take part in a form of communication that was dominated by the secular elite. Yet religious scholars required knowledge of pre- and early Islamic poetry in order to be able to comment upon Kur'ān and *Hadīth*, and some of them composed at least poetry of the *zuhdiyya* [q.v.] genre, as the collection of poetry ascribed to al-Šāfi'ī (d. 204/820 [q.v.]) demonstrates. Due to its emotional effectiveness, poetry of the *zuhdiyya* genre, as well as love poetry was used in sermons. However, scholars were rarely proficient poets, and in his collection of the biographies of linguistic scholars, al-Kifī repeatedly speaks with derision of grammarians and other scholars who "composed verses of the kind of the poetry of grammarians (*nūḥāt*)/scholars ('ulamā')" (al-Kifī, *Inbāh*, iii, 219, 263, 267, 288, 343, iv, 165). Nevertheless, from the latter 'Abbāsīd period onwards, there is an increase in the number of 'ulamā' who were composing poetry in different genres. A few *kādis* and *muḥaddithūn* are already mentioned in al-Tha'ālibī's [q.v.] anthology titled *Yāfimat al-dahr*, which contains poetry from the second half of the 4th/10th century. By the time of 'Imād al-Dīn al-Isfahānī's [q.v.] anthology, the *Khariḍat al-ḳasr*, which covers poets from the 6th/12th century, the number of 'ulamā' composing poetry and the quality of their poems had obviously increased considerably. Here, in this period of transition, we can witness the gradual merger between the *adab*-oriented culture of the *kuttāb* and the *sunna*-oriented culture of the 'ulamā' (Bauer, *Raffinement*; Homerin, *Preaching poetry*). From the Saljūq period onwards, the *kuttāb* gradually ceased to be a distinct social group with their own cultural values. Instead, the duties of the *kātib* came to be fulfilled by people who had received the training of a religious scholar. The result, as it becomes very obvious during the Mamlūk period, was a rather homogeneous group of 'ulamā' who had become the bearers of Islamic religious as well as secular culture. Remarkably, this development did not prove detrimental to literary culture. Instead, the process of "ulamā'isation of *adab*" was counterbalanced by a process of "adabisation of the 'ulamā'", who in the meantime had made the *adab* discourse of the *kuttāb* their own. Though the political relevance of poetry decreased, its relevance for the civil elite increased, so that one can speak of a process of privatisation of poetry. Poetry became a pre-eminent medium of communication between 'ulamā', and this medium included panegyric poetry, which now became addressed from one 'ālim to the other rather than to rulers and military leaders. For the 'ulamā', it would become more and more important to be able to take part in this form of poetic communication. Consequently, the poetry of the Mamlūk period grew more personal and more interested in private matters. The merger of the secular and religious elite into a new group which shared to a considerable extent the values and ideas of the old religious elite, but which also had appro-



priated the literary culture of the old secular élite, led to an unprecedented rise of religious poetry. Since also the boundaries between high and popular culture became blurred, the percentage of the population taking part in a rather homogeneous literary culture became larger than ever. The Mamlūk period, therefore, may have been the period which displayed the broadest literary culture in Arab history.

The Ottoman period has not been studied well enough to allow a more detailed assessment. At least, it is beyond doubt that the 'ulamā' still played the most important role in poetry. Arabic poetry at this time may have witnessed a decrease in its local importance, but at the same time could expand its geographical range due to the increasingly global and cosmopolitan character of the 'ulamā'. Texts displaying a very similar literary taste were composed in Sub-Saharan Africa as well as in the Indian subcontinent. Locally, Šūfī circles seem to have developed into one of the main centres of the production of poetry.

iv. Urban milieux

A study of the involvement of different social environments of the urban middle classes in the poetic discourse has not yet been carried out. However, it is clear from countless hints in the sources that poetry in the standard language and the established genres was esteemed and even produced among craftsmen, merchants, and in similar milieux. The site of Abū Nuwās's (d. ca. 196/813 [q.v.]) wine poems is not only the courtly banquet but also the tavern. Another and rather different urban milieu was that of the *zurāfā'*, in which the poems of al-'Abbās b. al-Aḥnaf [q.v.] are set. Several little-known poets mentioned in Ibn al-Mu'tazz's *Ṭabaḳāt al-shu'arā'* bear names pointing to crafts, and even professional poets like Abū Tammām had to earn their living by manual work before they were famous enough to live from their poetry. In any case, social boundaries were not as strict as in Europe, and people of low descent and non-privileged social positions were not in principle excluded from taking part in high culture.

In the 4th/10th century we find a baker (al-Khabbāz al-Baladī, see Sezgin, *GAS*, ii, 625-6), a fruit-seller (al-Wa'wā' [q.v.]), and a darning (al-Sarī al-Raffā' [q.v.]) among the well-known poets of the age. Another poet, al-Khubza'aruzzi [q.v.], was a baker of rice bread in Baṣra and became famous as a *ghazal* poet. Young men from all over the town used to visit his shop in the hope of becoming the object of one of his love poems. By quoting poems by al-Aḥnaf al-'Ukbarī, al-Tha'libī (*Yatima*, ii, 122-4) allows a glimpse of the poetry of the vagabonds [see *SĀSĀN*, *BANŪ*]. These poets owe their lasting fame to the fact that representatives of high culture took an interest in their productions, but they may also be taken as evidence of the kind of interest in poetry that cut across different levels of society.

Sources are much more copious for the Mamlūk period, during which a convergence between high and popular culture is attested. The most representative figures of popular poetry (in standard Arabic, as well as in dialect), appealing to 'ulamā' and people of the street alike, were Ibrāhīm al-Mīmār for the 7th/13th and Ibn Sūdūn for the 8th/14th century. These and quite a few of other similar, often illiterate figures represent a "missing link" between modern forms of popular literature and time-honoured forms, themes, and motives, and thus point to the fact that Arabic literary culture was not the exclusive prerequisite of a small élitarian group, but was, at least in its fun-

damental parameters, ideas and way of achieving emotional effects, shared by a broad sector of the population.

During the Mamlūk and Ottoman periods, religious poetry was extremely popular in all urban environments. Šūfī poetry, prayers [see *WIRD*] and poems in praise of the prophet [see *MAWLIDIYYA*] were composed and recited among adherents of the Šūfī orders [see *ṬARĪQA* and *TAŠAWWUF*], which were deeply rooted in the middle classes.

During all periods, different forms of folk poetry co-existed alongside poetry which was eventually written down. In many environments, both written and oral forms of poetry influenced each other, and sometimes it is not easy to draw a clear boundary between them. Other forms of poetry transmitted only orally existed without being noticed by the educated. So, for example, Bedouin poets continued to compose poetry in a style reminiscent of pre-Islamic poetry throughout the centuries. This can be deduced by the existence of the so-called *nabaḳī* poetry [q.v.] which has been recorded from the 19th century onwards and is still practised in the Arabian peninsula even today. For further information about the complex of folk poetry, see *SHĀ'IR*. 1. E. The folk poet in Arab society, at Vol. IX, 233b.

Bibliography: Only a small selection of relevant sources and studies can be noted here. In principle, all *diwāns*, anthologies, and biographical dictionaries are fruitful sources of relevant information. See also the *Bibl.* of the article *SHĀ'IR*. 1(a), and Abu 'l-Faradī al-Iṣbahānī, *Aghānī*²; Ibn al-Mu'tazz, *Ṭabaḳāt al-shu'arā'* al-muḥdathīn, Cairo 1956; al-'Imād al-Iṣfahānī, *Khawāḍir al-ḳaṣr* (different eds.); (Ibn) al-Kifī, *Inbāh al-ruwāt*, 4 vols., Cairo 1955-73; Abū Bakr al-Šūlī, *Akhbār Abi 'l-Tammām*, Cairo 1937; idem, *Akhbār al-Buhturī*, Damascus 1948; idem, *Akhbār al-Rādī wa 'l-Muttakī*, ed. J.H. Dunne, Cairo 1935; Šafadī, *al-Wāfi*; Tha'libī, *Yatima*, Cairo 1375-7/1956-8; A. Arazī, *Amour divin et amour profane dans l'Islam médiéval. A travers le Diwān de Khālid al-Kātib*, Paris 1990; T. Bauer, *Raffinement und Frömmigkeit. Säkulare Poesie islamischer Religionsgelehrter der späten Abbasidenzeit*, in *Asiatische Studien*, v (1996), 275-95; idem, *Liebe und Liebesdichtung in der arabischen Welt des 9. und 10. Jahrhunderts*, Wiesbaden 1998; idem, *Ibrāhīm al-Mīmār. Ein dichtender Handwerker aus Ägyptens Mamlukenzeit*, in *ZDMG*, clii (2002), 63-93; J. Bencheikh, *Poétique arabe: essai sur les voies d'une création*, Paris 1975; idem, *Les secrétaires poètes et amateurs de cénacles aux II^e et III^e siècles de l'hégire*, in *JA*, clxiii (1975), 265-315; idem, *Le cénacle poétique du calife al-Mutawakkil*, in *BEO*, xxix (1977), 33-52; S.A. Bonebakker, *Religious prejudice against poetry in early Islam*, in *Medievalia et humanistica*, n.s. vii (1976), 77-99; G.J. van Gelder, *The bad and the ugly. Attitudes towards invective poetry (Hijā') in Classical Arabic literature*, Leiden 1988; B. Gruendler, *Ibn al-Rūmī's ethics of patronage*, in *Harvard Middle Eastern and Islamic Review*, iii (1996), 104-60; G.E. von Grunebaum, *Aspects of Arabic urban literature mostly in ninth and tenth centuries*, in *Islamic Studies (Islamabad)*, viii (1969), 281-300; A. Hamori, *On the art of medieval Arabic literature*, New York 1974; Th.E. Homerin, *Preaching poetry*, in *Arabica*, xxxviii (1991), 87-101; 'Abd al-Hasanayn al-Khidr, *al-Shu'arā' al-Ayyūbiyyūn*, 2 vols., Damascus 1993-6; H. Kilpatrick, *Making the great Book of Songs*, London 2003; E. Neubauer, *Musiker am Hof der frühen 'Abbasiden*, Frankfurt 1965; W. Ouyang, *Literary criticism in medieval Arabic-Islamic culture. The making of a tradition*, Edinburgh 1997; E.K. Rowson and



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SHAKHAB, (BATTLE OF) [see MARDI AL-SUFFAR].

SHĀLISH, also written **DJĀLISH**, a term referring to either the vanguard of an army or a flag raised to signal the announcement of a campaign. The word is of Turkish origin, derived from *Çalış*, meaning "battle" or "conflict" (see G. Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente in Neupersischen*, Wiesbaden 1963-75, iii, 32). It appears in Persian during the late Saldjūk era (Rāwandī, *Rāhat al-sudūr*, ed. M. Iqbāl, GMS, NS, 2, London 1921, 347), with the meaning of "battle"; in Arabic, it is found in works of the Ayyūbid and Mamlūk times (see below). It is unclear whether it entered Arabic via the Persian or was adopted in the former language directly from Turkish military men.

1. In the sense of advance troops of a rather general nature, the term is found in the description of the battle of Hītīn [q.v.] in 584/1187, where we find *djālīshīyya* (Bahā' al-Dīn Ibn Shaddād, *Nawādir al-sultāniyya*, Cairo n.d., 61 = tr. D.S. Richards, *The rare and excellent history of Saladin*, Aldershot 2001, 73; Ibn al-Athīr, *Kāmil*, Beirut 1987, xi, 146). In the early Mamlūk period, it is used on the one hand as a synonym for *ḥalī'a*, advanced scouts or vanguard, as at the battle of 'Ayn Djālūt [q.v.] in 658/1260 (cf. Ibn al-Dawādārī, *Kanz al-durar*, viii, ed. U. Haarmann, Freiburg-Cairo 1971, 49, with al-Makrīzī, *Sulūk*, Cairo 1934-73, i, 430). On the other hand, in the battle of Hīmṣ [q.v.] in 680/1281, *djālīsh* is used in the sense of *muḳaddama*, i.e. the large forward division of the Mamlūk army (Baybars al-Manṣūrī, *Zubda*, ed. Richards, Beirut 1998, 197). The term was not only applied to the Mamlūk army; in 699/1299, the *djālīsh* of the Il-Khān Ghāzān [q.v.] passed by Halab on the way south (al-Makrīzī, *Sulūk*, i, 885); the exact intention, i.e. whether it was a small reconnaissance unit or a large advance division, is unclear from the context.

2. In the sense of a flag raised above the *ṭablkhāna* [q.v.], see D. Ayalon, art. **ḤARB**, iii, above, Vol. III, at 184. Ibn Khaldūn (*Muḳaddama*, ed. Muṣṭafā Muḥammad, Cairo n.d. = tr. Rosenthal, ii, 52), writes that in the Mamlūk state (*dawlat al-turk*), a large flag (*rāya*) surmounted by a big tuft of hair (probably of a horse) was called a *shālīsh*, and that it was a sign of the sultan. It would seem that the use of the word for the flag used to declare preparations for a campaign was secondary to the meaning given above, sc. the advance force or vanguard. The sense of flag was derived perhaps from the advance force which may have carried it.

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SHAMIR (also al-Shamir, commonly **Shimr**) b. **DHI 'L-DJAWSHAN** Abu 'l-Sābiḡha, often portrayed as one of the killers of al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī [q.v.]. Shamir's father, Shurahbīl (or Aws) b. Qurṭ (various forms of the name are given), was a Companion of the Prophet who settled in al-Kūfa.

Shamir fought at Šiffin [q.v.] on 'Alī's side, receiving a sword wound to his face (al-Minḳarī, *Waḳ'at*

Šiffin, ed. 'A. Hārūn, Cairo 1401/1981, 268; al-Ṭabarī, i, 3305). Subsequently he changed sides and became a supporter of the Umayyads. In 51/671 he testified against Ḥudjir b. 'Adī [q.v.] (*ibid.*, ii, 133); nine years later, 'Ubayd Allāh b. Ziyād [q.v.] recruited him and other tribal notables to quell the revolt of Muslim b. 'Aḳīl [q.v.]. When al-Ḥusayn was intercepted at Karbalā', he appealed in vain to Shamir and others to let him go to the caliph Yazīd (*ibid.*, ii, 285). Shamir prevailed upon Ibn Ziyād to adopt an uncompromising attitude towards al-Ḥusayn; Ibn Ziyād thereupon gave him a letter ordering 'Umar b. Sa'd to kill al-Ḥusayn should he refuse to submit to Ibn Ziyād's authority, and warning 'Umar that if he failed to obey this order he would be replaced as commander by Shamir (*ibid.*, ii, 315-6). 'Umar reluctantly obeyed and put Shamir in charge of the foot-soldiers (al-Balādhurī, iii, 391; al-Ṭabarī, ii, 317). On 9 Muḥarram 61/9 October 680, as 'Umar was making final preparations to do battle with al-Ḥusayn, Shamir offered a safe-conduct to three (or four) sons of 'Alī by Umm al-Banīn bt. Hizām, who belonged to Shamir's tribe, the Banū Kilāb; the sons rejected the offer, insisting that al-Ḥusayn, too, should be granted safe-conduct (al-Balādhurī, iii, 391; Ibn A'tham, iii, 105; cf. al-Ṭabarī, ii, 316-7).

The next morning—the Day of 'Ashūrā'—'Umar put Shamir in command of the army's left wing (*ibid.*, ii, 326). Shamir intended to burn down al-Ḥusayn's tent with the women and children inside, but was shamed into withdrawing (*ibid.*, ii, 346-7) and acceded to al-Ḥusayn's request to spare them (al-Balādhurī, iii, 407; al-Ṭabarī, ii, 362). Shamir's role in the death of al-Ḥusayn is disputed in the sources. While some accounts merely refer to his participation in the battle (e.g. Ibn 'Asākir, xxiii, 186), he is more usually said to have instigated the final assault, while yet other reports explicitly mention him as having killed al-Ḥusayn (al-Wāḳidī, in al-Balādhurī, iii, 418; al-Iṣfahānī, 119; Ibn Hazm, *Djamharat ansāb al-'arab*, ed. 'A. Hārūn, Cairo 1382/1962, 287), as having decapitated his corpse (al-Ṣafādī, xii, 425, xvi, 180), or both (al-Madjlīsī, xlv, 56; cf. al-Ṭabrisī, 250). This conflicts with reports that it was Sinān b. Anas al-Nakha'ī who killed al-Ḥusayn and decapitated his body (Abū Mikhnaḡ, in al-Ṭabarī, ii, 366), or that Sinān killed him and Khawālī b. Yazīd al-Aṣbaḡī cut off his head (al-Balādhurī, iii, 418; cf. Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, i, 393). In the *ta'ziyya* [q.v.] passion plays, Shamir is habitually presented as al-Ḥusayn's killer (Chelkowski, 15, 106, 110, 146-7, 159, 165; Ayoub, 127) and as more evil even than Sinān (Virolleaud, 94-5; Chelkowski, 160).

After the battle, Shamir was about to kill al-Ḥusayn's son 'Alī [see ZAYN AL-'ĀBIDĪN], but was prevented from doing so (Ibn Sa'd, i, 480). Shamir led the Hawāzin, who formed one of the contingents that brought the heads of the fallen warriors to Ibn Ziyād (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 386; Ibn Tāwūs, 85); later he accompanied the survivors to Damascus (al-Ṭabarī, ii, 375). An address is preserved in which he recounts to Yazīd the events of Karbalā' (al-Dīnawarī, 260-1, cited in D.M. Donaldson, *The Shi'ite religion*, London 1933, 102-3; this same address, however, is also ascribed to Zahr b. Kaṡs al-Dju'fī: see al-Ṭabarī, ii, 374-5). Back in al-Kūfa, Shamir is said to have repented of his actions, explaining that he had been duty-bound to obey Ibn Ziyād (al-Dhahabī, *Mizān al-'itidāl*, ed. 'A. Mu'awwad and 'A. 'Abd al-Mawdūd, Beirut 1416/1995, iii, 385; cf. Ibn Sa'd, i, 499; Ibn 'Asākir, xxiii, 189).

In 66/686 Shamir was among the Kūfan *aṣḡraf* who rose against al-Mukhtār [q.v.]. After they had



been defeated at *Djabbānat al-Sabī'* (in al-Kūfa), al-Mukhtār sent his slave Zīrbī in pursuit of *Shamir*, but *Shamir* attacked and killed him (al-Balādhurī, vi, 407; al-Tabarī, ii, 661). Unlike many of the defeated leaders, *Shamir* did not flee to al-Baṣra, but went to Sādāmā/Sāṭidāmā (apparently between al-Kūfa and al-Baṣra) (al-Dīnawarī, 302; al-Tabarī, ii, 662) and then encamped by the village of al-Kaltāniyya (or al-Kalbāniyya) (*ibid.*, ii, 662; Ibn 'Asākir, xxiii, 191). From there he sent a letter to Muṣ'ab b. al-Zubayr [q.v.] in al-Baṣra. The letter was intercepted by one of Abū 'Amra's men [see KAYSĀN], and its carrier revealed *Shamir*'s hiding-place, to which cavalymen were dispatched. *Shamir*, realising that he was surrounded, tried to fight his way out but was killed by one of the attackers (al-Balādhurī, vi, 407; al-Tabarī, ii, 663). According to one report, Abū 'Amra sent the badly wounded *Shamir* to al-Mukhtār, who killed him (al-Madḡisī, xlv, 338). Elsewhere *Shamir* is said to have been killed at al-Madḡār (on the Tigris) and his head brought to al-Mukhtār, who sent it on to Muhammad Ibn al-Ḥanafīyya [q.v.] in Medina (al-Dīnawarī, 305).

Shamir's grandson al-Ṣumayl b. Hātim [q.v.] played a prominent role in al-Andalus before the establishment there of the Umayyad dynasty.

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(E. KOHLBERG)

AL-SHARAF, more exactly *Sharaf* Ḥadjūr or *Sharaf* Ḥadjdja, the mediaeval name of a mountainous

region of northern Yemen, some 100-120 km/62-75 miles northwest of Ṣan'a', today called al-Sharafān/al-Sharafayn. The extended forms of the name are to distinguish it from several homonymous al-Sharafs, Ḥadjūr being a tribal name and Ḥadjdja a nearby town. The form al-Sharaf survives today only in the toponym Kuhlān al-Sharaf, a local town (lat. 16° 02' N. and long. 43° 28' E.) and its district. The dual form appears already in Ayyūbid times, when al-Sharaf al-Asfal and al-Sharaf al-A'lā are distinguished (see e.g. G.R. Smith, *The Ayyūbids and early Rasūlids in the Yemen*, London 1974-8).

The chain of the *Djibāl al-Sharafayn* reaches an altitude of 2,180 m/7,150 feet, forming an arc overlooking the coastal Tihāma. The massif gives its name to a *kaḡā'*, with the chef-lieu of al-Mahābiṣha in the province (*muḡāfaza*) of Ḥadjdja. In the early 1980s, the population of the region was ca. 220,000, these being Zaydīs, with the Banu 'l-Sharafi, 'Alid descendants of the founder of the Zaydī dynasty of Yemen, being the most important lineage there.

Al-Sharaf al-A'lā denotes the northern part of al-Sharafān, whereas al-Sharaf al-Asfal denotes the slightly lower, more southern region, although it seems that in the time of al-Ḥamdānī (4th/10th century), the former denoted another region, that of Sharaf Akyān or Shibām Akyān (modern Shibām Kawkabān), to the southeast (ed. Müller, 107 ll. 17-18, 135 l. 8). The name of al-Sharafān appears very often in the Yemeni chronicles.

In fact, there are numerous al-Sharafs in Yemen, reflecting the term's basic meaning of "eminence, height", hence it is not surprising that Yāḡūt had difficulty distinguishing various homonyms (see Ismā'īl al-Aḡwa', *al-Bulḡān al-yamāniyya 'ind Yāḡūt al-Ḥamawī*, Kuwait 1405/1985, 155).

Al-Sharaf does not appear in pre-Islamic inscriptions, but Ḥadjūr is attested once as *Hgr lnd* (Ja 616/25) for a small tribe belonging to the Daw'at federation confronting the Sabaean king Naṣḡa'karīb Yuḡa'mīn Yuḡarḡīb ca. A.D. 260-270 (A. Jamme, *Sabaean inscriptions from Mahram Bilqīs (Mārib)*, Baltimore 1962, 113-17).

Bibliography: Given in the article. See also R.T.O. Wilson, *Gazetteer of historical North-West Yemen in the Islamic period to 1650*, Hildesheim, etc. 1989. (CH. ROBIN and AHMAD AL-GHUMARI)

AL-SHARAF, the modern Aljarafe, an *iklīm* or county situated within the *kūra* or province of Iṣḡbīliyya/Seville in the *Gharb* of mediaeval al-Andalus. The extent of this *iklīm* varies: in al-Rāzī, 7,000 km² and in al-Idrīsī, 1,650 km². Beginning from the neighbourhood of Seville, it stretched to the limit of the *kūra* of Labla in the Guadamar or Tinto river valleys.

The Arabic sources describe the richness of its olive trees and the quality of their oil. The Sevillans sold this, after keeping it for two years, not only within the Iberian peninsula but also as far as the Far Magḡrib, Egypt and the Atlantic regions of Christian Europe; this was an exceptional case of a specialised culture oriented towards distant markets. The most important writers of agronomy in al-Andalus practiced their skills in al-Sharaf, including Ibn Ḥadjdjadj (5th/11th century), Abu 'l-Kḡayr (5th-6th/11th-12th centuries) and Ibn al-'Awwām (6th-7th/12th-13th centuries).

Within the *kūra* of Iṣḡbīliyya, the link between political authority and the great landowners is clear. The Banu 'l-Ḥadjdjadj and the Banū Kḡaldūn owned the greater part of the land—according to the Arabic sources, as the result of a marriage between an Arab



chief of the conquest period and Sara the Visigoth—and these two families long governed Seville.

The enemies of the Sevillans on various occasions launched raids which ravaged the *iklīm* of al-Sharaf, e.g. the Berbers, during the early part of the *fitna*, Alfonso VI during the reign of al-Mu'tamid Ibn 'Abbād [q.v.] and the Portuguese during the Almohad period.

The *iklīm* was very densely populated in Hispano-Roman and Islamic times, with al-Idrīsī mentioning a figure of over 800 *kuwar* or villages. In regard to demography, two periods should be distinguished. During the pre-Almohad period (i.e. from the Arab conquest to the second half of the 6th/12th century), al-Sharaf formed, as from Hispano-Roman times onwards, a very populous region with many small villages spread along the watercourses which crossed the region (the Majalberaque and the Repudio). The two *hīns* at that time were Kawra (Coria del Río) and Hīsn al-Kaṣr (Aznalcázar). The function of both was to guard lines of communication, that of the Guadalquivir in the first case, and the Guadamar in the second, as well as the east-west land routes.

In Almohad times (second half of the 6th/12th century to the mid-7th/13th one), there was a change. The Almohads built two new fortified points, *Shalūka* (Sanlúcar la Mayor) after 1189 to defend this region against Portuguese attacks; and Hīsn al-Faradj (San Juan de Aznalfarache) in 1195 as a garrison for the troops of the ruler Abū Yūsuf Ya'qūb and to control access to Seville across the Guadalquivir, becoming a royal residence during that caliph's time. The population of the region continued to be densely spread. The territorial limits of the *hūsūn* can be reconstructed thanks to Christian documentation from the post-conquest period. Thus in regard to Hīsn al-Faradj, its territory covered 227.6 km² and included 69 *karyas*, whose acreage for olive and fig cultivation is equally known. Cuatrovitas (Bollulos de la Mitación) is a remarkable instance; a minaret and many surface archaeological traces, from the Almohad period, can be found.

Of the Andalusi fortifications of al-Sharaf, there are important remains at Sanlúcar la Mayor and San Juan de Aznalfarache. Coria has disappeared, and one can only see the *tell* on which the fortress was situated, and at Aznalcázar there are just some traces of the walls and of the town gate.

Bibliography: M. El Faiz, *L'Aljarafe de Seville. Un jardin d'essai pour les agronomes de l'Espagne musulmane*, in *Hesperis-Tamuda*, xxix (1992); M. Valor et alii, *Espacio rural y territorio en el Aljarafe de Sevilla*, in *Asentamientos rurales y territorio en el mundo mediterráneo, Berja, Almería*, 2-4 November 2000, Granada 2001.

(M. VALOR and J. RAMÍREZ)

SHA'RĀNIYYA, a mystical brotherhood (*ṭarīqa* [q.v.]) whose eponymous master was the Ṣūfī 'Abd al-Wahhāb b. Ahmad al-Sha'rānī (d. 973/1565 [q.v.]).

The Sha'rāniyya cannot be defined as the branch of an older, original *ṭarīqa*, since al-Sha'rānī had several masters, notably those stemming from the Suhrawardiyya [q.v.] and Ahmadiyya; he was, moreover, himself affiliated to twenty-six orders in order to pile up *baraka* [q.v.]. Although he was considerably influenced by the Shādhiliyya [q.v.] and although his successors retained clear links with the later manifestation of that order, nothing authorises us to class the Sha'rāniyya amongst the Egyptian Shādhilī groups (see J.S. Trimingham, *The Sufi orders in Islam*, Oxford 1971, 279).

Starting from the *zāwiya* that had been built for al-Sha'rānī at the Bāb Sha'rāniyya in Cairo, the order

was handed down from father to son. Hereditary transmission of the function of *shaykh* was in fact dominant during the Ottoman period. None of the master's successors possessed his spiritual charisma; they were content to manage the order amongst rich notables and to keep up good relations with the ruling classes. Through the prestige of their ancestor, they nevertheless retained an initiatory role until the opening of the 19th century. The historian al-Djābartī [q.v.] mentions several *shaykhs* of the order, his own contemporaries, at the end of the 18th century (*Adhā'ib al-āthār fī tarāḍīm wa 'l-akhbār*, Cairo 1870, i, 364, ii, 213), and Lane makes a brief mention of them (*The manners and customs of the modern Egyptians*, ch. X "Superstitions").

The Sha'rāniyya seem to have lost their identity during the course of the 19th century, since 'Alī Bāshā Mubārak, our main source for Egyptian Ṣūfism in the later 19th century, does not cite any Ṣūfī order bearing that name in his *al-Khūṭat al-tawfīkiyya al-djādida li-Miṣr al-Kāhira*, Cairo 1887-9). Another indication of its disappearance at this time is that the Shādhilī *shaykh* and author Muḥammad b. Khalīl al-Kāwukdī (d. 1305/1888) was the disciple of an 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Sha'rānī, who initiated him into the path of his illustrious and homonymous ancestor, but this 'Abd al-Wahhāb seems to have grown up amongst the Shādhiliyya rather than the Sha'rāniyya (M. Winter, *Society and religion in early Ottoman Egypt. Studies in the writings of 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Sha'rānī*, New Brunswick, N.J. 1982, 70). However, the anniversary of al-Sha'rānī's birth (*maulid*) continued into the 20th century (*ibid.*, 85 n. 111).

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(E. GEOFFROY)

AL-SHARTŪNĪ, SA'ĪD b. 'ABD ALLĀH b. MIKHA'ĪL b. ILYĀS b. YŪSUF AL-KHŪRĪ (1849-1912), linguist and literary figure of the Arab literary Renaissance (*nahḍa* [q.v.]) in the 19th and early 20th centuries, and a good example of the prominent group of vocational intellectuals of this period. Born in Shartūn in Lebanon, he studied under American missionaries before devoting himself to a lifetime of scholarly activities. He taught in Damascus and in the Jesuit schools of Beirut and Cairo, and also worked for many years as a proof reader of Jesuit publications whilst carrying out his intellectual pursuits. Like a number of his contemporaries, he worked for many years as a newspaper editor and contributed articles to respected journals, mainly on linguistic issues. His eclectic interests are reflected further in his involvement in the publication of a number of works on Maronite history. Although most sources concur on the years of his birth and death, variant dates given for the former include 1848 or even 1847, and for the latter as early as 1907.

His principal scholarly interests lay in the fields of *inshā'* [q.v.] "[the art of] composition, style" through which he is generally held to have been a major influence on a new generation of "stylists"; grammar; and lexicography. Some sources maintain that his most enduring contribution to the Arabic linguistic heritage is his dictionary entitled *Akrab al-mawārid fī fūṣḥ al-'arabiyya wa 'l-shawārid* (Beirut 1992, 2 vols., based on ed. Beirut 1889-91, 2 vols., with a supplement in 1893). In this work he sets out to demonstrate the original purity of the Arabic language which, he argues, was being eroded, particularly as a result of the growing influence of foreign languages on Arabic. This was a common, if ultimately unachievable, goal of some scholars of the language at that time who worked



assiduously to prevent it from further degeneration, thus underlining the status of the Arabic language as a form of nationalistic expression. In his dictionary, al-Shartūnī scrutinised closely the content of previous lexicographical works based on the classical sources, claiming that the editors had made errors in their transmission of material from the original manuscripts. In both these regards his scholastic approach to scholarship was no different from the techniques of many of his contemporaries and pre-modern scholars. This work was heavily influenced by the famous dictionary *Muḥīṭ al-muḥīṭ* compiled by his friend Butrus al-Bustānī [q.v.]; e.g. in the simplified presentation of the root entries and the attempts to extract the increasing number of colloquialisms infiltrating the written language. The close friendship between al-Bustānī and al-Shartūnī also manifested itself in the various scholarly and personal disputes that arose between the so-called conservative group of scholars which included al-Shartūnī, al-Bustānī and al-Yāzījī [q.v.], and the reformists such as al-Shidyāk [q.v.]. Al-Shartūnī also produced an edition of a pre-modern lexicographical work by Saʿīd b. Aws Abū Zayd al-Anṣārī (d. 3rd/9th century), *al-Navādir fī l-lughā* (Beirut 1967, repr. with indexes of Beirut 1894 ed.) and a dictionary arranged according to semantic categories entitled *Naḍdat al-yarāʿ fī l-lughā* (Beirut 1905, vol. i only). His legacy of stylistic works is contained in three principal publications, two on *inshāʾ* and one on oratory. The pedagogical intent of these works is unequivocal. His *Ḳ. al-Muʿīn fī shīnʾat al-inshāʾ* (Beirut 1899) is a practical manual for school pupils in which he addresses various aspects of style and composition through a series of chapters in which pupils are required to identify superfluous sentences in a passage or explain underlined words or phrases, for instance. He also gives the outline of a number of scenarios of a practical or moral nature about which the student must write a piece of composition or construct a letter. His other major work on *inshāʾ*, *al-Shihāb al-thāqib fī shīnʾat al-katīb* (Beirut 1884), is an extensive collection of model letters on informal and formal subjects in a very similar style to that of many of the works from the pre-modern epistolary genre. His manual on oratory style entitled *al-Ghuṣn al-raṭīb fī fann al-khatīb* (Beirut 1908) prescribes the rhetorical, stylistic and structural components of an oration based mainly on the principles of those of the pre-modern period. An interesting feature is the description of metalinguistic elements such as the recommended tone of voice, body language and standing position of the orator. He wrote a more general work on eloquence and style entitled *Maṭālīʾ al-adwāʾ fī manāḥid al-kutāb wa l-shuʿarāʾ* (Beirut 1908), using the question-and-answer technique throughout the book. In the introduction, he states that he wrote it mainly as a reaction to the growing negative influence of foreign languages on Arabic, and out of a desire to clarify and simplify the fundamentals of eloquence and good style. His main work on poetry and prose entitled *Ḥadāʾiq al-manthūr wa l-manẓūm* was published in Beirut in 1902. On grammar he also wrote works of a practical nature, such as his unpublished eight-volume work for teachers and students on morphology and syntax, and a gloss on Germānūs Farhāt's [q.v.] *Bahth al-matālib*. But his best known published grammatical tract is his *al-Sahm al-yāʾib fī takhṭīʾat ghunyat al-tālib* (Beirut 1874). This work is a strident refutation of much of al-Shidyāk's *Ghunyat al-tālib* in which al-Shartūnī employs the polemical technique of some of the grammarians from the pre-modern period.

Bibliography: Kahhāla, *Muʿdjam al-muʿallifīn*, Damascus 1961, iv, 226; Y.A. Dāghir, *Maṣādir al-dirāsāt al-adabiyya: al-fikr al-ʿarabī al-hadīth fī siyar al-lāmihi*, Beirut 1955, ii, 482-4; A. Gully, *Arabic linguistic issues and controversies of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries*, in *JSS*, xlii (1997), 113-15; P.D. Tarrāzī, *Taʾrīkh al-shihāfa al-ʿarabiyya*, ii, Beirut 1913, 154-5; Y.I. Sarkis, *Muʿdjam al-matbūʾāt al-ʿarabiyya wa l-muʿarraba*, i, Baghdad 1965, repr. of 1928 Cairo ed., 1112-13; Ziriklī, *al-Aʿlām*, Beirut 1969, iii, 151; R. Kāsim, *Itidjāhāt al-bahth al-lughawī al-hadīth fī l-ʿālam al-ʿarabī*, Beirut 1982, i, 327-8, ii, 217-20; L. Shaykhū, *Taʾrīkh al-ādāb al-ʿarabiyya fī l-rubʾ al-awwal min al-ḳam al-ʿishrin*, Beirut 1926, 67; R. ʿAtīyya, *Saʿīd al-Shartūnī*, in *al-Muqataʾaf*, xli (Nov. 1912), 425-30; Brockelmann, S II, 769.

(A.J. GULLY)

SHATM (A.), an act of insult, vilification, defamation, abuse, or revilement. Other words derived from the Arabic root *sh-t-m* denote mutual vilification (*mushātama*, *tashātum*), a person who vilifies (*shātim*, *shattāma*) or who is vilified (*mashtūm*, *shatīm*) and are often treated as synonymous with corresponding forms of the root *s-b-b* (Lane, iv, 1503).

Shatm and *sabb* as phenomena of ordinary interpersonal relations are described in works of different literary genres. When directed against God, the prophet Muḥammad, other Qurʾānic prophets, Muḥammad's Companions, historical personalities or objects venerated by the Muslim community or by different groups within this community, *shatm* is considered as an act of blasphemy and unbelief (*kufī*) which may entail legal prosecution. Other terms that are used less frequently in order to describe particular acts of blasphemy and that can be treated as synonymous with *shatm* in a broader sense are *laʾn* (cursing, malediction), *taʾn* (accusing, attacking), *idhāʾ* (harming, hurting), or the verb *nāla* with the preposition *min* (to do harm to somebody, to defame).

As a punishable act, religiously motivated insult is a subject of Islamic legal literature. However, there is no occurrence of the term *shatm* or other words that are derived from the root *sh-t-m* in the primary material source of Islamic jurisprudence (*fiqh*), i.e. the Qurʾān. The act of insult is described in the Holy Book by a word derived from the root *s-b-b* in one verse, namely, sūra VI, 108: *wa-lā tasubbū al-ladhīna yadʿūna min dūni Allāhi fa-yasubbū Allāha ʿaduṣṣ bi-ghayri ʿilm* "abuse not those to whom they pray, apart from God, or they will abuse God in revenge without knowledge". Here, the Muslims are told not to abuse the idols that are venerated by the polytheists. Further, it is implied that those who insult God in this manner are acting out of ignorance. In IX, 12, the verb *taʿana* describes revilement of the Muslim faith as an act of the polytheists, and the Muslims are urged to fight their, i.e. the polytheists', leaders. The six canonical *ḥadīth* collections refer to offences of insult and blasphemy described as *shatm* or *sabb* on several occasions. An episode contained in a *ḥadīth* collection that does not belong to the canonical books but is regarded as the literary foundation of one of the Sunnī *madhhab*s sc. Ibn Ḥanbal's (d. 241/855) *Musnad* (Cairo 1913, ii, 436), reports a case in which Abū Bakr, the first caliph and one of Muḥammad's close Companions (*ṣaḥāba*), is insulted by an unidentified person in the presence of the Prophet. Abū Bakr is surprised by the Prophet's behaviour, since Muḥammad fails to defend him against the stranger's abuse and, at one point, appears to be amazed and smiles without any discernible reason. When Abū Bakr begins to return

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the abuse, Muḥammad becomes angry and, eventually, springs to his feet. After the dispute has finished, Abū Bakr asks Muḥammad why he did not support him, but instead became angry when he, Abū Bakr, attempted to defend himself. Muḥammad replies that an angel had been with Abū Bakr replying in the latter's place. But when Abū Bakr returned some of the abominable words to his adversary the devil entered the scene and he, Muḥammad, was unable to remain in a place where the devil is present. This episode from Ibn Ḥanbal's *Musnad*, like other similar passages in the canonical *ḥadīth* collections, suggests that the vilification of the Prophet or his Companions was considered intolerable and therefore forbidden by some of the religious scholars at the time when the respective *ḥadīth* books were compiled. This impression is corroborated by a report describing possible legal consequences of insulting the Prophet Muḥammad (*sabb al-rasūl*) in the 2nd/8th century. According to this report, a certain Muḥammad b. Sa'īd b. Ḥassān al-Urdunnī was executed in 153/770, in all probability because he had supplemented the *ḥadīth* "I am the seal of the prophets; there will not be any Prophet after me" with the phrase "if God does not intend otherwise"—an addition that, apparently, was considered blasphemous by the scholarly and political authorities at that time (J. van Ess, *Theologie und Gesellschaft im 2. und 3. Jahrhundert Hidschra*, Berlin 1991, i, 136-7). However, the extent to which these *ḥadīths* reflect theological disputes about the role of the Prophet and his Companions in the first two centuries of Islam still remains to be analysed in depth.

In any case, early legal literature confirms the assumption that blasphemy against the Prophet Muḥammad was regarded an intolerable act in the 2nd/8th century. The chapter on *al-muḥāraba* of 'Abd Allāh b. Wahb's (d. 197/812) *Muwatta'* contains a paragraph on the blasphemer in which the one who insults (*sabb*) the Prophet Muḥammad is threatened with the death penalty. Ibn Wahb states that Mālik b. Anas (d. 179/795) held the opinion that a blasphemer against Muḥammad, be he Christian or Muslim, must not be granted repentance. In the same passage, the caliph 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Azīz (r. 101-4/717-20) is reported as having stated that the vilification of Muḥammad, but not of any other person, is to be punished (M. Muranyi, *'Abd Allāh b. Wahb (125/743-197/812). Leben und Werk. Al-Muwatta'*. *Kitāb al-muḥāraba*, Wiesbaden 1992, 287-8). However, a 3rd/9th-century legal manual, the *'Uṭbiyya* by the Mālikī *faḳīh* Muḥammad al-'Uṭbī (d. 255/869 [q.v.]), mentions blasphemy against Muḥammad's Companions as a punishable act (*al-'Uṭbiyya*, printed with Ibn Rushd, *al-Bayān wa 'l-taḥṣīl*, Beirut 1986, xvi, 420). Also, an opinion ascribed to the Ḥanafī legist al-Taḥāwī (d. 321/933 [q.v.]) suggests that hatred of the Companions (*bughd al-ṣaḥāba*) indicates unbelief (al-Subkī, *al-Fatāwā*, Beirut n.d., ii, 590).

It has been observed that blasphemy against God, the Prophet Muḥammad, and his Companions, when committed by a Muslim, was discussed by the legal scholars in the context of apostasy (*ridḍa*) and unbelief (*kufṛ*), that is, of two matters that were regarded to warrant capital punishment under certain circumstances. However, in the relevant chapters of the formative texts of the *madhhab*s, insulting the Prophet or the *ṣaḥāba* is not mentioned among the punishable acts that constitute *ridḍa* or *kufṛ*. Neither in Mālik's *Muwatta'*, nor in Sahnūn's (d. 240/854) *Mudawwana*, nor in al-Shāfi'i's (d. 204/820) *al-Umm*, nor in al-Shaybānī's (189/805) *Kitāb al-Aṣl*, is *sabb al-rasūl* or

sabb al-ṣaḥāba listed as an offence tantamount to *ridḍa*. However, from information on legal practice in the 3rd/9th century it may be inferred that the opinion that *sabb al-ṣaḥāba* must entail certain legal consequences was held by particular functionaries. A biographical note on al-Ḥārith b. Miskīn, a Mālikī jurist who took over the judgeship of Egypt in 237/854, informs us that during his tenure capital punishment (*ḥadd*) was enforced against a person who had insulted Muḥammad's wife 'Ā'isha (al-Kindī, *The governors and judges of Egypt or Kitāb el 'Umarā'* (*el Wulāh wa Kitāb el Qudāh of el Kindī*), ed. R. Guest, Leiden 1912, 469-70). The awareness of insulting the Prophet or his Companions as an offence for which a penalty must be established by the law appears to have become stronger about the end of the 3rd/9th and the beginning of the 4th/10th centuries. While al-Muzanī (d. 264/878), like his master al-Shāfi'i, does not mention the blasphemer against God, His Prophet, or the Prophet's Companions among those who apostatise from Islam (*murtadd*), his fellow Shāfi'i, Ibn al-Mundhir (d. 318/930) briefly discusses insult against the Prophet Muḥammad in the chapter on the apostate in his book on consensus, *idjma'*. The Muslim scholars, Ibn al-Mundhir states, are in agreement that the one who insults the Prophet should be put to death (*al-Idjma'*, ed. Fu'ād 'Abd al-Mu'min Aḥmad, Kaṭar 1402/1982, 122). A later work of the Shāfi'i *madhhab*, al-Nawawī's (d. 676/1276) *Minḥādī al-tālibīn*, counts the blasphemer against any Prophet (not only Muḥammad) among the apostates (ed. L.W.C. van den Berg, Batavia 1889-91, iii, 205). Yet al-Nawawī, like some of his later commentators, does not discuss insulting Muḥammad's Companions in the chapter on *ridḍa*. However, the 11th/17th-century *faḳīh* Shihāb al-Dīn al-Kālīyūbī (d. 1069/1658) again explicitly includes insulting the Prophet's Companions in the chapter on *ridḍa*. Shams al-Dīn al-Ramlī (d. 1004/1596) underscores the fact that a person who claims that there are prophets after Muḥammad is classified as *kāfir* (*Nihāyat al-muḥtādī ilā ma'rifa al-Minhādī*, Cairo 1938, vii, 395). But whereas the Shāfi'i *faḳīh* al-Shirbīnī (977/1570) counts those who brand the *ṣaḥāba* as infidels among the unbelievers (*Mughnī al-muḥtādī*, Cairo 1933, ii, 125), al-Ramlī does not mention blasphemy against the *ṣaḥāba* among acts that constitute *kufṛ*. Again, al-Ramlī's 11th/17th-century commentator, Nūr al-Dīn al-Shabrāmallī (d. 1096/1685), treats blasphemy against the Companions as an act of *kufṛ*.

Altogether it may be said that, at the latest since the 7th/13th century, insult against the Prophet(s) is often mentioned among the acts that constitute *kufṛ* in the chapters on apostasy (*ridḍa*) of the Shāfi'i manuals of positive law (*furū'*). Insult against the *ṣaḥāba*, however, is mentioned only occasionally and apparently only in manuals written from the 11th/17th century onwards in the chapters on *ridḍa*. However, the veneration of the *ṣaḥāba* and the inadmissibility of insulting them had become a salient point of *idjma'* among Sunnī jurists by the 8th/14th century. As the majority of the legal manuals quoted above contain a paragraph that declares that the one who violates the consensus of the Muslim community (*idjma' al-umma*) is a *kāfir*, the charge of unbelief can be extended to include those who insult the Prophet's Companions. A reading of historiographical works suggests that this conclusion had an impact also on the relation between Sunnī and Shī'i Muslims. For example, Ibn Kathīr (d. 774/1373) reports in his *al-Bidāya wa 'l-nihāya* (Beirut 1977, xiv, 250) the case of a Shī'i Muslim from the town of Hilla, who in Damascus in 755/1354



insulted some of the Prophet's closest companions like Abū Bakr, 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, and 'Uthmān b. 'Affān as violators of the rights of the Prophet's descendants. When he refused to revoke his blasphemous attacks against these *ṣaḥāba*, his case was presented to the chief judges of the four Sunnī *madhabs* in the *Dār al-sā'ada*. As a result of this session, the blasphemer was sentenced to death by the Mālikī deputy chief judge (*al-nā'ib al-mālikī*) and executed immediately after judgement had been issued. His body was burnt by the plebs of Damascus who later walked through the city showing his head and exclaiming that this would be the punishment of the one who abuses the Companions of the Prophet. A closer look at the religio-political situation of 8th/14th-century Egypt and Syria suggests that insult against the Prophet's Companions or even against the Prophet Muhammad himself, on the part of some Shī'īs, or accusations brought forward by the Sunnīs against alleged Shī'ī blasphemers, are an expression of the strong Shī'ī-Sunnī hostilities at that time.

The offence of insult against the Prophet and his Companions continues to be an issue of legal debate and political discourse in Islamic societies until the present time. The controversy on Salman Rushdie's novel *The Satanic verses* has been the most prominent among a number of cases in which Islamic communities and their leaders have reacted to acts that were conceived of as an insult against Muḥammad and other venerated personalities. As has been shown, the legal foundations for this reaction date back to the 2nd/8th century.

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SHAYKHZĀDE II [see SHĪYKH-ZĀDE. 3].

SHĪR.

5. In Malay and in Indonesian.

In line with their strong preference for theology and Sūfī mysticism over literature and philology, the interest of the Muslims of the Malay-Indonesian world in Arabo-Persian *shīr* has been predominantly drawn by religious poetry as found in the Arabic *qaṣīda* and its derivative verse forms. It was initially mainly in the north Sumatran kingdom of Aceh [see ATJEH]—in the early 17th century the dominant power in the region around the Straits of Malacca and an important centre of Islamic learning—that this religious poetry was closely studied (Braginsky 1996, 372-3) and

it was there that most local forms of Islamic poetry were developed under its influence, subsequently to spread among the Muslim communities of the Archipelago.

A case in point is the genre of Malay poetry, called *nazam* (from the Arabic synonym for *shīr*, *naẓm*). It consists of a long sequence of couplets (*bayt* [q.v.]) comprising two hemistiches, each usually numbering from nine or ten up to twelve syllables, that rhyme with each other on one of the following patterns: (a) *aa, bb, cc...*; (b), *aa, aa, aa...*; (c) *aa, ba, ca...*. Couplets rhyming *ab, ab* are rare. The oldest specimens of *nazam*, teaching good rulership, are found in the *Mirror for Princes*, *Tāḍī al-salāḥīn* (1012/1603-4) by the Acehese 'ālim Bukhārī al-Djawharī (Braginsky 2000, 183-209). Some of these (pattern [a]) are modelled on the Persian *mathnawī* [q.v.], while others (pattern [b]) resemble the poetry of Arabic versified treatises of scholarly or religious content (*urđūza* [see RAḌJAZ]), whereas still others (pattern [c]) imitate the Arabic *qaṣīda* or *ghazal* [q.v.] with its monorhyme (Braginsky 1996, 377-80).

Malay *nazam*, containing religious teachings, praise of the Prophet and suchlike, have subsequently continued to be written. In Malaysia and Indonesia they are sung (*nashīd* [q.v.]) as a monotone or with varied melodies on a variety of occasions, alongside *qaṣīdas* in Arabic: in religious schools as a means of memorising the basic tenets of Islam; at weddings; after the completion of studies of the Qur'ān [see MAWLĪD]; at Mawlūd celebrations, etc. Arabo-Malay or purely Malay *nazam* are also sung at *berdikar* gatherings (Malay, from Arabic *dhikr* [q.v.]) to various melodies and rhythms, accompanied by instrumental music and bodily movements (Harun Mat Piah 1989, 282-309).

In 18th and 19th century Aceh, a genre of Acehese literature called *nalām* was practised, which, like the Malay *nazam*, was probably also created using partly Arabic *urđūza*, partly *qaṣīda* as a model. Although the *nalām*'s verse line seems to be patterned on the Arabic *raḍīaz* and *tawīl* [q.v.] metres, it has remained closely tied to indigenous conventions. According to the demands of its metre (*sanja*, from Arabic *saḡī'* [q.v.]), it usually comprises two hemistiches and numbers sixteen metric units of one to three syllables each, the latter being arranged to form eight feet of a sort. The fourth foot, that is, the last foot of the first hemistich, is connected by a compulsory internal rhyme to the sixth foot, that is, the second foot of the second hemistich, while all lines have an external monorhyme represented by words ending with the vowel *a*. Thus the *rajaṭ* (from the Arabic *raḍīaz*) metre of the *nalām* is an eight-foot modification of the *sanja* metre and its *tawīl* (from the Arabic *tawīl*) metre, one with nine feet (Snouck Hurgronje, ii, 1906, 73-8; Djajadiningrat, ii, 1934, 279, 462, 664, 988).

The most important new genre of poetry to emerge in the early 17th century Malay literature is the *syair* (in the Malay version of the Arabic script, Jawī, this word is usually written *sh-y-ʿ-r* but sometimes *sh-ʿ-r*). The *syair* consists of a chain of quatrains, each of them with monorhyme of the type *aaaa, bbbb, cccc...*. The metre of its lines, which tend to comprise four full words of a length of two to three syllables including their bound morphemes, is based on a relative tendency towards isosyllabism. Each line may contain between nine to twelve syllables, a ten-syllable line being the dominant tendency, and is divided by a caesura into two roughly equal hemistiches that tend to form complete syntactic units (Braginsky 1998, 225-6). The following sample is from the poetry of the

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Acehnese Šūfī mystic Hamza Faṣṣūrī [q.v.] (active ca. 1600), who is now generally accepted to have created the genre: “Baḥr al-Ḥaḥḥ terlalu dalam / ombaknya menjadi ālam / asalnya tiada bersiang malam / di laut itu ālam nin karam // Dengarkan hai anak dagang / lautnya tiada bersurut pasang / muaranya tiada bersawang-sawang / banyaklah orang sana terkarang” (Drewes and Brakel 1986, 134) (“The Sea of the Truth is immensely deep, / The world has sprung from Its waves, / Its beginning is foreign to day and to night, / And the world will sink again in that Sea. / Hear ye, oh wanderer, / There is neither ebb nor flow in that Sea, / You won't see the sky in the mouth of Its rivers, / There many sailors have been stranded on the reefs.”)

There are different opinions on the origin of the *syair* (Teeuw 1966; Al-Attas 1968; Sweeney 1971). According to the argument of Braginsky (1996, 383-7), if it is correct to read a corrupt passage describing the *syair* in Hamza Faṣṣūrī's treatise *Asrār al-ʿarīfīn* (“Secret of the Gnostics”) (Doorenbos 1933, 120-1) as saying that in each of its *bayts* four *saḍīʿ* are used, this indicates that Hamza may well in part have modelled it on a variety of *kašīda* or *ghazal*, widespread in Persian, Ottoman and Urdu Šūfī poetry, which is called *musammat* [q.v.] or *shīʿ-i musaḍḍijaʿ* in Persian poetics (Tabrīzī 1959, 128). Because in the classical *musammat*, as written, for instance, by ʿIrākī and Ḍjāmī [q.v.], a *bayt* is divided into four lines with *saḍīʿ* placed at the end of the first three lines and a monorhyme (*kāfiya* [q.v.]) in the fourth, Hamza here probably meant to say that, differing from the classical *musammat*, he had made use of one and the same *saḍīʿ* in all four lines, doing away with the final monorhyme, a feature that was hard to assimilate in Malay literature. A poem of this type was written by the 11th century Persian poet Manūčīhrī [q.v.] (Browne, *LHP*, ii, 42). Perhaps because the four-line *musammat* was known as *murabbaʿ* (“four-fold”), Hamza's followers called his poems *rubāʿ* (with the same meaning). Consisting of a chain of between thirteen to twenty stanzas and ending with mentioning his name, Hamza's *syairs* resemble the *ghazal* “with *saḍīʿ*”, with its chain of between four and fifteen stanzas, which since the time of ʿAṭṭār (d. ca 627/1230 [q.v.]) ends with the writer's *takhalluṣ* [q.v.] or pen-name.

Hamza's *syairs* lack any traces of Arabo-Persian metrics (*ʿarūd* [q.v.]). They manifest their relation to indigenous Malay poetry, *inter alia* in the use of a specific “interrupted” or “assonanced” rhyme (see the italicised rhyme words in the sample above) and the similarity to the “tirade poem”, a verse form widely used in popular poetry of the Archipelago. Like in Old French and Turkic epic “tirades” or in the *saḍīʿ* of the Kurʿān, the individual verse lines in Malay-Indonesian “tirade poems” are united, by continuous rhyme or assonances, into groups of varying lengths. Therefore Hamza's *syair bayts* may be viewed as a regularisation of the loosely structured “tirade poems” into a chain of quatrains, each having its own continuous rhyme, through adopting features of *ghazal* with the non-classical *shīʿ-i musaḍḍijaʿ* (Braginsky 1998, 229-31).

After Hamza Faṣṣūrī and his followers, such as Hasan Faṣṣūrī and ʿAbd al-Ḍjāmī, had in the 17th century popularised the *syair* as an instrument for Šūfī homiletics and allegory, it spread rapidly through the Archipelago wherever Malay literature was produced. Developing into a poem that could attain a length of thousands of quatrains, by the late 18th and the early 19th centuries it had become a verse form covering

a wide range of topics, as can be gleaned from the catalogues of the collections of Malay manuscripts (Chambert-Loir and Oman Fathurahman 1999). It could now teach Islamic dogma, instruct the reader about how to perform his prayers or admonish him of the terrors that could await him in the grave. It could tell of the lives of Muslim prophets, of historical events such as wars with the Dutch, of fictional loves between princes and princesses in the days of yore or, in parodied romance, between animals or flowers, and it could aim the barb of satire at historical or political events in allegorical animal fables (Braginsky, 1998, 236; Harun Mat Piah 1989, 243-66; Koster 1997).

In the transition of Malay literature to modernity that began to manifest itself in the major colonial cities of the Archipelago between 1850 and 1870, concomitant with the rise of the printing press and the newspaper, the *syair* was enthusiastically taken up by non-Muslim writers as well (ethnic Chinese and Eurasians) and was published in profuse numbers, in lithographs, printed booklets and newspapers. At the same time, it underwent yet another widening of its thematic scope, treating, for instance, sensational events, as it adapted itself to its urban milieu and usage (Harun Mat Piah 1989, 262-4; Lombard-Salmon 1977, *passim*; Salmon 1981, 25-6 and *passim*; Proudfoot 1993).

In the love stories in the early novels of Modern Indonesian and Malay literature written around 1920, *syairs* were inserted at moments of climax, and both literatures used them for lyric (sometimes nationalistic) poetry, in Indonesia until about 1930 and in Malaya until about 1950 (Harun Mat Piah 1989, 260-1; Johan Jaafar *et al.* 1992, i, 67-83, ii, 58-60; Teeuw 1967, 49-51). In the modern poetry of the Malay-Indonesian world, except that of the Sultanate of Brunei (Harun Mat Piah 1989, 258), there is now no longer any place for the *syair*, but its place as an Islamic genre of poetry is still acknowledged; among the Malays, *syairs* continue to be performed at important religious feasts and events in the Islamic lifecycle alongside *kašīdas* in Arabic and *nazam* (Harun Mat Piah 1989, 266-82).

On Java's northern coast and in east Java, in particular in Ponorogo which is well known for its religious schools, a form of Islamic poetry is found called *singir* or *geguritan*, treating themes similar to those of religious *syairs*. To what extent this genre can be related to Arabo-Persian *shīʿr* is still an open question. Like the *syair*, it consists of verse lines of between eight to ten syllables in length. These may be grouped into rhyming couplets or, as in the *syair*, into quatrains, but may also be arranged into groups of variable lengths as in “tirade poems”. The *singir* is performed by singers to the accompaniment of musical instruments (*angklung, terbang*) (Darnawi 1964, 53-4; Pigeaud 1938, 304, 321).

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(V.I. BRAGINSKY and G.L. KOSTER)

SHŪRĀ-YI DEWLET [see MAJLIS AL-SHŪRĀ].

SĪBA, **BILĀD AL-**, a term borrowed from local speech by the French colonial authorities to designate the absence of control by the Sultan of Morocco over a considerable part of his territory at the end of the 19th century. It presupposes a congenital disorder threatening the existence of the "auspicious empire". The origins of the term go back to explorers like Charles de Foucauld, academic professors like Alfred Le Chatelier and Augustin Bernard, and military men like Lyautey, eager to conquer Morocco from the contiguous French territory of Algeria. It forms the concept behind the Comité du Maroc, a lobby operating at a level below the decision makers in Paris with the idea of extending French power over the land, given shape in the Protectorate of 30 March 1912. These experts put together an imagery based on a dichotomy between the Bilād al-siba and the Bilād al-makhzan [see MAKHZAN]. The former was a land outside the authority of the Sultan, hence free from taxes and conscription, whose people lived in an insolent, free fashion impervious to all outside influences. The latter was the land over which government authority levied taxes in an iniquitous fashion and recruited tribal militias, driving rural society into a state of non-submission, *siba*.

Colonial terminology equated the antagonistic dichotomy of the two terms with a semi-racial cleavage, setting the autochthonous Berbers against the Arab invaders, who imposed themselves on a refractory indigenous element. The Berbers lived under customary law, *urf*, whilst the Arabs were subject to the *Shari'a*, an expression of Muslim theocracy and a pliant system under the Sultans' despotism which the Berbers continuously rejected. It was postulated that the Berbers were spirits basically inspired by laicity under their Islamic coating and that they had attained a form of republican local democracy in their strongholds of mountain towns and regions. This vision of

Morocco gave further life to the Kabyle myth so active in the constituting of French Algeria and converged on a policy of separating the Berbers, the "good savages", in their mountain retreats, from the Arabic-speaking peoples of the plains and the great Muslim cities, as illustrated in the famous Berber *dahir* of 1930 [see ZAHIR], which did much to crystallise national sentiment in Morocco.

The Bilād al-siba rightly appeared to post-colonial Moroccan historians as a fantastic intellectual construction meant exclusively to bolster the Berber policy of the French Protectorate. However, the term appears, if only rarely, in the correspondence of the Makhzan in the 19th century, for stigmatising local tribal groups hostile to all the local authorities (*kā'id*, *muqaddim*, *zāwiya* and *kabir* over tribal sections) who tended to interpose themselves between the Makhzan and the segmentary base of society. In fact, the term Bilād al-siba is an ancient one going back to early times, and its usage, current in al-Andalus from the 11th century onwards, became generalised in the vocabulary of Maghribī 'ulamā' from the 15th century onwards for condemning the backward rural areas living in a state close to *djāhiliyya* since they ignored injunctions of the *Shari'a* and transgressed the prescriptions of *fikh*.

These Maghribī scholars were correctly following the original sense of the term *sā'iba*, one which denoted, within a semantic and spatial complex, successively: a beast brought out of the herd for offering to the gods of ancient Arabia; a freed slave, but one foot-loose and without a patron in early Islam; by extension, a woman left to herself, a rebel or a prostitute; the breaking of allegiance to a sovereign and, from that time onwards, the territory where this dissidence was rife, when the term passed from the East to the West via al-Andalus. *Bilād sā'iba* appears, probably for the first time, in a commentary of Mālikī law on Sahnūn's *Mudawwana* by Abū 'Imrān al-Fāsī (d. 430/1039), a scholar of Moroccan origin settled in Kayrawān.

The Term Bilād al-siba was never, however, used by those Maghribīs to whom it applied. Most of these were vacillating and uncontrolled subjects. They were vacillating because they oscillated between rallying to the sovereign and rejecting the central power's local agents, between being dogs and wolves, when they could not be sheepdogs, to use Ernest Gellner's metaphor. They were uncontrolled, as the maxim in the Tunisian *Djerid* says, *lā bayy, lā rayy*. They feared subjection to the central power which would entail their being shorn like sheep by its local agents. This is why, except for some islands in the mountains and along the Sub-Saharan fringes, the Bilād al-siba never corresponded to a fixed territorial entity which could raise up a lasting counter-force able to divide up the area over which three powers claimed control since the 16th century. In a certain way, the Bilād al-siba was everywhere, as appeared from the difficulty of travelling without a safe-conduct negotiated with the tribal peoples. It insinuated itself over almost all the territory through the institution of the *mahalla* [q.v.], a splendour which inspired local riches but also redistributed them, in such a way that all the prince's subjects were in a relationship, more or less asymmetrical according to place and time, with the sovereign and his local representatives. In practice, when it became a concrete entity, the Bilād al-siba was sought after for bringing to heel the Bilād al-makhzan. Some rebellious tribes acted as guard dogs over the tribes which had submitted, showing how far they were



integrated in a unified system personified by a Bey in the Ottoman Maghrib, and by the Sultan, the Commander of the Faithful, in Morocco.

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ŞİHĀFA.

4. Persia.

During the century and a half of its existence, the Iranian press has experienced several periods of expansion and contraction. From 1851 to 1880 the press had only a limited audience, as it was meant only for civil servants. In all, some seven newspapers (*rūznāma-hā*) were published. From 1880 to 1906, the press began publishing for all Persians, although few could afford a newspaper. By the end of the century almost forty newspapers and journals had been published. From 1906 to 1925 the number of newspapers grew enormously and editors were able to influence the course of events in the country. During the period 1925-41, the press was reduced to an instrument in the hands of a strong authoritarian state. The period 1941-53 marked the country's return to a free and expanding press. From 1953 to 1977 the press was basically muzzled; after 1965 it became a cheerleader for the régime. From 1978 to the present the press experienced, first, four years of freedom, followed by the severest censorship it had ever known. Since 1998, however, the press has become more expansive and is trying to become a free agent of change.

The first Persian newspaper, *Akhbār-i Wakāyī*, was published in Muḥarram 1253/April-May 1837 in Tehran (*JRdS*, v [1839], 355-71), but it lasted less than two years. It was only in February 1851 that a new government weekly newspaper, *Wakāyī-i Ittifākiyya*, was published. The stated purpose of the newspaper was to explain government activities. By royal order, all leading government bureaucrats had to subscribe to the newspapers. From 1871, the press was under the control of the newly-created Ministry of the Press with its censorship office. The rationale for censorship was published in issue 522 (22 December 1863) of the government newspaper *Daulat-i Āliya-yi Irān*, sc. to bar publications harmful to infants and contrary to religion. The text was addressed not to readers but to listeners, which confirms what Eichwald noted in 1826, sc. that literature or news was read out loudly for the entire community (E. Eichwald, *Reise auf dem Caspischen Meere und in den Caucasus unternommen in den Jahren 1825-1826*, 2 vols., Stuttgart and Tübingen 1834, i, 384). Given the very low level of literacy (about 5%), this is understandable, and confirms that the actual readership of the newspapers was much larger than the number of subscribers. The "journalists" were civil servants reporting on non-

controversial and approved events (government, religion, foreign, literature, science). After 1880, political reformists started to publish newspapers but to avoid the censors they printed their papers outside Iran. Once published, they smuggled them into Iran. These newspapers published abroad had an enormous influence inside Iran and on the reformist movement.

After 1896 censorship was reduced, although the restrictive press rules (to inhibit things harmful to morality and the state) were repeated in 1901, when the government at the same time banned the importation of all Persian newspapers published abroad. With the establishment of the constitutional government in 1906 [see *DUSTŪR*. iv. Iran] the press was basically free (art. 20 of the 1906 Constitution). In 1907, there were some 84 newspapers, whereas only 40 in all had been published prior to that date. During this period of intermittent press freedom in Iran (1896-1925), political activity merged with journalistic vocation. The various interest groups, which soon developed into parties, defined a number of emerging social themes and political ideas, which they explained and propagated in the editorials of various journals. Thus the often fiery editorial page of most journals became the main battleground for the opposing schools of thought. With the suppression of parliament in 1908, Muḥammad Āli Shāh [*q.v.*] also suppressed the press, and its leading members were imprisoned and some executed. After the overthrow of the Shāh in 1909, the press started a new life. This period was the coming of age of the press, and representatives from left and right of the spectrum were to be found. Until the First World War, a total of 371 newspapers and journals were published. During the First World War the Allies often suppressed the press, because of its wide use of slander and invective. After 1918, the press resurged, but in the early 1920s, government pressure on the media intensified. Riḍā Khān, the Minister of War, had a journalist flogged, while the outspoken poet-journalist 'Ishkī [*q.v.* in Suppl.] was killed in 1924, allegedly by the authorities. One year later, the Pahlavī régime was established, which did not allow any discussion of political subjects, and certainly not criticism of government. The number of newspapers dropped from 150 to 50 between 1925 and 1941. They served to propagate the government's programmes and were censored by the Department of Press and Propaganda prior to publication.

After the fall of Riḍā Shāh [*q.v.*] (1941), the press was controlled by the Allies (1941-6) and by martial law (1941-8), although there was considerable freedom of expression. The Allies, as well as national interest groups, wanted certain positions taken, and thus editorials were again mostly marked by their extremely partisan tones and aggressive styles. Most newspapers were small, limited in circulation, and short-lived. The journalist (*rūznāma-nivīs*, *rūznāma-nigār*) was usually both editor and publisher. The topics were mainly analysis and criticism of personalities in public life, and discussion of contemporary social-economic-political problems. Although nobody wanted censorship or banning of newspapers, both methods were used, for the new 1941 Press Law could not rein in excessive vituperation in the press. However, suppressed papers would often immediately reappear under the name of a legally-licensed other periodical. Attempts to bring about a more responsible press failed, because often financing of papers was provided to attack certain political issues (blackmail of politicians; subsidies from foreign powers). The strongest group was the pro-Soviet Tudeh (*Tūda*) press that formed the Freedom



Front in 1943. There also was a pro-British, nationalist coalition of papers, and some independents. The suppression of separatist movements in Ādharbāydzjān and Kurdistān in 1946 led to a clamp-down on the local language press. This had a negative impact on the journalistic role of Tabriz that had been in the forefront from the beginning.

In the first few years after the fall of Muṣaddik's [q.v.] government (1953), which had widespread press support, press restrictions were mainly imposed through the application of martial law. Later, the responsibility for enforcing censorship was divided between the Ministry of Information and the Ministry of Culture, together with the newly-founded security agency, SAVAK. The usual grounds for suspension were: slander of the monarchy, or of relations of Iran with friendly countries, and inflammatory articles against the government or religion. These were incorporated into the 1955 Press Law. In this period of extended press censorship and government control, the tone and style of editorial writing underwent considerable change towards blandness and conformity to what was tolerated, and often government-designed norms of political, cultural and social expression. In March 1963, the Press Law was amended. It formulated the criteria for persons who could obtain a license to publish and it limited the number of periodicals; the grounds for suppressing newspapers remained the same.

Most papers had serious financial difficulties due to low circulation, except for a few large ones. In 1963, *Kayhān* and *Ittilā'āt* accounted for 65% of newspaper circulation. Five magazines accounted for more than 50% of total magazine circulation. Because of financial pressure (rising cost, falling revenues, competition from radio and TV), newspapers accepted government-written articles. Consequently, the quality of the newspapers was bad, in part because there was a shortage of staff, which was poorly paid. Papers used "scissor editors" to cut articles from other newspapers. Also, they used translators to translate foreign articles, so that there was often more news on foreign countries than on Iran. Specialised publications, such as literary and humorous ones, also depended much on donations and government articles to survive. Hence papers improved their appearance rather than their substance. This in turn led to loss of readership, due to mistrust of government propaganda, irrelevance of foreign news, and the ignoring of what most concerned people's daily lives. The two major dailies, along with some quality periodicals, created and supported a class of professional journalists who challenged the government by focusing on failures and shortcomings in regard to what government had promised to deliver. In response to criticism from the government to encourage better reporting and tell the "truth", the papers reacted by telling the government, as the major newsmakers, to provide more, better, and timely information, to allow better and freer contacts with government agencies, and to respect the letter and spirit of the Press Law.

After the fall of the Pahlavī régime in 1979, more than two hundred periodicals were published whose variety and number were unprecedented in the modern history of Iran. Press freedom was, however, short-lived. Soon the country's ruling clergy ordered the closure of more than twenty publications, and more followed later, despite the 1985 Press Law that banned censorship. Art. 4 defined the press limits, including, slander of the Leader and 'ulamā', inflammatory articles against the government or religion, and reporting on classified information on the military and

parliament. Only two unions are officially recognised, the Islamic Society of Journalists and the Professional Society of Journalists, belonging to hardliners and the Islamic reformist factions respectively. The Iranian press under President Kḥatamī (since 1997) is freer than it has been in many years and political journalism is flourishing. The struggle between the conservatives and those who favour greater press freedom has become a major issue in Iran, resulting in banning of newspapers and jailing of journalists. Following the 1999 student uprising, parliament passed new laws banning any publication other than those specifically sanctioned, holding the licensee, editors, writers and even typists directly responsible for any unauthorised article or publication.

From 1956, a School of Journalism offered a four-year B.A. course. In 1960, an advanced course was added. There were 137 graduates in 1969, when Tehran University announced that it would close the school. The two major dailies also offered courses on journalism in the 1960s. The major papers also started to hire more qualified, academically trained staff. Although the Universities again offer Journalism as a subject for study, its effect is minimal. Since 1966, about 900 people have graduated from journalism courses in Iranian universities, of whom 93% are not working for the press. Although 68% of current journalists have a university education, only 4.6% have received academic education in communications.

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(W. FLOOR)

5. Turkey.

(a) Up to ca. 1960 [see *DJĀRĪDA*. iii].

(b) Since the 1960s.

The 1960s

The military take-over of 27 May 1960 put an end to the period when freedom of the press had been seriously threatened in Turkey due to the increasingly repressive policy of the *Demokrat Parti* [q.v.] (DP). For the most part the Turkish press welcomed the coup and the resultant "Government of National Unity" (*Millî Birlik Hükümeti*). The Constitution of 1961 (articles 22-7) guaranteed freedom of the press, and laws restricting it were abolished. A new press law assured

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the rights of journalists in their working place, much to the chagrin of certain newspaper barons. The restrictive Penal Code remained in force. The "Press Advertising Organisation" (*Basın İlan Kurumu*) was established in 1961 for the purpose of an impartial distribution of advertisements from public institutions and organisations. The Turkish press decided to institute a system of self-control: a code of press ethics (*Basın ahlak yasası*) was signed by all major newspapers.

The principal successor to the DP, the "Justice Party" (*Adalet Partisi*: AP), which won the general elections of 1965 and remained in power until the *muhtıra* of 1971 (see below), remained tolerant towards the press. The leftist press, often supporting the newly-founded "Labour Party of Turkey" (*Türkiye İşçi Partisi*; TIP), flourished during the 1960s in a hitherto unknown way: the weekly *Yön* (1961-7) founded by Doğan Avcıoğlu (1926-83), was one of the most discussed periodicals in Turkey for a while. It was followed by *Ant* (1967-71), and *Devrim* (1969-71) (see on these J.M. Landau, *Radical politics in modern Turkey*, Leiden 1974, 49-87). Among the newly-founded papers of the 1960s, the *Yeni Gazete* (1964-71) was the first daily paper printed in the offset technique. Another new type of paper for Turkey was the tabloid (*bulvar gazetesi*) *Günaydın*, founded in November 1968 by Haldun Simavi. Among its editorialists (*köşe yazarları*) was Aziz Nesin (1916-95) who also edited its weekly humoristic supplement *Ustura*. The rise of the conservative-nationalist paper *Tercüman* (founded in 1955) also began after 1961. *Hürriyet* [see *ĀRİDA*. iii] was the first newspaper whose circulation exceeded one million in the middle of the 1960s (Gevgilili, *Türkiye basını*, 225). Television was introduced in Turkey in 1968, but there was only one black-and-white channel until the mid-1980s.

The 1970s

Increasing violence in the country brought about a second military intervention, through the memorandum (*muhtıra*) issued by the armed forces on 12 March 1971. Martial law was proclaimed in eleven provinces. This intervention did not abolish the parliament, but governments of that period exerted pressure, especially on the leftist press. Journalists were arrested, papers banned and publications forbidden. The 1973 elections paved the way for a return to parliamentary democracy. The work of journalists was then, however, seriously disturbed by something like a civil war which ravaged the country. Numerous journalists, both rightists and leftists, became victims of attempts on their lives. A climax was reached with the assassination of Abdi İpekçi (1929-79), editor of *Milliyet* [see *ĀRİDA*. iii] by Mehmed Ali Ağca (who later attempted to kill Pope John Paul).

Social and political polarisation was also reflected in the media. Apart from the conservative papers *Tercüman*, *Son Havadis*, *Hakikat* (founded in 1970, it changed its name to *Türkiye* in 1971), and *Güneş* (founded in 1975), there were left-wing periodicals like the dailies *Yeni Ortam* (1972-6; close to the *Devrimci İşçiler Sendikaları Konfederasyonu* [DİSK]) and *Politika* (1975-7), whose director Ali İhsan Özgür was assassinated in 1978. A paper close to the AP was *Yeni Asya* (founded in 1970). The Islamist *Millî Selâmet Partisi* (MSP) had the support of the *Millî Gazete* (founded in 1973). The ideas of the neo-fascist *Millî Hareket Partisi* (MHP) were voiced by *Hergün*, *Millet* (1975-86) and *Ortadoğu* (1972), whose director İhsan Darendelioğlu was assassinated in 1979. Several old-established newspapers ceased publication in the 1970s: the mouthpiece of the CHP, *Ulus* (1934; founded in 1920 in

Ankara as *Hâkimîyyet-i millîyye*), ended its existence in July 1971, *Vatan* (1923 [see *ĀRİDA*. iii]), whose orientation had changed several times since 1950, in 1978. Important news magazines of the 1970s were *Yankı* (founded 1971 by the correspondent of *Time*, Mehmet Ali Kışlalı), *7 Gün* and *Toplum*. *Gürü*, founded in 1972, was to become, after *Krokodil* and *Mad*, the third largest satirical paper in the world.

The 1980s

After the third intervention of the military on 12 September 1980 (12 Eylül), all political parties were banned. Printing houses of newspapers were closed down, and four papers (the leftist papers *Demokrat*, *Politika*, *Aydınlık* and *Hergün*, the organ of the MHP) were banned immediately after the *coup*. Between 12 September 1980 and 12 March 1984 publication of eight national papers was suspended seventeen times, for 195 days. In total, 181 journalists and writers were arrested and 82 of them sentenced during the same period (details in *Basın '80-84*, 197-230).

The influence of the military decreased after the general elections of 1983 were won by Turgut Özal's "Motherland Party" (*Anavatan Partisi*; ANAP) with a clear majority. This victory inaugurated a new period of economic liberalisation. The Turkish press had a share in the relatively rapid re-democratisation of the régime and became a significant factor in politics. Most papers were eventually fiercely opposed to the ANAP governments. In the late 1980s, Prime Minister Özal used the control of paper supplies against the hostile press. The freedom of the press continued to be restricted on the basis of the restrictive Constitution passed in 1982 (esp. articles 22, 24-30), the Press Law, the "Law on Harmful Publications", and the Penal Code (esp. articles 312 and 158). A series of government regulations in the spring of 1990 and later the "Law on Terrorism" also brought censorship to the press. In 1984, the "Kurdistan Workers' Party" (PKK), founded in 1978, had started its first action.

A number of papers was founded in the 1980s among which *Dünya* (1981), *Sabah* (1985), *Zaman* (1986; see below) are still published today (2003). The circulation of *Sabah*, founded by the dynamic Dinç Bilgin (b. 1940), publisher of the İzmir-based *Yeni Asır*, exceeded that of *Hürriyet* in 1987. *Akşam*, by then the oldest newspaper of Turkey (founded in 1918 [see *ĀRİDA*. iii]), ceased publication in 1982, *Yeni İstanbul* (founded 1949) in 1986, and *Son Havadis* in 1988. In the second half of the 1980s most papers adopted the editorial system (computer system, first used by *Yeni Asır*). The tabloid *Güneş* (1982-91) gave new impetus to give-away and lottery campaigns in the Turkish press which only *Cumhuriyet* refused to join. There was an explosion of weekly and monthly magazines in the 1980s, including cultural reviews of superior quality. *2000'e Doğru* (1986) was one of the best-known news magazines. A Turkish version of *Playboy* came on the market in 1985. The world of the press was shaken by the Asil Nadir affair in 1989. This Cypriot business man had acquired, thanks to his contacts with government circles, the tabloids *Günaydın* and *Tan*, as well as several magazines, including the news magazine *Nokta* (founded in 1983 with the French *Le Point* as a model).

Most papers had left at that period the Avenue of the Sublime Porte (*Bâbü'lî Caddesi*) in Istanbul, the Turkish Fleet Street. In 1988 a Press Museum (*Basın Müzesi*) was opened in the same area thanks to the Newspapersmen's Association (*Gazeteciler Cemiyeti*).

The 1990s and beyond

The downfall of the ANAP government in 1991



has been in part attributed to the mobilisation of public opinion by the press. Tansu Çiller became the first female prime minister in 1993. The end of Kemalism seemed to have arrived with the general elections of December 1995 when Necmettin Erbakan's Islamist "Welfare Party" (*Refah Partisi*; RP) obtained 21% of the votes. A coalition government, the first Islamist-led government in Republican Turkey, was formed in July 1996. But once more, the military started to play a more active role. An ultimatum issued by the generals in February 1997 to restrict the influence of Islamists compelled the prime minister Erbakan to resign. His downfall was speeded by a sustained campaign in some sections of the press. Subsequently, the country was governed by various coalition governments formed by Islamist and nationalist leaders. The PKK-led Kurdish insurgency came to an end after the capture of Abdullah Öcalan in Kenya in 1999. The country was shaken by a severe economic crisis in 2001. In November 2002, Recep Tayyip Erdoğan won the general election with his moderate Islamist "Justice and Development Party" (*Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi*; AKP).

These developments were also reflected in the Turkish press at the turn of the 21st century with the rise of a "Kurdish" press and a growing importance of Islamic and Islamist papers (see below). Violence against journalists continued in the 1990s. *Cumhuriyet* lost seven of its writers through attacks, the most prominent victim being Uğur Mumcu (1942-93), known for his investigative journalism, who was killed by a car bomb in 1993.

Concentration and monopolisation (*tekelleşme*) became one of the major problems faced by the Turkish press. There was also serious concern about the media moguls', journalists' and columnists' increasingly close relations with the political establishment. Most national newspapers belonged (in 2003) to three important press groups which also controlled the country's largest private TV channels. Traditional ownership had almost disappeared from the media market. *Cumhuriyet* remained the only independent paper. Twelve papers, including the mass circulation papers *Hürriyet*, *Milliyet* and *Radikal* (founded in 1996 and considered by some as the most "Western" paper), and the sports paper *Fanatik*, belong to Aydın Doğan's Doğan Media Group. It is said to control nearly 40% of the country's advertising revenues and 80% of distribution (2003). The *Sabah* group plunged into crisis when its head Dinç Bilgin was jailed in 2001. Thanks to its promotional activities, the paper *Sabah* had reached a circulation of 1.5 million in October 1992. A law (*promosyon yasası*) eventually prohibited in 1997 *promosyon*s except those of cultural value. *Tercüman* ceased publication in 1994, but two papers bearing the same name re-emerged after 2000. The leading news magazines in the 1990s were *Aktüel* (circulation: 40,000), *Tempo* (28,000), *Aksiyon* (18,000) and *Nokta* (3,000).

The "Kurdish" press

The 1990s also saw the emergence of a new type of papers focussing on Kurdish issues which appeared in Istanbul and Ankara, usually in Turkish. All of them were accused of being close to the PKK. The first of them, *Özgür Gündem*, founded in 1992 and banned by the Ankara State Security Court (DGM) in 1994, lost seven of its writers and correspondents and thirteen vendors to killings. It was followed by *Özgür Ülke* (1994-5), whose premises in Istanbul were the target of a devastating bomb attack in December 1994. *Yeni Politika* (13 April-16 August 1995) was one of the most often censored papers in Turkey. Its suc-

cessors (*Demokrasi*, *Ülkede Gündem*, *Özgür Bakış*, 2000'de *Yeni Gündem*) had a similar fate, and functioned usually in a most precarious situation. *Yeniden Özgür Gündem* (founded in September 2002) had a circulation of ca. 10,000 in November 2003. In the 1990s, many Kurdish weekly or monthly magazines also began to appear, including local papers. The Kurdish language paper *Rojname* was soon banned after its first publication in December 1991. In the same year, the prohibition of Kurdish publications had been removed. There is now (2003) a Kurdish-language literary magazine, *Azadiya Welat*, published in Istanbul. However, most papers destined for Kurds from Turkey are published in Western countries known for their large Kurdish immigrant population (e.g. Sweden, etc.). The paper *Özgür Politika* is published in Europe. Kurdish satellite TV and numerous internet sites have created what has been called a "virtual Kurdistan".

Islamic and Islamist press

The spectacular rise of the Islamic and Islamist press dates from the 1980s. Prior to 1980, its percentage in terms of newspapers and periodicals was 7%, in 1993 it had reached 47% (G. Seufert, *Politischer Islam in der Türkei*, Istanbul 1997, 392n.). Many periodicals (including newspapers like *Yeni Asya*, *Türkiye*, *Milli Gazete*) have been associated with religious orders and groups in the Muslim world, the Nakşibandî dervish order and its branches [see NAKŞİBANDIYYA] being particularly influential. *Yeni Şafak* (founded in 1995) was financed by a pious industrialist. The paper *Zaman* (see above), organ of the group around Fethullah Gülen of the *Nurcu* [see NURCULUK], is now (2003) among the top five national daily newspapers in Turkey, with an average circulation of 300,000. It boasts of having been the first Turkish daily newspaper to appear on-line (since 1995). It has bureaux and correspondents in many countries all over the world. It has special international editions for twelve foreign countries, those for the new Turkish Caucasian and Central Asian republics being printed in their own alphabets and languages. *Zaman* also owns the weekly news magazine *Aksiyon*, a children's monthly, a news agency, and the private TV channel *Samanyolu*.

Islamist reviews and magazines include weeklies, numerous monthly magazines (*Sızıntı*, Izmir, published by the *Türkiye Öğretmenler Vakfı*, founded in 1978), and publications for women: *Kadın ve Aile* (founded 1985) was the largest Muslim women's magazine, reputed to have sold 60,000. It was closely associated with that branch of the Nakşibandî order whose major mouthpiece is the magazine *İslâm* (circulation 100,000). *Bizim Aile* (published since 1988) is a spin-off of the magazine *Köprü*, published since 1977 and representing the views of a section of the Nurcu order.

Local newspapers

National newspapers based in Istanbul account for about 90% of total circulation. But there have been registered up to 745 local newspapers published in Turkey, almost half of them being dailies. The circulation figures vary according to the economic development of the region. *Yeni Asır*, published in Izmir (founded in 1924; its predecessor, *Aşır*, was founded in Ottoman Salonika in 1895), remains the biggest newspaper with a regional character (circulation 43,000 in November 2003). The local press has been trying to renew itself technologically in recent years and many papers are produced by printing houses with offset printing facilities.

Turkish papers published in Europe

The first Turkish papers printed in Europe were *Akşam* and *Hürriyet* (Munich 1969). They were followed



by *Tercüman* (1970), *Milliyet* (1972) and the *Millî Gazete* (1973). In the 1980s appeared *Türkiye* (1987), in the 1990s *Zaman* (1990), the weeklies *Cumhuriyet-Hafta* (1993) and *Dünya-Hafta* (1995), *Özgür Politika* (1995), *Sabah* (1996), *Emek* (leftist; 1996), and *Ortadoğu* (1996). *Hürriyet*, *Milliyet*, *Fanatik* and *Hafta Sonu*, all belonging to the Doğan Group, had a circulation of 189,000 (of which *Hürriyet* alone comprised 84,000), i.e. 80% of the Turkish newspapers sold in Europe.

The minority press

The decline of the Greek community in Istanbul from the 1960s onwards was also reflected in the Greek minority papers. *Eleutherê Phônê* and *Empros*, which figure among the signatories of the *Basın ahlâk yasası*, disappeared in 1965. Two Greek dailies still appear in Istanbul for a community of 2,000-3,000 souls: *Απογευματινή/Απογευματίνη* (founded in 1925), which until the death of its founder, Gr. Yaverides, in the 1970s, used to employ some ten journalists; and *Ηχώ/İho* (1977), initially a weekly, which became a daily in 1979 (circulation: about 800 copies).

The Armenian press (for a population estimated at 60,000) counted some ten titles in 2001, including the bulletin of the Saint Saviour (*Sürp Pargış* [Սուրբ Փրկիչ]) Hospital (a monthly founded in 1949), *Kulis* (a literary and artistic bi-monthly founded in 1946 by Agop Ayvaz) ceased publication in 1996. There are two daily papers: *Jamanak* [Համարակ] (founded in 1908, the oldest daily published in Turkey). Its circulation has decreased during the last years, from 15,000 to 1,500. Another daily, *Mamara* (Մարմարա; founded in 1940) has been directed by Robert Haddeler, a writer and critic. It is also published in Armenian but since 2001 it has contained a Turkish supplement. The weekly *Agos* [Աղոս] was founded in 1996; it is published mainly in Turkish (circulation some 5,000). Two journalists of this paper were tried in 1999 because of an article on the *Varlık Vergisi* of 1942.

The once flourishing Jewish press in Judaeo-Spanish and French is now limited to the weekly *Şalom* (founded in 1947). It is, however, published in Turkish, with a few articles written in Judaeo-Spanish. The last Jewish French language daily, the *Journal d'Orient* (founded in 1917 by Albert Carasso), disappeared in 1971.

Whereas attempts to revive the French language press proved little successful, there is one English-language daily paper, *Turkish Daily News* (founded in 1961) published in Ankara. *Dünya* has an English-language daily news page; *Zaman* also has an English on-line edition.

Conclusion

The Turkish printed press has made considerable progress during the last two decades of the 20th century which have witnessed the industrialisation of the media. The number of newspapers with an average daily circulation over 10,000 was 11 in 1983, 14 in 1990 and 32 in 1997. According to August 2003 figures, the average total daily sales of 35 major daily papers was about 4 million. Some 25 of them had their own website in 2004, including several regional papers. The number of magazines has increased with extraordinary speed. Its total number, which was 20 in 1990, reached 110 in 1999 (total circulation around 2,300,000). They include magazines with foreign brand names like *Marie Claire*, *Cosmopolitan*, *Harper's Bazaar*, *Esquire*, *Votre Beauté*, or *National Geographic*. As far as printing techniques are concerned, the Turkish press has attained in most domains European standards.

But some basic issues remain: press readership is still far from assuming European proportions. According

to official sources (*Facts about Turkey*, 412), the average number of newspapers sold to 1,000 persons is 58 (cf. Germany: 314). The habit of reading newspapers regularly has remained the privilege of a relatively small group, around 15% of the population (estimated at 67 million in 2000). The visual media have emerged as the most influential institution shaping public opinion. The number of private TV channels has exceeded twenty within a few years.

In spite of numerous amendments to the restrictive Constitution (the last ones in February 2003), press freedom in Turkey remains limited by various laws and a frequently restrictive interpretation of press freedom and freedom of expression by the judiciary. There is no functioning journalist's trade union. Journalists continue to be arrested and sentenced to prison terms. Leftist, Islamist and pro-Kurdish media are the primary targets. For many modern Turkish writers and intellectuals, criminal prosecution has been an indispensable part of their *curriculum vitae*. But even members of the mainstream media occasionally face legal action, although these papers usually practice a sort of self-censorship and avoid sensitive issues such as criticising the military and high-level corruption.

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SILÂH (A.), masc. and fem. noun according to the lexicographers, standard pl. *asliha*, with *suluḥ*, *sulḥān* and *silāḥāt* also found in the lexica, the general term in Arabic for both offensive weapons and protective armour and equipment. This collective sense of the word is also often included in the general term *'udda*, literally "equipment, gear, tackle". The sense of "weapon" has clearly no connection with that of the common Arabic verb *salaha* "to defecate". Attestations of any parallel form of *silāh* are weak in Old South Arabian. One can only cite Biblical Hebrew *šelaḥ*, of obscure meaning in general but with the meaning of "javelin" or "some sort of weapon that can be carried and thrown" in such contexts as



II Chron. xxiii. 10, Joel ii. 8, etc., and as a possible parallel, despite the phonetic problems, Akk. *šēlu* "to sharpen weapons", *šēlūtu* "dagger blade" (*CAD*, Letter Š, ii, 275).

1. The pre-Islamic period.

The weapons of the pre-Islamic Arabs were essentially the bow, the sword and the spear or lance. Our knowledge of these weapons of theirs is almost entirely a bookish one, and it was from the evidence of pre-Islamic poetry that F.W. Schwarzlose compiled his *Die Waffen der alten Araber aus ihren Dichtern dargestellt* (Leipzig 1886, repr. Hildesheim 1982), a work concerned primarily with the nomenclature of weapons and their component parts.

Fighting was a prominent aspect of desert life, in which tribes often competed over pasture grounds, sought to drive off opponents' herds or were involved in protracted vendettas entailed by the unwritten laws of revenge, retaliation and the exacting of compensation for losses to the tribe's fighting strength [see *DIYA*; *KIṢĀS*; *ṬHA'IR*]. Hence a rich vocabulary evolved for weapons and armour, often descriptive, by metonymy, of some special characteristic ("shining", "incisive") or of some origin, real or supposed ("Indian", "Yemeni", "Khaṭṭī"). This vocabulary naturally attracted the philologists of Islamic times, concerned to elucidate the names of weapons, armour and their synonyms in early poetry. Whence the composition of works with titles like *Kitāb al-Silāḥ*, such titles being attributed to the Baṣran scholar al-Naḍr b. Ṣhumayl (d. 204/820), al-Aṣma'ī, Ibn Durayd [q.v.] and Ṣhamir b. Ḥamdawayh (d. 255/869) (see Schwarzlose, 11 n. 1). Few of these works have survived (Sezgin, *GAS*, viii, 257, lists a fragmentarily surviving *K. al-Silāḥ* by a disciple of al-Aṣma'ī's), but lexicographical and philological studies like al-Tha'alibī's *Fikḥ al-luḡa* and Ibn Siduh's *Mukḥaṣṣaṣ* are rich sources of information on the nomenclature of weapons and their component parts. It is highly improbable that any of these works gave any actual descriptions of weapons or their use—the authors were literary men, who probably never wielded a weapon in anger in their lives, and not practical warriors—and on these points we have virtually no information. It is not till later mediaeval times that practical treatises on the art of war and the use of weapons are known (see below, 2.; *FURŪSIYYA*; *HARB*. 1.). The only direct, contemporary source which might conceivably give us some idea of pre-Islamic weapons lies in possible representations in petroglyphs and similar drawings. There are quite a lot of depictions of warriors wielding lances and bows, and possibly swords, on horseback and on foot, in the Thamudic and Safaitic materials, cf. also the frontispiece photograph of a rock graffito showing an archer, and the drawing of a South Arabian spear, of uncertain age, at p. 65 of R.B. Serjeant, *South Arabian hunt*, London 1976.

The weapon most frequently mentioned in the ancient literary sources is the sword (*saif*), for which special works by the philologists are recorded, e.g. Abū 'Ubayda's *Kitāb al-Sayf* and a work by Abū Ḥatim al-Sidjīstānī, a *Kitāb al-Suyūf wa 'l-rimāḥ* (Schwarzlose, 124 n. 1). These must have been stabbing swords for close, hand-to-hand fighting rather than cavalry swords. There emerges that swords of Indian steel (*hindī*, *muhannad*) were particularly prized; whether the Hind envisaged here relates to the Indian subcontinent or to lands beyond in Southeast Asia, such as Malaya or Sumatra, is unclear, but any such weapons were presumably imported via the Persian Gulf ports. Nearer home, the ancient Arabs prized blades forged

by the smiths of Syria, e.g. of Boṣrā [q.v.] (see below), a land which had access to supplies of iron ore and to wooded terrains for the production of charcoal. On the other hand, it is unlikely that "Yemeni" swords were actually made in Yemen; more probably, blades or complete swords were imported from lands further east to the ports of Hadramawt and Yemen, thus acquiring this territorial name. See in general on swords of this period, Schwarzlose, 124-209.

The spear or lance (*rumḥ*, *'anaza*, *kanāt*, the latter term, originally "bamboo, reed shaft" being used by synecdoche for the whole weapon) was, it seems, included in the work by Abū Ḥatim al-Sidjīstānī on swords and spears mentioned above (see also Schwarzlose, 210 n. 1). It was used as a thrusting weapon in close fighting, but spears which could be thrown at the enemy like javelins (*nayzak* < Pers. *nīza*, *mitrad*, *harba*) are also mentioned, and the designation *mitrad* indicates that such throwing weapons could be used for hunting as well as war. Spears with a bamboo or strong reed shaft (*kanāt*) are often described as *khaṭṭī*, from al-Khaṭṭ [q.v.] in Bahrain or Hadjar, where a certain Samhar is said to have been an expert fashioner of spears, whence *samharī* ones. Whether these shafts were made from the stems of the vegetation growing along the Gulf shores, or were imported from further east, as the term *kanāt al-Hind* implies, is unclear. Various trees are also mentioned as providing wood for spear shafts, such as the *washidj* or ash (?). Spears had a head (*sinān*) and a tapered iron butt at their lower end which could be stuck into the ground when the weapon was not being carried (*zudjīdī*). See, in general, Schwarzlose, 210-45.

The bow and arrow were used by the ancient Arabs, and the sources distinguish "Arab" from "Persian" bows. See further *ḳaws*, and Schwarzlose, 246-319.

As well as all these offensive weapons, there are frequent mentions of protective body armour in the shape of coats of mail (*dir* or *sard*, *zarad*, *muzarrad* < Pers. *zard*, traceable back, according to Fraenkel, *Die aramäischen Fremdwörter im arabischen*, 241-2, to a Persian form preceding MP *zrēh* with a final *d*, Avestan *zrādha*; *sard* appears in Qur'ān, XXXIV, 10/11, in a passage concerning King David's skill as a maker of closely-woven mail, cf. Jeffery, *The foreign vocabulary of the Qur'ān*, Baroda 1938, 169). The manufacture of chain armoured coats must have been basically in the settled fringes around the Arabian peninsula, as the Persian origin of some of its nomenclature shows. Also, Boṣrā in the Hawrān region of southern Syria was in Byzantine times a noted centre for the forging of weapons and the making of armour, and the Byzantine authorities tried on occasion to stop the export of these to the nomads. In *awā'il* [q.v.] lore, the original making of mailed coats is attributed to King David (or, as some Arab commentators on ancient poetry averred, to a celebrated Jewish (?) smith called Dāwūd or to his son, but the identification of the inventor of mailed coats with the Biblical David was already made in pre-Islamic times [see *dāwūd*]). This skill was also attributed to the Tubba' kings of Yemen. See, in general, Schwarzlose, 322-49. Mailed coats were accounted valuable in desert fighting, and it was weapons and coats of mail which the poet and prince of Kinda, Imru' al-Ḳays, allegedly entrusted to the Jewish Arab poet and lord of Taymā' al-Samaw'al b. 'Adiyā [q.v.] and which the latter refused to give up to the Ghassānid king al-Ḥārith b. Djabala.

Iron helmets were termed *bayda*, from their resemblance in shape to an ostrich egg, see Schwarzlose, 349-51, and also *khūdha* < Pers. *khūd*. Although not



mentioned extensively in poetry, which prefers to extol fearless warriors who scorned to protect themselves in battle behind shields, the pre-Islamic Arabs do seem to have employed shields on such occasions (*turs*, *djunna*, *midjann*, *daraka*). Such shields were probably made of hide (as is specifically said of the *daraka*) stretched over a wooden frame, enough to deflect the indifferent weapons of the nomads. See Schwarzklose, 351-6.

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(C.E. BOSWORTH)

2. The Islamic period.

The military technologies of Arabia at the time of the Prophet Muḥammad remain little known, but they were still clearly under strong influence from neighbouring technologically advanced neighbours such as the Byzantine Empire, Sāsānid Persia and India via maritime trade contacts. Not surprisingly, early Byzantine styles dominated in the north and west, Persian in the east and, to a less certain extent, Indian in southern Arabia. Swords and spears remained the favoured weapons, while archery played a minor role and only amongst foot soldiers. Most armour was of mail although leather defences were also widespread, much of this latter probably being manufactured in Yemen (see 1. above). Similarly, the people of prosperous but strife-torn trading regions such as the Ḥijāz appear to have been relatively rich in weaponry.

With the rapid Muslim Arab conquest of vast regions from Central Asia and India to Spain and the Atlantic Ocean, other military techniques began to appear in the arms and armour of Muslim armies during the 8th and 9th centuries. After the establishment of an Islamic "empire", such armies became largely territorial which further encouraged the development of regional styles. Thus Central Asian Turkish military techniques had their first impact in 8th to 9th-century Transoxania and what is now eastern Persia, while Sāsānid Persian military styles remained dominant in western Persia and eastern parts of the Arab world until the 9th-10th centuries. Early Byzantine military styles survived in areas like eastern Anatolia well into the 10th century, and in Syria and Egypt well into the 12th century. Yet the situation was less clear in North Africa and the Iberian peninsula. Here pre-Islamic military techniques had generally been more primitive than those of the conquering Muslim Arabs, despite a residual early Byzantine military heritage.

This is not to say that the Muslim Arabs merely adopted the military styles of those whom they conquered. Nevertheless, the Muslim Arabs' contribution to the development of a specifically Islamic military tradition, and to the history of military technology as a whole, was primarily to open up a vast area to differing military influences. Thus Persian influence was eventually felt in North Africa, Byzantine technology reached Iberia and, above all, the Turkish Central Asian military tradition spread throughout the Middle East. Such Turkish influence also served as a channel whereby Chinese military techniques spread westward and may even have reached the Iberian peninsula, though in a very diluted form.

A truly Islamic tradition of arms, armour and their associated tactics developed rapidly, yet this was neither uniform nor monolithic. Large variations could always be seen between different regions resulting both from local traditions or conditions, and from the recruitment of troops from specific geographical zones which had their own distinctive styles.

In general, however, it could be said that Persian and Turkish influences were the most powerful, whereas

those of the Byzantine or Mediterranean countries were of secondary importance, at least after the first century of Islamic history. Such a pattern persisted until early modern times as peoples and dynasties of essentially Turkish origin rose to political dominance in most of the militarily significant Islamic countries. Only in the late 18th and 19th centuries, with the rise of European military power and its accompanying colonialism, did indigenous or Turkish military practice rapidly give way to a widespread adoption of European weaponry and of the tactics associated with such modern technologies.

Weapons

For Islamic bows and archery, see *ḲAWS*; for fire-arms, see *BĀRŪD*; for siege weaponry, see *ḤIṢĀR*; and see also *ḤAYṢĤ*.

Since ancient and pre-Islamic times the long bamboo-hafted spear or *rumḥ* had been regarded as a typically Arab weapon. It was used on foot, on horseback and when riding camels. In the early Islamic centuries the Arabs were also renowned for their use of a relatively short sword (*saif*). This was probably a broad-bladed weapon reflecting Roman and Byzantine infantry traditions rather than the cavalry traditions of Persia, where long-bladed slashing swords had been widespread for some centuries. Whereas the typical Arab *rumḥ* spear remained in use until modern times, the Arabs' short *saif* was soon replaced by longer-bladed weapons suitable for mounted combat, though these were still largely known as *saif*. Only in southern and eastern Arabia (Yemen, Ḥaḍramawt and 'Umān), and in a few other isolated parts of the Arabian peninsula, did short swords persist along with a tradition of infantry-dominated warfare.

Long, single-edged cavalry swords were already characteristic of Turco-Mongol Central Asia and had appeared in Persia and the Byzantine Empire shortly before the Islamic conquests of the 7th and 8th centuries. Thereafter, they became increasingly popular throughout most of the Islamic world, becoming the dominant cavalry sword by the 15th century although the single-edged sword or sabre never entirely replaced the double-edged weapon. The curved or true sabre spread from Turkish Central Asia into Islamic Persia by the 11th century, or perhaps slightly earlier. Thereafter, in a great variety of forms, it spread throughout most of the Islamic world reaching Granada, the last bastion of Andalusian Islam, by the 15th century. Heavier straight and double-edged weapons were, nevertheless, still used in many parts of the Islamic world in the 19th century, particularly in Islamic sub-Saharan Africa.

Smaller weapons, including those which fell between the categories of sword and dagger, were similarly used in most areas at most times. Here there may have been a greater degree of similarity across the Islamic world, perhaps because a particular type or shape of personal weapon was often worn as a mark of religious or cultural identity. The most obvious example was a heavy dagger or short stabbing sword widely known as a *khandaḡar* (for variations on this and other weapons terminology, see the *Glossary* below). Although the development of the *khandaḡar* drew on many regional traditions and evolved into various shapes of dagger in different parts of the Islamic world, the basic weapon again appears to have been of eastern Iranian or Turkish origin. Other sometimes highly distinctive styles of dagger were limited to smaller areas, generally on the fringes of the Islamic world such as Morocco, the Caucasus and the East Indies. In the latter region, the double-edged *kēris*



dagger or short sword was retained from pre-Islamic times and continued to have an almost magical and pagan significance amongst a population sometimes only superficially converted to Islam.

Other weapons where a distinctly Islamic style developed were war-axes and maces. The latter were occasionally described as a "friendly" weapons, suitable for use during conflicts with fellow-Muslims as a lighter mace, when skilfully used, could incapacitate without killing a foe. Both also involved a large and complex terminology which distinguished between sometimes minor varieties of weapon but which nevertheless remains in part obscure. This terminology, along with surviving weapons and abundant pictorial representations, show that axes ranged from those with large "half-moon" to narrow spiked blades, while maces varied considerably in weight, shape of head, length of haft or handle and in the material from which they were made.

The javelin was widely used during the early period (7th-13th centuries), particularly by Arab and Persian troops, and remained in use by cavalry in most Islamic countries at least until the 15th century, certainly long after the javelin had been abandoned in western Europe. This probably reflected the more mobile and more disciplined character of Islamic armies during the mediaeval period, at least when compared to their European rivals, as well as the lighter styles of armour associated with Islamic tactics. The fact that such an apparently simple weapon as a javelin came in a large variety of sizes, weights and types of blade, along with an equally complex terminology, further illustrates the importance of the javelin in the hands of both foot soldiers and horsemen. It is also worth noting that cavalry training exercises or "games" involving the javelin were not only developed within the Islamic world but were copied by neighbours ranging from Spaniards and Ethiopians to Armenians [see *DIJERD* and *FURŪSĪYYA*].

Armour

Islamic armies have been widely regarded as lightly armoured when compared to their Western European rivals, but this is a misleading over-simplification. The amount of armour available to early mediaeval European forces such as those of the Crusaders has been exaggerated, while that available to Islamic armies from the time of the first conquests onwards has generally been underestimated. Nevertheless, there were wide variations between regions resulting from the differing availability of iron and of wealth to pay for the manufacture or importation of expensive military equipment.

Four types of body armour dominated throughout Islamic military history. These were mail (inter-linked metal rings, usually of iron); lamellar (small scales of iron, bronze, hardened leather or other rigid materials laced to each other but not to a flexible fabric or leather backing); so-called soft-armour of felt, quilted material or flexible buff leather; and a distinctive later form known as mail-and-plate armour. A fifth system of construction has only recently been recognised on the basis of archaeological finds rather than obscure textual references and barely decipherable artistic representations. This is a form of flexible protection consisting of partial hoops of hardened or apparently reconstituted leather which may have been of Central Asian or even Chinese derivation. Hardened and apparently reconstituted leather was also used in the construction of helmets, as shown in written sources such as Marḡī or Murḡā b. 'Alī al-Tarsūsī [see *AL-TARSŪSĪ*] (*Tabṣirat arbāb al-lubāb*, ed. and tr. Cl. Cahen,

Un traité d'armurerie composé pour Saladin, in *BEO*, xii [1948], 103-63), and confirmed by recent though as yet unpublished archaeological finds in Syria. Carbon dating tests on wood and sinew amongst these finds have produced an optimum date at the end of the 12th century, while tests on the leather have produced an optimum date of A.D. 1220. It is however, worth noting that a leather helmet or reinforced hat amongst these Syrian finds incorporates small piece of wood; supposedly "wooden" helmets have been mentioned in previously inexplicable texts.

Full plate armour consisting of large shaped pieces of iron buckled or rivetted together, of the type known in western Europe from the 14th century to early modern times, remained rare though not entirely unknown in the Islamic world. Where they seem to have been occasionally used, as in al-Andalus, southern India and the Philippines, they almost invariably reflected direct Western European military influence.

The body-covering mail hauberk (coat or tunic-like protective garment) generally known as the *dir'*, and the coif (hood) known as the *mighfar*, were by far the most common form of metallic protection throughout the Mediterranean lands, the Middle East and Persia at the time of the Prophet Muḥammad. It subsequently evolved into a greater variety of forms than was seen elsewhere, ranging from ordinary hauberks, given names describing their overall size or shape, to the *kazāghand* which had its own integral padded lining and a decorative outer layer of cloth.

Only in eastern Persia, Afghanistan and Transoxania was lamellar armour common, although it was used in the late Roman Middle East and Sāsānid Persia during earlier centuries and remained known if only occasionally worn. The period from the 8th to 14th centuries saw such lamellar armour spread westwards in the Islamic world along with other essentially Turkish Central Asian military styles. As a result, the lamellar *djavshan* became widespread throughout most Islamic countries (with the possible exception of North Africa and the Iberian peninsula) by the 12th century, and even in the Islamic West, lamellar was known if not popular. Nor was mail armour abandoned in favour of such lamellar protections. Instead, the two were often worn together, usually with the lamellar *djavshan* on top, until the development of mail-and-plate protections combining the advantages of both forms made it unnecessary to wear two armours at once.

Such mail-and-plate armour appeared in a variety of forms and used varied terminology, some of it stemming from earlier and different usage. In the Ottoman Empire, however, such the new style of body protection was often called a *korazin*, from the common European term cuirass and its various Balkan dialect forms. In this mail-and-plate armour, pieces of iron plate of varied shapes and sizes designed to protect different parts of the body were linked by pieces of mail of varying widths depending on the degree of flexibility required. It was an essentially Islamic technological development, perhaps first appearing in 'Irāq or western Persia in the 14th century, from where it spread to become the most typical 15th to 18th-century form of Islamic armour for both men and horses. As such it was characteristic of the late Mamlūk, Ottoman, later Persian and Indo-Muslim states.

So-called soft armours were widespread in early Islamic centuries and seem to have remained popular until the early 14th century, thereafter largely being relegated to the hottest regions such as India and Sudan. These should not, however, be seen only as



a cheap alternative to metallic armour. Rather, they were a light, effective and easily-made protection suitable for the highly mobile cavalry-dominated warfare which characterised Islamic military history. Soft armour could also be combined with other forms of protection. In particular, it was worn beneath or combined with mail protections. Soft armours were also suitable in the hot climates characteristic of some Islamic countries and survived throughout the 19th century in the sub-Saharan Sudan.

The history of Islamic helmets differed from that of Europe, generally reflecting a preference for good visibility and mobility at the cost of less protection. Little is yet known about helmets in the early Islamic period (7th to 9th centuries), but in general they seem to have continued previous Romano-Byzantine and Persian shapes and forms of construction, most of which were based on two pieces joined along a central comb. Unfortunately, the terminology, though varied, cannot usually be identified with one specific form of helmet. In fact, it seems that the naming of helmets, though not entirely interchangeable, was generally unspecific (see the *Glossary* below).

Central Asian types of pointed and segmented helmet were already spreading into the Middle East and eastern Europe before the coming of Islam. Thereafter, such helmets, in which iron segments were rivetted either to each other or to an iron frame, spread throughout the Islamic countries. Meanwhile, advances in metallurgy within Islam during the 8th to 11th centuries, and perhaps even earlier, led to the production of one-piece iron helmets in relatively large numbers long before such defences appeared in Europe or even the Byzantine Empire. By and large, this one-piece form was known as the *bayda*. Helmets were an obvious and popular object on which wealth or prestige could be demonstrated, as a result of which most of the techniques of inlay and surface decoration found in other forms of Islamic metalwork also came to be seen on helmets. Meanwhile, lighter helmets made of leather and, apparently, a form of reconstituted hardened leather were also used in most regions.

Facial and neck protection was provided by mail coifs (hoods) and mail or lamellar aventails (veil-like skirts hanging from the rim of a helmet). Only rarely were rigid metallic face-guards or hinged visors seen on Islamic helmets. Nevertheless, they did appear in Central Asia and Persia during the 12th to 14th centuries and, in a very different form, in the Iberian peninsula around the same period. These exceptions probably reflected special military circumstances, such as an enhanced threat from horse-archery composite bows in the east and from a greater use of hand-held crossbows in Iberia. Elsewhere, flexible mail or lamellar head and neck protections, often pulled across the face to leave only small apertures for the eyes, were considered an adequate defence.

Shields of wood, hardened leather, wickerwork and, in later centuries, of iron were all used by Muslim warriors. Most were round and relatively small, being suitable for light cavalry warfare. Yet there were plenty of other variations. Tall, kite-shaped shields for infantry use were used in the Middle East during the 11th to 13th centuries. These included the flat-based *qian-wiyya* whose name might indicate that it was initially imported from Genoa, since identical flat-based infantry shields or mantlets were also characteristic of Italy though not of other parts of western Europe at this time. Large shields which were apparently mantlets (shields that could be rested on the ground), made of woven reeds, were probably widespread in Arabia

at the time of the Prophet and appear to have continued in use, at least in 'Irāq, until at least the 9th century.

Large and flexible shields made from various animal hides were used in the Sahara, North Africa, Egypt and the Iberian peninsula during the mediaeval period and subsequently developed into the smaller but characteristic kidney-shaped "Moorish" *adarga* of 14th to 17th-century Spain and Portugal (this name stemming from the Ar. *daraka* meaning a small shield, usually of leather). Shields of purely European form were also used by Muslim Andalusian soldiers during periods when western European military fashions dominated, most obviously in the 13th century.

Meanwhile, the typical Turkish *kalkan* shield was constructed from a spiral of cane bound together with cotton or silk thread. This formed an exceptionally light and effective cavalry shield in which the threads gave almost unlimited scope for colour and decoration. Iron shields were known by the 12th century, the earliest known example being of segmented construction, but they only became more widespread and of one-piece construction in the 16th and 17th centuries. These later metal shields had developed in response to guns, as they had in Europe, and were as rapidly abandoned when advances in firearms rendered them redundant.

Armour of a rigid or semi-rigid type for the limbs was used in several Islamic countries long before it became more than a localised novelty in mediaeval Europe. This almost certainly resulted from the importance of close-combat cavalry warfare with swords. Nevertheless, Islamic warriors never took limb defences to the extremes seen in later mediaeval and early modern Europe. Early Islamic arm protections such as the *bāzūband*, *kaff* and *sā'id* (7th to 14th centuries), though never very widespread, followed in the Byzantine and Turco-Persian traditions. The latter consisted of segmented vambraces for the lower arms, probably of iron or bronze but perhaps also of hardened leather, while the upper arms were protected by the sleeves of a mail hauberk or by flaps of lamellar armour attached to the body of a lamellar cuirass. A style of long-hemmed, half-sleeved lamellar cuirass became more widespread after the Mongol invasions of the 13th century but was rarely seen west of Persia. A rigid tube-like iron vambrace for the lower arms, known in Turkish as the *kolciak* or *kulluk*, appeared in the second half of the 13th or early 14th century and was almost certainly of Sino-Mongol origin. Thereafter it remained popular in Central Asia, Persia, Turkey and Mamlūk Egypt.

Leg protections of similar construction to arm defences were known in pre-Islamic Transoxania but seem to have declined in popularity after the coming of Islam. Mail leg protections appeared in Islamic and Byzantine sources in the 11th century, slightly before they did so in western Europe. These and other forms, included those of mail-and-plate construction, reappeared in later years being known as *budluk*, *dizcek*, *kalsāt zarad*, *rānāt ḥadīd* and *sāk al-mūza*. Nevertheless, such items of armour were generally reserved for a small élite of heavily-armoured cavalry.

Horse-armour

It has often been assumed that horse-armour was rare or even unknown in the early Islamic period because it is virtually unknown in art before the 14th century. Documentary sources, however, make it clear that various forms of horse-armour were widespread. The most popular type appears to have been of quilted or padded construction; this being reflected in the



most common Arabic term for horse-armour, *ṭuḡfāf*. Before the late 13th century, references to horse-armours of scale, lamellar or mail are rare, though they can be found.

In most parts of the world, and during most periods, horse-armour was primarily a defence against arrows or other such missiles. Even in these circumstances it was more effective against long-range harassment than close-range shooting. This was clearly true in the Islamic world where, even in the later period (15th to 17th centuries) light horse-armours of quilted, leather, lamellar, mail or mail-and-plate construction were relatively widespread, whereas plated iron horse-armour was virtually unknown. Generally speaking, the construction of horse-armour reflected that used for the rider's own armour, though there tended to be a certain time lag between the introduction of new styles for the rider and for his horse. Thus a rider might wear a mail-and-plate cuirass while riding a horse still protected by hardened leather lamellae.

The chamfron or armour for the animal's head was also used, being known as a *burku'*, *kashka*, *sari* and probably *tishtaniyya*; the variety of terms indicates that this form of protection was more widespread than is sometimes thought. This was probably of hardened leather until plated metal forms, along with fully lamellar horse-armours, became common in the 14th century. Nevertheless, there is some evidence that rigid metal chamfrons were known in Egypt and neighbouring Islamic territories some centuries earlier and that these were almost certainly descended from Roman forms of horse-armour.

A few surviving head protections for camels date from the Ottoman period but these are likely to have been for parade rather than war use. Much elephant-armour was, however, used in war. Naturally, it was most highly developed in Islamic India although war-elephants continued to be used elsewhere in the eastern parts of the Muslim world, as they had been in the pre-Islamic period [see Ftl. 2. As beasts of war]. Little is known about such early Islamic elephant-armour, although enormous circular shields to protect the animal's vulnerable ears do appear in art sources from the 12th or 13th centuries.

Terminology

The terminology of Islamic arms and armour is huge and embraces several languages with the same terms, or minor variations on such terms, being used within several languages. Many other terms are merely descriptive or poetic. The following list includes only the most important.

GLOSSARY

‘abbāsī: curved sword, Mughal India
absad: cheek-piece of helmet, Mughal India
absar: leather shield (Ar. and Pers.)
adaga: small shield or parrying device, Mughal India (from Ar. *daraka*; Indo-Pers.)
‘adī: helmet, probably of riveted plates (Ar.)
afaru: sabre (Berber)
afru: knife, Algeria (Berber)
afru ghanim: lit. “rose petal”; dagger, Morocco (Berber)
aghast: baton or staff, equivalent of Ar. *‘asā* (Kīpčak Tk.)
‘ā’id: central part or grip of spear-shaft (Ar.)
‘alāka: connections of a *ghawshan* cuirass (Ar.)
alla: long spear or javelin with a large blade (Ar.)
‘amūd: heavy form of mace, probably with flanged head (Ar.)
anābīb: spaces between knots of a bamboo spear-shaft (Ar.)

‘anaza: short spear or staff weapon with a large elongated blade (Ar.)
‘anāza: short infantry spear, Mughal India (Indo-Pers.)
anf: nasal of helmet (Ar.)
‘arād: blade of large-bladed spear (Ar.)
‘ard: flat surface of sword-blade (Ar.)
artak-i kājim: horse-armour, Mughal India (Indo-Pers.)
‘asā: club, cudgel, iron staff or light form of mace (Ar.)
ashād: possibly the cheek-pieces of a helmet (Ar.)
ashik: helmet, equivalent of Ar. *khūda* (Kīpčak Tk.)
asl: shaft of spear (Ar.)
asm: staff weapon in which the blade is longer than the haft (Ar.)
‘ayna: individual lamellae or pieces of a lamellar cuirass (Ar.)
‘ayr: central ridge of a spear-blade (Ar.)
badan: short hauberk or shirt of mail, sometimes sleeveless (Ar.)
baghtāk: horse-armour, usually quilted (Pers.)
bakhta-kalaghī, *bagta-kalagī*: feathered helmet crest or plume, Mughal India
bakhtar-zillu: scale or scale-lined armour of Mongol origin, Mughal India
ballam: broad-bladed short spear, Mughal India
balta: war-axe (Kīpčak Tk. and Ar.)
baltū: war-axe, Mughal India
band-mawdī: “watering” pattern on sword-blade (Indo-Pers.)
bank: dagger with extravagantly curved blade (Hindi)
barāchā: spear all of metal, Mughal India
barāsim: horse-armour or caparison (Ar.)
bardhanb: crupper, piece of horse-armour covering the rump or tail (see also *pār dum*) (Ar.-Pers.)
bargustuwān, *barkustuwān*: horse-armour, also elephant armour (Pers.)
bayd: type of sword-blade (Ar.)
bayda: helmet, probably of one-piece construction (Ar.)
bāzūband: vambrace, lower arm protection (Pers.)
bekter: cuirass, usually lamellar (Mongol)
bhala, *bhallā*: spear or cavalry javelin (Indo-Pers.)
bhandju, *bhandjī*: armour with throat-guard, Mughal India
bhudi: combined axe and dagger, Mughal India
bīchak: knife (Kīpčak Tk.)
bīchāk: single-edged dagger, Mughal India
birmāhan, *birmān*: Indian sword-blade (Pers.)
bičhaua: dagger with looped guard on the grip, southern India
bozdaghan: type of mace, lit. “grey falcon” (Tk.)
budluk: thigh defences (Tk.)
bughlutāk: quilted soft armour (Pers.)
bukhtar: body armour of Mongol origin, Mughal India
burku', pl. *barāki'*: chamfron (lit. “veil”; Ar.)
chāhār ā’ina, *chār ā’ina*: lit. “four mirrors”; body armour basically consisting of four linked plates (Pers.)
čakar: throwing disc (Indo-Pers.)
čakli: sheath or scabbard (Pers.)
čakhī: infantry mantlet (Indo-Pers.)
čamchāk: cavalry axe, Mughal India
čaray: single-edge sword or large dagger with a reinforced back, known in Europe as a “Khyber knife”, Mughal India (see also *salawar* and *čura*)
čashmak: face-covering aventail of helmet (Pers.)
čura: single-edge sword or large dagger with a reinforced back, known in Europe as a “Khyber knife”, Mughal India (see also *salawar* and *čaray*)
čīčak: helmet with a neck-guard, pendant ear-pieces and a sliding nasal (Tk.)
čilamum: dagger, Mughal India
čirwā: small shield, Mughal India



- čūb*: staff or club, or shaft of spear or mace (Pers.)
čūbhā-i āhan: probably long form of infantry mace (Pers.)
čūkal: mail hauberk (Tk.)
čukmar, *šukmar*: mace (Kipčak Tk.)
čumuk, *šumuk*: mace (Kipčak Tk.)
dabbūs, *dabbūs*: general term for mace (Ar.)
dabīra: rear part of a helmet, neck-guard or aventail (Ar.)
dahra: curved dagger (Pers.)
daraka: small shield, usually of leather but sometimes of other materials (Ar.)
dās: agricultural implement sometimes used as a weapon (Pers.)
dashna, *dashan*: large dagger (Pers.)
dast: edge of sword-blade (Pers.)
dastānā: vambrace, Mughal India
dawārī: javelin with a long socket to the blade, like Roman *pilum* or Frankish *angon* (Ar.)
deste-čūb: mace (Tk. from Pers.)
dhāl: shield, Mughal India
dhāl-bafīā: shield of folded silk, Mughal India
dhū'āba: decorative tassels on spear or sword, also wrist-strap of sword (Ar.)
dhūbba: point or top part of sword (Ar.)
dhūp: straight sword with enclosed basket-hilt, Mughal India
dir: mail hauberk (Ar.)
dizček: thigh and knee defences (Ott. Tk.)
djaba: fabric-covered mail hauberk; also quilted soft-armour or incorporating such a soft-armour (see also *djūbba*; Tk.)
djāfn: scabbard (Ar.)
djaghnu: axe with narrow blade shaped like a bird's beak, Mughal India
djah: throwing disc (Indo-Pers.)
djāb: form of mace (Pers.)
djamadhar: broad thrusting dagger with a horizontal grip, Mughal India
djanūviyya: kite-shaped infantry shield with flattened base (perhaps originally "from Genoa"; Ar.)
djarid: light cavalry javelin (Ar. "palm branch stripped of its leaves")
djau: shield or mantlet of wood and leather, or perhaps of leather-bound cane (Ar.)
djawshan: lamellar or laminated cuirass (Ar. and Pers.)
djūbā: quilted soft armour, Mughal India (see also *djūbba*)
djūnāwī: style of dagger, Algeria, lit. "Genoese" (Ar.)
djūrab: cover for scabbard and perhaps also sword (Ar.)
djūri: Indian dagger (Ar.)
djūwarak: unclear form of Indian armour (Pers.)
djūbba: large form of quilted soft armour, sometimes incorporating a layer of mail (Ar. and Pers.)
djunna: shield, normally wood (Ar.)
dodhārā: double-edged short-sword or dagger, Mughal India
du-sanga: spear or pike with two-pronged blade (Indo-Pers.)
dubulghā: domed helmet without ear-pieces, Mughal India
dumchī: crupper, armour for rump of horse, Mughal India
dūrbāsh: infantry spear with a doubled-point, later perhaps an infantry axe with half-moon blade (Pers.)
dushnī: small dagger (see *dashna*; Ar.)
falākhān: sling (Pers.)
fatīr: rivets of mail links (Ar.)
firind: "watering" pattern on damascene sword-blade (Ar.)
fukra: groove down sword-blade (Ar.)
furandjīyya, *furaydjīyya*: infantry spear or staff weapon, possibly with European-style flanges or "wings" below the blade (Ar.)
gandja: quillons of Malayan *kēris* dagger (Malay)
gara: knot or lacing or armour (Pers.)
gardanī: gauntlet, Mughal India
gāruva, *gāruwa*: quilted leather soft-armour, or a form of quilted shield or mantlet (Pers.)
ghilāf: scabbard, sheath or container for armour (Ar.)
ghilāla: rivets in construction or armour or weapons (Ar.)
ghimd: scabbard (Ar.)
ghirār: edges of sword-blade (Ar.)
ghughwāh: mail hauberk with integral coif, Mughal India
gīrah kusha: hooked spear (Indo-Pers.)
gīribān: aventail, gorget or tippet (Pers.)
gudhār: infantry javelin or staff-weapon (Pers.)
gundar: javelin (Tk.)
gūpāl: form of mace (Pers.)
guptī kard: small thrusting knife with integral gauntlet, Mughal India
gurz: mace, probably asymmetrical, animal-headed form (Pers.)
gustuwān: horse-armour (see *bargustuwān*; Pers.)
habika: coif or more likely aventail (Ar.)
hadd: point or perhaps edge of sword-blade (Ar.)
hadjaf: shield, usually leather, of Africa and Andalus (Ar.)
hadjārat al-yad: hand-thrown stone (Ar.)
halqa: ring, either as part of a mail hauberk or for other purposes (Ar.)
hamila, *himāla*: baldric, or attachment points on scabbard for a baldric or sword-belt (Ar.)
handjer: dagger (see *khandjar*; Ott. Turk.)
harba: large-bladed infantry spear or staff-weapon (Ar.)
harf: edge of sword-blade (Ar.)
harri: Indian dagger (Ar.)
hashw: padded garment or soft armour (Ar.)
hilya: decorative elements on scabbard and sword (Ar.)
hirāwa: thick haft of a staff weapon or spear (Ar.)
husām: edges of sword-blade (Andalusian Ar.)
kabastin: ball and chain (Urdu)
kabāda: grip or hilt of sword (Pers.)
kabī'a: pommel of sword-hilt (Ar.)
kabūra: heavy form of cuirass (Ar. prob. from Pers.)
kadd: sword-blade (Ar.)
kaddara: straight two-edged sword (Pers.)
kādjām, *kādjūm*, *kādjūn*: horse armour of mail (Pers.)
kaff: gauntlet or extension to a vambrace; also perhaps an upper arm defence attached to body armour (Ar.)
kāfir-kūbat: form of mace (Ar.)
kaḥzana: thick haft of spear or staff weapon (Ar.)
kā'im: hilt of sword (Ar.)
kala': form of straight broad sword-blade (Ar.)
kalāchūr, *kalādjūri*, *kalādjūri*: curved sword or early form of sabre (poss. from Turk. *kilič*; Pers. and Ar.)
kalaghī: helmet-crest, Mughal India
kalb: ring on scabbard to attached baldric or straps to belt (Ar.)
kalb: centre of shield, over the grip (Ar.)
kalḥan: spiral cane shield bound with silk or cotton (Turk.)
kalsāt zarad: mail chausses (Ar.)
kamand: lasso (Pers.)
kamarband: waist and abdomen protecting armour or the central part of a *djawshan* cuirass (Pers.)
kanāt: long spear (Ar.)
kanbūsh: caparison or horse-cloth (Ar.)
kantha-shubha: gorget for neck and throat, Mughal India



- kantup*: one-piece helmet, Mughal India
karācūt: sword associated with Central Asian Turks, probably a corruption of *kalācūr* (Indo-Pers.)
kārd: knife or small dagger (Pers.)
karkal: quilted soft armour or arming coat, later incorporating iron scales or plates (Ar.)
karṭal: Indian curved sword or dagger (Ar.)
karud: straight-bladed narrow-bladed dagger, Mughal India
kārwa: leather mantlet padded with cotton (see also *gārwa*; Indo-Pers.)
kaṣṣika, *kaṣṣikā*: chamfron or the front part of horse-armour, Mughal India
kaskara: Sudanese straight double-edged sword
katāva: Indian sword or large dagger (Pers.)
kaṭīr: rivet-heads of a mail hauberk (Ar.)
kawnas: point or decorated summit of helmet (Ar.)
kazāghand, *kazhāghand*, *kazhāgan*, *kāzighand*: fabric-covered mail hauberk with integral padded lining (Ar. and Pers.)
kazākhand: fabric-covered, mail-lined and padded armour (see also *kazāghand*; Pers.)
kazākhanda: (Tk. from Pers.; see *kazākhand*)
kēris, *kris*: Malay & Indonesian dagger of varied form, usually with its blade expanding towards the grip and with a slightly angled grip (Malay)
kēris suluk: large form of *kēris* for cutting rather than thrusting (Malay)
khafṭān: padded soft armour in the same shape as the similarly named garment (Pers.)
khālāl: lining of fur or skin inside scabbard (Ar.)
khānṭar: large dagger (see *khānjar*; Tk.)
khāndā, *khanda*: broad straight-bladed sword (Indo-Pers.)
khāndjar: large dagger (Pers. and Ar.)
khāpwa: double-curved dagger, Mughal India
khārātagin: unclear form of infantry armour also protecting the legs (Pers.)
khātangu dehel: padded or felt soft armour, later also lined with scales or plates (Mongol)
khāṭil: longest form of Arab spear (Ar.)
khayḍā'a: heavy form of helmet, possibly local form of the European Great Helm (Andalusian Ar.)
khendjēr: large dagger (from Ar. *khāndjar*; Berber)
khirā: small round shield, Mughal India
khīrs: short infantry spear (Andalusian Ar.)
khīsh: javelin (Ar. and Pers.)
khūd, *khūd*, *khūdh*, *khūdhā*: helmet, usually of segmented construction; can also be made of hardened leather segments (Pers. and Ar.)
khūdāshikan: mace, lit. "helmet breaker" (Pers.)
khumm ghīshān: false sleeve protecting the upper arm (Ar.)
khurz: mace (see *gurz*; Ar.)
khuyagh: lamellar cuirass (Mongol)
kūlīc: sword, usually a curved sabre (Tk.)
kīn: scabbard (Tk.)
kindjal: broad double-edged dagger, originally from Caucasus
kirāb: sheath of dagger (Ar.)
kolāak: vambrace (Ott. Turk.)
konpat: mace with flower-shaped head, India
korazīn: cuirass or mail-and-plate construction, Ottoman (Turk. from Latin)
kris: (see *kēris*)
kubāc: lining or skull-cap of a helmet, or an arming cap (Ar.)
kūbadj: shield-boss (Ar.)
kulāh: helmet (Pers.)
kulāh-zirih: mail coif or helmet of mail-and-plate (Pers.)
kulluk: arm protection (Tk.)
kummiya: sabre or curved dagger (Berber)
kuṭṭāriyya: relatively short cavalry spear for thrusting only (from Greek *Kontarion*; Ar.)
kūpal: mace (see *gūpāl*; Pers.)
kurūn: edges of spear-blade (Ar.)
kurz: mace (see *gurz*; Pers.)
kusha: belt for sword and archery equipment (Tk.)
lakhḥī: form of mace (see *latt*; Pers.)
lamṭ: Berber and Saharan large leather shield (Ar.)
latt: mace with elongated head (Ar.)
liṭhām: aventail also covering the throat, lit. "veil" (Ar.)
lkummiyt: sabre or curved dagger (Berber)
maṣāṭik: tassels on sword (Ar.)
mābid: grip of sword-hilt, probably corruption of *mīkbād* (Ar.)
madās: Berber javelin (Andalusian Ar.)
mādī, *mādiya*: swords (Ar.)
maḍjinn, *maḍjann*: shield (see *ḍjunna*; Ar.)
maḍya: knife or dagger used by Europeans (Ar.)
maḥwar: nail fixing blade to haft of spear (Ar.)
maḥmūs: short cavalry spear (Ar.)
makk: short infantry spear or javelin (Pers.)
mamarr al-watar: horizontal lacing of a lamellar cuirass (Ar.)
manābīdh: individual links of a mail hauberk (Ar.)
manāṭik: sword-belt (Ar.)
marbū'a: short spear (poss. from Greek *riptaria*; Ar.)
marḍ gīr: spear with a hook beneath the blade (Indo-Pers.)
maṣṣayfī: early Arabian sword, largely in poetic usage (Ar.)
masrūda, *misrūda*: possibly the scales of a coat-of-plates (Ar.)
mighfar: hood or coif, usually of mail, to protect the head; later sometimes referring to the mail aventail attached to a helmet (Ar.)
mighfer: helmet (Ott. Turk. from Ar.)
mīkbād: hilt or grip of sword (Ar.)
mīkḍab: curved or single-edged sword (Ar.)
mīklā': sling (Ar.)
mīkrā'a: club or cudgel (Ar.)
mirkiḥ: foot or shoe of spear-shaft (Ar.)
mīrzaba: foot or shoe of spear-shaft (Ar.)
mīsmār: nail or rivet attaching hilt to tang of sword (Ar.)
missyuka: form of helmet largely consisting of mail with a small skull-top, mostly used in the Caucasus (from Tk.)
miṭrad, *miṭrād*: short hunting spear, javelin or staff weapon, later used as a standard (Ar.)
miyān: sheath or strap to hold mace (Pers.)
mīzrāk: javelin with armour piercing blade (Ar.)
mudākhala: possibly a scale armour (Ar.)
mudjallida: protective leather costume worn by fire-troops (Ar.)
muḥaddab: curved or single-edged sword (Ar.)
murhafa: slender sword-blade (Andalusian Ar.)
murrāna: infantry spear with flexible wooden haft (Ar.)
mustawfiya: long hafted mace, probably ceremonial (Ar.)
muza-i āhanī: iron leg armour, Mughal India (Pers.)
nācakh: war-axe, perhaps with half-moon blade and often with a hammer at the back (Pers.)
nādīagh: war-axe (see *nācakh*; Tk.)
nāḍikh: war-axe (see *nācakh*; Ar.)
nahd: shield-boss or nails to hold grip, North Africa (Ar.)
na'l, *na'la*: chape of scabbard (Ar.)
naṣl: blade of Indian or Yemeni sword (Ar.)
nawk: point of spear-blade (Pers.)
nayzak: short spear with a pointed foot (Ar.)
nazhak: war-axe, equivalent of Arabic *ṭabar* (Kīpčak Tk.)
nīḍād: scabbard-mounts for rings to baldric or sword-belt (Ar.)



- nikāb*: moveable nasal or visor of helmet (Tk. from Ar.)
- nīm nīza*: short infantry spear, lit. "half spear" (Pers.)
- nīm dīā*: short sword or large dagger (from Persian *nīmā*; Ar.)
- nīmshā*: Moroccan short sabre (from Persian *nīmā*; Ar.)
- nīshāb*: grip of a dagger-hilt (Ar.)
- nīyām*: scabbard (Pers.)
- nīza*: spear (Pers.)
- nīzayī mard-gīr*: spear with a curved blade or incorporating a hook, of Mongol-Chinese origin (Pers.)
- pharī*: shield of cane or bamboo, Mughal India (see also *phari*)
- pākhār*, *pākhār*: elephant armour, Mughal India
- palārak*: sabre or large dagger of damascene steel (Pers.)
- pār dum*: crupper, piece of horse-armour covering the rump or tail (Pers.)
- parālak*: sword of damascene steel (from Pers. *palārak*; Tk.)
- parand*: glittering sword-blade (Pers.)
- pari magas*: sword, largely poetic (Pers.)
- payvand*: fastenings of a *kamarband* cuirass or armoured girdle (Pers.)
- pēdang*: early form of Malay sword (Malay)
- peshkabz*: slender dagger, Mughal India
- phari*: Indian version of the Turkish *kaḷkan* spiral cane shield bound with silk or cotton
- piāzi*: ball attached to shaft by leather strap (Urdu)
- pīl kash*, *bīl kash*: short infantry spear or staff weapon, apparently for use against elephants (Indo-Pers.)
- purda*: aventail, Mughal India
- rabā'ūth*: Bedouin Arab light javelins (prob. from Greek *riptaria* via Syriac; Ar.)
- rabi'a*: local form of helmet (Andalusian Ar.)
- rāg*, *rāk*: leg armour of mail-and-plate, Mughal India
- rānāt hadīd*: cuisses, probably of mail (Ar.)
- rasā'īs*: ends of baldric, perhaps in form of knots to attach to scabbard (Ar.)
- rī'ās*: entire sword-hilt (Ar.)
- rumh*: spear or lance (Ar.)
- ṣabarbara*: long hafted infantry staff weapon or heavy javelin (Ar.)
- sābigh*, *sābigha*: long-hemmed, long-sleeved form of mail hauberk, also lower part or hem of a coif (Ar.)
- sābirīyya*: long style of mail hauberk (Ar.)
- ṣaffa*: sword-blade from India (Ar.)
- ṣaffha*, *ṣaffha*: broad sword-blade (Ar.)
- ṣaffha*: individual lamellae of a lamellar cuirass (Ar.)
- sā'id*: vambrace, lower arm protection (Ar.)
- sāk*, *sāk al-mūza*: leg protections (Ar.)
- sakī*: "watering" pattern on damascene sword-blade (Ar.)
- salawar*: single-edge sword or large dagger with a reinforced back, known in Europe as a "Khyber knife", Mughal India (see also *ṣaray* and *ḍura*)
- sallārī*: quilted soft armour with short sleeves (Ar.)
- ṣamṣān*: broad sword-blade with fuller groove or grooves (Ar.)
- sanbuk*: edge of sword-blade (Andalusian Ar.)
- sang*: short cavalry spear (Indo-Pers.)
- sanglakhi*: knobbed mace, India
- sannāha*: body armour, Mughal India
- sar*: collar of an armour or military garment, also part of sword blade beneath quillons, or point or summit of helmet (Pers.)
- sār*, *sārī*: mace or club (Pers.)
- sard*: individual ring of an armour of mail construction (Ar.)
- sarī*: form of chamfron (Ar.)
- sayāl*: part of sword-hilt enclosing the tang (Ar.)
- sayf*: sword (Ar.)
- saynṭhi*: javelin or short spear (Indo-Pers.)
- sbula*: slender dagger (Berber)
- shabb*: iron foot of spear (Ar.)
- shafra*: edge of sword-blade (Ar.)
- shahadast*: early Yemeni sword, perhaps single-edged (Ar.)
- shā'ira*: peg or rivet fastening sword-hilt to tang of blade (Ar.)
- shalil*: arming coat or soft armour worn beneath a mail hauberk (Ar.)
- shamshīr*: sword (Pers.)
- shārbān*: quillons (Ar.)
- shārib*: lockset around open end of scabbard (Ar.)
- shashbur*, *shishpar*: flanged made (Indo-Pers.)
- shaska*: Caucasian sabre without quillons
- shathab*: fuller groove down sword-blade (Ar.)
- shil*: barbed light javelin (Indo-Pers.)
- shīrāstrāna*: helmet, Mughal India
- shūshak*: large lute-shaped shield used in sieges (Pers.)
- sikḥ*: dagger (Ar.)
- sikkīn*, *sikkīna*: knife or small dagger (Ar.)
- sīlān*: tang of sword (Ar.)
- sinān*: spear blade or point (Ar.)
- sinkh*: tang of sword (Ar.)
- sīpar*: shield (Pers.)
- sīpar-i farākh*: infantry shield or mantlet (Pers.)
- sirash*: aventail (Pers.)
- sīrbāl*: large form of cloth-covered or lined mail hauberk with a raised collar (Ar.)
- siyābiḥa*: form of cavalry war-axe made by the Armenian people of Siyāwurdīya or Sevordik' (Ar.)
- sosum patta*: form of sword (Indo-Pers.)
- sunbula*: form of sword (Andalusian Ar.)
- sundang*: large sword (Malay)
- sūngi*, *sūngū*: spear (Kīpčak Tk.)
- sunu*: spear (Tk.)
- ṣutūn*: iron staff (Pers.)
- ta'ālīk*: suspension straps from belt to scabbard, or perhaps tassels of a cuirass (Ar.)
- tabar zaghno*: double-headed axe or with a pointed blade on the back, India
- tabar*: war-axe (Pers. and Ar.)
- tabarzin*: cavalry axe; lit. "saddle-axe" (Pers. and Ar.)
- tafrat mekkum*: small sabre or cutlass (Berber)
- tafrut*, *tafrut*: general term for bladed weapon, Morocco, or working knife, Algeria (Berber)
- tāk*: ring at end of baldric to attach scabbard (Ar.)
- taḳallada*: style of carrying sword from baldric (Ar.)
- taḳouba*: straight sword of Saharan Tuareg (Berber)
- tāla*: shield of wood or leather, Mughal India
- talā*: clothing covered, lined or impregnated with fire-resistant chemicals, worn by fire-troops (Ar.)
- tālamūla*: wooden shield, Mughal India
- ta'lib*: part of spear-shaft entering socket of blade (Ar.)
- talwar*: form of sword (Indo-Pers.)
- tāmūr kūmlāk*: mail armour, lit. "iron clothes" (Kīpčak Tk.)
- tannūr*, *tanūrigh*: early form of large cuirass, possibly of scales and associated with the Sāsānīd period (Pers.)
- tanutrāna*, *tanutra*: body armour, Mughal India
- taraf*: point of spear (Ar.)
- tarā'ik*: segments of a segmented helmet (Ar.)
- tarangala*: axe with a spike on top and a hammer at the back, India
- tarangar*: multi-pronged infantry spear (Indo-Pers.)
- targ* (see *tark*; Pers.)
- tarīk*, *tarīka*: rounded helmet, possibly fluted (Ar.)
- tārīka*: tall or kite-shaped shield with pointed base (Ar.)
- tark*: helmet (Pers.)
- tasbult*: dagger (Berber)
- teber*: war-axe (Ott. Tk., see *tabar*)



teneke: individual lamellae of a lamellar cuirass (Tk.)
thafrut: sabre, Morocco (Berber)
thakad: soft armour quilted with camel hair (Ar.)
tha'lab: part of spear-shaft entering socket of blade (see *ta'lib*; Ar.)
tiḡfāf: horse-armour of quilted material or felt (Ar.)
tifrāt: knife or small-sword (Berber)
tiḡh: sword-blade (Pers.)
tilwā: cavalry shield, Mughal India
tūr-i andāzān: light infantry javelins (Pers.)
tirfil: sheath or holder for mace (Tk.)
tiḡha: long-hafted battle axe or halberd (Pers. and Ar.)
tiḡhtanyya: probably chamfron, armour for horse's head (Ar. from Latin)
tūra: wooden mantlet, Mughal India
turs: shield (Ar.)
ukkāz: Berber infantry mace (Ar.)
ūrā, pl. of *ūrwa*: loops or holes in the rim of a helmet by which it is attached to an arming cap or an aventail (Ar.)
valahkānta: bamboo or leather shield, Mughal India
varman: mail hauberk or body armour, Mughal India
wadaf: Berber sling (Ar.)
wahak: lasso (Ar.)
yāfūr, *yāfūr*: slender thrusting dagger, Berber (prob. from Berber *tāfūr*; Ar.)
yakbandi: sword-belt, Mughal India
yataḡhān, *yataḡhan*: reverse-curved short sword (Ott. Tk.)
yazani: early Southern Arabian spear or javelin (Ar.)
zaghāl: axe with a pointed rather than curved blade, India
zāhika: local form of helmet (Andalusian Ar.)
zarad: mail armour in general (Ar.)
zaradīyya: mail coif or helmet largely of mail construction (Pers.; see also *zardīyya*)
zarāfayn: rings to attach scabbard to baldric (Ar.)
zardīyya: mail hauberk or layer of mail forming part of an armour (Ar.)
zārik: javelin (see *mizrāk*; Ar.)
zvh gömek: mail-and-plate cuirass (Ott. Tk.)
zirih: mail hauberk or mail armour in general (Pers.)
zuba: edge of sword-blade (Ar.)
zūbin, *zūḡin*, *zūḡin*: heavy javelin with a pointed foot or second blade (Pers.)
zudjidi: iron foot of spear (Ar.)

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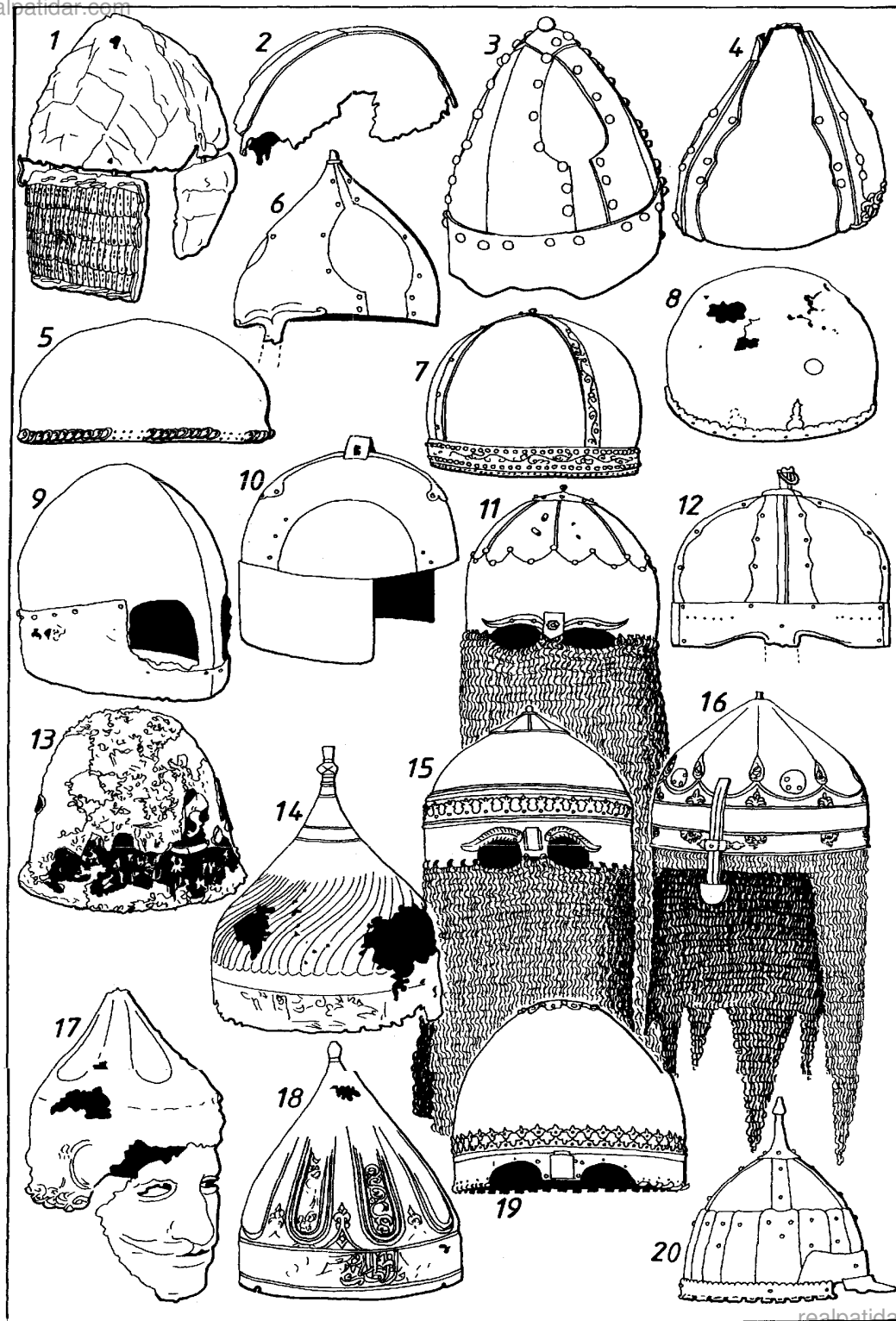
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see captions pp. 745-6



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Captions

1. A hardened crocodile-skin helmet with an iron lamellar neck-guard and one remaining crocodile-skin cheek-piece; said to be from Wādī Garāra east of Kalabsha in Nubia. Although this helmet is sometimes considered to be from the "Roman" era, the presence of a neck-guard made of iron lamellae over camel skin could indicate a later origin, perhaps from the 5th to 8th centuries. Until the helmet is carbon-dated, the question remains unresolved; meanwhile, the helmet itself is an interesting example of non-metallic Middle Eastern military technology. (Staatliche Museen zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Antikensammlung, inv. nr. 30882, Germany)

2. A very corroded iron helmet made of two pieces joined beneath a flat comb, from Ḥadīṭha on the eastern shore of the Dead Sea, Jordan. This typical late Roman helmet is generally considered to date from the 4th or 5th centuries, though the history of Ḥadīṭha as a Romano-Byzantine military outpost could make a late 6th to mid-7th century date more likely. This helmet was also found in conjunction with a dagger or short-sword identical to one found in Pella [see FAHL] and undoubtedly dating from the mid-8th century. Comparable helmets continued in use elsewhere in the Byzantine Empire and parts of Western Europe at least until the 8th century, and are likely to have similarly continued in use in the early Islamic Middle East. (Castle Museum, Karak, Jordan)

3. An iron and bronze helmet excavated at Nineveh in northern Irāk. It is a late and undecorated version of the so-called Parthian Cap style characteristic of Sāsānid troops. The style and context suggest that this helmet dated from the very end of the Sāsānid Empire in the early 7th century, though some pictorial evidence from the first century of Islamic civilisation indicates that comparable helmets continued in use for a century after the coming of Islam. (British Museum, inv. 22497, London, England)

4. A second iron helmet found at Nineveh is in a completely different *Spangenhelm* style stemming from Central Asian military techniques. It also retains a fragment of its mail aventail. This helmet represents a major technological shift which would also be seen in much of Europe. It is again assumed to date from the very end of the Sāsānid period, but is just as likely to have been made during the first century of Islamic rule. (British Museum, inv. 22495, London, England)

5. A well-preserved iron helmet in a version of the *Spangenhelm* form of construction in which the "frame-plates" are actually broader than the "infill-plates". It probably dates from the 8th or 9th centuries and was found at Stary Oskol, near Voronezh in Russia. Yet it was probably imported from Islamic Persia or Transoxania, where identical helmets are shown on fragmentary wall-paintings dating from the 8th to 10th centuries. (State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg, Russia)

6. The earliest known helmet forged from a single piece of iron is this low-domed protection with a row of iron rings. These were probably the attachment for a lamellar or mail aventail rather than being the uppermost row of mail links. It was found in the

early 8th century stratum in a ruined temple at Waraḡhsar near Samarkand in Uzbekistan. Whether such advanced metallurgy originated in Transoxania, the Islamic Middle East or reflected Chinese influence remains unknown, but it is interesting to note that one contemporary Arabic chronicler differentiated between enemies "wearing round helmets" and those "wearing pointed helmets" on the north-eastern frontier of the Islamic world. (From a drawing by the archaeologist, Masud Samibayev; present whereabouts unknown)

7. A much better-known one-piece iron helmet came from Chamosen in Switzerland and dates from the 9th or 10th century. It is believed to be of Arab-Islamic origin and, beneath its purely decorative "frame-straps" and more functional brow-band, this helmet has essentially the same narrowing around its rim seen on the earlier one-piece helmet from Waraḡhsar. (Schweizerisches Landesmuseum, Zürich, Switzerland)

8. A third one-piece iron helmet was found in Tunisia. Though provisionally dated to the Ḥafṣid period (13th to 16th centuries), it has a virtually identical outline to the helmet from Chamosen. As such, it might have been made as early as the 10th century. (Museum of Islamic Studies, Raḡḡāda, Tunisia)

9. Another very distinctive form of iron helmet, of which this appears to be the only surviving example, appears in Christian Iberian art from the 12th to early 14th centuries. It is generally worn by "evil" figures which might indicate that it was originally associated with Muslim troops from al-Andalus. This style of helmet may, indeed, have originated in the Islamic south of the Iberian peninsula. (W. Scollard private coll., Los Angeles, USA)

10. This apparently unique helmet is so unusual that it might initially be dismissed as a fake, except that a very similar form of helmet is illustrated in a Moroccan manuscript dating from 621/1224. If it is genuine, then it could be a very late development of the Roman two-piece helmet seen in figure 2. (From a drawing by Dr. Michael Brett, made in the local archaeological museum at Ḳayrawān in the 1970s; present whereabouts unknown)

11. One of two very similar late 13th or early 14th century Turkish helmets, still with their long neck and shoulder covering mail aventails. This one has a bowl either strengthened by widely spaced "ribs" or made from plates joined by "rolled joints". The other has a one-piece bowl, though both are characterised by exceptionally deep brow-bands and decorative eyebrows. (Askeri Müzesi store, Istanbul, Turkey)

12. A simple *Spangenhelm* helmet from southern Persia. It was found with the remains of a lamellar cuirass and perhaps a lamellar aventail to be fastened to the rim of this helmet. The ring on the finial suggests that it dates from after the Mongol conquest, as this was a feature of perhaps Chinese origin which was introduced to many areas by the Mongols. The helmet probably dates from the later 13th or early 14th centuries. (After a drawing by V.V. Ovsyannikov; present whereabouts unknown)

13. A damaged but still recognisable lacquered leather or rawhide helmet, lined with small blocks of wood judging by a second fragmentary example, which came from the Euphrates region of northeastern Syria. It was decorated with black and red lacquer (shown here in black) which included a heraldic lion on one side. This heraldic cartouche, plus inscriptions on other pieces of equipment from the same location, indicates that they were of Mamlūk origin, the optimum



radiocarbon dating being A.D. 1285. (Private collection, London, England)

14. One-piece helmet with an inscription dedicated to the second Ottoman ruler Orkhan Ghāzī; mid-14th century. It is the earliest known example of the so-called "turban helmet" style which probably originated in Anatolia or western Persia and would become particularly associated with Ottoman armies of the 15th century. (Askeri Müzesi, Istanbul, Turkey)

15. A magnificent though extremely practical late 13th or early 14th century iron helmet with an original mail aventail to protect the wearer's neck and shoulders. By this period, armourers in the central Islamic lands, including Persia and the expanding Ottoman Empire, had reached their metallurgical and stylistic pinnacle. Their products were also very different to those made by European armourers to the west and Chinese armourers to the east. (State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg, Russia)

16. At the end of the mediaeval period, a very distinctive style of helmet appeared in the Islamic Middle East, thereafter being almost universal in Persian speaking regions, Islamic India and parts of the eastern Arab world. The example shown here may be one of the earliest surviving examples since the dedicatory inscription (X) names the early 8th/14th-century Mamlūk ruler Nāṣir al-Dīn Muḥammad b. Kalāwūn. It is, however, possible that this dedication was a later anachronism. (Musée de la Porte de Hal, Brussels)

17. As Islam spread across the Eurasian steppes, a number of very distinctive forms of helmet appeared, particularly in the western steppes where Turkish, Mongol, Persian and perhaps also Byzantine influences combined. One result was a form of tall one-piece iron helmet based upon the segmented *Spangenhelms* of earlier years, but incorporating an anthropomorphic visor which seemed to reflect European artistic values. These helmets are generally thought to date from the immediate pre-Mongol period but are more likely to stem from the late 13th-early 14th centuries A.D. This was a period of cultural transition when the western Mongol Khānate was evolving into the Islamic Golden Horde. (State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg, Russia)

18. This late 7th/13th or early 8th/14th-century helmet, probably from Mamlūk Egypt or Syria, has some features in common with the visored helmet from the Golden Horde while remaining very different in other respects. It is forged from one piece of iron, then richly decorated with arabesques and Arabic dedicatory inscriptions. (After a drawing by H. Russell Robinson; present whereabouts unknown)

19. Though now lacking its characteristic mail aventail and sliding nasal bar, this 8th/14th-century Persian helmet is a fine example of a form that would be used throughout most of the eastern Islamic world from the late 14th to 19th centuries. (Wawel Collection, Cracow, Poland)

20. During the 15th and 16th centuries an apparently new form of cavalry helmet came into use in Mamlūk and Ottoman armies. It proved so successful that it was adopted throughout most of Europe, spreading as far as England where it became known as the "Cromwellian pot helmet". In reality, it was of neither European nor Islamic origin but seems to have been developed by the Mongols or their successor khānates from a Chinese original. Thereafter, it was copied and developed by Mamlūk and Ottoman armourers. The crudely-constructed example shown here is one of the earliest. It was found in a Turco-Mongol grave near Plysky in the Ukraine, from

the superficially Islamised Golden Horde and dating from between 1290 and 1313. (After a drawing by M. Gorelik; present whereabouts unknown)

(D. NICOLLE)

AL-ŞĪN.

5. Chinese Islamic literature.

Muslims settled in Kuang-chou (Canton, Khānfū [q.v.]) and possibly in Ch'ang-an (Hsi-an) and Ch'üan-chou (Zaytūn) as early as the T'ang dynasty, 2nd/8th century, thereafter also in Hang-chou (Khansā [q.v.]) and Pei-ching (Khānbalik [q.v.]), and throughout China [see also MĪNĀ']. Extant tombstone and other inscriptions in Arabic and Chinese, however, date only from the 7th/13th and 8th/14th centuries (Ch'en Ta-sheng; Leslie, *Guide*, 28-31; *Beijing National Library list of rubbings of inscriptions*).

The most significant are three stelae in Chinese, from 749/1348 in Ting-chou, 751/1350 in Ch'üan-chou, and 751/1350 in Kuang-chou. The first two describe the supposed visit to China of Waḳkāṣ (the Companion Sa'd b. Abī Waḳkāṣ [q.v.], a maternal cousin of the Prophet, and a famous general) in the 1st/7th century, sent, it is suggested, as an envoy of the Prophet himself (Yang and Yü, 91-106; Devéria; Tasaka, *Wakkas*). One should also mention an inscription dated 770/1368, set up in Nan-ching and copied in Wu-ch'ang, supposedly written by the first Ming Emperor T'ai-tsu, the *Hung-wu* Emperor (Low). Most intriguing is an undated inscription in Ch'ang-an, claiming a permit to build a mosque as early as 86/705 (Pickens).

These Chinese-style inscriptions served four main purposes: to record the history of the community; to explain Islamic ideas to the Muslims themselves and to non-Muslim Chinese; to demonstrate Confucian attitudes; and to protect the community. They are invaluable for the history of Islam in China, but of less value for the religious beliefs and practices of Chinese Muslims.

Islamic astronomy and medicine were influential in China in the Yuan and Ming dynasties. Four volumes (out of 36) of the large medical translation *Hui-hui yao-fang* are extant, preserved in the *Yung-lo ta-tien*, 811/1408.

One should note, too, the Sayyid Adjall, Muslim official of the Mongols in China, about whom much has been written [see AL-ŞĪN, at Vol. IX].

Three books written about the voyages between 808/1405 and 837/1433 to Africa and Arabia of Cheng Ho, the famous Muslim admiral of the Ming, include the *Ying-yai sheng-lan*, written by a Muslim who accompanied him, Ma Huan [q.v.], in 837/1433 (Mills).

It is only with the Ming dynasty (1389-1644), that Islamic literature in Chinese as such developed. The earliest extant full-length Islamic book written in Chinese is the *Cheng-chiao chen-ch'üan* by Wang Tai-yü, in 1052/1642. This gives a full account of the Islamic religion, with some criticism of Chu Hsi, the Sung dynasty Aquinas of Confucianism. The main aim was probably to educate Muslims living in China, who by now could be called Chinese Muslims. A large stream of Islamic books, some in Arabic, some in Arabic and Chinese, and several only in Chinese, were written soon after this, some translations, some original. Most significant are: Ma Chu, *Ch'ing-chen chih-nan* ("The compass of Islam"), in 8 volumes, 1095/1683 (Hartmann); and *Hui-hui yüan-lai* ("The origin of Islam in China"), possibly 1135/1722 (Devéria).

The peak of Islamic literature in Chinese was reached around 1704 to 1724, when Liu Chih [q.v.] (Liu Chieh-lien, Liu I-chai) wrote his three main works:



T'ien-fang hsing-li about Islamic philosophy; *T'ien-fang tien-li* about Islamic laws and rites (this book was reviewed by the prestigious *Ssu-k'u ch'üan-shu tsung-mu t'i-yao*); and *T'ien-fang chih-sheng shih-lu*, a biography of the Prophet, probably based on the *Tarjuma-yi Mawlid i-Muṣṭafā*, a Persian translation from the Arabic work by Sa'īd (al-Dīn Muḥammad) b. Mas'ūd b. Muḥammad al-Kāzarūnī, d. 758/1357 (a partial translation is given by Mason). Two other works by Liu are *Wu-kung shih-i* and *Chen-kung fa-wei* (Palladius).

The first two works include lists of sources with titles in transliterated Chinese, Chinese paraphrases of the title, and Arabic originals, many of which can be identified with the help of Brockelmann, Storey, etc. (Leslie and Wassel; and see also Leslie, Yang and Youssef, *Qianlong*, for other lists of Arabic and Persian Islamic works available in China). Liu was clearly influenced by the Hanafī school of law of the Sunnis and by Ṣūfism, in particular, by the Kubrawiyya order [see KUBRĀ], and the Persian Nakṣhabandī Ṣūfī poet Dīāmī [q.v.].

Liu's main sources were:

1. *Tafsīr* (*Chen-ching chu*) (one or more);
2. *Lavā'ih* (*Chen-ching chao-wei*), by Dīāmī, d. 898/1492;
3. *Ashī'at al-lamā'āt* (*Fei-yin ching* or *E-shen-erh-ting*) by Dīāmī;
4. *Mirṣād al-'ibād* (*Kuei-chen yao-tao* or *T'ui-yüan cheng-tao*), by the Kubrawī Naḍīm al-Dīn Rāzī Dāya [q.v.], Abū Bakr Asadī, d. ca. 654/1256;
5. *Maḥṣad-i aḥṣā* (*T'en-chen-ching* or *Kuei-chen pi-yao*) probably by the Kubrawī writer 'Azīz al-Nasafī, d. 661/1263 [see KUBRĀ, at Vol. V, 301a];
6. *Mawāḳif* (*Ko-chih ch'üan-ching*).

Nos. 2-5 of these had already been translated into Chinese. Other translations included *Munabbihāt*; *Irshād*; *Tanbih*; *'Akā'id* (by Abū Ḥaṣṣ al-Nasafī, d. 537/1142 [q.v.]; *Wihāya* (a commentary by Mahmūd Burhān al-Shar'ā, 7th/13th century, to the *Hidāya* by al-Marghīnānī, d. 593/1197 [q.v.]); and the Persian *Gulistan* by Sa'īd d. 691/1292 [q.v.].

Liu's biography of the Prophet has an introduction with the main Manchu edicts concerning Islam (see also Ma Sai-pei), and two large appendices, vol. XIX being a description of Arab and other countries overseas, and vol. XX being absolutely invaluable as a source book for the history of Islam in China, with inscriptions. Liu's works clearly show an attempt to accommodate Confucianism. The writings of Confucius and Mencius are referenced, as are Confucian and Taoist terms. At this time, several Muslims were succeeding in the Confucian literati examinations and becoming scholars and officials.

The works of Wang Tai-yü and Liu Chih were original creations. In addition, over the centuries a large number of translations, some from Persian, some from Arabic, have been made, so that there is a rich variety of Islamic works available in Chinese. In the 19th century, Ma Fu-ch'ü (Ma Te-hsin) and Ma An-li continued to write significant Islamic literature in Chinese.

Other influential works are: *T'ien-fang cheng-hsiieh*, by Lan Tzu-hsi (1861), which includes a large number of fanciful biographies of Biblical and Muslim personalities; *Ch'ing-chen hsien-cheng yen-hsing lieh*, by Li Huan-i (1875), which gives short biographies of 90 Chinese Muslims; *Ch'ing-chen shih-i pu-chi*, by T'ang Ch'uan-yu (1880), a valuable source book for Islam in China; and *T'ien-fang ta-hua li-shih*, by Li T'ing-hsiang (1919), a translation of the *Badā'ī' al-zuhūr* (*umūr*) *fī wakā'ī' al-duḥūr* (sic. This is according to the

Chinese postscript. However, the contents of the Chinese work seem to be from a different, less well-known work by the same author, sc. the *Mardj al-zuhūr fī wakā'ī' al-duḥūr*, by Abū 'l-Barakāt Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Iyās (or Ayās) Zayn (Shihāb) al-Dīn al-Nāṣirī al-Djarkasī al-Hanafī, d. 930/1524 [see MN rYās].

The main works have been republished, edited by Chang Hsiu-feng and Ma Sai-pei, in 55 volumes (1987). These works are to be found also in various libraries in China, Japan, Europe and America. Key collections outside China are those of Palladius (St. Petersburg); d'Ollone (Musée Guimet, Paris); Vissière (École des Langues Orientales Vivantes, Paris); Mason (N.Y. Public Library); Toyo Bunko, Tokyo; and Tenri University, Tenri (Leslie, *Islamic literature*; idem, *Guide*, 21-5; Panskaya).

One should note also a number of extant *Chia-p'u* (family records), notably those found by Nakada Yoshinobu in the Diet Library in Tokyo for the Mi and Sha families; and also some for the P'u family, possibly tracing descent from P'u Shou-Keng of the Yuan (Mongol) period.

A renaissance of Islamic literature occurred in the 1920s, with original works and translations by Wang Ching-chai, Yang Ching-hsiu and others. From this time a series of translations of the Kur'an was made, including some into classical Chinese, others into modern *Kuo-yü* (Yü and Yang, 1-32), and these were used, together with Arabic and Persian works, by Islamic schools in various cities. Chinese Muslim bookshops of this time had catalogues of books in Chinese and in Arabic and Persian, most notably the Niu-chieh (Ox Street) mosque catalogue of the 1920s (extant in Tenri University Library), and dozens of Muslim journals in Chinese flourished at this time (Loewenthal).

A second renaissance occurred in the 1980s and thereafter, with hundreds of books about Chinese communities all over China and about the history of Islam in China and also many about the history and duties of the religion (Yü and Yang). Several large encyclopaedias have been written (e.g. by Ch'iu Shu-sen, 1992; Yang Hui-yün, 1993; the *Chinese Encyclopedia of Islam*, 1994), and for the first time, histories of Islam in China in Chinese (by Ch'iu Shu-sen, 1996, and by Li Hsing-hua *et al.*, 1998) to rival Tasaka Kōdō's masterly 1964 history in Japanese. There are also invaluable bibliographical and biographical reference works by Pai Shou-i (1948 [mostly reprinted in 1982-3], and 1985, 1988, 1992, 1997); Ma En-hui (1983); Yü Chen-kuei and Yang Huai-chung (1993); Li Hsing-hua and Feng Chin-yüan, (1985); Chin I-chiu (1997); and by Leslie, Yang and Youssef (to be published by Monumenta Serica).

There are also several works written analysing the voyages of the Muslim admiral Cheng Ho to Africa and Arabia.

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SINDHĪ [see SIND. 3.].

SINDHU, the Sanskrit name for the Indus river. See for this **MĪHRĀN**, and for the lands along its course, **SIND**, **MULTĀN**, **PANJĀB** and **KASHMĪR**.

AL-SINDĪ, **ABŪ 'ALĪ**, mystic of the 3rd/9th century.

He is said to have imparted to the famous **Abū Yazīd al-Bisṭāmī** (al-Basṭāmī) (d. 261/874 [q.v.]) the doctrine of "annihilation in God" (*fanā'*; see **BAKĀ' WA-FANĀ'**). Moreover, because of his *nisba* al-Sindī, he was thought to be of Indian origin, and therefore it was assumed that his views could be traced back to Indian, i.e. Hindu or Buddhist, influences. However, the basis for such an assumption as provided by the sources is very weak. In fact, hardly anything is known about **Abū 'Alī al-Sindī**. The *nisba* may also refer to a place in **Khurāsān** (Yākut, *Buldān*, s.v. *Sind*). The only reference in early literature to **Abū 'Alī's** influence on al-Bisṭāmī is found in a saying of the latter, mentioned in **Abū Naṣr al-Sarrādj** (d. 378/988 [q.v.]), *al-Lum'a* (275/70.3): "I was a companion of **Abū 'Alī al-Sindī**. I used to give him instructions that enabled him to fulfil his religious duty. In turn, he enlightened me on the doctrine of God's uniqueness (*tawḥīd* [q.v.]) and on the mystical realities in a pure form (*ḥakā'ik ṣūfīya*). It is only in a later variant of this saying that the term *fanā'* is used, see **Rūzbihān** b. **Abī Naṣr al-Bakrī al-Shīrāzī** (d. 606/1209 [q.v.]), *Sharḥ-i shayḥīyāt* (ed. H. Corbin, 35 ll. 12-13). Moreover, **Šūfī** currents have tended to consider not **Abū Yazīd** as

the founder of the doctrine of *fanā'* but rather his contemporary **Abū Sa'id al-Kharrāz al-Baghdādī** (d. 277/890-1 [q.v.]).

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ŠĪRB.

1. The Ottoman period to 1800.

A. SERBIA BEFORE THE OTTOMANS

(a) *The origins of the Serbian kingdom*. The arrival of Slavic peoples in the Balkan peninsula took place in the second half of the 6th century and the beginning of the 7th one. These peoples, later to be called "South Slavs", were grouped round three main tribes: those of the Serbs, the Croats and the Slovenes, who had occupied Pannonia towards the end of the 6th century and who had moved from there towards the Adriatic coast, slowly assimilating the various Romanised peoples of Illyria. The most numerous of these "South Slavs", the Serbs, became implanted, towards the end of the 8th century, in a territory defined by the rivers Ibar (in the east), Neretva (in the southwest), Bosna (in the west) and Sava (in the north). At that time they were organised into petty principalities, governed by *joupans*, and when one of them secured an ascendancy over the rest, he would assume the tide of great *joupan*. Under the political tutelage of Byzantium, the Serbs became Christian in ca. 874. Serbia became independent towards the mid-9th century, thanks to the first princes of Raška (Rascie), i.e. the "Old Serbia", whose capital was at that time in the town of Ras (on the Ibar, to the northeast of Skadar/Scutari/Shkodër [see **VEŇI BĀZĀR**]). Under pressure from its enemies, notably the Byzantine emperors and the Bulgarian kings, the Serbian state's centre of gravity then moved towards the Zeta (the modern Montenegro and the extreme northwest of modern Albania) and then, at the time of **Stevan/Stephen Nemanja** (r. ca. 1166-96) and his successors (sc. the dynasty of the **Nemanjići** or **Nemanids**, ca. 1166-1371) towards the valley of the river Morava, towards Kosovo [see **KOŠOVA** and **PRISHTINA**] and towards Macedonia [see **ŪSKŪB**]. In 1219, one of the sons of **Stevan Nemanja**, **Rastko** (the future great saint of the Serbian Church, under the name of **St. Sava**), obtained from the Patriarch at Nicea archiepiscopal consecration and the autocephalous status of the Serbian Church, an action which was going to play an important role in preserving Serbian identity during the five centuries of Ottoman domination. The mediaeval Serbian state's apogee was in 1346, under **Stephen IX Uroš IV Dušan** (r. 1331-55), who had himself crowned "Emperor (*tsar*) of the Serbs and Greeks" and had the *Sabor* or Assembly at Skopje set out the *Dušanov Zakonik* "Code of Dušan" (1349). The anarchy which followed his premature death at the age of 47 favoured the beginnings of Ottoman expansion in the Balkans during the next decades. (On the Nemanid tradition and the introduction of "sacral kingship" in Serbia and in general, see B.I. Bojović, *L'hagiographie dynastique et l'idéologie de l'État serbe au Moyen-Âge (XIII-XV^e siècles)*, in *Cyrrilomethodianum*, xvii-xviii [Thessalonica 1993-4], 73-92.)

(b) *The first contacts with the Ottomans*. It was in the time of **Tsar Dušan** that Turkish units (at that time still only mercenaries or allies of the Byzantines) inflicted their first defeats on Serbian forces: first before **Stephaniana** in 1344 and then near **Dimetoḡa** [q.v.] in 1352. But the real Ottoman conquest of Rumelia (this time, undertaken on their own account) began in 1354 by the seizure of the fortress of Gallipoli on



the Dardanelles [see GELIBOLU], or, to pinpoint the moment when the Serbian state felt the Ottomans pressing, seventeen years later, in 1371, at the battle of the Maritsa [see MERIČ], in the course of which the Serbian king Vukašin Mrnjavčević (who ruled western Macedonia) and three of his sons, plus his own brother Uglješa, Despot of Serres [see SIROZ], were killed. However, this was only felt within the Serbs' collective memory as a baneful prelude to the disaster suffered by the troops of Prince Lazar (the "Tsar Lazar" in popular memory) on 15 June 1389 at the "Field of Blackbirds", the battle better known as that of Kosovo [see KOŠOWA, KOSOVO]. On the one hand, this event gave rise to the "myth of Kosovo" and, on the other hand, to a famous cycle of Serbian popular epic poetry (gathered together by Vuk Karadžić at Vienna from 1814 onwards, which was to attract very close interest from European intellectuals of the time; see, most recently, *Kosovo, six siècles de mémoires croisées*, in *Les annales de l'autre Islam*, no. 7, INALCO [Paris 2001], with further references).

B. SERBIA UNDER OTTOMAN DOMINATION (TO 1804)

The first four centuries of this history can be divided into three phases: (a) from the battle of Kosovo to 1552, the date when all the Serbian territories came under Ottoman control; (b) from 1552 to 1699, the date of the Treaty of Carlowitz, which marked the beginning of the Ottoman retreat in Danubian Europe after their maximal expansion in those lands; and (c) the slow but irreversible decline of Ottoman power in the Balkans up to 1804, the date of the first Serbian revolt.

(a) *The period 1389-1552.* The result of Kosovo was that Serbia became a vassal state of the Ottomans, forced to pay tribute and to furnish troops. With that said, the Serbian state did not disappear from existence after that date, but its centre of gravity moved much further north, where Serbian principalities were to subsist, for good or ill, for some 60 years. In the first place, there was that of the prince of Northern Serbia (the son of the Tsar Lazar, put to death by the Ottomans after the battle of Kosovo), the despot Stevan/Stephen Lazarević (r. 1389-1427), succeeded by his nephew George Branković (r. 1427-56), who in 1439 fixed his capital at Smederovo (at that time, on the Danube) [see SEMENDIRE, in Suppl.] and became involved in a double vassal status with the Ottomans and the kings of Hungary. Profiting from the Ottomans' difficulties in Anatolia (sc. the defeat at Ankara in 1402 at the hands of Tīmūr Lang [q.v.], the episode of Muṣṭafā Ćelebi, Düzme [q.v.], the revolt of Šheykh Bedr al-Dīn [see BADR AL-DĪN B. KĀDĪ SAMĀVNĀ], etc.), the Serbian despots formed close and enduring alliances with the kings of Hungary in the hope, always to be disappointed, of "driving the Turks back to Asia". Thus in 1412, e.g., the king of Hungary Sigismund offered to cede to Stevan Lazarević the town of Belgrade as a fief, so that this last became, for the first time in its history, the capital of a Serbian prince.

But contrary to these hopes, the events of the period 1389-1552 were finally settled by the very strong and lasting implantation of Ottoman power in the Balkan peninsula (and beyond its frontiers). The main dates are: 1439, occupation of a great part of Serbia by Sultan Murād II [q.v.]; 1443, victories by Serbian and Hungarian troops; 1444, signature of the peace treaty of Edirne; 1453, fall of Constantinople; 1455, fresh Ottoman conquests in Serbia; 1458, fall of the Serbian despotate; 1459, surrender of the fortress of Smederovo; 1520, beginning of the reign, with its conquests, of

Süleymān [q.v.] the Magnificent; 1526, defeat of the Hungarians at Mohács [q.v.]; 1529, fall of Šabac and the first campaign against Vienna; 1541, fall of Buda; and 1552, fresh capture of Belgrade, which now made, from this date onwards, all Serbian territories subject to the Ottomans.

Two other topics important for this period must be touched upon here, if only briefly: the survival of the Serbian Orthodox Church (the only remaining "Serbian" institution during the centuries to come) and the situation of the Serbian people at this period.

Regarding the position of the Serbian Church, it should be noted that, in the course of raids by *akindžis* [q.v.] and in the course of the more regular military campaigns, neither monasteries nor churches were spared. Without the Church being singled out as such, its treasures were plundered, its buildings were burnt down and a certain number of priests and monks massacred or made prisoners-of-war. But this very dark picture needs also to be nuanced. The Serbian principalities lived for several decades as Ottoman vassals, guarding their internal organisation, including the Church, more or less intact. In some cases at least, one can even speak of a certain cultural florescence of the Serbian Orthodox Church, especially in the remoter regions, e.g. in Pomoravlje (sc. in the basin of the Morava river and its affluents), through the arrival of Bulgarian, Macedonian, Serbian and other monks and craftsmen fleeing from the lands invaded by the Turks. Then, little by little, once the disasters brought by the battles and the Ottoman campaigns were over, certain monasteries acquired official charters from the new authorities guaranteeing them a certain status within the Ottoman state, or at least, certain privileges. Unfortunately, we know little about the Church during this first period. But we do know that many monasteries were devastated, such as e.g. that of Visoki Dečani, that the greater part of their immense estates were confiscated and that, in the towns, certain churches (usually the finest) were transformed into mosques. Other churches suffered destruction later in order to provide materials for building various structures such as mosques, caravanserais, etc. Nevertheless, the Church did not lose all its lands, and not all monasteries—far from it—were devastated and left abandoned. Thus e.g. the monastery of Ravanica secured certain privileges from the time of the first Ottoman period onwards (that of 1439-44), and during this time, sultan Murād II awarded privileges to certain other Serbian monasteries. Some of these last were even excused payment of taxes, or else they were given the status of small *timārs* [q.v.] with the obligation to furnish one or two *džebelis* at the times of military campaigns (i.e. auxiliary troops, supplied and equipped by the beneficiaries of sources of revenue given by the state). But those mostly involved here were the monasteries in the frontier zones, or along the axes for provisioning the Ottoman army at times of campaigns (see A. Popović, *Les rapports entre l'Islam et l'orthodoxie en Yougoslavie*, in *Aspects de l'orthodoxie. Structures et spiritualité*, Colloque de Strasbourg, septembre 1978, Paris 1981, 169-89).

As for the Serbian people, with the Ottoman conquest a more or less irreversible phenomenon is observable: the definitive division of Serbian society into three groups. First, the group that, for various reasons, became converts to Islam and thus became separated (relatively quickly, and, even, very quickly) from the "common trunk", espousing not only a new belief and ideology but also cutting themselves off, in the long term, from anything in common with their past. Then



there was the group of those who fled the lands occupied by the Ottomans (for Hungary in the first place, then for Austria, and then, much later, for Russia), certain of whose descendants were to play a great role in Serbian political and cultural life when the state was rebuilt in the 19th century. And finally, by far the most numerous, there were those who stayed behind, where they were forced to live under the new status of *dhimmi*s [see *DHIMMA* and *RA'ITYA*], a way of life punctuated by long periods of submission and daily collaboration with the Ottoman authorities but also by insurrections against these authorities, providing backing for Hungarian and Austrian armies in turn, according to the different phases of the international situation, risings which were regularly bloodily suppressed. This schema repeated itself regularly throughout the four centuries of history dealt with in this article, a history that should nevertheless be considered not only by events and by political and diplomatic processes, but also by a very close examination of the extremely complex processes going on within the central Ottoman empire and within its society in general.

(b) *The period 1552-1699.* The period that followed was to be marked, for the Serbian population, by a certain number of new occurrences. The advance of Ottoman troops towards European Danubia, and the conquest of new territories, ended up by moving the "frontiers" of Serbia, as noted above, further northwards and northwestwards in relation to its original territory, that of Nemanid times. Henceforth, Serbia was to find itself, on the one hand, part of the "central provinces" of Ottoman Rumelia [see *RÜMELİ*], and on the other, directly on the routes leading to the future theatre of military operations, viz. those leading to Vienna. Hence in 1557 (probably as part of the long-term plans of the Grand Vizier of Serbian origin, Mehmed Paşa Sokollu [see *SOĞOLLU*]), the Porte decided to re-establish the Patriarchate of Peć. This was apparently a political act which was aimed mainly at securing peace within the central provinces of the Balkans, whilst at the same time keeping an eye on the highest levels of the revived Serbian Church, but, as G. Veinstein has noted [see *SOĞOLLU*, at Vol. IX, 708b], "one may also see an additional factor at work here, a wider policy of conciliating the Serbs to make them a support of Ottoman policy in the Balkans." This restored Patriarchate of Peć covered an enormous territory (part of Macedonia and Bulgaria, Serbia, Montenegro, the Voivodina and Bosnia, plus certain parts of Croatia, Dalmatia and Hungary). But, contrary to what was envisaged, this period of collaboration between the Serbian Orthodox Church and the Ottoman power was merely a flash in the pan.

The reasons for this deterioration in relations between the Serbian Church and the Porte probably resided from the start in the ambiguity of Serbian Orthodoxy's attitude *vis-à-vis* the authorities, but the reasons must above all be found in the transformation of Ottoman society itself. The first task of the renewed Serbian Church was obviously to rally the Serbian people. It thus became not only a religious organisation but also a truly political one, becoming the focus for the feelings and aspirations of the people. The basis of such an ideology could only be a glorification of the work of St. Sava, an action that was logically based on the Nemanid tradition and, in particular, on the myth of Kosovo, and because of this, Serbian Orthodoxy was compelled sooner or later to emerge from this contradiction and to break with

the Ottomans and proclaim war against them. It was to be hastened very rapidly along this road by the great crisis of Ottoman society at the end of the 16th century, when non-Muslims were deprived of the possibility of becoming *timār*-holders, *ipso facto* throwing such persons back into the category of *re'āyā* and thereby uniting all classes of the Orthodox population against the Ottomans.

Revolts soon broke out. One of the first occurred in the Banat in 1594, when the insurgents had, it seems, banners bearing the picture of St. Sava. It was bloodily suppressed and then, on the orders of the Grand Vizier Sinān Paşa [q.v.], St. Sava's relics were brought from the monastery of Milešovo to Belgrade and publicly burnt on the Vračar hill there. The break was thus definitively made, above all in people's minds. Despite all tentative attempts and political moves to improve relations and to soothe the situation (e.g. under the Patriarch Pajsije Janjevac, between 1614 and 1647), both sides knew perfectly well what the future situation was going to be like. The deterioration rapidly accelerated. The crisis in Ottoman society led the state and its ruling classes to press down on the non-Muslim population and the Serbian Orthodox Church with increasingly heavier taxes and by all sorts of illegal abuses and practices. The churches and monasteries that were unable to satisfy these demands were sold up, bought at low prices by Muslim dignitaries and then transformed into mosques or public buildings, or even demolished for their materials to be re-used in new building works. Yet here, too, everything cannot be viewed as black and white. Thus we have cases where monasteries, under attack from Orthodox peasants coveting their lands, appealed to the Ottoman authorities. But in general, there was definitely a feeling of a certain unity between the Orthodox population and its Church and clergy, who existed within the same conditions and in an implicit connecting bond, one that was reinforced by the actions of certain Patriarchs and their being put to death by the Ottoman authorities.

The process of pressure-revolt-suppression was soon to compel the Church to seek external support: in Austria, in Italy, from the Pope, and finally, from Russia. But such support was only symbolic until the Austrian counter-offensive after the Turks' failure before Vienna in 1683. This offensive led the Christian powers far into the interior of the Ottoman lands (even the patriarchal seat, Peć, would be taken) and was to be marked by an active participation of the more energetic parts of the Serbian people, with the Patriarch Arsenije III Crnojević at their head. The Austrian troops' withdrawal had grave consequences, not only for the subsequent history of the Orthodox Church but also for the Serbian people themselves. Too compromised by these events to await the return of the Ottomans, the Patriarch in 1690 decided to lead a grand emigration of the Serbian people and their church from Kosovo to the north, beyond the Sava and Danube. The arrival of Ottoman troops brought acts of reprisal of a savagery easy to imagine, and the region of Kosovo-Metohija, the ancient centre of the Serbian state, left partly empty by its people, was gradually filled by Muslim Albanians (since a large part of the Catholic Albanians was to become rapidly Islamised), whose colonisation there was strongly supported, and extensively assisted, by the Porte.

The key dates during this century and a half are: 1557, reestablishment of the Patriarchate at Peć; 1593, Ottoman defeat before Sisak [see *SİSKA*]; 1593-1606,



the "Long War" between Austria and Turkey; 1594, Serbian revolts (in the Banat and elsewhere); 1595, the public destruction of the relics of St. Sava at Belgrade; 1606, the peace treaty of Zsitvatorok [q.v.]; 1614, the Patriarch Pajsije renews the policy of compromise with the Ottoman authorities; 1683, the Ottoman check at Vienna; 1686, definitive loss of Buda; 1687, the Holy League against the Ottomans; 1688, Serbian rising and conquest of Belgrade; 1689, Austrian troops reach as far as "Old Serbia"; 1690, great Serbian emigration from Kosovo and return of the Ottomans; and 1699, the peace treaty of Carlowitz (Sremski Karlovci) [see KARLOVČA].

(c) *The period 1699-1804.* As during the preceding two periods, the 18th century was to bring the non-Muslim Serbian people a fresh lot of "vain hopes" and "bitter disillusionments". All this had its basis in the slow decline of the Ottoman empire, which did not, however, lead to its disintegration, supported as it was at that time by France, Britain and the Netherlands, who looked with a jaundiced eye on the subsequent successes of the Austrian Hapsburgs and the Russian Tsars (thus confirming the foresights of Montesquieu). On quite a different plane, the social and religious divisions between the Muslim and non-Muslim populations of Rumelia were to crystallise, impelling the non-Muslim Serbians to participate actively in fighting against the "Turks" in the course of each new war launched by Austria into their territory. But the ephemeral victories and the long-lasting defeats of the 18th century (notably from that time when the Serbian population had to suffer a long occupation by the Austrians, in 1718-39, one whose methods were no different from those of the Ottomans) made the Serbian people conscious of the political implications of their fight.

Here follows a chronology of events: the renewed Austro-Turkish war (of 1716-18) ended in practice with the greatest success the Hapsburgs had ever enjoyed since these last took possession, under the Treaty of Passarowitz/Požarevac [see PASAROFČA], of the eastern part of Sirmia (Srem); the Banat (with Temesvar), Lesser Wallachia, all the northeastern part of Serbia, including Belgrade; and the northern zone of Bosnia (along the Sava), territories they retained for some 20 years. (On the desert aspect of Serbia in 1717, with the encroachment of virgin forests with strips of cultivation abandoned for many years, with miserable, scattered village populations, see Lady Mary Stuart Wortley Montague, *Turkish letters*, London 1763, with many later editions.) The measure of disenchantment of the non-Muslim population during these years (faced with the Austrians' attitudes, their arbitrary taxes and the missionary activities of the Roman Catholic Church) can be simply measured by the numerous cases of flight by the Serbian Orthodox people back to Ottoman territory.

Then, twenty years later, a fresh Austro-Turkish war broke out (1737-9) which, after great initial successes by the Austrians and the insurgent Serbs (conquest of southwestern Serbia, with Aleksinac, Kruševac, Novi Pazar, Prishtina and Nish), ended in a terrible defeat before Grocka (not far from Belgrade), and by the Treaty of Belgrade (1739) the Hapsburgs lost all the territories captured twenty years before. Naturally, there were more waves of emigration by Serbs into southern Hungary, one of which, under the Patriarch Arsenije IV Jovanović Šakabenta, became known as "the second Serbian migration from Kosovo".

The years that followed, generally called "the thirty years of peace", were marked by the suppression in

1766 of the Patriarchate of Peć (whose increasingly frequent flirtations with the Russian Orthodox Church ended by seriously worrying the Porte, but which had already, for a fair amount of time, been in a lamentable state (see O. Zirojević, 152-5), and by attempts by Russia (from 1751-2 onwards) to attract Serbian emigrants from Hungary to settle in the Ukraine. (These events are described in a magistral fashion by M. Crnjanski [1893-1977] in his novel *Seobe* ["Migrations"], Belgrade 1929, 1962, etc., Fr. tr. Paris 1986.)

Then a third Austro-Turkish war broke out in 1788 (as a prolongation of the Russo-Turkish war that had begun the previous year), in which a large part of the Serbian population took part, notably in the famous volunteer bands of *Frajkari* (< Ger. *Freikorps*), led by their own officers. These troops, led by the famous Koča Andjelković (hence the name "Kočina Krajina"), succeeded in conquering western and northern Serbia (sc. Šumadija and the Požarevac region) and in 1789 (in collaboration with the Austrians), the city of Belgrade itself. However, two years later, in 1791, the peace treaty of Svištov [see ZIŠTOWA] deprived the insurgents of their conquests and authorised the return of the Ottomans. Finally, at the end of the 18th century, the reforms undertaken by Selim III [q.v.] provoked plots and risings of the Janissaries in various parts of Rumelia. Amongst these, more specifically, was the rising in Serbia of 1804, provoked by the excesses and violence of the Janissaries; this was genuinely a rising with a national character, affecting the greater part of the Serbian people and conducted by one of their chiefs, George Petrović, called Kara ("black") George (see R. Mantran, in idem [ed.], *Histoire de l'Empire ottomane*, 430-1). It was in these conditions that there broke out in 1804 the "First Serbian Revolt", which allowed, by successive stages and three decades later, the definitive freeing of Serbia from the Ottoman empire and the beginnings of its independence.

The key dates, which spanned a century (1699-1804), are the following: 1716, a new Austro-Turkish war; 1717, the conquest of Belgrade by Prince Eugène of Savoy's army; 1718, the peace treaty of Požarevac, with Belgrade becoming the capital of Northern Serbia under Austrian occupation; 1737-9, a new Austro-Turkish war; 1739, the peace treaty of Belgrade, by which the Ottomans re-occupied their former Serbian territories; 1739-74, the so-called "thirty years of peace"; 1766, suppression of the Patriarchate of Peć; 1768-74, Russo-Turkish war; 1774, the peace treaty of Küçük Kaynardja [q.v.]; 1788, fresh Austro-Turkish war; 1789, conquest of Belgrade by Austrian troops and Serbian insurgents; 1791, peace treaty of Svištov stipulating the return of the Ottomans in Serbia; 1792, revolt of the Janissaries of Serbia against the Porte and Selim III's reforms; 1794-7, conquest of the *pashalik* of Belgrade by the rebel *pasha* of Vidin [see WIDIN], Paswan-oghlu [q.v.]; 1801-3, reign of terror by the four rebel Janissary chiefs, installed in Belgrade; 1804, the First Serbian Revolt led by Kara George.

In the course of this rapid survey, several important questions have remained unexplored: economic topics (agriculture, stockrearing, exploitation of mines, large-scale colonisation by the Ottoman authorities through the intermediacy of installing pastoralist nomads and "Wallachs/Vlachs"—whose name, however, poses certain problems—etc.); the formation and growth of the towns, and the town-and-country relationships (taking into account the minimal representation of Serbs in the towns and of "Turks" in the



villages); the Serbian patriarchal society and the system of *zadruga* (extended families living under the same roof); the very numerous migrations and emigrations (notably towards southern Hungary, south-western Bosnia, Southern Russia and the Croatian "Krajina"); the demographic evolution of the Serbian population; brigandage, and the question of guerilla bands against the Ottoman authorities (the *hajduks* and *uskoks*); the results of the wars and the continual devastations (shrinking of the economy from primitive agricultural methods and exhaustion of the soil); famines and epidemics (cholera and plague); the increasing authority of the Serbian Church and the crystallisation of Serbian national feeling; and cultural topics and the role played here by Jovan Rajić (1726-1801), Zaharije Orfelin (1726-85), Dositej Obradović (1739-1811) and Vuk Stefanović Karadžić (1787-1864). These subjects can be explored through titles listed below in the *Bibl.*

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SIRR (A.), lit. "secret", denotes in Islamic spirituality two notions, at first sight distinct but which certain adepts did not hesitate to combine (al-Djurdjani, 218; al-Tahānawī, i, 653; on the combination of the two senses, see e.g. al-Sulamī, 1953, 213, 216, 282).

1. The first notion is that of secret, mystery, arcana, in the sense of a teaching, a reality or even a doctrinal point, hidden by nature or which is kept hidden from persons considered unworthy of knowing it. If there is a secret, says al-Sarrādj al-Tūsī (d. 378/998), probably taking up the *Shī'ī* concept of two levels of reality (Amir-Moezzi, 1997), it is because the object of knowledge sought by the individual has an obvious, exoteric (*zāhir*) aspect and a hidden, esoteric (*bāṭin*) one. The *Kur'ān*, the *Hadīth*, knowledge, Islam, etc., all have these two distinct, complementary levels. In order to attain the esoteric level, a person must so dispose his body (lit. "his members", *djāwāriḥ*), since this level can only be reached by the "esoteric organ", sc. the heart (*kalb*). The *bāṭin* of objects of knowledge as well as the interior realities of a man are secrets that only the initiates can discover and which they must protect (al-Sarrādj, 43-4). The mass of people, prisoners of their own ignorance and blindly attached to the letter only of religion, can only become violent if the secret is revealed to them, even if only partially (Lāhidjī, 100, 498; al-Kaysarī, 41; Kādī 'Abd al-Nabī, ii, 167). Even the *Kur'ān*, in two places, authorises the faithful to dissimulate their beliefs in cases of danger (III, 28; XL, 28), whence the adage, untiringly repeated in the mystical works, "the breasts of free men are repositories (lit. 'tombs') of secrets" (*sudūr al-aḥrār kubūr al-asrār*, see e.g. al-Tahānawī, 92).

According to the *Shī'a* (for whom "everything has a secret; the secret of Islam is *Shī'ism*," al-Kulaynī, ii, 14), this—i.e. essentially the Imāms' teachings, which has several esoteric levels, *bāṭin* and *bāṭin al-bāṭin*—contains secrets that must be protected at all costs (al-Ṣaffār, 28-9). The duty of keeping such secrets (*takiyya*, *kimān*, *khab*) is thus a canonical obligation for them (Kohlberg, 1975, 1995; Amir-Moezzi, 1992, index, s.v. *taqiyya*).

For the *Šūfis* likewise, such notions as "protection of the secret" (*ḥifz al-sirr*, around which expression, above all, certain mystics combine the two senses of *sirr*), "concealing, changing the guise of something to make it appear other than it is" (*talbīs*), or further, "hiding the real nature of the particular interior state" (*ikhtifā' al-hāl*), make up practices and disciplines which are particularly important (al-Suhrawardī 1983, 72; Hudjwiri, 500-1; 'Afīfī, 89, 117; al-Ṣhaybī, 20ff.). In the literature of mysticism, constant reference is made to the trial of al-Ḥallādj [*q.v.*], who was executed in 309/922 for having divulged the Secret *par excellence*, by putting forward the famous *ḥaṭh* "I am the Real" (*anā 'l-ḥakk*), *ḥakk* being a Name of God. The greatest Persian mystical poets, such as 'Aṭṭār, 'Irākī and Ḥāfīz, very often allude to the "crucified one of Baghdad" (sc. al-Ḥallādj) and call the real spiritual masters "the people of the Secret" (*Khurramshāhī*, s.v. *ahl-i rāz*). This is why mystical authors, from their oldest writings onwards, devised an "allusive language" (*ishāra*), a coded form of discourse which was later to assume very numerous forms (technical vocabularies,



symbolic lexica, fables, poetic images, etc.), reflecting esoteric realities and distinguishing themselves from "literal language" (*ibāra*) which is unsuitable for esoteric topics (al-Sarrādī, 414, concerning *ramz*; al-Kalābādhī, ch. iii, 30ff.; Hudjwīrī, 480ff.; and see Amir-Moezzi 2002b).

2. The second notion is that of a "subtle organ", one of the layers of the "heart", making up the human spiritual anatomy, which may be translated by "secret, inner consciousness". It seems that, for the Khurāsān school of mystics, the Malāmātiyya [*q.v.*] comprise the progression of levels of consciousness, "organs" of invocation (*dhikr*) and vision (*mushāhada*), going through the soul (*nafs*) to the spirit (*rūh*), passing by the heart (*kalb*) and the inner consciousness (al-Tustarī, 16, 19, 34, 45, 78; al-Sulamī 1991, 16). It should be noted that al-Hakīm al-Tirmidhī (d. ca. 318/936 [*q.v.*]), one of the oldest of the Khurāsānīan theoreticians of the elements making up the "heart", seems to be the only one of them not counting the *sirr* amongst these last (*Bayān*, *passim* and esp. 427; Gobillot 1996, 197-8). Al-Kushayrī (d. 465/1072 [*q.v.*]), conveying the system of the 'Irāqī Sūfis, sets forth another progression which omits the soul, the seat of the ego, and the *sirr* is said to be the seat of vision, whilst the spirit is the seat of love (*mahabbā*) and the heart that of knowledge (*ma'ārif*). Here, the inner consciousness is considered as amongst the most subtle and the noblest parts of man, as the innermost secret between the created man and God, the most interiorised part of a man's being (al-Kushayrī, 45; Gobillot and Ballanfat, 175-6); it is in this context that one should probably understand the formula pronounced over a dead person: *kaddasa Allāh sirahu al-ʿazīz* "may God sanctify his noble inner consciousness". Such great mystics as 'Amr b. 'Uthmān al-Makkī (d. 291/903-4) or al-Hallāj seem close to this system (Massignon, i, 113, ii, 411ff.), whilst others, like al-Kharrāz (d. 286/899 [*q.v.*]) for example, develop a much more complex spiritual anatomy, comprising instinct (*tab'*), soul, heart, will (*irāda*), spirit, inner consciousness and spiritual aspiration (*himma*) (Nwyia, 243-5, 272, 301).

After the attempt at a synthesis of the different systems by 'Umar al-Suhrawardī (d. 632/1235 [*q.v.*]) (1983, 454ff., 1986, 181, 203), one often finds amongst the later mystics a sevenfold division, admittedly with other nomenclatures, to which they add new touches derived from mystical theories and practices like *dhikr* formulae corresponding to each level, interior prophology or coloured lights accompanying each layer of the "heart". We have here the theory of "subtle organs" (*latīfa*, pl. *latā'if*, or also *tūr*, pl. *atwār*) especially developing from the time of Naḍīm al-Dīn Kubrā (d. 617/1220-1 [*q.v.*]) and the mystics of his school (Corbin 1971; al-Isfārāyīnī, 1986, introd., 60-2; Landolt, 287-8; Kubrā 2001, index s.v. *organe subtil*), from Ibn al-'Arabī's followers such as Mu'ayyid al-Dīn Dīwandī or Dāwūd al-Qaysarī (Gobillot and Ballanfat, 189-90), up to the modern and even contemporary Sūfis Muḥammad b. 'Alī al-Sanūsī of Algeria (d. 1276/1879 [*q.v.*]) (105ff.) and the Kurd Muḥammad Amīn al-Nakshbandī (d. 1324/1914-15) (548-58). In the different progressions of the "subtle organs", *sirr* is almost always present, most often associated with the colour white. The *dhikr* corresponding to it varies greatly according to authors or mystical orders. The most often-found is: *tab'*, *nafs*, *kalb*, *rūh*, *sirr*, *khafī* ("what is hidden") and *akḥḥā* ("what is most hidden") (Kāshānī, 82ff., 101 and the editor's notes).

In Shī'ī mysticism, allusions of varying precision to the subtle "layers" of the "heart" and vision by

means of the heart, are found from the time of the oldest compilations of *ḥadīth* onwards (Amir-Moezzi 1992, 112ff.). However, the Shī'ī Sūfis (Nī'matullāhiyya, Dhahabiyya and Khāksar), organised in brotherhoods from the 16th-17th centuries onwards, went on to adopt one or another of the systems used by Sunnī orders like the Kādiriyya, Kubrawiyya or Nakshbandiyya (Gramlich, ii, 207 n. 1073, 247-50; Amir-Moezzi 1992, 129ff.; idem 2002, *passim*).

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(MOHAMMAD ALI AMIR-MOEZZI)

SOLTANGALIEV [see SULTĀN 'ALĪ ŪGHĒLĪ].

SOUTH AFRICA, Islam in.

2. Afrikaans in Arabic script.

Arabic-Afrikaans denotes the script whereby Muslims in 19th-century South Africa rendered a creolised dialect of the Afrikaans language. A phonetically adapted Arabic script was used to write Muslim religious literature of this spoken dialect. Afrikaans itself owes its origins to these creolised varieties of the colonial dialect of Netherlandic (Cape Dutch) that was spoken among the Khoisan and slave community of the Cape. Arabic-Afrikaans is the patrimony of this distinct Cape Muslim community, whose major ancestral ties can be traced to the Malay-speaking world, from where many of them arrived after 1652.

Cape Muslims, possibly as far back as the late 18th and early 19th centuries, spoke a more distinct creole variety of Cape Dutch that was heavily affected by word borrowings from Malayu but also contained some Bughanese and Arabic words. The grammatical structure of Arabic-Afrikaans writings shows unmistakable resemblances to the grammar of what later develops into the Afrikaans language. The written script of this Cape Muslim creole Afrikaans is derived from the *Djāwī* [q.v.] script that modifies the Arabic alphabet, in order to create specific phonetic renderings unavailable in Arabic.

As a written script, Arabic-Afrikaans served as a vehicle for the transmission of a knowledge of religion in the course of educating mostly slaves and free blacks among the Muslims of the Cape ca. 1810 or thereafter. Members of this community were literate but not in the Roman script; they could read languages based on Arabic orthography and could read the Qur'ān for liturgical purposes.

One of the earliest Arabic-Afrikaans manuscripts can be dated back to 1840, according to Achmat Davids (d. 1998), whose seminal writings pioneered this field of study (Davids 1991, 56). Texts in circulation that were written in Arabic-Afrikaans covered subjects such as the elementary rules of Islamic law (*fikh*), catechism and theology (*tauhīd* and *ilm al-kalām*) for the instruction of adults and children. Handwritten and later printed editions known as *kopjes boeke*, mnemonic texts written for the purpose of memorising religious teachings, circulated widely at the Cape and its hinterland for much of the 19th century and were still in use during the early part of the 20th century.

However, with the gradual growth of literacy in English and Afrikaans among Cape Muslims, many 'ulamā' switched to the Roman script, while continuing to write in the distinct Cape Muslim idiom of Afrikaans that is different from standard Afrikaans. Apart from literacy in the Roman script, easy access to mechanised printing facilities was the main reason for the change, since Arabic-Afrikaans texts had to be published outside South Africa.

Accredited as the first and best-known of Arabic-Afrikaans texts is the *Bayān al-dīn* "The exposition of religion" of Abū Bakr Effendi (d. 1880), a Kurdish religious scholar who was sent to the Cape by the Ottomans. His book was completed in 1869, but only published at Istanbul in 1877. In the mid-20th century Mia Brandel-Syrier translated it into English. Hans Kähler believed that the *Tuhfat al-ikhwān*, "Gifts

to friends", a manuscript written by Imām 'Abd al-Kahhār b. 'Abd al-Malik ca. 1856 could have been the earliest text, but this document, now in Germany, has not been properly verified. The Dutch orientalist Adrianus van Selms (d. 1984) believed that the earliest attempt to print Arabic-Afrikaans at the Cape could have taken place as early as 1856. Since no copy of this work remains extant, Davids doubted this claim.

Three other figures deserve mention for their prolific contribution to the genre of Arabic-Afrikaans writing. One was Shaykh 'Abd al-Rahīm b. Muḥammad al-'Irāqī (d. 1942), a native of Baṣrā who settled in the Cape around the 1880s. He quickly mastered the local patois and began writing in Arabic-Afrikaans, producing smaller tracts directed at an adult audience. Texts were also produced for the local *madrasa* education system that students attended in the afternoon after their schooling in the secular educational system. The second person was Imām 'Abd al-Rahmān Kāsim Gamielien (d. 1921), his creolised family name being possibly a corruption of *Djamil al-Dīn* or *Hāmil al-Dīn* (Davids 1991, 147), who wrote several texts for the *madrasa* curriculum. The third person was the son of Abū Bakr Effendi, sc. Hishām Ni'mat Allāh Effendi (d. ca. 1945), who published several Arabic-Afrikaans books in his desire to advance education among the local Muslims.

According to an inventory made by Davids, some 74 Arabic-Afrikaans publications have been identified, with the possibility of more being discovered in private collections and libraries. Further investigation of these texts should shed light on how knowledge from the metropolises of the Islamic world was transferred to marginal and smaller communities, thereby increasing local knowledge and introducing new practices.

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AL-SUFYĀNĪ, a descendant of the Umayyad Abū Sufyān [q.v.] figuring in apocalyptic prophecies as the rival and opponent of the Mahdī [q.v.] and ultimately overcome by him.

The bulk of these prophecies dates from the 2nd/8th century. The largest collection of them was assembled by the Sunnī traditionist Nu'aym b. Hammād (d. 227/842) in his *Kūṭab al-Fitan*. Different views have been expressed about the origins of this figure. The Zubayrid Muṣ'ab b. 'Abd Allāh (d. 236/851) claimed that Khālīd, son of the caliph Yazīd I [see *Khālīd b. Yazīd b. Mu'āwiyā*], had invented it out of resentment of the usurpation of his title to the caliphate by the caliph Marwān I. Khālīd thus wanted to arouse popular hopes for a restorer of the Sufyānid branch of the house of Umayya. This view that the figure at first represented Sufyānid interests against the Marwānid caliphate was in modern times endorsed by Th. Nöldeke and Ch. Snouck Hurgronje, who held that it was later transformed by orthodox religious tradition into an Umayyad Antichrist. Following sug-



gestions by J. Wellhausen, H. Lammens questioned this view and connected the figure with the abortive anti-Abbāsid rising of Abū Muḥammad al-Sufyānī in Syria in 133/751. The Syrians denied his death and believed that he was hiding in the mountains of al-Ṭāʾif from where he would return in triumph. Shīʿī and pro-Abbāsid traditionists then turned this "Syrian national hero" into a figure resembling the Daḡdǧāl [q.v.]. Combining the two views, R. Hartmann argued that the Sufyānī was at first an anti-Marwānid messianic figure which, after the overthrow of the Umayyad dynasty, was turned by Syrian advocates of an Umayyad restoration into an anti-Abbāsid messiah. The Syrians, Hartmann suggested, may at that time have longed for a return of the caliph Yazīd I. Only thereafter was the figure taken over by the Abbāsids and their Shīʿī backers and transformed into an opponent of the Mahdī.

The image of the opposition between the Mahdī and the Sufyānī goes back to a *ḥadīth* (fully quoted in the art. AL-MAHDĪ at Vol. V, 1232a), which predicted the rise to power of a political refugee from Medina in Mecca and the subsequent rise in Syria of "a man whose maternal uncles are of Kalb", who would send an army of Kalb against the rebel in Mecca. This army, however, would be utterly defeated, and the rebel caliph in Mecca would justly rule Islam for seven or nine years. The first part of this *ḥadīth* reflected, as pointed out by D.S. Attema, the career of 'Abd Allāh b. al-Zubayr, and the prediction dates from shortly after the death of the caliph Yazīd (64/683). In the later Umayyad age, this prediction was widely spread as a prophetic *ḥadīth* by the highly regarded Baṣran traditionist Kaṭāda b. Diʿāma (d. 117/735). As its contents were now projected into the apocalyptic future, the rebel caliph in Mecca came to be identified with the Mahdī and his rival, whose maternal uncles were of Kalb, with a Sufyānī opponent.

As the Mahdī in the later Umayyad age was more and more identified with a descendant of Muḥammad, the figure of his Sufyānī opponent was commonly appropriated from the originally pro-Zubayrid Kaṭāda *ḥadīth* and developed by Shīʿī and pro-ʿAlid Kūfan circles. The appearance of the Sufyānī was thus closely connected with the advent of the Mahdī. A Kūfan prophecy foretold that the Sufyānī and the Mahdī would come forth like two racehorses. Each one would subdue the region next to him. The Shīʿī *imām* Muḥammad al-Bākir was quoted as predicting that the Sufyānī would reign for the time of the pregnancy of a woman (*ḥaml marʾa*). The prediction of a "swallowing up (*khaṣf*)" of a Syrian army by the desert between Mecca and Medina, which according to the Kaṭāda *ḥadīth* was to occur under the predecessor of the Sufyānī (historically the caliph Yazīd), was now integrated into the career of the Sufyānī. Shīʿīs referred to the Sufyānī also as the Son of the Liver-eating Woman (*ibn ākilat al-akbād*) after Abū Sufyān's wife Hind bt. ʿUṭba [q.v.], who was said to have bitten the liver of Muḥammad's uncle Ḥamza after he was killed in the battle of Uhud. The Sufyānī, it was predicted, would first come forth in the Wādī al-Yābis near Damascus. In the later Imāmī Shīʿī standard doctrine, the appearance of the Sufyānī in the Wādī al-Yābis in the month of Ramaḍān and the *khaṣf* of an army sent by him in the desert are counted among the indispensable signs for the advent of the Mahdī or Kāʾim [see KĀʾIM AL MUḤAMMAD].

There is no sound evidence for an early anti-Marwānid expectation of a restorer of Sufyānid rule. The apocalyptic Sufyānī figure came to Syria and

Egypt together with that of the Fātimid Mahdī and represented a minority view there in the late Umayyad age. The great Berber rebellion in the Maghrib in 123/740-1 aroused fears of an invasion of Egypt and Syria, the *fitna* of the Maghrib inaugurating the end of time, and there were predictions of the appearance of the Sufyānī connected with it. In post-Umayyad Sufyānī prophecies, the coming of a rebel Berber army, often described as carrying yellow flags, became a standard element.

After the overthrow of the Umayyad caliphate by the Abbāsids, the apocalyptic Sufyānī was in Syria given the role of a successful challenger of the eastern conquerors. Already during the anti-Abbāsid revolt of Abū Muḥammad al-Sufyānī in 133/751, word was spread by his supporters that he was "the Sufyānī who had been mentioned". The Sufyānī was now associated with a prediction that the Syrians would march against an eastern caliph in Kūfa, which would be razed to the ground "like a leather skin (*tuʿraku ʿark al-adīm*)". Baghdād was soon added as a town to be destroyed by the Sufyānī, who would send his armies to the east, the Maghrib, Yemen and ʿIrāq. Such anti-Abbāsid prophecies were first spread by pro-ʿAlid Syrian narrators, who invariably portrayed the Sufyānī as a ruthless forerunner of the just Fātimid Mahdī to whom he would ultimately lose out. In some prophecies, the Sufyānī was described as "handing over the caliphate to the Mahdī (*yadfaʿ al-khilāfaʿ li ʿl-Mahdī*)". The themes of these Shīʿī prophecies were taken over and further developed by Sunnī traditionists, especially in Ḥimṣ. The largest contribution was made by Arṭāt b. al-Mundhir (d. 162-3/779-80), an ascetic worshipper highly regarded as a transmitter who produced lengthy predictions, either attributing them to Kaʿb al-Aḥbār [q.v.] and his stepson Tubayʿ b. al-ʿAmir al-Himyārī or in his own name. Arṭāt's predictions turned the Sufyānī into a thoroughly repulsive and monstrous figure resembling the Daḡdǧāl. Sometimes Arṭāt divided the Sufyānī into two figures. The first one, named 'Abd Allāh b. Yazīd, would be al-Azhar or al-Zuhri b. al-Kalbiyya, the deformed Sufyānī (*al-Sufyānī al-muḥawwah*). He would take the *ḡizya* from the Muslims, enslave their children and split open the wombs of pregnant women. After he had died from a carbuncle, another Sufyānī would come forth in the Ḥidjāz. He, too, would be deformed, flat-headed, with scarred forearms and hollow eyes.

In Egypt, the apocalyptic Sufyānī figure was promoted and elaborated by 'Abd Allāh b. Lahīʿa (d. 174/790 [q.v.]) in numerous traditions spuriously ascribed to early authorities including Companions and the Prophet. Although one-eyed (*aʿwar*) and the perpetrator of massacres of Abbāsids and ʿAlids, Ibn Lahīʿa's Sufyānī could not compete with Arṭāt's in repulsive ugliness and bestiality nor be described as a forerunner of the Daḡdǧāl.

The Umayyad rebel Abū ʿl-ʿAmayṭar, a grandson of Khālīd b. Yazīd b. Muʿāwiya, who rose against the Abbāsid caliphate in Damascus in 195/811, gained some support as the expected Sufyānī. Already before the eruption of the revolt, the Damascene traditionist al-Walīd b. Muslim spread the prediction that the Sufyānī would inevitably come forth even if only a single day remained of the year 195. Umayyad backers claimed that the signs for the Sufyānī mentioned in the prophecies were present in Abū ʿl-ʿAmayṭar and that Kalb would be his supporters. A prophecy describing the reign of Hārūn al-Raṣīd and the succession of his son al-Amīn foretold the appearance of



the Sufyānī during the latter's reign and the collapse of the 'Abbāsīd caliphate. Abu 'l-'Amaytar, however, rejected the Sufyānī title for himself, evidently because of the negative implications in the apocalyptic tradition.

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(W. MADELUNG)

AL-SUHAYLĪ, 'ABD AL-RAHMĀN B. 'ABD ALLĀH, Abu 'l-Kāsim (508-81/1114-85), Andalusī scholar of the religious sciences.

He was born either in the village of Suhayl, modern Fuengirola, or in nearby Málaga, and studied Kur'ān, *ḥadīth* and philology there as well as in Cordova and Granada. His most famous teacher was Ibn al-'Arabī [q.v.], under whom he studied for a while in Seville. Settled in Málaga, he led a quiet scholarly life. Since he had lost his sight at the age of seventeen, he relied for his reading and writing on, among others, Ibn Dihya [q.v.], his best-known pupil. At the Almohad court in Marrākush, where he stayed for some time, he achieved fame and wealth; he died during a visit to Morocco in 581/1185.

His fame rests on his *Rawḍ al-unuf*, a commentary on Ibn Hishām's biography of the Prophet. This contains old material which has not been preserved elsewhere, sc. *sīra* texts by al-Zuhri, Mūsā b. 'Ukba [q.v.], Yūnus b. Bukayr and others. It also provides evidence for fragments of Ibn Ishāq in versions other than that of Ibn Hishām. The *Rawḍ* was commented upon and criticised by Mughultāy [q.v.].

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5. In mediaeval 'Irāk.

Before the Arab conquest of 'Irāk there were markets frequented by Arabs in ancient cities, such as al-Hīra and al-Madā'in [q.v.]. There was also a so-called "sūk Baghdād" on the west bank of the Tigris, where a monthly market was held during the Sāsānīd period. The latter was raided by Arab troops as early as the caliphate of Abū Bakr (Le Strange, *Baghdad*, 12, 101). Following the Arab conquest of 'Irāk, the founders of the garrison towns of Baṣra and Kūfa designated an open space close to the mosque for use as a market.

In this they were emulating the Prophet Muḥammad who had designated an open space in Medina for a similar use. A distinctive method in the organisation of markets began to emerge in the new Islamic cities of Wāsiṭ, Baghdād and Sāmarrā' during the late Umayyad and early 'Abbāsīd periods. Evidence from the 'Abbāsīd period suggests that there were often a series of markets (*aswāk*) adjacent to each other and separated only by roads and streets. Outside the central market in Baghdād and Sāmarrā', other markets were created for local residents and there were also a number of smaller markets known by the diminutive *suwayka*.

Markets, according to al-Shayzarī (d. 589/1193), author of the earliest *ḥisba* manual, should be as spacious and wide as possible (like the Roman market), and every kind of craft or profession (*san'a*) represented in it should be allocated its own market (*sūk*). The reference to separate space for each product sold or manufactured probably implies a series of markets or a row of shops and workshops producing and selling similar goods. Thus al-Shayzarī recommends that a market should allocate space to a concentration of shops selling the same product. The shops were arranged in a linear fashion along roads, streets and lanes. The author further recommends that traders who used fire in the preparation of their products, such as bakers (*ḡabbāzūn*), cooks (*ṭabbāḡūn*) and blacksmiths (*ḥaddādūn*) should for safety reasons have their shops at some distance from others, for instance, perfumers (*ʿaṭṭārūn*) and cloth merchants (*bazzāzūn*). A similar market layout was endorsed by Ibn Bassām al-Muḥtasib. Other principles applied to the organisation of shops in a market took into account non-topographical considerations. For instance, Ibn al-Djawzī (d. 597/1200), writing about the markets of Baghdād, noted that in the markets of al-Karkh the perfumers did not associate with traders selling noisome goods nor with sellers of fancy or of secondhand goods. People of refined culture lived in special residential areas. No working-class people lived in the Saffron Road (*darb al-zāfarān*) in Karkh; the only residents there were the cloth merchants and perfume traders (cf. *Manāḡib Baghdād*, 28). The segregation of the traders in products that smelled nice (perfumes, sweets, jewellery, silk cloth, etc.) from those dealing in smelly things, such as tanners, dyers, garbage collectors and bric-à-brac merchants, was a principle which seems to have been widely applied in laying out these markets. Such social custom, according to Massignon, was responsible for the practice of housing the markets of the jewellers (*sūk al-sāgha*) with those of the money-changers (*sūk al-sayārif*) (*Khūṭa Baghdād*, 84). Another reason for grouping the shops of jewellers and money-changers together was probably the fact that these commercial enterprises were monopolised by Jews and Christians.

Al-Shayzarī's views on the topographical organisation of markets, in which shops and workshops were grouped together for manufacturing or selling similar goods, reflect the broadly-accepted principles followed by Arab town-planners in the early Islamic period. Our knowledge of the early 'Irākī markets goes back to the 1st/7th century, when Baṣra and Kūfa were laid out using these principles, according to al-Tabarī.

Baṣra was founded in 16/637 on the site of the base camp established by 'Uṭba b. Ḡhazwān, whose first action was to select the site of the mosque. At the same time, Bilāl b. Abī Burda marked out a makeshift market, which was gradually expanded, thus contributing to Baṣra's success as a trading centre.



It seems that a site for the town's market was not originally allocated. The governor 'Abd Allāh b. 'Amir later chose a particular site, which came to be known as *sūk 'Abd Allāh*. His successor Ziyād b. Abīhi encouraged the settlers to establish a permanent market. The *sūk 'Abd Allāh*, which was located within the residential quarters, proved inadequate for a rising population (cf. Naji and Ali, 298-309), and the old market was transferred to the Bilāl canal (*nahr Bilāl*). Most of the early markets of Baṣra were on designated open space, and permanent shops (*ḥānūt*) were not built until the 3rd/9th century.

During the 1st-2nd/7th-8th centuries Baṣra's markets selling specialised wares were located in a single space or road; for instance, the leather market (*sūk al-dabbāghīn* (lit. tanners' market), the camel market (*sūk al-ibl*), market of the straw sellers (*sūk al-tabbānīn*) and the locksmith's market (*sūk al-kaffālīn*). The Mirbad [q.v.] market was situated at the caravan station on the edge of the desert, where town-dwellers and Bedouin gathered to sell camels and other animals and to listen to poets reciting poems and orators speaking on current affairs. By the 3rd-4th/9th-10th centuries, the great market (*sūk al-kabīr*) was located at the junction between the Ma'kil Canal and the Ibn 'Umar Canal, where a variety of products, including glassware, bottles, combs, textiles, cooked food, flour, fish, fruits and vegetables were sold. Carpenters and tailors also had their shops there. The shore market (*sūk al-kallā*) lay in the residential area along the Fayl canal. It also had a food market (*sūk al-ta'ām*), which sold flour, rice, dates, meat, vinegar and second-hand goods. In addition, there was a money-changers' market, a goldsmiths' market and a slave market (*sūk al-nakḥḥāsīn*).

Baṣra's trade with foreign merchants was conducted through the ancient port of al-Ubulla [q.v.], which was linked to the garrison city through a canal dug by Ziyād b. Abīhi (Yāqūt, *Buldān*, Cairo 1906, i, 89-90). One traveller noted in 443/1051 that al-Ubulla was located to the south-west of Baṣra, and the Shaṭṭ al-'Arab [q.v.] lay to the east of this port, which had thriving markets, caravanserais, mosques and luxury villas. The Ubulla canal was busy with boats carrying merchandise to and from Baṣra. Naṣīr-i Khusrāw visited the city in the mid-5th/11th century and found that Baṣra's markets opened for business at different times of the day. For instance, a morning market was held at *sūk al-Khuzā'a*, a mid-day one at *sūk 'Uthmān* and a late-afternoon one at *sūk al-kaddāhīn* (the flint-makers' market) (*Safar-nāma*, 91-5).

Kūfa, which was founded shortly after Baṣra, was a better planned town. However, al-Tabarī does not specify the sites of its markets. Kūfa began with an open-air market. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, who moved his capital from Medina to Kūfa, is reported to have said "For the Muslims, the market is similar to the place of worship: he who arrives first can hold his seat all day until he leaves it" (al-Balādhurī, *Futūḥ*, tr. Hitti, 463-4). The same theory that a seller had a right to a space in the market was upheld by the governors al-Mughīra b. Shu'ba and Ziyād b. Abīhi, who held that a trader who sat in a specific space in a market place could claim the spot so long as he occupied it. This suggests that no permanent shops were built in the market of Kūfa during the early Umayyad period and that these were only erected during the caliphate of Hishām by Khālīd b. 'Abd Allāh al-Kaṣrī. Endorsing al-Balādhurī's statement, al-Ya'qūbī affirms that Khālīd al-Kaṣrī built markets and constructed a room and an arch (*ṭāq*) for every trader (*K. al-Buldān*,

311). Yāqūt, on the other hand, recorded that the Asad Market (*sūk Asad*) built at this time in Kūfa was the work of Asad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Kaṣrī (*Buldān*, v, 175). Setting up a temporary stall/shop in a market incurred no tax during the 1st/7th century.

According to one account, artisans and craftsmen worked in an open space near the central mosque. Al-Djāhīz recorded that much of Kūfa was in ruins in his time (*K. al-Buldān*, 500). Moreover, the cost of living was higher in Kūfa than in Baṣra. For instance, building a house in Kūfa or Baghdād cost 100,000 dirhams, whereas a similar house in Baṣra cost half as much (*ibid.*, 503-4). According to Massignon, the market in Kūfa during the 3rd-4th/9th-10th centuries, included the following craftsmen: the book and paper-sellers were sited on the *kibla* side of the city's major mosque; other crafts nearby included date-sellers (*tammārūn*), the manufacturers and sellers of soap (*aṣḥāb al-sābūn*) and grocers (*baḳḳālūn*). There were also carpet-sellers (*aṣḥāb al-anmāl*) and cloth merchants; laundrymen (*kaṣṣārūn*) at Dār al-Walīd, butchers (*djazzārūn*) and wheat merchants (*ḥannātūn*); sellers of roast meat (*sawwākūn*); other merchants who were neighbours of the tradesmen were money-changers (*ṣayārifa*) and goldsmiths (*ṣayyāghūn*) (*Explication du plan de Kūfa*, in *Opera minora*, iii, 50-1). The markets of Kūfa flourished throughout the 'Abbāsīd period, and after, according to Ibn Djbayr and Ḥamd Allāh al-Mustawfī, but details of commercial activities are lacking in most of our sources. While visiting Kūfa, the Spanish traveller Benjamin of Tudela (ca. 1173) reported that the Jewish population of about 70,000 had an impressive synagogue (*The world of Benjamin of Tudela*, 228). These population figures were probably exaggerated; nevertheless, they remain significant. Jews in the mediaeval Middle East were well known for their commercial activities and their craftsmanship as jewellers, and were also famed as bankers and money-changers. Their presence in large numbers in the predominantly Shī'ī city of Kūfa (only 2,000 Jews lived in Sunnī-dominated Baṣra) would tend to suggest that the former was still an important commercial centre in the late 'Abbāsīd period. But when Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (ca. 1325-54) visited Kūfa, he found that it was merely a caravan station for pilgrims from Mawṣil and Baghdād travelling to Mecca; the commercial city had fallen into ruins as a result of attacks by Bedouin. However, he found the neighbouring Naḍjaf a populous town with a thriving market, admiring the fine and clean *sūk* which he entered through the Bāb al-Ḥaḍra. He then offers details of the layout of the Naḍjaf *sūk*, beginning with the food and vegetable shops, markets of the greengrocers, cooks and butchers, the fruit market, the tailors' market, followed by the covered market (*kaysariyya*) and the perfumers' bazaar, which was close to the alleged tomb of the Imām 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib.

Al-Wāsiṭ [q.v.] was founded by al-Ḥadīdjādī, and its markets, according to the local historian Bahṣhal (d. 292/905), were well planned. The layout of the market allotted to every trade a separate plot of land and segregated each craft or trade. Each group of tradesmen was given its own money-changer (*Tārīkh Wāsiṭ*, 44). Iyās b. Mu'āwiya was appointed inspector of the Wāsiṭ market. A kind of toll or rent was collected from the tradesmen. The *sūk* was divided into two broad sections. On the right side of the market the shops of the food-sellers, cloth merchants, money-changers and perfume traders were located; on the left side, the greengrocers, fruit vendors (*aṣḥāb al-fākiha*) and sellers of second-hand goods (*aṣḥāb al-sukaṭ*)



established their shops or stalls. Day labourers (*ruzdjāriyyūn*) and craftsmen (*sunnā'*) waited for work on a space stretching from the sandal-makers' road (*darb al-kharāzūn*) towards the Tigris river. The market was thus an elaborately laid-out affair. This main market was on the western side of the town.

In planning a circular-shaped double-walled citadel city at Baghdad, with four massive arcaded gates, the 'Abbāsid caliph al-Manṣūr was also responsible for laying out the city's markets in the arcaded space of the four city gates, following the practice of ancient cities such as Jerusalem. However, after ten years or so, Abū Dja'far is said to have been advised by a visiting envoy, the Patricius, from Byzantium that sitting markets near his palace posed danger to a ruler from foreign spies visiting the markets in the guise of traders. Shortly before the removal of the markets from the arcades (measuring 15 × 200 cubits) of the four gates, there was a riot incited by a certain Yahyā b. 'Abd Allāh, whom Abū Dja'far had appointed the city's *muhtasib*, for which Yahyā was executed. Nevertheless, the emergence of the *muhtasib* in Baghdad heralded the rise of this urban institution which regulated the ethical behaviour of traders and craftsmen in the 'Abbāsid markets [see *Ḥisba*].

Following the riots of 157/774, the city's markets were transferred to the district of al-Karkh [*q.v.*] where shops and workshops were laid out on the principle of selling homogenous products in adjacent shops/stalls systematically arranged in rows of roads (*darb*, pl. *darūb*) and streets (*sikka*, pl. *sikak*). The markets of the butchers, who carried sharp tools, were allotted a space at the far end of the market. Thus according to al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, al-Manṣūr instructed his officers Ibrāhīm b. Ḥubaysh al-Kūfī and Khirāsh b. al-Musayyab al-Yamanī to develop the central business district at al-Karkh on the west bank of the Tigris. Al-Manṣūr's successor al-Mahdī was later responsible for laying out the markets at the Bāb al-Tāk and Bāb al-Sha'ir on the east bank of the Tigris, around the palace of Khulid [*q.v.* in Suppl.], in the Ruṣāfa district, and also for establishing the west bank markets in the Harbiyya quarter to the north of the Round City. This quarter was inhabited by Central Asians, who traded with Kh'arazm and Transoxania. Both Ibn al-Fakīh and al-Ya'kūbī describe the markets of Baghdad in the later 3rd/9th century and early 4th/10th century.

The markets in east Baghdad included the *sūk Yahyā* (named after Yahyā al-Barmakī). The land on which this market stood was later awarded by al-Ma'mūn to Tāhir b. al-Husayn at the end of the civil war between the sons of Hārūn al-Rashīd (Ibn al-Fakīh, 55). During the 5th/11th century, when the Saldjūks were controlling Baghdad, there were many reports of arson in the city's markets. In 485/1092 fire raged in the markets of the goldsmiths' and of the money-changers (*sūk al-sāgha wa 'l-ṣayārīf*) resulting in great loss of life; and in 512/1118 the *sūk al-rayāḥīn* (the spice market) and the market of 'Abdūn caught fire, resulting in extensive damage to property in east Baghdad, including the money-changers' shops, millers' inn, the royal mint (*dār al-darb*) and public baths, all of which were destroyed (*Khīṭaṭ Baghdad*, 56-7, 61). Ibn al-Djauzī describes the layout of east Baghdad's markets in the 6th/12th century, which contained high-rise buildings owned by rich merchants, such as the millers (*dakkākūn*), bakers and sellers of sweets (*halwāyiyūn*). There was also a nearby shoe-makers' market (*sūk al-asākīfā*), then a market selling all kinds of birds (*sūk al-ṭayr*), one for aromatic plants/spices, and

in the vicinity of this lay the bankers' or money-changers' shops. Next came shops selling food (*sūk al-mā'kūl*), such as those of the bakers and butchers (*kaṣābūn*). Alongside them there was the goldsmiths' market housed in a most splendid building. Next to it, there was a big market of booksellers and copyists (*sūk al-warrākīn*) in which scholars and poets congregated (*Manāḳib Baghdad*, 26). All these markets of east Baghdad were located close to the market of al-Ruṣāfa and its congregational mosque.

There was an element of competition in the setting up of *sūks*. For instance, the *sūk al-ṭalash* (Thirst Market) formerly known as *suwaykat al-Harashī* was built by Sa'īd al-Harashī for al-Mahdī as a means of transferring some of the business to the east bank at the expense of al-Karkh. Among the smaller markets of east Baghdad were the *suwaykat Naṣr* (attributed to Naṣr b. Mālik), *suwaykat Khālid* (referring to Khālid b. Barmak) at the Shammāsiyya Gate, and *suwaykat al-Hadjdjādī* (related to al-Hadjdjādī b. Waṣīf, a client of al-Mahdī, and the *suwaykat Ahmad b. Abī Khālid*). Similarly, west Baghdad had, besides the great markets of al-Karkh and al-Harbiyya, many other markets, including the *sūk al-Haytham* (referring to al-Haytham b. Mu'āwiyā), the *sūk 'Abd al-Wahhāb* and the fruit market of *dār al-baṭṭikh* (Ibn al-Fakīh, 45). At Kaṣr Waddāh, named after the client of the caliph who was in charge of the arsenal (*ṣāhib khizānat al-silāh*), there were markets selling all kinds of goods; these included over a hundred shops selling paper and books and the shops of copyists (al-Ya'kūbī, *Buldān*, 245). These bookshops spread from the Tāk al-Harrānī to the new bridge on the Sarāt Canal, occupying both sides of the road and on the bridge itself.

Al-Ya'kūbī, 246, states that, in his time, the market of al-Karkh occupied an area two *farsakhs* in length from Kaṣr Waddāh to the *sūk al-thulātha* (Tuesday Market) and one *farsakh* from the Kaṭī'at al-Rabī' towards the Tigris. Each trade was located in a well-known street and the shops and workshops were arranged in rows of shops. Craftsmen of one kind did not mix with another kind and were segregated from those of other markets, each market constituting a separate unit. The Harb b. 'Abd Allāh Street was the largest street around which people from Balkh, Marw, Bukhārā, Khuttal, Kābul and Kh'arazm settled (248). In the same locality was located the *dār al-rakīk*, where slaves were bought and sold under the supervision of al-Rabī' b. Yūnus. When the Andalusian traveller Ibn Djubayr visited Baghdad in the 6th/12th century, he found that the Harbiyya markets and residential areas had declined. He also noted that the market of the hospital (*sūk al-māristān*) where physicians attended the sick every Monday and Thursday, was located at the old Baṣra Gate in west Baghdad. The shops and workshops of leather workers (*dabbāghūn*) were situated at the 'Isā Canal on the west bank of the Tigris away from the main market of al-Karkh, and not far from a rubbish dump (*kunāsa*) and an ancient graveyard (*Travels*, tr. Broadhurst, 234-5, 244). In 449/1057, a fire caused extensive damage to the food market (*sūk al-ṭa'am*), the wood-sellers' market (*sūk al-khashshābīn*), the carpenters' market (*sūk al-nadjdjārīn*), the butchers' market (*sūk al-djazzārīn*), the dyers' market (*sūk al-sabbāghīn*) and the market of the perfumers and chemists (*sūk al-aṭṭārīn*) which were sited in adjacent buildings (*Khīṭaṭ Baghdad*, 41-3).

On the east bank, construction for the palace of al-Khulid began in 143/760 for the prince al-Mahdī, and this had its own markets: the fief of Badr al-



Wāṣif housed the *sūk al-ʿaṭāṣh*; among the five streets in east Baghdad, there was a *sūk Khudayr*, where Chinese wares were sold. Rents collected from the markets during the 3rd/9th century on both banks of Baghdad, including those from the Mills of the Patricius (*arḥāʾ al-Batrik*), amounted to 12 million dirhams annually. The traders in the markets of Baghdad imported goods from Central Asia and from the Far East as far as China, and al-Djāhiz in his *K. al-Tabaṣṣur bi ʿl-tiḏjāra* gives a list of exotic products available in ʿIrāq's markets.

When al-Muʿtaṣim built the city of Sāmarrāʾ [q.v.], he followed the established pattern for earlier markets in Islamic cities such as Baghdad. After laying out the palace and public buildings, he marked out the site of the chief mosque and built the markets around it; the rows of shops and workshops were made spacious and every kind of product was sold in adjacent shops. In the north of Sāmarrāʾ some groups of Turkish soldiers were allotted land on which to build their houses, but the barracks of the Turks and the men of Farghāna were established far away from the markets so that these troops did not mix with local people and traders. Some folk were settled further north, in the area of al-Dūr, where small markets, some shops and butchers' stalls were built for the *muwalladūn*. The *kaṭīʿa* or fief of Hīzām on which the slave market was situated, was near the guard headquarters and prison. Shops and rooms for housing slaves were located there, and on this main thoroughfare there were houses for the common people and markets where craft and product were sold separately. This was Sāmarrāʾ's second big market. Outside the old Sāmarrāʾ, al-Mutawakkil built a new satellite town, where all the traders of demeaning status, such as the sellers of barley beer, *harīsa* soup and wine (*aṣḥāb al-fukḳāʾ wa ʿl-harāʾis wa ʿl-sharāb*) were isolated from the rest of the market. Market taxes and rents (*ghalla wa-mustaghillāt*) collected in Sāmarrāʾ amounted to ten million dirhams a year.

Mawṣil also had its markets, and its Wednesday (*sūk al-arbaʿa*) and Sunday Markets (*sūk al-aḥad*) were well known as early as the 2nd/8th century. The local historian al-Azdi mentions others markets, including the hay market (*sūk al-haṣḥīsh*) and market of sellers of saddles stuffed with straw (*sūk al-kallābīn*) and food market (363). Al-Mukaddasī noted that Mawṣil had fine markets, which extended to the tanners' road and gypsum sellers' road (*darb al-djassāsīn*). In the city's square (*murabbaʿa*), near the inns, was the Wednesday Market, where farm labourers (*akara*) and harvesters (*hawāsīd*) came from the surrounding countryside to seek temporary or seasonal work in the city. From Mawṣil's covered markets, provisions for Baghdad were transported by boats and caravans. Among other towns, al-Mukaddasī cites Kaṣr Ibn Hubayra, which had a large concentration of weavers and Jews in a thriving market economy. At the same time, Tikrīt was a sizeable town, where a monastery provided the focal point for local Christian pilgrimage and many woollen workers settled there in order to meet the demands of the pilgrims.

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SUKARNO, SOEKARNO, the first President of the independent Republic of Indonesia [q.v.] from 1945 to 1967 (b. 6 June 1901, d. 21 June 1970).

His father, Raden Sukemi, came from lower Javanese nobility and worked as a teacher and civil servant, while his mother originated from a Balinese *brāhmaṇa* family but was excluded after her marriage to her Muslim husband. Sukarno's name in his childhood was Kusno. Later his father renamed him Sukarno, referring to the hero Adipati Karno in the Hindu epic *Mahābhārata*. Already as a small boy, while living with his grandfather in a village, he paid more attention to *wayang* (shadow play) performances, where the stories of the *Mahābhārata* are displayed, than to his homework for school, thus acquainting himself with the ethics of the *ksatriya*, namely, fighting without compromise against evil and injustice but open to mercy and compromise in one's own quarter, and firmly believing in the victory of the righteous ones. Much of his later political vocabulary was rooted in the symbols of *wayang*.

After having finished a European primary school in Mojokerto where he also had to learn Dutch, he moved, aged 15, to Surabaya for further studies. There he stayed in the "open house" of (Hajji) Omar Said (abbrev. HOS) Tjokroaminoto, the charismatic leader of the Sarekat Islam [q.v.] (since 1912), which was the first Indonesian nationalist organisation, founded in 1911. Tjokroaminoto's strong identification with those who suffered under the colonial administration made many people think he might be the *Ratu Adil*, a just ruler expected to arrive before the end of this aeon and end the sufferings of the suppressed people. This expectation had first appeared in Java in the 17th century. Tjokroaminoto himself, however, is said to have stressed that the movement for independence did not involve establishing the rule of a *Ratu Adil*,



but of a *ratuning adil*, a realm of righteousness ruled by the people and their representatives.

During his five years in the Hogere Burger School (HBS) in Surabaya (1916-21) Sukarno became not only acquainted with the aims and targets of the Sarekat Islam (SI), but C. Hartogh, teacher of the German language at the HBS and co-founder of the "Indische Sociaal Democratische Vereeniging" in 1914, introduced Sukarno to socialism and Marxism, warning, however, against too radical action against Western capitalism and favouring an accelerated evolution of the indigenous society and its economy. Among the Indonesian leaders of that time, a controversy between more universal, international, socialist and radical options on the one hand and visions dealing more with the "national" problems in the Dutch colony and favouring stepped-up co-operation with the government for achieving freedom on the other, led finally to a split in the Sarekat Islam. In 1921 the Communist Party (PKI) was established and communists were expelled from the SI, albeit against the will of Tjokroaminoto, who feared a decay of the Nationalist Movement, but thus urged by Hajji Agus Salim, another SI leader. It is noteworthy that the communists in their statements frequently used Islamic or Hindu terminology, particularly that of the modernist movements in both communities, Atatürk and Gandhi being among their favourites. After 1921, the SI became more receptive to the Islamic international movement (so-called Pan-Islamism [*q.v.*]).

After his successful graduation from the HBS and his marriage with a daughter of Tjokroaminoto, Sukarno moved to Bandung in 1921 and there enrolled as a student in the newly-established Technical High School, where he graduated in 1926 as a civil engineer. In Bandung, Sukarno met with more radical nationalists like Douwes Dekker and Tjipto Mangunkusumo, both co-founders of the Nationaal Indische Partij (NIP) whose leaders resided in Bandung. Deeply disappointed with the reviving colonial attitudes and measures after World War I, they refused to co-operate with the government and its institutions, including the Volksraad (consulting body). Sukarno adopted their position and thus estranged himself from Tjokroaminoto and even from his wife, whom he divorced. Thus he became what he remained: a convinced and fervent nationalist advocating religious and ethnic tolerance and equal rights for all Indonesians as internal goals, and fighting capitalism and co-operation with the unjust government as external measures. In contrast to nationalist students who had spent some time in the Netherlands and experienced there a democratic society and a well-functioning administration of the law, Sukarno, lacking such experience, viewed everything Western with deep suspicion and antipathy.

After his graduation, Sukarno dedicated his time and energies to efforts towards uniting the different anti-colonial parties and groups, all of which were pursuing quite different options. Nationalism was endangered from two sides: internationalism and regionalism. Therefore he urged the three strongest groups, namely, the Nationalists (NIP), the Islamic Nationalists (SI), and the Marxists (PKI), to find one voice in fighting against the "Kaurawas", the representatives of colonialism. All nationalists should be united in one goal: achieving *Indonesia merdeka* (an independent Indonesia). On this point Sukarno was not only an analytical thinker, but also—based on the world view of the *wayang*—a bit of a mystic: the notion of nationalism, national unity, resembles a rev-

elation (*wahy*) given by God, and to strive for it is like an act of liturgy or service (*bakti*), the work of a true *ksatriya*. The space of nationalism was as "wide as the air", a perception already present in the early Sarekat Islam, where Marxists, Christians and others were active together.

After both the failure of the new ruler in Arabia (since 1924), 'Abd al-'Aziz of the Āl Su'ūd, to call a conference of the Islamic world, and the founding of the Nahdatul Ulama party in early 1926 in Java, with the aim of safeguarding traditionalist Islamic teaching in the Holy Places, the SI lost interest in pan-Islamic visions. Sukarno and Tjokroaminoto became reconciled, and Hajji Agus Salim encouraged Sukarno to proceed with his plan to establish a Federation of the biggest nationalist organisations, including his own, the "Nationalist Union of Indonesia" (Perhimpunan Nasional Indonesia: PNI) founded in July 1927. Because of communist riots, the PKI had been outlawed in 1927, leaving the struggle for independence to the nationalists and the national Islamists.

Sukarno's self-confidence grew apace. Those who did not agree with his radical attitude but favoured a more consultative way to deal with the Dutch, while firmly striving also for independence, like the socialists, were not included in his front of the "Pendawas". But the colonial government's actions seemed to justify his suspicion and adversary attitude: even people ready for compromise like Tjipto Mangunkusumo, were attacked by the Dutch with false accusations and exiled.

In 1930 the outbreak of a Pacific war was expected, one which, it was hoped, would bring colonial rule in Asia to its end. In Indonesia, old prophecies related to Jayabaya, a Javanese king of the 12th century, who is said to be the source of the *Ratu Adil* expectations as well, foretold the victory of a "yellow people"; Sukarno, and with him many other people from India to China, expected the Japanese to take the leading role in this forthcoming anti-colonial revolution, remembering their victory over Russia in 1905. Combining Jayabaya with Karl Marx's prediction of the final victory of the suppressed proletariat, Sukarno firmly believed in the imminent victory of the "brown" people, or Pendawas. Although imperialistic themselves, the Japanese would at least crush the power of the U.S. and England and other colonial powers from the West and thus pave the way for final liberation. But to prevent such expectations causing unrest, on 29 December 1929 the colonial government detained all leaders of Sukarno's PNI, including himself. Although it was impossible during the subsequent trials to prove that the PNI or Sukarno himself had any concrete plans for an insurrection, he was sentenced to four years imprisonment in December 1930, thereby becoming an innocent martyr for many Indonesians. After an act of clemency by the then departing Governor-General De Graaf, Sukarno was released at the end of December 1931. But both organisations led by him, the PNI and the Federation, did not survive his detention and were dissolved by the remaining leaders. This was criticised by a leader of the Perhimpunan Indonesia (PI, "Indonesian Union") in the Netherlands, Moh. Hatta, who accused Sukarno of only provoking the government and not trying to educate the people at the same time.

For Sukarno and his supporters, these events only showed how important he himself was for the independence movement. Thus the nationalists split into two groups: one gathered into the PNI Baru ("New"



PNI) around the socialist Sutan Sjahrir who, like Moh. Hatta, originated from West Sumatra, preferring incisive analyses of the political and societal situation and the functional role of organisations, and the other gathered around Sukarno in the Partindo (Partai Indonesia), which emphasised more strongly a feeling of unity that took in specific dissent. Partindo now became the platform for Sukarno's new concept of "Marhaenism", which he also called "Socio-Nationalism"; Marhaen was a common name mainly among Sundanese farmers (cf. Dahm, 110). A feeling of social responsibility would unite all Indonesians—not only the proletariat—to establish social justice in the nation. No opposition or deviation would be tolerated. The leadership of a Marhaenist party would have the right to punish anyone who disturbed the consensus by exclusion. For this attitude, Sukarno was much criticised by Sutan Sjahrir and Moh. Hatta, who urged the acceptance of democratic rules. On 1 August 1933, Sukarno was again detained and consequently exiled to the island of Flores. He terminated his membership in Partindo, which later (1936) dissolved itself. His isolation in Flores encouraged him to revive old acquaintances in the SI, which meanwhile had become Partai Sarekat Islam Indonesia (PSII), trying to harmonise Islamic internationalism with Indonesian nationalism. Friendly contact with Catholic missionaries seems to have strengthened his religious awareness. In 1938 he was transferred to Bengkulu (Bencoolen), West-Sumatra, where he became a member of the reformist Muhammadiyah social organisation. There he joined those who pleaded for a radical new interpretation of Qur'an and Sunna, one which was sometimes too rationalist for other members like Moh. Natsir, who urged obedience to tradition in matters of faith first and then revision of social rules. To justify his more radical position, Sukarno pointed to the progress Atatürk and the Kemalists had achieved in Turkey. He pleaded for a separation of state and religion, which led to another emotional controversy with Moh. Natsir in 1941.

When Japan started occupying Indonesia in 1941, Sukarno, who returned to Java in July 1942, was open for co-operation with the proviso that the Japanese should help the Indonesians to achieve their independence in accord with Jayabaya's prophecy. The foundation of the "putera" (Pusat Tenaga Rakyat, centre for people's work; *putera* means literally "son"), intended as a basis of the people's support for Japan, became Sukarno's basis of action.

The ambiguous policy of the Japanese—sometimes treating "the Southern Regions" as a colony, occasionally also promising self-government, and sometimes favouring the Islamist nationalists, while on other occasions preferring the religiously neutral nationalists—led to an estrangement between Sukarno and the Japanese government, which added to Sukarno's popularity. But after the announcement of Prime Minister Koiso on 7 September 1944 that all Indonesian peoples should be granted independence, and despite the people's continued distrust of and contempt for those who co-operated with the Japanese, Sukarno on the one hand urged support for the Japanese, who faced the advancing Allied forces, and on the other hand urged the Japanese to speed up their plans lest the Allies return to a still-occupied Indonesia and therefore re-establish colonial rule. His violent pro-Japanese agitation and loyalty to Japan, and his emotional anti-Western rhetoric, again earned him much criticism. But on 28 May 1945, the Investigating Board for Preparatory Work on Indonesian Independence (the

BPUPKI), appointed by the Japanese, started its work. On 1 June, Sukarno presented his famous concept of the Pancasila (Pantjasila, "Five Principles"), meant to become the *weltanschauliche* basis of the Indonesian Constitution to which all Indonesians could consent (Eng. tr. in Mangullang, 198ff.): Nationalism (one nation, *kebangsaan*), Internationalism or Humanity (*perikemanusiaan*), People's Rule (*kerakyatan*, always striving for consent, *mufakat*, from Ar. *muwāfaka*), Social Justice (*keadilan sosial*, originally social welfare, *kesejahteraan sosial*) and Divine Oneness (*Ketuhanan yang Maha Esa*). These could also be reduced to three: socio-nationalism, socio-democracy and Divine Oneness, or to one: *gotong royong* (the Javanese principle of mutual co-operation), as Sukarno stated. Complaints from the side of the Islamists led to a compromise on 22 June, stating the *Ketuhanan* as first principle with the addition that all Muslims are obliged to follow the *Shari'a*; this compromise became known as the Jakarta Charter. Encouraged by the Japanese, who referred to "Asian traditions", and very much to the liking of Sukarno, it was also agreed that the independent state should resemble a presidential democracy with a parliament (Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat: DPR) only serving as a consultative body. A People's Consultative Assembly (Dewan Permusyawaratan Rakyat: MPR), consisting of the members of the DPR and other members nominated by the government or by people's organisations, meeting once every five years, was to elect the president and define the general political guidelines for the government. In the general anti-colonial mood, Sukarno and others favoured the inclusion into Indonesia Merdeka of peninsular Malay and territories on Borneo and Timor still claimed by the British and Portuguese. This proposal was rejected by the Japanese, who wanted Indonesia restricted to the former Dutch possessions. Under pressure from external and internal events, Sukarno, assisted by Moh. Hatta, declared the independence of Indonesia in the early morning of 17 August 1945.

During the following days the Preparatory Committee for Indonesian Independence, inaugurated by the Japanese on 7 August, met and passed the provisional constitution (Basic Law), with a modified Pancasila, included in the Preamble: as second principle there now stands Internationalism, with Nationalism becoming the third principle. The provision of the Jakarta Charter for the Muslims was omitted because it implied a special relation with the Muslims which would endanger the neutrality of the state in religious matters. Sukarno was elected president and Moh. Hatta his vice-president. A Central National Indonesian Committee (Komite Nasional Indonesia Pusat: KNIP) was to support the government until a parliament could be elected, and Sukarno favoured the formation of one political party only, a Partai Nasional Indonesia. In this, however, he was opposed by Sutan Sjahrir, Moh. Hatta and some of the Islamist nationalists. To avoid an open domestic crisis, Sukarno agreed to the formation of different parties and he accepted also that ministers should be accountable to the parliament or the KNIP. Thus Sukarno's short-lived presidential government came to its end, and on 14 November 1945, a parliamentary government was elected with Sutan Sjahrir as prime minister.

Sukarno's popularity increased again when he, Hatta, Sjahrir and other leaders of the young republic were detained by the Dutch, who wanted to re-establish their rule and punish at the same time those



who had collaborated with the Japanese. After the end of the Dutch police actions and acknowledgement of Indonesia's independence in late 1949, Sukarno was accepted as president, an office still to his own dislike, however, as it was hampered by the liberal constitutions that were drafted in 1949 and 1950. He met other challenges from the militant Islamists, who staged insurrections in West Java and Sulawesi, and from regionalists, who opposed the strong political and economic centralisation in Java. His international reputation increased in 1955 when, inspired by the second principle of Pancasila, he succeeded in hosting in Bandung the first conference of independent "Third World" leaders (his opening speech is in Feith and Castles, 454 ff.). During the political campaigns preceding the 1955 elections to the first parliament, and, some months later, to a Constitutional Assembly (Konstituante) to design a final constitution, Sukarno made it clear that he wanted a presidential republic based on the Pancasila, against the option of an Islamic state, and also a unitary state, against demands for more autonomy in the areas outside of Java. In opposition to Sukarno's agitation, Moh. Hatta resigned as vice-president in 1956. Anticipating a great majority of votes in favour of liberal democracy, Sukarno issued a presidential decree on 5 July 1959 dissolving the Konstituante and declaring the Basic Law of 1945 as the final constitution. Guided Democracy (*demokrasi terpimpin*) was the name of the new system, himself being the Great Leader (of the Revolution), as he explained in his independence speech on 17 August 1959, which later became known as his "Political Manifesto" (Manipol), elaborated later by "USDEK": the Basic Law of 1945, Indonesian Socialism, Guided Democracy, Guided Economy and Indonesian Identity. In 1960, Sukarno also dissolved the parliament and later in the same year he banned the modernist Islamic party Masyumi, chaired by Moh. Natsir, and the socialist Party of Sutan Sjahrir, both of whose leaders and some followers were detained.

But opposition came now also from the anti-Communist armed forces under Gen. A.H. Nasution. Sukarno tried to balance the antagonising forces by showing favour to the traditionalist Islamic party Nahdlatul Ulama (NU) and the Communist Party (PKI), both of which had strong roots in Java. Under the leadership of the PNI, the old triad from the 1920s reappeared, now styled as "Nasakom": Nasionalisme, Agama (religion, represented by NU), and socialist Communism. The ideological controversies and power play among military leaders inflamed the domestic situation, some of them profiting from the Irian crisis in 1961-2 and the "confrontation" with Malaysia [*q.v.*], the new independent federation (1963) supported by the British and condemned by Sukarno. The PKI, strengthening its ties with Maoist China, increasingly dominated the streets and therefore caused an estrangement with the other allied elements in Nasakom who, on their side, approached some of the military leaders critical of Sukarno, these being mainly in the army, while most of the air force was pro-Sukarno. Anti-American and anti-Soviet agitation prepared the withdrawal of Indonesia from the UNO in early 1965, thus strengthening its alliance with Beijing and other Communist states in South and East Asia. Corruption, mismanagement and nepotism in the bureaucracy and military brought the state close to collapse. In the evening of 30 September 1965, a *coup d'état* was launched, but to this date it is not clear who were the real initiators and what were their aims. Some leading generals of the army close to Sukarno

were murdered, and the later official version under Suharto's rule laid responsibility with the Communists. Sukarno, contrary to his own perception, became a spectator to the events, and on 11 March 1966, he had to sign a letter transferring all executive power and the military command to General Suharto because of his alleged inability to maintain any longer the unity of Indonesia and its people. A few weeks later the PKI was banned, and its leaders and members and many other people killed, imprisoned or detained in camps. One year later, the new Provisional People's Consultative Assembly stripped Sukarno of the presidency and proclaimed Gen. Suharto acting president. Sukarno spent his last years virtually under house arrest in Bogor until his death. His grave in Blitar, East Java, has become a sacred shrine for many Javanese.

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(O. SCHUMANN)

SULAYMĀN B. AL-ḤAKAM AL-MUSTA'IN, Umayyad caliph of al-Andalus, proclaimed at Cordova in 400/1009, died in 407/1016. The two phases of his reign are located in the period of the Andalusi *fitna* following the "Revolution of Cordova", at the time of the serious political crisis which was to lead to the demise of the Umayyad caliphate in 422/1031.

When the Cordovans put an end to the 'Āmirid régime in Djumādā II-Radjab 399/February-March 1009, and replaced the incompetent caliph Hishām II with one of his cousins, Muḥammad al-Mahdī, the latter, on account of his political blunders, speedily aroused opposition, in particular that of the Maghribī Berber contingents of the Umayyad army, whose families had been the object of harassment on the part of the Cordovans. These soldiers, numbering several hundreds, rallied around Sulaymān b. al-Ḥakam, who was a great-grandson of the first caliph of Cordova, 'Abd al-Rahmān III, and whom they put forward as a claimant to the caliphate. With him, they made their way to the frontier zone of Medinaceli in search of support. Confronted by the former slave governor

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of this region, Wādīh, they obtained the aid of the Count of Castile, Sancho Garcia, in exchange for a promise to cede frontier fortresses to him. Having defeated the forces of Wādīh in *Dhu 'l-Hijjja* 400/August 1010, they returned to Andalusia to march on Cordova, which they entered after overpowering the quite significant, but disparate and ineffective troops of al-Mahdī. The latter was forced to take refuge in the capital where Sulaymān was proclaimed caliph on 17 Rabi' 1/9 November, with the *laḳab* of al-Musta'in bi 'llāh.

Having placed himself under the protection of Wādīh, who henceforward became his "strong man", al-Mahdī rallied supporters in the north and, crucially, obtained the support of Count Raymond Borrell III of Barcelona and of his brother Armengol (Ermengaud) of Urgel, in order to march in his turn against Cordova with some 40,000 men, including 9,000 Franks. The defeat of El Vacar (*'akabat al-bakar*, in *Shawwāl* 400/June 1010), 20 km/12 miles to the north of the capital, forced al-Musta'in to flee and enabled al-Mahdī and Wādīh to enter Cordova and restore the caliphate of the former. But this success could not be consolidated, and on 6 *Dhu 'l-Ka'da* 400/21 June 1010 Sulaymān's Berbers inflicted a heavy defeat near Ronda on the forces of al-Mahdī and their Frankish allies. Henceforth, it was Sulaymān al-Musta'in and his Berbers who found themselves again in a position to lay siege to the capital, which resisted until its surrender on 26 *Shawwāl* 403/9 May 1013. The town was sacked by the Berbers and numerous Cordovans were killed, including probably the caliph al-Mahdī, although a rumour was later put about claiming that he had escaped.

Little is known about the second reign of the caliph al-Musta'in, which lasted three years until the insurrection against him by the Maghribī chieftain of Idrisid origin 'Alī b. Hammūd, whom he had appointed governor of Ceuta. The latter took the capital, killed al-Musta'in and obtained the *bay'a* of the Cordovans, who recognised him under the name of al-Nāṣir li-dīn Allāh (22 *Muḥarram* 407/1 July 1016).

Sulaymān al-Musta'in seems to have been endowed with more qualities than his rival al-Mahdī, reasonably cultivated but of irresolute character and very much dependent on the Berbers who had put him in power. A large portion of the territory of al-Andalus eluded his authority. He consolidated the local power of certain chieftains who were in process of becoming "party kings" [see *MULŪK AL-ṬAWĀ'IF*], such as the *Tuḡlībīd* al-Mundhir b. Yahyā, who had lent him his support at Saragossa. In particular, he appointed his Berber supporters to command regional "fiefs" which were in fact virtually amirates, the most important being that of the *Ṣanhāḡī* Zīrids of Granada which was to last until the arrival of the Almoravids.

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SULAYMĀN KHĒL, a *Pashṭūn* tribe [see *AFGHĀN*. (i) The people].

Ghalzay [*q.v.*] *Pashṭūns* were principal actors in 18th century political and military events in *Afghānistān* and Persia. By 1800 a political identity had congealed around the largest *Ghalzay* tribal confederation, the *Sulaymān Khēl*, whose landholdings increased throughout eastern *Afghānistān*, particularly in and south of the area roughly bounded by *Ghazna*, *Djalālabād*, and *Kābul* [*q.v.*], during the 19th century. The largest *Sulaymān Khēl* tribe, the *Aḥmadzay*, remain prominent in this region. The *Djabār Khēl* are the *khān khēl* of the *Sulaymān Khēl* and all eastern *Ghalzays*.

The *Sulaymān Khēl* were strongly represented in the consistent *Ghalzay* political opposition and military resistance to *Durrānī* [*q.v.*] government initiatives from 1747 to 1978. However, from the late 1800s onwards a small but growing number of *Sulaymān Khēl* individuals and families became dependent upon state patronage. The ethnic composition of all central governments in the increasingly *Kābul*-centred *Afghān* political environment after 1978 reflects a growing presence of *Ghalzays*. *Aḥmadzay* *Sulaymān Khēl* visibility in post-monarchal *Afghān* state politics is illustrated by Dr. *Nadṣibullāh*'s tenure of office as President (1986-92).

Like all *Ghalzay*, the *Sulaymān Khēl* are notable for socio-cultural heterogeneity and vibrant commercial activity during annual nomadic migrations in and between *Turkistān*, *Khurāsān* and India.

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SÜLEYMĀN DHĀTĪ, Ottoman poet and *Ṣūfī* adherent of the *Khalwatiyya* order and *khalīfat* of *Sheykh* *Ismā'il Hakkī*, b. in Gallipoli, d. 1151/1738-9 as *püst-neshīn* of the *Khalwatī tekke* in *Keshan*. He left behind a *divān* of *Ṣūfī*-inspired verse and a verse treatise, *Sawānīh al-nawādir fī ma'rīfat al-anāsīr* or *Madḡma' al-anāsīr* (printed together, Istanbul 1289/1872); *Sharḥ-i kaṣīda yi-Hadrat Ismā'il Hakkī*, a commentary on a *Ṣūfī* poem; and *Miftāḥ al-masā'il*, dealing with various theological questions, such as predestination, the nature of the afterlife, etc. (all these works preserved in Istanbul mss.).

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(TH. MENZEL*)

SULTĀN 'ALĪ ŪGHLĪ (SOLTANGALIEV), MİR SAYYID (ca. 1885-28 January 1940), leader of the Muslim Communist movement in Russia.

Son of a *mu'allim* (teacher), in a village in the Urals, *Karmaskaly* (in the canton of *Sterlitamak*, currently the Republic of *Bashkortostan*), MİR Sayyid studied in his father's *maktāb*—a reformed school where, in addition to religion and *ādāb*, reading was taught according to the "new method" (*uṣūl-i dījadīd*) based on phonetics introduced by the Tatar from the Crimea, *Ismā'il Ghāspīrālī* (Gasprinskiy, 1851-1914

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[see GASPRALI (GASPRINSKI) ISMĀ'ĪL] as well as some secular subjects such as arithmetic and the rudiments of geography and modern history. His knowledge of Russian, which he learned from his father, enabled him to study at the Tatar High School (*Tatarşkaya učitel'skaya şkola*) of Kazan, the only state-sponsored secondary education facility available to the Muslims of the Empire. From the mid-1890s onwards, a group of pupils formed a secret revolutionary society there, led by the writer Muḥammad 'Ayyād Ishāķī (1878-1954) and influenced by Russian populism; it was to make a profound and lasting impression on the young Soltangaliev. After 1905, as an employee of the Municipal Library of Ufa, he was to participate in the *Islāhī* movement of the young Tatar intelligentsia, of which 'Ayyād Ishāķī was the most prominent figure. Soltangaliev contributed, under various pseudonyms, to the leading journals of the Urals, most notably *Tūmush* ("Life"), a reformist Tatar review in which he published translations of the later works of Tolstoy. From 1911 onward he published stories and articles in the *Musul'manskaya gazeta* ("Muslim Journal") of Moscow, showing the influence of his Tatar and Russian literary models; his themes (reform of education, the status of women, the parasitism of the mullahs, the political vocation of students committed to the public good), borrowed from Russian populism, had been promulgated from Kazan since the beginning of the century by authors sympathetic to the *Islāhī* movement such as 'Ayyād Ishāķī or the novelist and poet 'Abd Allāh Ṭuķāy (1886-1913). During the First World War, Soltangaliev took up a teaching appointment in Baku; from there he contributed to various Russian Muslim periodicals.

December 1917-March 1919. Revolution as an instrument of conquest of political autonomy.

In April 1917, Soltangaliev was summoned to Moscow to direct the executive committee of the "Muslim Congress", before making his way to Kazan where he joined the "Muslim Socialist Committee". Created the 7 [19] April on the basis of Muslim workers' committees, the MSC was led by Mullā Nūr Waḥīdov (Vahitov) (1885-1918) whose project was to unite the revolutionary forces of the Tatar lands into a militarised group. The political ideas of Waḥīdov—who was to be killed in the early stages of the Civil War—constituted the basis of what would later be called "Soltangalievism"; they centred on the struggle against traditionalism, the liberation of Muslims from Russian domination and the extension of Socialism to all of Islam. However the Bolshevik *coup d'état* of 26 October [8 November] 1917, imposed Russian power in the Volga-Ural region, since Russians dominated the urban and provincial soviets of Kazan. The party of Lenin was nevertheless seen as constituting a superb school of political theory; Muslim nationalist leaders like Waḥīdov understood that by imitating him they could, perhaps, neutralise him. After all, Lenin's "April Decrees" (1917) were perceived as allowing the minorities of the former Empire to hope for a right of secession.

The leadership of the MSC (Waḥīdov, and his lieutenant Soltangaliev) sought to exploit the anarchy into which Russia had been plunged to exact concessions from the Bolshevik leaders, who needed all the support they could get. At the end of 1917, Stalin, Commissar of the People for the Nationalities, called on Soltangaliev to direct the Muslim section of his ministry. On 19 January 1918, Stalin created the "Central Commissariat for Muslim Affairs of the Russian Interior and Siberia" (*Muskom*), headed by Waḥīdov; Soltangaliev was recruited in June to take

charge of propaganda in Muslim circles. Until the offensive mounted by the White Armies on the Volga in July 1918, the regions populated by Muslims in European Russia were covered by a network of regional and local commissariats dominated by nationalist partisans, independent of the local soviets which were dominated by Russians. Controlled by the *Muskom*, these commissariats were to form the nucleus of the great "Tatar and Bashkir Republic" promised by Stalin to the Communist Muslim leaders. In a parallel development, Waḥīdov and Soltangaliev created in Moscow, on 8 March, the Muslim Socialist-Communist Party (replaced in June by the "Party of Communist (Bolshevik) Muslims of Russia").

Autonomous in its relations with the Russian CP, the new party severed links with the "bourgeois" Muslim organisations which were henceforward isolated (an example of this being the dismal episode of the short-lived "Republic of Transbulakia" in Kazan), but sought to gather Muslim revolutionaries into a united front. Waḥīdov and Soltangaliev concentrated their efforts on the training of political cadres (with the projected Muslim University of Kazan, a long-standing demand of the *Islāhī* movement), and on the mobilisation throughout the Volga-Ural region of the Muslim regiments of the Red Army. From August onward, however, these regiments were incorporated into Russian units, after the fall of Kazan into the hands of the Whites, who executed Waḥīdov. In November 1918, at the "First Congress of Communist Muslims", Soltangaliev and Ismā'īl Firdāws (1888-1937) a Tatar from the Crimea, sought confirmation of the autonomy of the Muslim Communist Party. But Stalin, intent on retaining control of the "colonial revolution", rejected this demand; the crucial moment when the Tatars could argue with the Russians over the direction of the revolutionary movement seemed to have passed. In fact, from the spring of 1919 onward, the Civil War turned on the eastern front in favour of the Bolsheviks, and in the Muslim territories reconquered by the Red Army, the civil and military apparatus installed by Waḥīdov was dismantled.

March 1919-April 1923. Russian monolithism against Muslim polycentrism.

From March 1919, the 8th Congress of the Russian Communist Party (in Moscow, 18-23 March) proposed the suppression of all national communist organisations. The "Bureau of Muslim Organisations"—which had replaced the Muslim Communist Party—was replaced in its turn by a "Central Bureau of Communist Organisations of the Peoples of the Orient". It was the principle of the distinctness and unity of the Muslim world, dear to the former leaders of the *Islāhī* movement, which was thus negated. The "oriental" revolution was making rapid progress, in Persia especially, where the *Djāngalī* movement [*q.v.*] was supported militarily by the Bolsheviks. But the policy of the Komintern in the Middle East was also to be marked by a fundamental divergence between Russians, supporters of monolithism, and Muslims, supporters of decentralisation. At the "Congress of Oriental Peoples" in Baku, September 1920, the ideas of Soltangaliev regarding the liberation of colonial peoples were in collision with those of the Komintern, which was only interested in the East as a source of temporary assistance to the western industrial proletariat, through the weakening of colonial powers. Soltangaliev sought to bypass the obstacle of the RCP by approaching the "Organisation of Communist Youth" (Komsonol); between 12 and 18 September



1920 he convened in Moscow the "First Pan-Russian Conference of Communist Organisations of the Lands of the Orient" where he evoked for the first time, it seems, the notion of a "colonial Communist International", independent of the Komintern. Cast in a minority, he succeeded nevertheless in transforming the komsonols of the Muslim republics of Russia into power-bases of his movement.

In the autumn of 1920, after the victories of the Red Army on all fronts, the civil war came to an end. As the Muslim communist party no longer existed and the dream of a great Tatar and Bashkir Muslim State had been frustrated (Stalin had opted for the creation of two small and distinct republics, Tatar and Bashkir), the Muslim nationalist communists turned their efforts towards the new national republics. At the same time, they promoted their ideas externally: Soltangaliev won over an international audience at the Communist University of Workers from the East, founded in Moscow in 1921. Refusing to reject outright the Tatar heritage and the religion of Islam, he also maintained contact with the principal reformist 'ulamā', among whom ʿAlimdjān Bārūdī (*muftī* of Russia between 1917 and 1921) and Riḍā al-Dīn Fakhr al-Dīn (*muftī* from 1922 till his death in 1936), and sought to maintain their role as cultural intermediaries between the Soviet authorities and the Muslim, essentially rural, masses. Islam was presented as an oppressed religion, whose historical evolution, cherishing among its adherents a strong sense of solidarity, had to some extent resisted the anti-religious campaigns of the early Soviet period. Stalin was soon to see, in these efforts, an aspiration to found an "Islamic Communism" opposed to Marxism-Leninism.

April 1923-November 1928. East versus West?

In the spring of 1921, the 10th Congress of the Russian Communist Party pushed the nationalist Communist Muslims towards clandestine opposition, by denouncing "nationalist deviants". The notion of a non-Russian socialist party, mooted in the spring of 1919, was revived in November of the same year: a number of leaders, assembled in Moscow by Soltangaliev, decided to create an independent socialist Muslim party, which came into being the following year under the name of *Itihād wa Tarakkī* ("Unity and Progress"). In parallel, from the start of the year 1921, the Tatar Republic underwent a period of intense nationalist agitation, which continued throughout the following two years. At a regional conference of the Russian CP in Kazan, March 1923, the Tatar majority went as far as to pass a motion demanding the expulsion of Russian colonists as well as a radical "nativisation" of the administrative apparatus of the republic; the Tatar communists refused, furthermore, to purge their organisation of its non-proletarian elements.

Shortly after this, in the wake of the 12th Congress of the CP, which witnessed, in April, the denunciation of "local nationalisms", Soltangaliev was arrested in Moscow on a personal order from Stalin, countersigned by the principal Bolshevik leaders. Excluded from the Russian CP, Soltangaliev, like many former *Islāhī* activists (such as Čulpān in Central Asia), seems to have been preoccupied by awareness of an insoluble conflict between East and West, and to have been convinced that the Bolshevik revolution was the most dangerous, because the most penetrating, attempt by the West to perpetuate its domination. Soltangaliev was soon at the heart of a secret organisation led by Communist Tatars and linked with various clandestine groups in European Russia, the Caucasus and

Central Asia (*Ālāsh Orda* in Kazakstan, *Milli Firka* in the Crimea, the former *Hümmet* in Azerbaidjan and *Milli Itihād* in Uzbekistan). The political thought of Soltangaliev, from 1923 onward, is known only from the criticisms voiced by his opponents, and the "confessions" extracted in the course of his successive trials. His political programme hinged on the creation of a great Turkish national state in Russia, the "Republic of Turan", governed by a single party, but based on state capitalism and with economic independence assured by orientation towards the lands of the Far and the Middle East.

An attack on the part of the commissars of the people of the Tatar Republic led to the second arrest of Soltangaliev in November 1928, the prelude to a series of large-scale and bloody purges which were to be inflicted periodically on all the republican communist parties until 1939, not sparing the national intelligentsias. Sentenced in 1929 to ten years of hard labour as an agent of imperialism, Soltangaliev was deported to the camp of the Solovki islands on the White Sea. He took advantage of early release in 1934, only to be arrested again in 1937 and tortured, then executed 28 January 1940. On the eve of the Second World War, Soltangalievism seems to have been eradicated in Russia. In Central Asia and in the Caucasus, as the Muslim nations had made good the lack of cultural development which in the early 20th century had separated them from the Tatars, the latter had lost their status as models to be copied. Born in a land of secular confrontation between Muslims and Christians, Tatar nationalism, initially supposed to be spread beyond the zone of the Middle Volga, was ultimately to withdraw, confined to its place of origin. Soltangaliev, mythologised outside the USSR as the father of non-European, even anti-European revolution, enjoyed in Russia itself only a belated rehabilitation—today virtually limited to the territory of Tatarstan, of which he was not a native. His memory has helped the Turkish-speaking peoples of the former USSR to consider themselves protagonists in their own modern history. But the rediscovery of this history tends to relativise the role played by communist nationalists, giving more credit to the great figures of Muslim reformism. The former and the latter shared, between 1920 and the Second World War, the same conviction of a cataclysmic confrontation between Tatars and Russians, Muslims and Christians, East and West, rural and industrial worlds—a parallelism given insufficient emphasis in studies of Soltangalievism, and in studies of the Muslim reformisms, of which the *Islāhī* movement was a component.

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between the personality of Soltangaliev and the various myths to which he gave rise; for an equally documented, but more global approach, see Azade-Ayşe Rohrlach, *The Volga Tatars. A profile in national resilience*, Stanford 1986, in particular 125-56. Also available for reference, although this is essentially a work based on second-hand sources, nourished by pan-Asiatic sympathies, is the recent synthesis by Masayuki Yamauchi, *Surtangarietu no yume to genjitsu. Shio* ("Dreams and Realities of Soltangaliev. Documents"), Tokyo 1998 (tr. into Turkish by Hironao Matsutani under the title *Sultan Galiev. Islam dünyası ve Rusya* ["Soltangaliev. The world of Islam and Russia"]), Ankara 1998.

(S.A. DUDOIGNON)

ŞUMĀDĪH, BANŪ, Arab dynasty of al-Andalus, ruling in Almeria from 420/1038 to 484/1091, in the epoch of the "party kings" [see **MULŪK AL-ṬAWĀʾIF**].

The Banū Şumādīh were a branch of the powerful Arab family of the Banū Tudjīb of the Upper March (region of Saragossa). At a time when the caliphate was in disarray, a certain Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Şumādīh was governing Huesca, but, before 414/1023, he was expelled from there by his distant cousins of Saragossa, and took refuge in Valencia as a guest of the local sovereign, the ‘Amirid ‘Abd al-‘Aziz al-Manşūr, who gave two of his daughters in marriage to his two sons, Abu ‘l-Aḥwas Ma’n and his brother Abū ‘Utba Şumādīh. This Muḥammad b. Aḥmad died soon afterwards at sea, having set out on the Pilgrimage. After the death in 429/1038 of the former slave and *amīr* of Almeria, Zuhayr [q.v.], the inhabitants of this town placed themselves under the authority of the prince of Valencia, who seems to have sent his son-in-law Ma’n b. Şumādīh to govern Almeria, with the title of *dhū ‘l-wizāratayn*. In circumstances that are unclear, and apparently with the agreement of the populace, the latter declared himself independent, thus founding a new dynasty, but not adopting a *laqab* and not striking his own coinage. Furthermore, for the years 430-5/1038-43 or 1044, there are examples extant of coins of al-Manşūr of Valencia struck at Almeria, which tends to support one of the versions supplied by the sources, according to which this independence did not involve a rift with the prince of Valencia.

In 443/1052, Abū Yahyā Muḥammad b. Ma’n succeeded his father, initially under the tutelage of his uncle Abū ‘Utba on account of his youth. It was during his reign that the power of the Banū Şumādīh took on the "royal" forms current under the taifas: he replaced the "amiral" title of Mu‘izz al-Dawla which he bore at the time of his accession to power, with the more "caliphal"-sounding one of al-Mu‘taşim bi ‘llāh and al-Wāḥiḳ bi-faḳl Allāh. He did not differ in this respect from numerous other sovereigns of taifas in the second half of the 5th/11th century. Coins on which these *laqabs* appeared were minted at Almeria. But it seems that under his reign and in his name, only dirhams of poor quality were minted at Almeria, and in limited quantities, judging by the standard and the rarity of the examples preserved in numismatic collections.

The contemporary geographer and historian al-‘Udhri, a native of the region of Almeria and probably a visitor to the court of the Banū Şumādīh, gives in his *Tarīḳ al-akhbār* a rapturous description of the splendid palace maintained by al-Mu‘taşim in the *kaşaba* which dominates the town of Almeria. Furthermore, it is known that there existed a sub-

stantial royal entertainment complex, situated *extra muros* at the edge of the town, known as the Şumādīhiyya. Although apparently lacking serious politico-military ambitions, this prince was engaged in rivalry, sometimes armed, with his neighbours in Valencia and Granada; these limited conflicts had no effect on the apparent prosperity of a state of considerably reduced dimensions, effectively confined to the region surrounding the major port city of Almeria.

When the Almoravids disembarked in the peninsula in 479/1086, al-Mu‘taşim sent troops commanded by his son Mu‘izz al-Dawla and presents to the *amīr* Yūsuf b. Tāşufīn, excusing himself, on the grounds of age, from participating in the campaign which culminated in the victory of Zallāḳa/Sagrajas. The following year, he was present at the siege of Aledo with troops from Almeria, and even supplied a siege-engine constructed in the form of an elephant. He died in the summer of 484/1091, just as Almoravid troops, having taken possession of Granada, were moving against Almeria; his son resisted for only a few weeks in the *kaşaba* before leaving the city by sea to spend the rest of his life in Bougie [see **BUDJĀYA**], then governed by the Ḥammādid. In Ramaḍān 484/October-November 1091, the Almoravids absorbed Almeria and the taifa into their empire.

Like other courts of the taifas, that of the Banū Şumādīh was a literary centre, which seems to have maintained a certain ideal of Arabism: it was in response to a poet at the court of al-Mu‘taşim who had insisted on the Arab origins of the dynasty, that Ibn Garcia, secretary and court poet to Muḍjahid, prince of Denia, composed a *Risāla* known as the principal text of the *Şu‘ūbiyya* movement in al-Andalus.

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AL-SUNĀMĪ, ‘UMAR B. MUḤAMMAD B. ‘IWAD, Ḥanafī scholar of mediaeval Muslim India whose importance comes from his work on *hisba* [q.v.], the *Nisāb al-ihtisāb*, which refers to the author's own role in this office. Judging by the number of surviving mss., some sixty, the work was highly popular in the eastern Islamic lands. Previous scholars have been uncertain about the author's origins and life (cf. e.g. Brockelmann, S II, 427). It now seems clear from internal evidence in his book that he stemmed from Sunām, a place that still exists in the modern Indian province of Panjab, to the south-west of Patiala; that he lived under the Dihlī Sultans [q.v.], in particular, in the time of Muḥammad b. Tughluk (r. 725-52/1325-51 [q.v.]); and that he died at the newly-founded

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Deccan capital of the Tughluks, Dawlatābād [q.v.], the ancient Dēōgīrī, around or after 743-4/1333-4.

The value of the *Nisāb* lies in the fact that it is the first known Ḥanafī text on *ḥisba*, with its practical and theoretical approaches reflecting al-Sunāmī's dual functions as a lawyer and a *muhtasib*. The author tackles the common problems facing the *muhtasib* in accordance with the Ḥanafī *madhhab*, and his insights show the importance of local Indian customs and the practices of daily life, often denounced by him as *bidaʿ*, within the formal framework of Islamic law.

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(MAWIL Y. IZZI DIEN)

SÜRGÜN (τ., lit. "expulsion"), a term of Ottoman administrative and social policy.

It encompasses a wide range of practices employed by the Ottomans, not just to remove dissident elements from politically troubled provinces, but also more constructively to achieve vital state-defined economic and military objectives. The term is better translated as population transfer or strategic resettlement, and its purpose was fundamentally different from the purely punitive sentence of internal exile or banishment (*nefī*) temporarily imposed on individual members of the ruling élite who had incurred the sultan's disfavour. The use of *sürgün* forcibly to remove fractious elements such as uncooperative tribes or rebellious city populations from persistently troublesome areas is documented as part of the Ottomans' attempts to impose control over Anatolia, especially during the closing decades of the 8th/14th and the first part of the 9th/15th century. However, its use as a weapon for political suppression without concomitant social or economic benefits was frowned on in Muslim popular opinion (see Ibn Kēmal's remarks on the mass deportations from Lārende to Istanbul in 872/1467-8, as cited in *Bibl.*: ... *etdi, Lārende'ye bir iş etti ki üzerine düşman-i bed-kış dākhī gelse, böyle etmezdi*). In principle, *sürgün* was designed not to punish the source area which contributed a part of its labour force as emigrants but to provide some advantage to the target area to which they were being dispatched as immigrants. It had the real potential for providing the double benefit of relieving population and land pressure in the source territory while at the same time acting as a stimulus to the growth and development of the target territory. It also facilitated the transfer of groups with essential skills to the areas where they were most needed. The underlying purpose, whether it was the repopulating of Istanbul after its capture in 856/1453 by the transfer of population groups with specific commercial and artisan skills from provincial cities in Anatolia and (after 880/1475) the

Crimea, or the settling of rural populations as agriculturalists in newly-conquered territories in Rumelia, was essentially the same: the settlement and development (*iskān ve ʿimār*) of key strategic areas identified as either economically fragile or militarily insecure. This logic applied with particular force to the period of Ottoman territorial expansion in the Balkans lasting until the end of the 10th/16th century, but strategic resettlement of tribes and displaced peasants also formed an important dimension of Ottoman rural development initiatives in subsequent periods of territorial contraction. The creation of new settlements on the Upper Euphrates in the 1100s/1690s using tribes transferred from contiguous regions of Anatolia is just one example of the continuing use of *sürgün* in later centuries (see the study by Orhonlu cited in *Bibl.*, and, for developments in the 19th century following territorial losses in the Balkans and Russian expansion in Crimea and the Caucasus, see MUḤADDIR. 2.)

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AL-SUWAYNĪ, SA'D B. ʿĀLĪ BĀ MADHĪDĪ (d. 857/1453), ʿAlawī *sayyid* of Ḥaḍramawt. He was the student of ʿAbd al-Raḥmān Bā ʿAlawī of Tarīm, from the Saqqāf branch of the *sayyids* [see BĀ ʿALAWĪ], and in turn the *shaykh* of Abū Bakr b. ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿAydārūs, the patron saint of Aden [see ʿADAN], d. 914/1508 [see ʿAYDARŪS]. It was this last who was to compose the *manāḳib* of al-Suwaynī.

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T

TA'ALLUḲ (A.), or more often **TA'ALLUḲA**, literally "dependence, being related to, dependent on", a revenue term of late Mughal India, which meant a jurisdiction, a fiscal area from which a fixed amount of taxes was to be collected by a revenue

official called *ta'alluqdār* or *ta'alluqadār*. The word *ta'alluḳ* with this meaning appeared in the second half of the 11th/17th century during the reign of Awrangzīb [q.v.], in the context of increasing tax farming [see PARIBA. 6. c]; it was distinguished from the older



Indo-Persian term *zamīndārī*, which included also feudal rights for the *zamīndār* [q.v.] who was in charge of it, while the *ta'allukdār*, originally considered as a tax farmer, was only in charge of collecting the revenue of his *ta'alluk*, except for a small part of it on which he had *zamīndārī* rights. For this reason, *ta'allukdārs* ranked lower than *zamīndārs*.

From the 18th to the 20th centuries, under the late Mughals, the successor states and colonial rule, the words *ta'alluk* and *ta'allukdār* came to mean different things according to place and time. In Northern India, the *ta'allukdārs* were men of substance who acquired hereditary and transferable rights on their *ta'alluk* and were barely distinguishable from the *zamīndārs*: in Bengal before the British conquest, working as the subordinates of powerful *zamīndārs*, they brought large tracts of land under cultivation; in Awadh [q.v.], they collected taxes over large estates and constituted a rich feudal class of landlords whose fortunes lasted up to the end of the British period. Elsewhere, the word *ta'alluk* meant only a fiscal jurisdiction of varying size, equivalent to a district in the state of Haydarābād [q.v.] and only to a fraction of a village in Nepal; the office of *ta'allukdār* as that of tax collector died out during the British period, except in Nepal where it was still common in the 1960s.

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TABANN^{IN} (a.), adoption. This term—*maṣdar* or verbal noun of the form V verb derived from the biliteral root *b n*, which is also the source of *ibn* ("son")—is used, just as in Western languages, in the literal sense (adoption of a child) and in the figurative sense (adoption of a doctrine, etc.). This article is concerned only with adoption in the literal sense.

Since the *Qur'ān* (XXXIII, 5, 37; two verses from the Median period) is clear on this point, there is no disagreement among Muslim jurists of the different schools regarding the strict prohibition of plenary adoption.

The occasion (*sabab*) of the revelation of these two verses that prohibit adoption—forbidding anyone to give his name to another who does not belong within his "natural" descent, which amounts to banning all adoptive filiation—is provided by these verses themselves. The Prophet Muhammad, perpetuating, according to Muslim sources, a practice of pre-Islamic Arabia, the *Ḍaḥliyya*, had adopted one of his slaves, Zayd b. Ḥāritha [q.v.], offered by his wife Khadija [q.v.]. He had emancipated Zayd (an important figure in the early years of Islam: one of the first converts to Islam, if not the first, according to al-Zuhri, and the only person, besides the prophets, to be named in

the *Qur'ān*), and he was henceforward known without any ambiguity as "Zayd, son of Muḥammad" (Zayd b. Muḥammad), even though his ancestry was known (his father tried to buy him back, but Zayd refused to leave Muḥammad, see al-Djassās, *Aḥkām al-Ḳur'ān*, i-iii, n.p. [Beirut], n.d., iii, 361).

Adoption as practised before the revelation of *Qur'ān*, XXXIII, 5, 37, was plenary, entailing the same legal consequences as natural filiation (the right to inherit, etc.), and more significantly, the same prohibitions applied to marriage; the verses abrogate adoptive filiation and, explicitly, the prohibitions applying to marriage which would result from it. This is a good example, according to the Hanafī al-Djassās, of abrogation of the *sunna* by the *Qur'ān* (a theoretical remark directed against al-Shāfi'ī [q.v.], who did not agree that the *Qur'ān* could abrogate the *sunna*). Muḥammad intended to marry Zaynab bt. Djahsh [q.v.], the repudiated wife of Zayd b. Ḥāritha, who, if plenary adoption had remained valid, would have been absolutely forbidden to him. The marriage of Muḥammad with Zaynab bt. Djahsh would not have been legally permissible without the abrogation of plenary adoption (see al-Māwardī, *al-Nukat wa 'l-ḥayāt. Taṣīr al-Māwardī*, 6 vols. Beirut 1412/1992, iv, 370ff. and 405ff.).

Numerous students of Islamic Studies have seen this episode from the marital life of Muḥammad as a sign of the moral weakness of the Prophet of Islam. It is true that certain 'ulamā' of the classical epoch had difficulty hiding their embarrassment, and it is certainly no accident that Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī [q.v.] undertook to show that the marital life of the Prophet was in no way governed by his carnal appetites, with his commentary on *Qur'ān*, XXXIII, 37: "Here is evidence that the marital life of the Prophet (*al-tazwīj min al-nabī*) did not have the purpose of satisfying the carnal appetite of the Prophet (*kaḍā' shahwat al-nabī*), but on the contrary, its purpose was to render the Law explicit through his agency." In other words, there was nothing here other than one example among others of "clarification of the Law through the agency [of the Prophet]" (*bayān al-Sharī'a bi-f'iḥi*), see al-Rāzī, *al-Taṣīr al-kabīr aw maṣāḥib al-ghayb*, 32 vols. and index, Beirut 1411/1990, xxv, 184).

The prohibition of adoption under the terms of the revealed Law (*Sharī'a*) is no doubt more easily understood if it is remembered that Islam regards the "natural" nuclear family, rather than the tribe, as the basis of the community (*umma*). From this perspective, which is that of Abrahamic monotheism in general, adoption appears as a disruptive element, confusing "lineages" (*nasab*, pl. *ansāb*), or the lines of "natural" filiation which reflect the familial order as willed by the Divine Legislator (see Ps.-al-Shāfi'ī, *Aḥkām al-Ḳur'ān*, ed. Kawtharī, 2 vols., Damascus n.d., ii, 164).

If reference is made to the "occasion" of the *Qur'ānic* prohibition of adoption—or the case of Zayd—it can well be understood why, in classical doctrines, a *de facto* distinction is imposed between, on the one hand, the child whose genealogy is known (*ma'rūf al-nasab*) and on the other, the child whose genealogy is unknown (*maḍḥūl al-nasab*), the *lakīf* [q.v.] ("foundling"), who is the object of a specific chapter in treatises of *fiqh*. In the second case, a recognition of paternity, with transference of the *nasab* (*istihāk* or *ikrār bi 'l-nasab*) by the finder of the child proves possible, under certain circumstances, and even facilitated, since Muslim jurists show themselves very flexible on this point, demanding only indications of "probability" in such recognitions and not formal proof



(see M.S. Sujimon, *The treatment of the foundling according to the Hanafis*, in *ILS*, ix/3 [2002], 358-85). As for the possibility of passing from one known genealogy to another, it is unequivocally barred *de jure* according to all legal schools. In the Muslim legal order, the creation of a genealogy *ex nihilo* thus proves easier than a change of *nasab*.

At the present time, only one Arab Muslim country, Tunisia, has had the audacity to contravene openly the Kur'ānic prohibition of plenary adoption. In 1958, the Tunisian legislature, more aware of new social realities than others, established adoptive filiation in the full sense. It seems nevertheless that in the tribunals interpretation of statutes of adoption is often restrictive and sometimes expressly infringes the terms of the legislation in force (see L. Pruvost, *Intégration familiale...*, in *Recueil d'articles offerts à Maurice Bormans par ses collègues et amis*, Rome 1996, 155-80).

Modern and contemporary ethnology has shown that despite its theoretical prohibition, adoption used to be practised in numerous Muslim societies. Adoption in Islam probably constitutes one of those instances where custom, in the event more favourable to this institution, has been only very superficially Islamised.

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2. Studies. Few works have been devoted to adoption as such in Islam, but see nevertheless G.H. Bousquet and A. Demeerseman, *L'adoption dans la famille tunisienne*, in *RAfr.*, cccxxii-iii (1937), 127-59; A.R. Naqvi, *Adoption in Muslim law*, in *Islamic Studies*, xix (1980), 283-392; U. Vermeulen, *De gezagsvoorzieningen in de Islam: adoptie en hoederecht*, in *Recht van de Islam*, iv (1986), 4-17; K. Dilger, *Die Adoption im modernen Orient. Ein Beitrag zu den Hyal im islamischen Recht*, in *Recht van de Islam*, vii (1988), 42-62; A. al-A. Sonbol, *Adoption in Islamic society, a historical survey*, in E. Warnock Fernea (ed.), *Children in the Muslim Middle East*, Cairo 1996, 45-67; O. Pesle, *L'adoption en Islam*, Algiers n.d.

(E. CHAUMONT)

TABĪYYĀT (A.), an abstract noun formed from the adjective *tabī'ī* "natural" (antonym, *maṣnū'*), physics, or natural sciences.

Aristotle divided the theoretical sciences into mathematics, physics and metaphysics. Islamic philosophers, starting from al-Kindī [q.v.], were familiar with this division and it forms part of the various classifications of the sciences that were drawn up by Islamic scholars, such as in the *Iḥṣā' al-'ulūm* by al-Fārābī [q.v.] and in many subsequent ones. In these classifications, physics was subdivided into parts that mostly corresponded to the Aristotelian works on natural science, including those that are now known to have originated in his school. Such a division was also maintained in the encyclopaedic works of Ibn Sīnā [q.v.] and his followers, such as Bahmanyār b. al-Marzubān, Abu 'l-Barakāt al-Baghdādī, Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī, al-Abharī and others.

For instance, the part of Ibn Sīnā's *Kūlūb al-Shifā'* that deals with *tabī'yyāt* contains the following eight sections: lectures on physics; the heaven and the world; generation and corruption; actions and passions; meteorological phenomena; the soul, plants; and the natures of animals. Except for the section entitled

"Actions and passions", each of these sections corresponds to a work from the Aristotelian school; in fact, the section "Actions and passions" together with the next section "Meteorological phenomena" discusses the subjects from Aristotle's *Meteorology*.

Furthermore, Islamic philosophers such as Ibn Bādjī and Ibn Rushd [q.v.] wrote individual commentaries on several of Aristotle's physical works.

It should be mentioned that the Islamic theologians (*mutakallimūn*) also discussed subjects that fall under *tabī'yyāt*, such as the structure of matter and the nature of change.

The Islamic philosophers writing on subjects of natural science remained within the framework of Aristotelian natural philosophy: they used concepts such as potentiality/actuality, matter/form, natural place and natural motion *vs.* non-natural place and forced motion; they adopted Aristotle's definition of motion; and they denied the existence of the void and conceived matter as continuous, not atomistic. However, it appears that the work of Philoponos [see YAḤYĀ AL-NAHWĪ], who opposed Aristotle in several respects, was also well studied, and that often Islamic philosophers took sides with him against Aristotle. Moreover, they often had a different way of discussing things and brought forward new arguments. A few examples follow.

In their discussion of infinity, Islamic philosophers adopted Aristotle's definition, but they used a way to prove that infinite quantities cannot actually exist, which was first propounded by Philoponos. His proof was based on the (mistaken) idea that a part of an infinite collection cannot be infinite, for if something is smaller than infinite, it must be finite. Al-Kindī and al-Ghazālī [q.v.] used this method also to prove, against Aristotle, that time cannot be infinite, but must have a beginning. Objections against this again were raised by Ibn Sīnā and Ibn Rushd. It is worth mentioning that Thābit b. Qurra [q.v.] recognised that infinite collections may have parts that are also infinite; this in fact invalidates the proofs of Philoponos and his Islamic followers.

In opposition to the Aristotelian explanation of motion, that "every body that moves is moved by another body", Islamic philosophers adopted the concept of impressed force such as conceived by Philoponos; this was further developed by Ibn Sīnā and his school, and became known as *mayl* ("inclination").

Aristotle's "law of motion", stating that the velocity of a body moving through a medium is inversely proportional to the density of that medium, was criticised by Philoponos and subsequently Ibn Bādjī. Aristotle's law implies that motion through a void (if void existed) would occur with infinite velocity, that is, any distance would be covered in no time, and this absurd consequence was an argument for Aristotle to assert the impossibility of the void. However, Philoponos and Ibn Bādjī stated that covering a distance always needs a finite time, even in void, if it existed, and that the effect of the presence of a medium will be that more time is needed to cover that distance.

Atomism was discussed by Ibn Sīnā in a way not found in Greek philosophy, for he wrote in opposition to the atomism of the *mutakallimūn*, who defended atomism with their own arguments.

The discussions of meteorological phenomena [see AL-ĀTHĀR AL-'ULWIYYA] are mostly based on Aristotle's assumption that they are caused by the two exhalations, the dry one from the earth and the moist one from the water. However, in their explanation of some



phenomena, such as precipitation, wind, earthquakes, thunder, rainbow and the climates, al-Kindī and Ibn Sīnā do not always follow Aristotle. They show an independent way of thinking and criticise Aristotle on the basis of personal observation of these phenomena.

Much of the discussions of the above-mentioned subjects remained speculative or philosophical. The discipline that is nowadays called physics also had its scholars in the period of the flourishing of Islamic science. Statics was the subject of the *Kitāb al-Karastūn* by Thābit b. Qurra and *Kitāb Mizān al-hikma* by al-Khāzinī [q.v.]. Hydrostatics and the determination of specific weights were discussed in the same book of al-Khāzinī and by al-Bīrūnī in his *Makāla fī nisab*. These scholars were able to execute very precise measurements of specific weights with their diverse instruments.

Although the work of Ibn al-Haytham [q.v.] on optics also contains much speculation, it stands out as one of the first examples of a systematic experimental investigation of the behaviour of light. This work was continued by Kamāl al-Dīn al-Fārisī [q.v.] who made a considerable contribution to the explanation of the rainbow by recognising that it is due to refraction of light in drops of water in a cloud [see MANĀZIR].

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TABĪR AL-RU'YĀ (A.), "the interpretation of dreams".

As well as this expression, *tafsīr al-ahlām* is employed, with *ta'bīr*, basically "the passage of one thing to another, one sense to another", hence "explanation" and *tafsīr*, lit. "commenting, explaining", from roots occurring in other Semitic languages and with the two Arabic verbal nouns found, once each, in the *Kur'ān*, at XII, 43, and XXV, 33, with *ta'wīl* [q.v.] also at XII, 44-5. In current usage, *ta'bīr* is confined to the sense of "interpretation of dreams", whilst *tafsīr* [q.v.] is used for commentaries on e.g. the Bible and the *Kur'ān*.

For the terminology of dreams and for the development of literature in Arabic on them, see RU'YĀ. Here, their interpretation is considered, i.e. the skill of oneirocriticism.

In origin, oneiromancy was the province of the *kāhin* [q.v.] and custodians of inspired knowledge. It depended on divination, which was both intuitive and deductive: the first when in dreams, the divinity itself or its messenger appears to announce future happenings; the second, in regard to dreams of daily life, with their own obvious interpretation. In Islam, the two methods existed, the first in regard to the great Islamic dynasties (see Fahd, *Le rêve dans la société islamique du Moyen Âge*) and in apparitions in dreams of the Prophet himself to privileged or pious persons and

mystics. The second is seen in the immense oneirocritical literature in Islam (see idem, *La divination arabe*, 247-367). To these types of knowledge of the future a third may be added, incubation, in which a revealing angel is prompted to get in contact with the supernatural world and bring back knowledge of the future, a procedure already known from the Gilgamesh epic (J. Bottéro, *Les songes et leurs interprétations*, Paris 1959).

From oneiromancy, said by the Prophet to be one part of prophesy, following the Talmudic tradition (*Berakhot*, 57b, with comm. of Maimonides, *Le guide des égarés*, ii, 136), to oneirocriticism, the transition was made by two simultaneous impulses from the ancient Babylonian and Hellenistic traditions. In fact, by its symbolism and its formulation, the interpretation of dreams shows close links with the most ancient Semitic tradition, seen in Oppenheim's reconstitution of the Assyrian book of dreams and his exhaustive study of oneiromancy in the Near East. The transmission can, of course, only have been oral, as one would expect with a popular tradition.

After the 4th/10th century, under the impulsion of the Arabic translation of Artemidorus of Ephesus (2nd century A.D.), oneirocriticism borrowed from this last not only its plan and method of classification but also a considerable number of symbolic elements (see e.g. al-Dīnawarī's work). This injection of new blood led to the prodigious development of the Islamic genre of this literature (180 works listed in Fahd, *op. cit.*, 330 ff.), and the double heritage was developed and perfected through numerous generations.

The first codifier here was the Medinan Ibn al-Musayyab (*flor.* in the caliphate of the Umayyad 'Abd al-Malik (later 1st/7th century A.D.)). He left behind a list of thirteen dreams which his contemporaries had asked him to interpret, given by Ibn Sa'd, *Tabakāt*, v, 91-3, tr. in Fahd, *op. cit.*, 310-11). He was followed by Ibn Sīrīn [q.v.], whose fame here has come down to us and who figures amongst the forefathers of Arabic oneirocriticism.

At this stage, Arabic skill lacked a method of classifying dreams into precise categories illustrated by clear examples showing the constant symbolism. The translator of Artemidorus, Hunayn b. Ishāk [q.v.], filled this gap, and it was exploited by Abū Sa'īd al-Dīnawarī in his work of 397/1006-7 dedicated to the 'Abbāsīd caliph al-Kādir (see *Bibl.*), of which over 25 mss. survive, the oldest work in the genre to have reached us integrally. This immense compilation not only contains materials on the interpretation of dreams but also on the range of man's activities, social and religious, and on his hopes and fears as experienced by a man of Baghdādī society in the 4th/10th century. This work also allows us to reconstitute, *grosso modo*, the six books of the work of Artemidorus, and its classification of themes became normative in later tradition, with only slight modifications appearing.

For the Muslim oneirocritics, the interpretation of dreams was the first of the sciences, practised from the start by the prophets and messengers of God so that the greater part of their pronouncements were made by means of dreams. For Ibn Khaldūn, it is a science whose light is a reflection of prophesy, with which it is closely connected. Both involve the permanent preoccupations of the Revelation (iii, 84, Eng. tr. iii, 103, Fr. tr. ii, 118). He details the skills required for interpretation of dreams, essentially those for religious piety, including discretion and the avoidance of careless talk and divulgence of confidences.

The oneirocritic should consider all aspects of the phenomenon and give a clear, measured response.



Note must be taken of the status, age, etc. of the person involved, the conditions in which the dream has been experienced, etc. Faced with a difficulty, the oneirocritic must go back to basic principles, but if after all that, he can find no answer, he must confess this, and no-one will reproach him, since this has happened to the prophets themselves. The dreams of all classes of men must be interpreted, after a rigorous enquiry into the status, etc. of the questioner. If no progress can, however, be made, recourse must be had to one's own personal opinion. Above all, discretion is vital (al-Dīnawarī, fols. 41-3).

All the authors stress the need to have a vast knowledge of all the sciences; all branches of knowledge are useful, including mathematics, law, etymology, onomastic, literature, proverbs, the practices of the Islamic cult, etc. Nothing has changed in the ancient principles of oneirocriticism; the only differences revealed in the course of time come from the conditions of men and their preoccupations, morals and whether they prefer immediate, present gains at the expense of the Afterlife, whereas previously, religious affairs formed the main activities of men. When the Prophet's Companions dreamed of dates, they saw there the sweetness of their religion; for them, honey signified the delights gained from them from reading the Kur'ān, knowledge and justice (Ibn Sīrīn, *Muntakhab*, i, 21ff.).

One should say in conclusion that, despite the efforts of the oneirocritics to furnish their art with principles and techniques, they were forced to recognise that "the interpretation of dreams remains based on analogy, relationship, comparison and probability. One cannot base a course of action, nor refer to its findings, before their accomplishment in the waking state and even before proof for it is put forward" (*ibid.*, i, 4). In fact, wrote E. Doutté, *Magie et religion dans l'Afrique du Nord*, Algiers 1909, 407, "la pluralité des méthodes, l'arbitraire avec lequel on les emploie, l'abus de symbolisme font de l'oniromancie une pure fantaisie et il n'est pas un songe qui ne puisse, au gré du devin, être interprété d'une façon favorable ou défavorable aux intérêts de son client".

Nevertheless, the severe judgements of both ancients and moderns do not reduce the considerable value of oneirocritical literature for the light it throws on psychology, sociology and mysticism. Beneath dreams, simple or incoherent, there is a complex of passions, ambitions and dynastic rivalries. Whether spontaneous or fabricated, they are the vehicles for conceptions and ideas issuing from the popular milieu, one not widely revealed in other literary genres. Since the dream forms part of the life of rich and poor alike, it forms something like a screen between the dead past and the present, which can be used to reconstruct, with great precision and realism, the social life and aspirations of any given class at any fixed time.

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(T. FAHD)

TABRĪZĪ, DJALĀL AL-DĪN, Abū 'l-Kāsim, a saint of the Suhrawardīyya [q.v.] order (date of death perhaps 642/1244; Ghulām Sarwar-i Lāhawrī, *Khazīnat al-asfiyā*).

Together with Bahā' al-Dīn Zakariyyā [q.v.], Djālāl al-Dīn is to be counted as the founder of the order in India (Saiyid Athar Abbas Rizvi, *A history of Sufism in India*, New Delhi 1978, i, 190). After the death of his teacher Badr al-Dīn Abū Sa'īd Tabrīzī, Djālāl al-Dīn went to Baghdād to join Abū Ḥafṣ 'Umar al-Suhrawardī (d. 632/1234 [q.v.]), the eponym of the order, as a disciple, when al-Suhrawardī was already old. Djālāl al-Dīn stayed with al-Suhrawardī for nearly a decade and he accompanied him on his annual pilgrimages to Mecca and Medina. In the company of Bahā' al-Dīn Zakariyyā who was to found a *khānakāh* in Muṭṭān, Djālāl al-Dīn set out to travel to India (Djāmī, *Nafahāt*, 504). However, they separated on the way, a fact explained by legend as follows: Djālāl al-Dīn met the mystical poet 'Aṭṭār (d. 618/1221 [q.v.]) in Nīshāpūr and was asked by him, who in Baghdād was to be included among the mystics. Impressed by the poet's spiritual presence Djālāl al-Dīn is said not to have uttered the name of al-Suhrawardī (Čishti, *Mir'āt al-asrār*, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin SPK, Ms. orient. Quart. 1903, 284b). At the beginning of the 7th/13th century, during the reign of Ilutūmīsh (607-33/1210-36 [q.v.]), Djālāl al-Dīn arrived in India where he was warmly welcomed by the Sultan. The *Shaykh al-Islām* Naḍīm al-Dīn, however, resented this and tried to influence the Sultan against the Šūfī (Čishti, *loc. cit.*). An accusation was concocted and in 1228 the Sultan organised an investigation, which was presided over by Bahā' al-Dīn Zakariyyā. Though the charge was soon found to be false, Djālāl al-Dīn left Dihlī for Badā'ūn. There again Djālāl al-Dīn became friendly with the ruling classes, viz. the local administrator Kādī Kamāl al-Dīn, who enrolled his son as Djālāl al-Dīn's disciple.

Finally, Djālāl al-Dīn reached Bengal where he settled down. In recruiting followers, Djālāl al-Dīn converted many Hindus and Buddhists to Islam (Rizvi, ii, 398; Trimmingham, 232). In accordance with the policy of the Suhrawardī order of supporting enforced conversion, Djālāl al-Dīn demolished, at Devatalla in northern Bengal, a large temple that a *kāfir* (Hindu or Buddhist) had erected and constructed a monastery in its place. In the *Rihla* of Ibn Baṭṭūṭā [q.v.], Djālāl al-Dīn Tabrīzī is confused with Shāh Djālāl of Sylhet, one of the Bengali warrior saints (Rizvi, i, 314). In the Kāmṛūp hills of Assam Djālāl al-Dīn was said to have been met by the Moroccan traveller (Rihla, iv,

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216-22) who had reached India only in 734/1333. Djalāl al-Dīn's sanctuary in Sylhet is still visited by the devout to this very day (Lawrence, *Notes from a distant flute*, Tehran 1978, 63). Reliable information of his successors in Bengal is not available (Rizvi, i, 202).

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TABSHĪR (A.), lit. "proclamation, spreading of the good news", a term used in modern works for Christian proselytism in various forms and the work of missionaries (*mubashshirūn*) within the Islamic world.

The use of the word, if not the activity which it denotes, does not seem to go back beyond the end of the 19th century, being at one and the same time contemporaneous with the Arab renaissance (*Nahda* [q.v.]), European colonialism and the development of Christian missions. It seems to be a term of Christian origin, corresponding to its usage in Arabic translations of the Bible for Grk. *evangelion* "announcement of good news", as evidenced in the Protestant (London-Beirut 1831) and the Roman Catholic (Beirut 1898) translations, where in Mark, xvi, 16, we have, however, *d'inū al-bishāra* without, however, the form *tabshīr*. *Tabshīr* does not appear in such classical dictionaries as *LA* and *TA*, and *bishāra* is found for the first time in Freytag's Arabic-Latin dictionary (Halle 1830-7, i, 124) in the sense of *evangelium*, uncapitalised and without any connotation of the Gospel itself. Lane, *Lexicon*, i, 208, simply has *mubashshir* in the general sense of "one who announces good news". Buṭrus al-Bustānī in his *Muḥīl* (Beirut 1867, i, 95) is the first person to give a reasoned definition, citing the expression *bishārat al-inḡīl*, where the origin of this neologism is explained: *ilāfa bayyina li-anna al-Inḡīl ma'nāhu al-bishāra bi 'l-yūnāniyya*. Curiously, and in which he is followed by the author of the dictionary *Akrab al-mawārid* (1889), he mentions (96) that *al-bashīr* means, in a general way, *al-mubashshir wa 'l-djamil* and that it is the epithet given to St. Luke by the Christians, *laḥab Mār Lūkā 'ind al-Nasārā*. Words from this root *b-sh-r* occur several times in the Qur'ān ('Abd al-Bākī, *Muḍjam al-mufahras*, Cairo 1378/[1945], 119-21), especially in the verbal forms *bashshara* and *abshara*, whose ambivalent sense can announce some good news but also, in menacing tones, the coming of bad news; *mubashshir* is attested in speaking, *inter alios*, of the Prophet, but not *tabshīr* in regard to him.

It is impossible to discuss here the innumerable books and articles devoted directly or indirectly to *tabshīr*; only a few representative ones, in Arabic, of the mediaeval period will be given. The enquiry ought, however, to be extended beyond the Arab to the wider Islamic world, notably to India and Indonesia.

Reading these works, one notes that, at different levels, the authors treat various aspects of the subject. Two forms of *tabshīr* are distinguished. The direct one is an effort by churches and missionaries in the strict sense, *mubashshirūn*, to announce to Muslims the Christian "good news". It involves, then, an individual or collective enterprise of the Christians, openly proclaimed. Distinguished from it is a more radical notion, sometimes confused with the first, envisaging directly "conversion" or more precisely, Christianisation, *tanḡīr*, a *maṣdar* or verbal noun of Form II from the collec-

tive designation of Christians, *al-Nasārā* [q.v.], traditional among the Muslims.

The *tabshīr* in these works can denote proselytisation aimed directly at Muslims but equally, and frequently, aimed at whole populations, as in Black Africa or amongst certain ethnic minorities not connected with Judaism or Islam, as in the Sudan, in Chad or in other countries of Africa and elsewhere. These Christian missionary activities, openly declared, have for the most part their origins in Western, traditionally Christian—Catholic or Protestant—countries, but do not stem, above all in the Near East, from the churches or members of the Eastern Christian churches, present in that region for two millennia. However, according to authorities consulted, certain members of these local churches may have been involved in the missionary activities, *tabshīriyya*, of missionaries of Western origin. Finally, the term "the West" embraces not only Europe, but also North America, especially the United States, even though colonisation activities in predominantly Muslim lands have never been directly launched, so these authors state, from the USA.

Alongside this direct, avowed missionary work, numerous authors devote—some more, perhaps, than others—an important place to the indirect form of *tabshīr*, one that is "hidden" or "stealthy", which, with concealed motives, uses diversionary means (cultural, charitable and political) to achieve its aims indirectly. The authors who denounce this indirect missionary work connect it to two main trends, which, they allege, are its main inspirers, viz. colonisation (*isti'mār*) and orientalism (*istiḡrāk*).

The titles of certain works on this theme, placing *tabshīr* in direct connection with colonisation, are revelatory enough of this fact. One may cite e.g. Muṣṭafā Khālidi and 'Umar Farrūkh, whose work is often cited as a reference work on the topic, *al-Tabshīr wa 'l-isti'mār fi 'l-bilād al-'arabiyya: 'ard li-djūhūd al-mubashshirīn allatī tarmī ilā ikhbā' al-shark li 'l-isti'mār al-gharbi* (Beirut 1953) and, more recently, 'Abd al-Fattāh Ahmad Abū Zāyida, *al-Tabshīr al-salibi wa 'l-ghazw al-isti'mārī* (Malta 1988) (see Talāl 'Atrīsī, *al-Ba'tha al-yasū'iyya: muḥimmat 'iddad al-nakhba al-siyāsiyya fi Lubnān*, 1987), which emphasise the school, University and charitable activities of certain religious orders, in general French- or English-speaking, practising this indirect form of *tabshīr*. Limiting ourselves to the Near East, the main University institutions envisaged are the American University of Beirut (AUB), the Jesuit Université Saint-Joseph, also at Beirut, and the American University in Cairo (AUC), the first two of which have a religious orientation and were founded in the second half of the 19th century, that of the *Nahda* and of colonisation [see ʾAṬMĪʿA].

On the same track, there is a great stress on the introduction of foreign languages, English and French, as hidden means of detaching student élites of the Near East from their own language, Arabic, and their original culture, that of the Qur'ān and Islam, and as a means of making favourable comparisons in favour of the West, especially in the domains of technical and industrial progress. Another of the means (*was'īl*) of this second form of *tabshīr* is the encouragement by these educational establishments of developing, on the one hand, the use of the various Arabic dialects, *al-laḥdīāt al-'ammiyya*, and on the other, the use of non-Arabic local languages, Syriac, Kurdish, Berber, Armenian, etc., in order to perpetuate divisions between the peoples of the Near East, to "divide and rule", and thereby prevent the wider diffusion of Islam. This is an argument already used, in a slightly different context, by authors of the Salafiyya [q.v.] at



the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th centuries, admittedly without recourse to the term *tabshīr*, e.g. in the commentary of the *Manār* [see AL-MANĀR] on sūra V, 82. Also attacked are the endeavours of these establishments to promote or to favour various forms of bilingualism or trilingualism to the detriment of the one language, Arabic.

Certain authors go even further and allege that these missionary enterprises find agents (*umalāʾ*) to aid them within the heart of the Arabic and Islamic worlds themselves, and they cite in particular passages from the famous work of Ṭāhā Husayn [q.v.], *Mustakbal al-thaqāfa fī Miṣr*, or that of Kāsim Amīn [q.v.], *al-Marʾa al-djādida* (see 'Abd al-ʿAzīm al-Murtaḍā, *al-Tabshīr al-ʿālamī dīd al-Islām, ahdāfuhu, wasāʾiluhu, turukuhu, muwāḍjahātuhu*, Miṣr al-Djādida 1992, 37 ff.).

Orientalism, *istishrāk*, is often mentioned and denounced as one of the indirect means of *tabshīr*. Without always avoiding a facile juxtaposition, but with some persons recognising the positive aspects of *istishrāk*, this link between the two notions brought together in this fashion often goes on to an analysis of the "religious and missionary impulse" of the orientalist's activities, *al-dāfiʾ al-dīnī al-tabshīrī* (see Ṣulṭān 'Abd al-Hamīd Ṣulṭān, *Min suwar al-ghazwī al-fikrī li 'l-Islām: al-tabshīr, al-istishrāk al-ilmāniyya*, Cairo 1990, 166). The idea that *tabshīr* and *istishrāk* are linked derives its origin from the fact that a certain number of orientalists, above all those who lived or published works in the Arab-Muslim lands, were indeed members of religious orders or missionary societies. Hence in a general way, some of their more critical attitudes, if not the whole body of their works, are considered to be hidden methods of sapping the foundations of the doctrines of Islam, especially by dwelling on the controversial aspects of the Qurʾān and the life of Muḥammad, or, on another level, by an exclusive orientation towards certain aspects of Islamic mysticism, etc. On this negative role of the orientalists, allied hand-in-hand with *tabshīr*, one may refer to the opinions of 'Abd al-Laṭīf al-Shuwayrīf, *Aḥbār al-istishrāk wa-kayfa muwāḍjahātuhu*, in *Djauhar al-Islām*, vi/1 (Tunis 1973).

One may conclude this summary sketch with some reflections. The first is that this idea of *tabshīr* and the positions taken up by those involved with it, should be placed in a much wider and more ancient context, often far from eirenic, of Islamo-Christian relations in general, and, since the end of the 19th century, of relations between Islam and the West, regarded as an emanation of and as being representative of Christianity. On the more particular level of the basic choices of the two religions regarding *tabshīr*, one may add that these two religions see themselves equally, although employing differing means, as faiths dealing with universal final ends, bearers of a message meant for men of all places and ages, a message which can bring into action an expansionist dynamism that explains, even if it does not justify, some of the methods used by the Islamic side regarding the idea of *tabshīr* studied here. Finally, let it be said that the examples discussed above and their tentative analysis do not in any way represent the positions of the most authoritative and representative of the faithful of each of the two religions.

Bibliography: As indicated above, this cannot be exhaustive. In addition to references given in the article, see 'Abd al-Wadūd Ṣhalabī, *Afīkū ayyuhā al-muslimīn kabīl an tadfāʾu al-djīzya*, Cairo 1997; Saʿd al-Dīn al-Sayyid Ṣāliḥ, *Iḥḍarū al-asālib al-hadītha fī muwāḍjahāt al-islām*, Cairo 1998, esp. 25-109. For a global presentation of *tabshīr* in the first half of

the 20th century, which highlights its relative check in face of Islam, above all in Africa and Asia, see the art. *Tabshīr*, in Muḥammad Farīd Wadīdī, *Dāʾirat al-maʾārif al-kam al-rābiʿ ashar/ al-ʿishirīn*, 1937, i, 205-20, and see also Ḥasan Ḥanaṭī, *Mādhā yaʾnī ʿilm al-istighrāb*, Beirut 2000, Preface. On the links between orientalism and *tabshīr*, E. Said, *Orientalism*, London 1978, Fr. tr. 1980, Ar. tr. 1981; *EP*², art. MUSTASHIRIKŪN (J.J. Waardenburg), Vol. VII, 745ff.; *al-Fikr al-ʿarabī*, xxxi (Jan.-March 1983), xxxii (April-June 1983), on *istishrāk*; *Études arabes*, lxxxiii (1992/2), PISAI, Rome, dossier on *al-mustashrikūn*. For the views of an Arab academic on European orientalists, see 'Abd al-Rahmān Badawī, *Maṣūʾat al-mustashrikūn*, Beirut 1992. Also E. Rudolph, *Westliche Islamwissenschaft im Spiegel muslimischer Kritik*, Berlin 1991. On earlier relations of Islam and the West, see N. Daniel, *Islam and the West, the making of an image*, Edinburgh 1960, Fr. tr. *L'Islam et l'Occident*, Paris 1993; idem, *The Arabs and mediaeval Europe*, London and New York 1979; F. Cardini, *Europe e islam. Storia di un malinteso*, Rome-Bari 2000, Fr. tr. *Europe et Islam, histoire d'un malentendu*, Paris 2000.

(L. POUZET)

ṬĀHİR BEG, MEHMET, late Ottoman journalist, publisher, and owner of journals, newspapers, and a printing-house in Istanbul (1864-1912). He was one of the journalists and publishers who were supported by 'Abd al-Hamīd II, being awarded various medals and decorations by the Sultan.

Information about his family and education is limited. Redjāʾī-zāde Ekrem [q.v.] reports that Ṭāhīr Beg's mother looked after his older son. It is known that he was working as a reporter at *Therwet*, the newspaper published in Turkish by Dimitraki Nikolaidi between 1307/1891 and 1324/1908. That he was a well-known figure in the press and publishing world can be deduced from the names of the staff of his journals and newspapers, from the variety of the authors of the books he published at his printing-house, from the fact that he introduced Ahmed Rāsim [q.v.] into journalism, and from his getting articles from Redjāʾī-zāde to publish in his journals and printing a book translated by Ahmed İhsān Tokgöz [see AHMAD İHSAN] at his printing-house, although he had many conflicts with both of these in later years. Thanks to his high connections, he was able to resume publishing his journal *Maʾlūmāt* very soon after it was suppressed or confiscated for various reasons.

He was notorious in the world of Turkish press and publication as the first person in the history of Turkish journalism to produce false news and then to take bribes for publishing denials of it, so that his *lakab* (*Baba Ṭāhīr*) is given as an example for such situations. First, abusing his proximity to the Ottoman Sultan, he supplied the latter with names to be given ranks, decorations and medals, these persons being close to him, and he published those names in his newspaper. Then he printed bogus certificates at his printing-house, employed an Italian engraver to produce spurious decorations and sold them, especially to foreigners. In addition, he printed publications opposing the Palace and then informed the Palace that the "Young Turks" were printing such journals in Egypt. In 1901, together with Dr. M. Pasha, he denounced the journal *Therwet-i Finiūn* [q.v.] and caused it to be suppressed for 40 days and its owner and writers to be arraigned in court. He published Redjāʾī-zāde Ekrem Beg's *Shemsā* in his journal *Maʾlūmāt* without his permission.



When his offences were revealed, he was arrested, tried and in 1903 sentenced to 15 years' imprisonment. But, only after five years, benefiting from the amnesty declared after the *Meshrûtiyyet* in 1908, he returned to Istanbul. He was then kept under surveillance by the police authorities and not permitted to publish his newspaper again. Having been involved in the incident of 31 March 1325/13 April 1909, he was exiled to Tripoli, but after a while escaped from there to Naples and then to Paris. In both places he established businesses, but these failed. From the fact that A.I. Tokgöz's article on his death is dated 16 February 1912, it appears that he died at the beginning of that month in Paris.

He published five journals and newspapers: *Bahâr* (1299/1883, 19 issues, fortnightly), *Therwet* (1314-18/1898-1903, 2088 issues, daily), *Irîkâ* (1315-19/1899-1904, 251 issues, weekly), *Ma'lûmât* (1311-18/1895-1903, journal-newspaper, 2443 issues, weekly-daily) and *Muşawwer Fenn ve Edeb* (1315-19/1899-1903, 222 issues, weekly). Initially 48 issues of the *Ma'lûmât* were published by the Artin Asadoryan Press weekly (1309-11/1894-5). *Ma'lûmât*, with its writers and contents, filled an important gap during the period when it was published. Since it attracted attention through photographs and illustrations having also French subtitles, it was also known as the *Muşawwer Ma'lûmât*. The journal was distributed throughout the Ottoman lands, Persia and Russia. It was also printed locally in Filibe [q.v.] under the title *Afâk-î Şarkîyyeden Tulu' Eden Ma'lûmât* (1314/1896). Readers' letters sent from places like Cyprus, the Mediterranean shores, the Aegean Islands, Algeria and Egypt, show the extent of the domain where it was being read. Some of its issues were in Arabic and Persian, and it had supplements on diverse themes (*Khanîmlara Mahsûs Ma'lûmât*, *Ilâve-i Ma'lûmât*, etc.). The journals *Ma'lûmât* and *Therwet-i Fînnûn* were always in a state of rivalry, but while *Therwet-i Fînnûn* was the journal supporting modern literature, *Ma'lûmât* was the journal of supporters of a more moderate line (*mutawassîf*) in literature.

Apart from these, Tâhir Beg also published books at his printing-house. According to Seyfettin Özege's catalogue, 95 books were printed at the *Matba'a-i Tâhir Beg* between the years 1311-19/1895-1903. Among these were books printed in three languages: in Turkish-Arabic-French or in Persian-Turkish-French. Moreover, it is known that some French books were also printed by him. Some of the books have the name of the series *Ma'lûmât Kütüphanesi* or *Tâhir Beg Kütüphanesi* and the publisher's name as *Ma'lûmât ve Therwet gazeteleri sâhib-i imtiyâz-ı es-Seyyid Mehmed Tâhir*. In the books, the name of the printing-house is given as *Matba'a-i Tâhir Beg*, *Tâhir Beg Matba'ası*, *Tâhir Beg'in 40 numaralı Matba'ası* and *Ma'lûmât Gazeteleri ve Tâhir Beg Matba'ası*. The relation with Tâhir Beg's printing-house of the 20 books that appeared in Seyfettin Özege's catalogue as having been printed at the *Ma'lûmât Matba'ası* between 1311-17/1894-1901, is a matter which still needs to be examined. Tâhir Beg had received the privilege of printing official documents at his printing-house during the period when the *Matba'a-i 'Amire* was closed.

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(HATİCE AYNUR)

TAKĀLĪD (A.), pl. of the *maṣdar* or verbal noun *taḳlīd*, the Form II verb *ḳallada* having the meaning, *inter alia*, "to mimic, imitate" (for *taḳlīd* in its legal and theological context, see the art. s.v.), is used in Arabic today for the ensemble of inherited folk traditions and practices, popular customs and manners, and folklore in general, although the loanword from English *folklore*, is often used, especially for the discipline and its study at large. In recent years also, the term *al-turāth al-ṣha'bī* "folk inheritance" is being used to denote the common Arabic heritage of popular culture.

According to the common definition of the term "folklore", it denotes the cultural popular traditions which are passed on from generation to generation and their study. Folklore may be divided into five main categories: (1) Oral traditions: folktales, legends, myths, fables, riddles, jokes; popular poems, common expressions, expletives and oaths; (2) Written materials: proverbs, amulets and talismans; (3) Traditional practices: food and drinks, clothes, embroidery, cosmetics, jewellery, household tools and furniture; popular medicine, witchcraft; customs and manners; (4) Beliefs and superstitions; and (5) Popular art: popular theatre, songs, dances, musical instruments, paintings, drawings and sculpting.

1. In the Arab world.

Although descriptions of popular traditions and customs among Arabs, mainly the Bedouin, appear already in early Arab literature, and, in particular, within travel literature, serious discussion of Arab folklore only started in the 19th century with the appearance of works such as E.W. Lane's (1801-76) *An account of the manners and customs of the modern Egyptians* (1836). However, research of this field was not very common until the second half of the 20th century. This omission is clearly illustrated by Aḥmad Amīn (1878-1954) in the introduction to his *Kāmus al-‘ādāt wa ‘l-taḳlīd wa ‘l-ta‘ābir al-miṣriyya* (Cairo 1953) in which he says: "I sincerely believe that historians have deliberately neglected popular aspects in their books of history, showing off their aristocracy, although popular literature, in many respects, is not of less importance than the literary Arabic language and literature. . . . It is quite possible that some aristocratic scholars will look askance and be bewildered as to how an academic professor degrades himself by recording manners and popular expressions which concern the populace" (pp. II-III).

This attitude among Arab scholars towards their popular heritage in the past resembles their attitude towards the study of Arabic dialects, which also won recognition as a discipline worth investigating only during the second half of the 20th century after the appearance of works by non-Arab scholars who valued both Arab heritage and Arabic dialects and consequently published extensively on both subjects.

Oral traditions have been known for genera-

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tions and in particular the art of the story-telling of folktales (*kiṣaṣ shāʿbiyya*; in colloquial Arabic *ḥikāya* [q.v.] or *ḥaddūṭa* (from *uhdūṭha* "speech, tale"), which was usually carried out by an elder member of the family or by the local "professional" teller (*ḥakawātī*). The best example of such a genre is the famous *Thousand and One Nights* [see ALF LAYLA WA-LAYLA]. The genre of fables is represented by *Kalīla wa-Dimna* [q.v.] attributed to the Indian philosopher Bidpai (4th century B.C.) and rendered into Arabic by Ibn al-Muḥallāʾ (721-57 [q.v.]). Another genre is that of amusing anecdotes (*nawādir*, *mulaḥ*), e.g. the funny stories of *Djuḥā* [q.v.] (Turkish: Nāṣir al-Dīn Khodja [q.v.]), about whose real existence or non-existence scholars are divided. It is mainly the Bedouin and the inhabitants of rural areas around the Middle East who still continue with the long tradition of story-telling which, together with riddles (*ḥazzūrat* or *ḥazāzīn*), and jokes (*nukat*), are the most common and basic forms of entertainment. Several collections have been published and new editions continue to appear, sometimes offering the reader different versions of the same story or anecdote.

Another important genre which has been very popular from old times are poems composed by professional or amateur poets to commemorate a special occasion or event, such as parties in honour of a person, weddings, eulogies or obituary speeches. Although these poems usually take the form of the Arabic *ḥayda* [q.v.], which is composed in literary Arabic, some are recited in colloquial or something resembling Middle Arabic, similar to common songs which are performed on such occasions.

So far as common expressions, expletives and oaths are concerned, they are usually associated with special situations and circumstances or etiquette, such as weddings, the birth of a child, bereavement, etc., which are often connected with local customs. These are usually recorded in the various dialect dictionaries. What most of them, however, have in common is the fact that many of them contain the word *Allāh*, including the commonest expression used for encouragement and urging: *yalla* (in the name of God), and the word *walla(hi)* (by God!), used customarily to express astonishment or as an oath. Other common words used as oaths are: *wi-hyāt rabbīna* (by God), *wi ʿl-nabi* (by the Prophet), *wa-hayātī/ wa-hayātak* (by my/your life), *wa-hayāt rāsī/rāsak* (by my/your head), *wa-hayāt wladī* (by my children), *wi-hyāt* or *bi-rahmat ummī/abīy* (by the memory of my mother/father), *bi-sharafī* (by my honour) and *ḥalaft bi ʿl-talāk* (I swear I will divorce my wife). Common expressions often used are: e.g. when a person sneezes, people say to him *rahimaka allāh* (may God have mercy upon you), or simply *ʿīsh* (may you live long), and when a person leaves, others wish him *Allāh maʿak* (may God be with you). The word *mabrūk* is the commonest wish to congratulate people on the occasion of an engagement, marriage, birth, new house, car, job, clothes, etc. Sometimes the dual, and the number one thousand are used in good or bad wishes for emphasis: *sahtēn* (bon appetit); *marhabtēn* (hello); *ʿamayēn* ("double blindness", i.e. Hell!); *alf mabrūk* (lit. a thousand blessings, i.e. congratulations!); *alf dāhiya* ("thousand hells"). A reference to shoes, dogs and donkeys (and in some areas to a woman) is immediately followed by the speaker with the expressions *baʿd ʿannak* (lit. far from you) or *adḡallak* (lit. you are more respected than the object mentioned).

Written materials include proverbs (*amṯāl*) [see MATḤAL], a genre well known in classical Arabic literature as one of the earliest and most common com-

positions in prose, even though some of them are based on Arabic poetry. The thousands of proverbs found in Arabic demonstrate the important role they play in writing and in daily discourse. Moreover, as many proverbs depict a situation or give advice or warning, it is customary among Arabic speakers or writers to use them in order to illustrate their speech/written work to draw conclusions of a comparable situation. Old collections of Arabic proverbs, such as that of al-Maydānī (d. 518/1124 [q.v.]), are constantly being reprinted while new collections of proverbs, arranged by countries, continue to appear.

Amulets and talismans (*tamāʾim*, *ruḡayāt*, *taʾwīdh*, *talāsim*, *ʿazāʾim*, *ḥuḍḥub*) are very popular, especially in rural areas [see RUKYA; TAMĪMA]. Many of these are meant to protect the bearer against the evil eye [see ʿAYN], bring blessing and prosperity, speed the recovery from an illness or bring good luck in general. The most popular amulet is the one in the shape of an open hand called *ḥamsa*, i.e. "five", referring to the five fingers of the hand, which are meant "to stop" bad luck or envy. The amulet may be a copy of the Qurʾān, a few verses from it or brief statements such as: *ʿayn al-ḥasūd lā tasūd* (May the eye of the one who envies never prevail) or *ʿayn al-ḥasūd fihā ʿūd* (The eye of the one who envies will have a piece of wood in it), but may also be simple blue beads, a piece of blue cloth (since the eyes of the devil are believed to be blue), leaves or flowers of certain plants and even a pinch of salt. It is customary to give such amulets to children or hang them at home, in the car, at work and even on animals. There are also talismans which are written in a code or contain numerals and other symbols which are only known to the writer. Moreover, although the traditional rosary, commonly used by men (*misbaha*), is more associated with a ritual based on the custom of mentioning on every occasion God's Most Beautiful Names (*al-asmāʾ al-ḥusnā* [q.v.]), it may also be regarded as a kind of talisman.

Traditional practices vary from region to region and from one society to another. That is to say, daily practices of the urban society may differ from those of the rural one in the same way that they may be different between one Arab country and another and between sedentary and nomad society. Hence, what, for example, is generally known in the West as Oriental cuisine may have different recipes, names of ingredients and occasions for their consumption. Thus *ḥarīsa* is the term for a dish of meat and bulgur, but in Egypt it refers to a sweet pastry made of flour, melted butter and sugar (see Wehr, under *harīsa*). Bread is called in Syro-Palestine *ḫubz*, whereas in Egypt it is called *ʿaysh* (which has the same meaning as "life"). Flesh of lamb (*ḫarīf*) is usually consumed in festivals such as Ramadān and the two ʿIds, as well as sweets (*ḥalwāyyāt*) such as *kunāfa*, *baklava*, *ghurayba* and *maʾmūl*. Sweets, mainly for children, such as *ghazl al-banāt* ("girls' spinning") are also popular on special occasions. Incidentally, the ingredients used for these dishes or the method of their preparation may differ from one region to another. Traditional food served in family celebrations such as weddings, birth of a child or bereavement may also vary in accordance with the local customs, except for bereavements when sweet dishes are normally avoided.

Coffee (*kahwa* [q.v.]) and tea (*shāy* [see ČAY]) are the most popular drinks all around the Middle East. Black coffee, usually with cardamon (*ḥāl*), may be served with sugar (*maḍbūt*) or without (*sāda*) in small cups, after being boiled a few times, first without



sugar and then with. Tea is always strong and very sweet and is usually served with mint leaves (*na'na'*). The popularity of coffee has, over the years, given rise to a whole ethos: it is offered to guests, and in addition, to mark reaching an agreement concerning engagement, transactions or settlement of feud. It is also customary to offer bitter coffee in the house of a bereaved family to people who have come to express their condolences. Several customs are current in various areas which are associated with coffee drinking, such as, shaking the cup to indicate that no more coffee is wanted or using the word *dāyman* or *al-kaḥwe dāyme* ("always", i.e. may coffee always be in this house) to thank the host after finishing drinking, or the word *ʿamir* (lit. fully inhabited, i.e. may this house never again suffer the loss of any of its members), when finishing drinking coffee in a house of a bereaved family. The third cup of coffee, when offered to a guest, may symbolise, in some areas, a start of enmity or it may politely hint that the meeting is over and that the guest is expected to leave. Telling the fate of the drinker by a "coffee reader", who scrutinises the dregs of the coffee in the bottom of his cup, is also a very popular custom around the Middle East. Finally, drinking coffee in cafés while smoking a hookah (*arḍīla*, *naḍīla* or *shīsha*), and reading or chatting with friends is another daily popular custom for one's leisure.

Traditional Arab clothes vary: upper and middle class urban citizens are increasingly wearing western clothes, while the lower class males among the fellahin and the Bedouin usually wear the *gallabiyya*, *ḡilbāb*, *kuṣṭān*, *kumbāz* (or *kunbāz*), *ʿabā'a* (or *ʿabāya*), *ḡubba*, *diṣḡāsha*; *siṟwāl* (or *shirwāl*) and cover their heads with the *kūfiyya* and *ʿakāl*, *ṭakiyya* (cap) or *laḡfe* (lap kerchief). Few men wear today the *ṭarbūsh* (or *fez*) or *ʿarakiyya*, while the European *burnā'a* is hardly seen. Often a combination of the ordinary European *banṭalōn* (trousers), *kamiṣ* (shirt) and *ḡakita* (jacket) are worn, while the head is covered with a *kūfiyya* and *ʿakāl*. Religious leaders, orthodox people or teachers at rural schools, however, still cover their heads with a *laḡfe* or *ʿimāma* (turban). Most women who belong to the upper and middle classes normally wear European dresses (*fustān*) or suits (*takm*), while those who belong to the lower class usually wear the traditional *milāya* and cover their head with a *mindil*. In strict Muslim society, only married women cover their faces with a veil (*burku'*, *liṭḡām*, *ṭarḡa* or *yashmak*). It is worth mentioning that both sexes of the upper and middle classes often wear traditional clothes at home and on special occasions. The traditional clothes, in general, are embroidered and often made in deep colours [see further, *LIBĀS*].

Traditional jewellery is still worn by women, and is mainly made of gold or silver. Diamonds may be worn by women of means, while the middle and lower classes wear various precious and cheap stones. It is often customary for a woman to wear several necklaces, bracelets, earrings and rings, and Bedouin women wear in addition noserings and anklets. Many of these are made of coloured beads or old coins that are no longer in circulation. The names of women's jewellery differ from area to area. Men adorn themselves mainly with rings, gold watches and ornamented daggers, whereas some women and men, especially Bedouin, have in addition various tattoos [see *WASHM*]. The most popular make-up, which is also associated with good luck and used against the evil eye, is henna [see *HINNĀ'*], used mainly by women though many men also use it. Henna constitutes part of the wedding

ceremony preparations all around the Middle East.

Traditional household tools, furniture, fixtures and fittings are still in use especially in rural regions and by the lower class. They vary from one area to another and have different names. Thus one still may find in the kitchen the traditional *hāwin* or *ḡum* (mortar) used for grinding coffee and spices; *bakraḡ* or *dalla* (coffee pot), *finḡiān* (coffee cup) and many more articles. The same applies to traditional furniture which often has names of non-Arabic origin, e.g. *mūbīlya* (furniture), *dikka* (sofa-like bench), *ṭāwla* (table), *burḡāi* (curtain), *lamba* (lamp).

Popular medicine is still practised in rural areas and by some Bedouin tribes, and even the urban and the higher classes often resort to traditional methods for curing less complicated illnesses. Various herbs, fruit, oil and special liquids may be used as medications. Thus onion drops are still used in Egypt against trachoma and watermelon seeds are prescribed for high blood pressure. Smallpox may be treated by burning dung near the sick child. Fig juice is used against corns or calluses, while burning or cauterising the skin against pain, fear and paralysis is believed to alleviate suffering.

Witchcraft and magic are used for three main purposes: to avert the evil eye, to cure illnesses and to regain the affections of the husband. The first involves various customs such as writing on a piece of a paper the name of the person who is believed to have put the evil eye on one, then setting it on fire while pouring salt on it and reciting some formulae that basically wish the person total destruction or blindness. The second witchcraft practice mainly involves the use of talismans or "blessed" objects or plants prepared usually by older people known for their piety [see *TILSAM*], and the third, which is called *shabshaba*, denotes a ritual mostly current in Egypt in which a woman casts a spell by beating her genitals with a slipper while pronouncing a magic formula to jinx an inattentive husband or a female rival. (See *Hinds-Badawi*, under *sh.b.sh.b*.)

Customs and manners. Since the Arabs themselves often describe their society as devout, emotional and fatalist, it is not surprising that scores of customs and manners are current within the Arab world, making the discussion of even a fraction of them an impossible task within the present article. Moreover, the diversity and heterogeneity of Arab society with its long history and contacts with other cultures (e.g. Persian and Turkish) prevent any attempt at formulating a monolithic ethos.

Among the characteristics typical of the Arabs are hospitality, generosity and strong commitment to the family and tribe. Hence most of the customs and manners current among Arab society revolve around those. Moreover, the general attitude towards life and death is of resignation to fate. Hence it is customary to accept happiness and tragedy with the same dictum, expressing praise to God (*ḡamdala*) and bearing in mind that, in the case of death, the deceased will eventually reach a better world.

Many customs are mentioned in the *Ḥadīth* literature as practices attributed to the Prophet Muḡammad, hence are *sunan* which should obviously be adhered to by all Muslims. For example, customs concerning hygiene, such as bathing or the need to clean the teeth (*ṭaswīk*) with a toothpick (*sawwāk* or *siwāk* [see *MISWĀK*]), or food. Eating "procedures" include washing the hands before and after the meal; saying the *basmala* before starting; encouraging the guest to eat more. Satiety is indicated by leaving some food on



the plate (in some communities, satiety is indicated by burping), and wishing the host that his table will always be full (*al-sufra dāyima*), or wishing the lady of the house that her hands will be protected by God (*tislam/yislamū* or *yesallem idēki*).

Many customs recorded by classical Arabic literature not only suggest that the Arabs paid considerable attention to good manners but that some of these older customs are still current in the society. For example, the custom of holding food with the right hand and with three fingers is mentioned by ʿĪsā al-Dīn al-Suyūṭī (d. 911/1505), who explains that using one finger in order to hold the food is abominated, two fingers show arrogance, while four fingers indicate gorging (*al-Kanz al-madfūn*, 182).

Other customs concerning etiquette are numerous. Most of them concern family life, e.g. a husband and wife may address each other in front of other people as *umm*... (the mother of...) or *abū*... (the father of...) followed by the name of the first-born, or as *ibn 'ammī* or *bint 'ammī* (my cousin). A non-member of the family must not show interest in any female. Hence, when wishing to ask about the health of any female, he should refer to *al-karīma* (the respected, for the daughter of the person he speaks to); *al-wāḥida* (the one who gave birth, i.e. the mother) and *al-ahl* (the home/family, i.e. the wife). The divorce procedure [see TALĀQ] includes usually the statement *anti ṭālik* (you are divorced) repeated by the husband three times in the presence of two adult witnesses. A request for a favour, within reason, must be fulfilled if the asking party grabs the hem of a person's cloak and states: *anā dakhilak*, i.e. "I am under your protection".

Some tribal customs, such as circumcision of females [see KHAFD], blood revenge [see KISĀS], killing in order to protect family or tribal honour [see 'IRP] or "marriage of pleasure" (*nikāh al-mu'a* [see MUR'A]) are still current in some places, though they are gradually declining.

Beliefs and superstitions and some customs associated with them are very common in Arab society. The most popular are a strong belief in the devil (*al-Shayṭān* [see SHAYṬĀN]), who has several names and epithets in the Qur'ān and other Muslim literature, spirits (*arwāḥ* or *ashbāḥ*) and demons (*'ifrīt*, *ghūl* or *ḡinn*) (hence an insane person is called *madḡnūn*, i.e. someone whose body has been possessed by a *ḡinn*). Since the devil and demons are mentioned in the Qur'ān, no Muslim doubts their existence. The *ḡinn* and the demons may harm but they may also protect. Thus one should please them by offering them bread when they come out at night, prowling for food (this custom is referred to in Tāḥā Husayn's *al-Ayyām*, i, 7-8). Appeasing of the *ḡinns* in 'Irāk, such as *fantal*, *dev* and *s'luwa* was carried out by pouring water mixed with sugar and salt. This "ceremony" was known as *dalk*. Another custom aiming at the protection of people from the harms of the *ḡinn* involves the fastening of chicken legs and seven onions on a skewer and leaving them hung for forty days over the bed of a woman who has given birth.

The custom called *zār* [q.v.] (exorcism) is particularly popular in Egypt. It refers to a "ritual of sacrifices, incantations, drumming and dancing performed for the purpose of appeasing any one of a number of spirits by which a person may be believed to be possessed" (Hinds-Badawi, 363).

People, and in particular, children and the house should be protected against the evil eye. Hence after the visit of a stranger to the house it is customary to spread salt on the children. It is also customary

to say after seeing a handsome child: *mā abshā'aka* (How ugly you are!) and even nickname a girl *kabīha* (ugly), in order to nullify the harm of evil eye. A guest is expected to say *mā shā'a Allāh* (God willing) or *smalla 'alēh* (the name of Allah on him) when speaking of or looking at a child.

A strong belief in luck and fortune is also common. Hence the family who has suffered a disaster may resort to using amulets, pray and give money to charity and even go to live elsewhere. In some areas, the days of the week are either good or bad. Hence they may influence actions. Thus Monday, Wednesday, Thursday and Friday are regarded as "good" days while the other days are usually "bad". This division may differ from area to area. The eclipse of the sun and the moon [see KUSUF] indicate bad luck. Hence it is customary that when an eclipse occurs, people pray to God to save the world. Some believe that in the case of the eclipse of the moon, it has in fact been swallowed up by a big whale or leviathan (*hūḥ*) and therefore people should pray to God calling on him to "let it go". Strong belief in the good luck brought by the first customer (*istiftāḥ*), makes a shop-keeper do anything to persuade the first customer to buy something, even at a loss. Moreover, it is customary for a shop-keeper to open his business in the morning, reciting a short dictum consisting of four of the Most Beautiful Names of God (see above): *yā fattāḥ yā 'alīm yā razzāq yā karīm* in which he invokes God that the day will be profitable.

Many beliefs are well known from the time of the ʿĪlīyya [q.v.], some of which are still current, e.g. the belief associated with the flight of birds, called *ta'ayyuf* or *ta'ayyur* (augury), and more specifically, the belief that certain birds may bring bad luck, such as the crow (whose sound indicates separation and enmity) and the owl (whose sound indicates desolation) [see FA'L; 'IVĀFA]. When describing al-Azhar, Aḥmad Amīn recalls the existence of a small box on the right side of the big *mihṛāb* [q.v.] which contained a talisman against birds (31). Similarly, fear of bad luck is associated with the hyena (*dab'*) which is still widespread in the region. It also appears in a number of folktales which aim at warning recalcitrant children.

Many other older beliefs are current in the area, though no one can trace back their origin. Examples include the belief that a creeping baby indicates the arrival of guests; and when someone sneezes while a name of a deceased person is mentioned, he/she will certainly come to harm unless the lobe of his/her ear is pulled, while the expression *falāt al-khēr* (favourable redemption) is normally cited.

The Arabs also believe in the magic power of dreams and have several classical works attempting to interpret them [see TA'BĪR AL-RU'YA, in Suppl.]. Examples are: dreaming of a snake symbolises a long life, probably because a snake is an old symbol for cure, and also the word "snake" (*ḥayya*) shares the same root as of that for "living, life" (*ḥayy/hayā*); dreaming of water or oil portends imminent disaster, whereas dreaming of a donkey bodes the receipt of a present.

Customs associated with the belief in saints (*awliyā'* [see WALI]) are also current in the Middle East. The *walī* is usually the patron of the area whose grave is visited mainly on special dates (*mawālīd*) or in certain seasons. This usually involves rituals around the tomb in which people pray and place their requests, e.g. for a cure for an illness, for becoming pregnant, for finding a husband, etc. Among the famous saints are al-Sayyid al-Badawī and al-Sayyida Zaynab in Egypt



and al-Nabī *Shu'ayb* in Israel. Many other tombs of famous pious personalities which are visited regularly (*ziyāra* [q.v.]) are the tomb of the Prophet Muḥammad in Medina, the tombs of the Patriarchs in Hebron and some of the prophets who are mentioned in the Kur'ān, as well as other local saints (some of whom were famous Sūfīs or *darwīshs*) [q.v.].

Popular art which is based on old traditions and customs may be divided into two main branches: the "performed" art, which includes popular shows, singing and dancing, and the "produced" art, which includes artifacts, embroidery and weaving and drawing and sculpting. The popular show includes the puppet show (*karagöz* [q.v.]) and performances by local artists, e.g. amateur comedians who entertain people at weddings. Acrobats (*bahlawān*), clowns (*muharrīdī*) and snake charmers (*hāwī*) are also popular, especially in North Africa. There are singers of different types of songs (e.g. the *mauwāl* [see *MAWĀLIYĀ*]), when the lyric is usually written in the local dialect. Some of the well-known singers in the last century were Umm Kulthūm [q.v.], Farīd al-Aṭraṣh and 'Abd al-Wahhāb, whose fame and popularity around the Middle East continue long after their deaths. Various types of traditional popular dancing, usually performed by men or women separately (e.g. *dabka*), exist in the area. However, the famous oriental belly-dancing performed usually by one woman (called in the past *ghāziya*, but today usually called *rakkāsa*) in nightclubs or at weddings is still very popular. Traditional musical instruments used in all these performances include string instruments such as the *rabāba* (one/two-string violin), 'ūd (lute), *kānūn* (psaltery) and *kamanjīa* (violin). Wind instruments include different kinds of flutes and pipes, such as the *mizmār*, *muzmār turkī*, *arghūl*, *nāy(e)*, *shabāba* and *būk*. Percussion instruments include the *daff*, *ṭabl*, *durbakke*, *ṭanbūr* (kinds of drums) and *ṣandjī* (cymbals).

The "produced" popular art includes household articles, furniture and clothes. Among these one may find e.g. the *miṣbāh* or *kandīl* (oil or kerosene lamp), *tiṣht* (basin), *ibrik* (ewer), *sudjīdāda* (carpet), *ṣiniyyeh* (tray), [*n*]arḍīla or *shīsha* (hookah), and clothes, as described above. In modern Egypt, a very successful industry of papyrus products and other artifacts associated mainly with ancient Egypt has been flourishing for several decades.

The interest in Arab folklore is certainly growing both inside and outside the Arab world. Scores of institutes, centres and museums have been opened, making it impossible to list them. In general, one may conclude that in every Arab state there can be found at least one centre or museum of ethnography or folklore, usually called *mu'assasat* or *ma'had* or *mathaf* or *markaz al-turāth al-sha'bi* or *al-funūn al-sha'biyya*. Moreover, some countries, such as Egypt, Syria, 'Irāk, Jordan and Palestine, are particularly known for their efforts to preserve the past by encouraging research on Arab folklore. Consequently, scores of publications appear and conferences are held annually in different parts of the Middle East and North Africa. Conservation work is in progress, to which one should add the growing amount of research, based on field-work, carried out by scholars and amateurs, who have originated from minority communities previously living in Arab countries, especially Jews from Yemen, 'Irāk and North Africa and who now live in Israel.

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(A. SHVITIEL)

2. In Persia.

The term "folklore", which has been accepted in Persian as well as in a number of other Middle Eastern languages, was first proposed by William John Thoms (1803-85). In a letter to the *Athenaeum* 22 August 1846, Thoms, writing under the pseudonym Ambrose Merton, proposed that the term "folklore" be adopted in place of the more cumbersome "Popular Antiquities", or "Popular Literature", to describe "the Lore of the People, . . . their manners, customs, observances, superstitions, ballads, proverbs, etc. of the olden time" (Dorson, 1968, 1, 80-4). Thoms' suggestion gained acceptance within a year of its proposal. The term refers not only to rural but also to urban "lore" these days. However, the debate concerning the exact definition of the term "folklore" rages on. The general atmosphere of ambiguity that surrounds this word may be deduced from the decision of the editors of the standard *Dictionary of folklore, mythology, and legend* (1949) to include no less than twenty-one definitions of it (s.v. *Folklore*).

Driven by the kind of nationalist zeal that propels many Muslim scholars to coin and use native words in place of foreign vocabulary, indigenous Persian scholars have proposed a bewildering variety of terms to denote "folklore". Some of these are: *farhang-i mardum* literally "people's culture", *farhang-i 'amma*, *farhang-i tūda* "culture of the masses", *'aḳāyid*, *rusūm*, *bāwardāsh-t-hā-yi 'amma* (or *'awāmm* or *'awāmmāna* or *mardum* or *tūda*) "beliefs, customs, notions of the general public (or common folk, people, masses)". Whereas the words *'amma* and *mardum* "folk", are clearly used in contradistinction to *khāssa* "the elite", and are more innocuous, the form *tūda* "masses" (cf. *hizb-i tūda* "the Communist Party") has ideological associations of a leftist nature because many of the intellectuals who began the systematic study of Persian folklore were inspired by socialist or communist ideologies. Be that as it may, of these, the term *farhang-i mardum*, a literal



Persian translation of the English "folklore", is probably the most widely accepted. However, the loan word "folklore", spelled *fulklur* in Persian, continues to be used side-by-side with it and there may even be a movement toward its adoption in specialised publications. This is signalled not only by the early uses of it, its Persian plural *fulklur-hā* and its adjectival form *fulklurī* (Katīrā'ī 1357/1978, 93, 135, 138) but also by the fact that the word *fulklur* is used interchangeably with *farhang-i mardum* in the first two issues of the *Iranian Folklore Quarterly* in Spring 2002 (i, 7-8, 9-16; ii, 43, 132).

Scholarship on Persian folklore, which is concentrated chiefly on verbal lore, may be divided into two groups. That conducted by Iranians, and that which is undertaken by Westerners. Although the Persian study of folklore is typically traced to the Ākā Djamālī Khānsārī's (d. ca. 1121-5/1709-13) satirical treatise on superstitions of the Isfahānī women, which was entitled *Kūllūm-nama* (for an edition see Katīrā'ī 1349/1970), this attribution appears unreasonable. Khānsārī intended to ridicule these women's beliefs as a way of combating superstition; he was neither trying to collect folklore nor present an accurate account of the female lore of his time. By the same token, attributing folklore collection activity to Persian novelists (e.g. Šadīkī Čubak, or even Djamāl-zāda), who happen to use a significant number of "folksy" expressions in their writing as a matter of style, would be stretching the point.

Although brief collections of Persian folk expressions, beliefs and especially proverbs are scattered throughout Persian and Arabic literatures, none may be called systematic until the appearance of Dihkhuda's (1297-1375/1879-1955) four-volume *Amthāl wa hikam* ("Proverbs and dicta") in (1308-11/1929-32. Dihkhuda's collection is, however, no more than an alphabetical list of literary and folk proverbs, which rarely provides contextual information. The systematic collection of Persian folklore had to await the attentions of Šadīk Hidayat (1281-1330 *sh.*/1902-51), who, inspired by Arnold van Gennep's (1873-1957) classificatory system, published several tales, folk songs and collections of Persian folklore between the years 1310/1931 and 1324/1945 (e.g. Hidayat 1312/1933 and 1344/1965, 447-83). Of these, the two volumes, *ūsāna* "fairytale", and *nirangistān* (a title adopted from a Middle Persian treatise on counter-magical incantations), published respectively in 1310/1931 and 1312/1933, are the most extensive. Hidayat later published two articles on folklore and the method of its collection, the methodological aspects of which were inspired by Pierre Saintyve's (1870-1935) *Manuel de folklore* (1936). These essays later inspired the work of the most important Persian collector of folklore, Abū 'l-Kāsim Indjawi (d. 1993), who in the spring of 1340/1961 began a radio programme that aimed to collect folklore data by direct appeal to its listeners, who were also provided with training as well as with supplies (e.g. paper, forms, pencils). Indjawi's appeals generated an enormous public response. Soon a flood of data from his listeners began to come in, and he was thus able to amass a vast archive of Persian folklore data, some of which he published in a series called *Gandjīna-yi farhang-i mardum* ("the treasury of folklore"; see Indjawi 1352 *sh.*/1973, 1352-5 *sh.*/1973-7). This massive archive, that represented some two decades of systematic collection, contained some 120,000 folklore texts, hundreds of objects, 3,000 documents of cultural history, thousands of phonograph recordings, cassettes, films, videos and over 2000

photos (Dālwand, 1377/1998, 3-4). This material was preserved in the *Markaz-i farhang-i mardum* (Folklore Centre).

Since the 1970s, folklore had enjoyed significant backing from the royal family and other wealthy organisations. During this period, folklore research was promoted and even an international congress on folklore was held in Isfahān in the summer of 1977 (for an excellent summary, see Marzolph, art. *Folklore studies*, in *Ehr*). Folklore studies fared poorly after the Islamic Revolution of 1978-9. Folklore was viewed as promoting superstitious and even pagan beliefs, and most funding for it came to a halt. In spite of this, the Folklore Centre continued an anaemic existence until the early 1980s when Indjawi's radio programme was discontinued. The discontinuation of the programme not only brought the process of collection to a virtual halt but also signalled the final fall of folklore from grace. Much of the holdings of the Persian folklore archives, especially its audio-visual collection, was unceremoniously dispersed among other centres or was sent to storage. Only some written documents, especially texts that were submitted by the public, were allowed to remain at the archives of the Folklore Centre. Moreover, the Centre was placed under the control of the Islamic Republic's broadcasting agency (*sadā u simā-yi djunhūrī-yi islāmī*).

This unfortunate situation continued until 1374/1995, when following a speech by the leader of the Islamic Republic of Iran in which dangers of assimilation into Western culture were pointed out and Iranians were called back to their native cultural values, folklore studies were revived. This new interest in folklore has led to attempts that seek to impose some order on the chaotic mass of the existing folklore data in Iran. R.S. Boggs' art. "Types and classifications" in the *Dictionary of folklore, mythology and legend* has been used as a guide in an experimental effort to classify this material (Dālwand 1377/1998). Folklore publication and research continues, and a number of important Western studies on folklore have been translated (e.g. Propp 1368 *sh.*/1989, 1371 *sh.*/1992).

The earliest European interest in Persian folklore came about as a result of the British and Russian political interests in the Persian-speaking world. Alexander Chodzko (1804-91), Valentin Zhukovski (1858-1918), D.C. Phillot (1860-1930), D.L.R. Lorimer (1876-1962), B. Nikitin (1885-1960), L.P. Elwell-Sutton (1912-84) and above all the Danish Iranist Arthur Christensen (1875-1945) and the French Persianist Henri Massé (1886-1969), made significant contributions to Persian folklore studies (see Chodzko 1842; Christensen 1918, 1958; Lorimer 1919; Massé 1938; Nikitin 1922; Pillot 1905-7; Zhukovski 1902; cf. also Radhayrapetian 1990, and Marzolph, art. *cit.* Massé drew on the resources of his Iranian connections to collect and publish the most extensive body of Persian folklore of his time. He worried about the disappearance of the rural Iranian folklore as a result of rapid modernisation (Massé 1938, i, 13). Therefore, early in the 1920s, he embarked on a research trip to Persia in order to collect Persian rural folklore. Interestingly enough, his data came almost exclusively from city dwellers. Religious and ethnic minorities such as Zoroastrians, Armenians and Jews were intentionally excluded (i, 16). In spite of his concern for the endangered rural tradition he accordingly finished by gathering one of the best existing collections of the Persian urban folklore (i, 15). The classification and arrangement of Massé's data follows that of Van Gennep. The most important contemporary western



scholar of Persian folklore is Ulrich Marzolph, who compiled the first tale-type index of Persian narratives (Marzolph 1984), and has contributed many important monographic studies and essays to Persian folklore; the best study in depth on the history of Persian folklore studies to date remains his discussion of the subject in *Elr*.

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(MAHMOUD OMIDSALAR)

TAKLA MAKAN [see TARIM].

TAḲRĪZ (A.), lit. "the act of praising", a minor genre of mediaeval Arabic literature which consisted of statements praising the virtues of a particular work, some composed after the death of the author of the work in question but probably for the most part composed at the time of the work's appearance with the aim of giving it a puff and thus advertising it; such statements must have been solicited by the author from obliging friends and colleagues, the more eminent the better. F. Rosenthal (see below) has felicitously compared them to mod-

ern "blurbs" of publishers to advertise their books. Ahlwardt, in his Berlin catalogue, seems to have been the first Western scholar to isolate and identify the genre as *Lobschriften*. *Taḳrīzs* tended to be formulaic in form and style, invariably in rhymed prose (*sadīq* [*q.v.*]) and with a stock of fairly trite images for praising the recipient. See Rosenthal, *Blurbs (Taḳrīz) from fourteenth-century Egypt*, in *Oriens*, xxvii-xxviii (1981), 177-96, who here translates two *taḳrīzs* from the Yale and Berlin mss. of a collection dating from 795/1393, by Ibn Khaldūn and Ibn Ḥadjjar [*q.v.*] respectively, these being aimed at puffing one Ibn al-Damāmīnī.

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TAḲWĀ (A.), a term of Islamic religion denoting piety.

1. Etymology and range of meanings.

Taḳwā is a verbal noun from *taḳā* "to fear [God]", itself a secondary formation from form VIII of *w-k-y*, *ittakā* "to fear [God]" (see on this phenomenon, Wright, *Arabic grammar*, I, § 148 Rem. b). From this same secondary formation is derived the adjective *taḳī*, pl. *atḳiyā* "pious, God-fearing", in fact a synonym of the form VIII participle *muttaḳī*.

Depending on context, the denotations of the term in classical Islamic religious and mystical literature include "godliness", "devoutness", "piety", "God-fearing", "pious abstinence" and "uprightness". As a social ideal, *taḳwā* originally connoted "dutifulness", "faithful observance", a meaning which was discarded in most later Islamic ethical thought. In the poetry of Labīd (d. 40/660), for instance, the social connotation of *taḳwā* as "moral behaviour" or "reverential dutifulness" with respect to one's tribe or relatives appears to have fused with the Kur'ānic religious ideal of 'fear of God', so that "concepts for a 'respectful relationship' between the members of a tribe and the 'reverential behavior' towards God seem even to be interchangeable and identical" (M.M. Bravmann, *The spiritual background of early Islam*, Leiden 1972, 117), but this combination of social and spiritual meanings of *taḳwā* is now obsolete.

The Persian dictionaries (cf. the references in Dihkhudā, *Lughāt-nāma*, s.v. *taḳwā*) render the word as synonymous with the Persian *tarsīdan* "fear" and *par-hīzgarī* "abstinence", precisely the same connotations of *taḳwā* found in early Muslim mystical theology. In English, various translations which approach the Islamic spirit of *taḳwā* are "pious God-fearing", "God-fearing piety", "devout uprightness" and "holy fear"; William Chittick has proposed the rendition "god-wariness", a neologism which, he claims, "makes *taḳwā*'s orientation toward God explicit, brings out the implication of being aware and mindful, and avoids the negative and sentimental undertones of words such as 'piety', 'dutifulness', and 'righteousness'..." (*Faith and practice of Islam. Three thirteenth century Sufi texts*, Albany 1992, 12).

In fact, *taḳwā* in many respects equals a particularly Protestant kind of religious notion, the spiritual significance of which is exactly conveyed by the Anglican ascetic and mystic William Law (1686-1761) in his *A serious call to a devout and holy life*, ed. P. Stanwood, London 1978, where he evokes that "true devotion" which requires that we "live as pilgrims in spiritual watching, in holy fear, and heavenly aspiring after another life" in one passage (31); and in another passage (256), insists that we "do everything in His fear and abstain from everything that is not



according to His will". As a religious concept in Islam, *taḳwā*, as will be seen below, has definite extra-Islamic resonances.

William Law's two principles of "fear of God" and "abstinence" from all ungodly affairs are found, in fact, in the earliest work in Persian on Šūfism: the *Sharḥ-i Ta'arruf* by Abū Ibrāhīm Mustamlī Bukhārā'ī (d. 434/1042-3), where *taḳwā* is described as having "two principles: fear and abstinence. Thus the devotee's attitude of *taḳwā* towards God has two senses: either fear of chastisement (*'ikāb*) or fear of separation (*ḥirāk*). The attitude of fear generates observance of the commandments of God, while "fear of separation" means that "the devotee is content with nothing less than God, and does not find ease in aught beside Him" (from the anonymous *Khulāsa-yi Sharḥ-i Ta'arruf*, ed. 'A. Raḡjā'ī, Tehran 1349 A.S.H./1970, 294, an 8th/14th-century summary of this work). In an almost identical definition by the great Kubrawī master Muḥammad Lāhīdjī (d. 912/1507) in the *Mafātīḥ al-iḡyāz fi sharḥ-i Gulshan-i rāz*, ed. Muḥammad Riḍā Barzgar Khālīkī and 'Iffat Karbāsī, Tehran 1371 A.S.H./1992, 250 *taḳwā* is described as the "fear of God regarding the final consequences of one's affairs, or else fear of one's own passionate self (*nafs*) lest it play the brigand, casting one into the perdition of separation and being veiled from God". After over half a millennium of theosophical speculation—from Bukhārā'ī to Lāhīdjī—the two foundations of *taḳwā*: fear and abstinence, remain completely intact.

2. *Taḳwā* in the Qur'ān and Ḥadīth.

In general Qur'ānic usage, the moral virtue of *taḳwā* denotes piety, abstinence and God-fearing obedience, suggesting the idea of a faith animated by works, and works quickened by a genuine experience of faith; in brief, such *taḳwā* is the substance of all godliness. *Taḳwā* is one of the most frequently mentioned religious concepts in the Qur'ān, having entered into the world of Islam upon the very first appearance of the angel Gabriel to the Prophet. "Have you seen him who tries to prevent a servant when he would pray? Have you considered if such a one has any divine guidance or enjoins [others] to piety (*taḳwā*)", Gabriel asks Muḥammad in the very early sūra, XCVI, 9-12, revealed in the cave on Mt. Ḥirā [q.v.] near Mecca. An allusion to *taḳwā* reappears in the second verse of the first sūra revealed in Medina (II), where the Qur'ān is described as "a guidance for all endowed with piety (*hudā li 'l-muttaḳīn*)". In XLIX, 10, the believers are described as "naught but brothers" and, in a kind of communal participation in their "pious vigilant awareness of God" (*taḳwā Allāh*), are enjoined to establish fraternal peace amongst themselves. Another verse (IX, 123), devoted to the theme of being harsh on the enemies of Islam, assures believers that "God is with the godfearing pious devotees (*ma'a 'l-muttaḳīn*)". This latter verse may be compared with the *ḥadīth* which situates *taḳwā* as the "aggregate of all good things" alongside *ḡihād* which is described as "the monasticism [of the Muslim]" (al-Ḳuṣṭayrī, *al-Risāla*, ed. Ma'rūf Ḳarīf and 'Alī 'Abd al-Ḥamīd Baṭṭandjī, Beirut 1990, 105).

Ultimately, salvation in both this world and the next is attained through *taḳwā*; with it the saints gain "their deserts and are untouched by evil and they have no grief" (XXXIX, 61; an idea also repeated in X, 62-3); while those with *taḳwā* "are driven into Paradise" (XXXIX, 73). The true mosque must also be "built upon *taḳwā*" (IX, 108-9) if it is to be consecrated (an echo of Luke, vi. 47-9?). This connotation of *taḳwā* is echoed in an early Qur'ān commentary—

by Muḳātil b. Sulaymān (d. 150/767 [q.v.])—where *taḳwā* is "considered as synonymous with *ikhḫlās*, pure sincerity, [and] *ittakā* is translated as *taraka* in the sense of 'to abstain' from what is evil, such as disobedience (*ma'siya*) or associationism (*shirk*)" (P. Nywīa, *Exégèse coranique et langage mystique*, Beirut 1970, 59).

While *taḳwā* is, in particular, the universal measurement and the final criterion of the sincere religious life of the faithful Muslim who is enjoined to "avoid suspicion" and instead to "fear God" (*taḳwā Allāh*, XLIX, 12; cf. II, 41), in a more general sense *taḳwā* appears as the common ecumenical characteristic of the universal man of faith, regardless of sectarian divisions and political differences based on nationality and ethnic origin in the verse: "We have created you male and female, and made you nations and tribes to know one another. Indeed, the noblest of you in the sight of God is the most God-fearing (*akramakum 'ind Allāh atḱākum*)" (XLIX, 13). In al-Sulamī's recension of the text of the Qur'ānic *Tafsīr* ascribed to Dja'far al-Šādiḳ (d. 148/765 [q.v.]) (ed. Nywīa, in *MUSJ*, xlii/4 [1967], 181-230), the Imām explains the verse as follows (221): "the generous person (*al-ḱarīm*) is one who is, in truth, piously God-fearing (*al-muttaḱī*), and one who is piously God-fearing is one who has severed all his ties to created things for God's sake".

The idea of *taḳwā* as specifically the Islamic species of piety appears in the Prophet's saying: "Faith is naked and *taḳwā* its dress" (*al-īmān 'uryān wa-lḱāsuḥu al-taḱwā*) (cited by 'Ayn al-Ḳudāt Hamadānī, *Tamhīdāt*, ed. 'A. 'Usayrān, Tehran 1962, 325). Another *ḥadīth* recounts that someone asked the Prophet, "Who are the Family of Muḥammad?" He replied: "Every pious God-fearing person (*kull taḱī*)" (al-Ḳuṣṭayrī, *al-Risāla*, 105). From such traditions, it is evident that *taḳwā*, as a religious concept, was seen to represent the robes of the Islamic faith, as well as to personify the very garments which cloak the Sacred appearing within diverse cultures and religions.

3. *Taḳwā* and *īmān*.

Taḳwā was regarded as an essential element of the interior dimension of the act of faith, of *īmān* 'an 'ilm "enlightened faith" (see L. Gardet, *īmān*, at Vol. III, 1173). "The Prophet said: 'Submission is public and faith is in the heart.' Then, he pointed to his breast three times, repeating: 'Fear of God (*taḳwā*) is here, fear of God is here'." (Ibn Ḥanbal, and Aḥmad b. Māḡja, cited by C. Ernst, *Words of ecstasy in Sufism*, Albany 1985, 56).

As an element of Faith, *taḳwā* thus embodies the purely internal and contemplative attitude of heart rather than merely external ritual practice; the same interiorisation of *īmān* which is, in fact, reflected in XXII, 37, which, regarding such purely physical practices as the sacrifice of animals to feed the poor, a ritual part of the ceremony of Muslim pilgrimage, affirms that "it is not their flesh nor their blood that reaches God: it is your piety (*taḳwā*) that reaches Him". Commenting on this verse in his *Iḥyā'*, al-Ḡhazālī notes that "What is meant here by 'devotion' (*taḳwā*) is a quality that gains control of the heart, disposing it to comply with the commands it is required to obey" (cited in *Al-Ḡhazālī. Inner dimensions of Islamic worship*, tr. Muhtar Holland, repr. London 1992, 35). Indeed, interpreting the Qur'ānic reference to "heart-piety" (*taḳwā al-ḱulūb*) in the same sūra (XXII, 32), Ibn al-'Arabī (d. 638/1240) was to point out that just as the human heart is in constant fluctuation in every breath, so genuine *taḳwā* must be understood as a kind of "pious-wariness-awareness" of God with every breath, which is the ultimate end of what God desires



from man" (*al-Futūḥāt al-makkiyya*, Cairo 1911, repr. Beirut n.d., ii, 672, 29-37); cf. Chittick's definition and translation of *taqwā*, cited above.

Taqwā was sometimes considered the supreme proof of the certitude of faith (*yāqīn*). Abū Bakr al-Warrāk, (d. 294/906-7), an early Khurāsānī mystic, observed that "certitude (*yāqīn*) is a light by means of which the devotee's spiritual position is illuminated. After he experiences such enlightenment, he is enabled to realise the rank of the pious (*muttaqīn*)" ('Aṭṭār, *Tadhkirat al-awliyā'*, ed. M. Isti'lāmī, Tehran 1372 A.S.H./1993, 538). Underlining the esoteric nature of piety in the spiritual life, al-Kalābādhī's (d. 380/990) *K. al-Ta'arruf*, Cairo 1933, 69, cites the statement of Sahl al-Tustarī (d. 283/896), author of one of the earliest mystical Kur'ān commentaries, that "piety is to contemplate mystical states in the act of isolation [from aught but God]".

Such a radically interiorised outlook, which evokes *taqwā* as the soul of *īmān*—piety as the inner life of faith—of course, was not always understood by exoteric members of the 'ulamā'. Ibn Taymiyya, an opponent of the Sūfism of Ibn al-'Arabī and scholastic philosophy, for instance, in his *K. al-Īmān*, interprets piety in its most exoteric meaning, considering *īmān*, *birr* (righteousness) and *taqwā* to be synonymous with each other when used in an "absolute" sense in the Kur'ān (as, for instance, II, 177, V, 2), holding that the believers (*mu'minūn*) are equivalent to the God-fearing (*muttaqīn*), who, in turn, are identical to the upright (*abrar*) (T. Izutsu, *The concept of belief in Islamic theology*, repr. Salem, N.H. 1988, 72-4).

4. The mystical theology of *Taqwā*.

(a) *Taqwā*-as-abstinence

In Muslim mystical theology, the general notion of *taqwā* is that of holy fearfulness, pious vigilance over and abstemious fear of following one's passions; in a word, the heart's awe of God who is ever-present in the contemplative life of the soul (cf. al-Ṣharīf al-Djurdjānī, *K. al-Ta'arrifāt*, ed. I. al-Abyārī, Beirut 1985, 90). Sahl al-Tustarī's maxim "There is no helper besides God; no guide besides the Prophet. There is no spiritual sustenance besides *taqwā*, nor any other work than patience (*sabr*)" quoted by al-Kuṣhayrī, *Risāla*, 105) declares *taqwā* to be the mainstay, if not the very sustenance, of Sūfī spiritual practice. In its perfect form, *taqwā* involves abstention from everything but God, for, as Ibn Khafīf (d. 371/981) states, "Piety is to distance yourself from everything which distances you from God" ('Aṭṭār, *Tadhkirat*, 578). The connotation of "*taqwā*-as-abstinence" is also captured in another al-Tustarī maxim: "Whoever wishes to perfect his piety, tell him to refrain from all sins" ('Aṭṭār, *op. cit.*, 313).

(b) *Taqwā*-as-heart-abstinence

The contemplative interiority of *taqwā*, with the connotation of "*taqwā*-as-the heart's-abstinence" from all but God, is summed up in one of the earliest definitions of the term given by Dja'fār al-Ṣādiq that "for those who traverse the spiritual path (*ahl al-sulūk*), piety (*taqwā*) is that you do not find within your heart anything but Him" (al-Tahānawī, *Kashshāf istilāḥāt al-funūn*. A dictionary of the technical terms used in the sciences of the Muslims, Calcutta 1862, ii, 1527). Abū Sa'īd al-Kharrāz (d. 277/890 or 286/899), an important Sūfī of the school of Baghdād, in his *K. al-Haḳā'ik* devoted to the vocabulary of Sūfī mystical experience on the two-fold levels of rational expression (*ihāra*) and mystical allusion (*ishāra*), combined this interiorised vision of *taqwā* with the more traditional Kur'ānic understanding of the term in his statement

that *taqwā* is "to have a heart vigilant not to let itself pursue passion, and a soul which guards itself against occasions of sin and error" (cited by Nywīa, *Exégèse coranique et langage mystique*, 289). Another leading member of the Baghdād school of Sūfīs, Abū 'l-Ḥusayn al-Nūrī (d. 295/907), in the first chapter of his *Makāmāt al-kulūb* discovered and edited by Nywīa, *Textes mystiques inédits*, in *MUSJ*, xlv/9 [1968], 132, in a section devoted to "the qualities of the house of the heart of the faithful believer", mentions *taqwā* as the Light of Piety, the soul of Sūfī ethics, for the contemplative "Light of Piety" illuminates both faith and works.

This interiorised concept of *taqwā* of the heart more or less disappeared but did not altogether die out from the vocabulary of Sūfism after the 5th/11th century. Thus Rūzbihān Baklī (d. 606/1209 [q.v.]) wrote in his *Mashrab al-arwāḥ* that "The root of God-fearing piety is detachment of one's inmost consciousness (*sirr*) from everything but God, whether from the material or spiritual realms, during contemplation of the proofs of the divine Attributes and flashes of the divine Essence. In this manner, one's inmost consciousness melts away before the onslaught of the majesty of the manifestation of the lights of Post-Eternity. That is the esoteric meaning of the Prophet's saying: Faith is naked and *taqwā* its dress" (ed. N.M. Hoca, Istanbul 1973, 30).

5. *Taqwā* in the spiritual stations of Sūfism.

From the late 3rd/9th to the 5th/11th centuries, *taqwā* was regularly featured in classifications devoted to the spiritual transactions (*mu'āmalāt*) or moral virtues (*akhlāk*) of the Sūfīs' spiritual journey, being closely aligned to the analogous concepts of fear (*khauf*), asceticism (*zuhd*), and abstinence (*wara'*). Al-Ḥārith al-Muḥāsibī (d. 243/857) propounded in his *K. al-Ri'āya* that all piety stems from fear and dread of God Almighty. According to him, "Obedience [to God's commands and prohibitions] is the road to salvation, and knowledge is the guide to the road, and the foundation of obedience is abstinence (*wara'*), and the foundation of abstinence is godfearing piety (*taqwā*), and the foundation of that is self-examination (*muḥāsaba*), and self-examination is based on fear (*khauf*) and hope (*radjā'*)" (Margaret Smith, *Al-Muḥāsibī, an early mystic of Baghdad*, Cambridge 1935, 89, 112). If *taqwā* appears in this description as an essential "foundation" of ascetic theology, the emphasis on piety is even more accentuated later on in the same book: "O brother, let godliness (*taqwā*) be your chief concern, for it is your capital stock, and works of supererogation beyond that represent your profit" (*ibid.*, 129), cf. also Massignon, *Essai sur les origines du lexique technique de la mystique musulmane*, Paris 1928, 149.

Al-Muḥāsibī's emphasis on piety-as-godliness in early Islamic mysticism was formally integrated into the Sūfī methodological approach to the spiritual stations (*makāmāt*) in al-Kuṣhayrī's *Risāla* (91-140), where *taqwā* is placed fourth among the first ten spiritual stations, in the following sequence: [1] repentance (*tauba*) → spiritual struggle (*mujaḥida*) → spiritual retreat, withdrawal (*khalwa*, 'uzla) → God-fearing piety (*taqwā*) → abstinence (*wara'*) → asceticism (*zuhd*) → silence (*samt*) → fear (*khauf*) → hope (*radjā'*) → [10] grief (*huzn*). Despite al-Kuṣhayrī's traditional classification of *taqwā* among the rudimentary spiritual stations of the Path, the term often seemed to fall out of usage among some of the later classical authors who wrote on the *makāmāt*. Thus, there is no mention of *taqwā* (whether as a station or a technical term) in Nicholson's index



of technical terms to his critical edition of al-Sarrādj's (d. 378/988) *K. al-Luma'*, nor in the *Kūt al-kulūb* by Abū Ṭālib al-Makkī (d. 386/996), nor in the *Ṭabaqāt al-ṣūfiyya* of Abū 'Abd al-Rahmān al-Sulāmī (d. 412/1021), nor in 'Abd Allāh Anṣārī of Harāt's (d. 481/1089) manual on the *Stages of the Ṣūfī wayfarers*, nor even in Abū Maṣṣūr Iṣfahānī's (d. 417/1026) *Nahḍ al-khāṣṣ*, which had considerable influence on Anṣārī's theory of mystical stations.

The early notion of the fundamental place of *taḳwā* in the ascetic theology of Islam does sometimes resurface in later works, particularly those written in the Persian language. In his treatise *Ṣad maydān* ("The hundred fields", in *Manāzil al-sā'irīn*, 299-300), which Anṣārī also devoted to the mystical stations, he set up *taḳwā* as the sixteenth station, subsequent to the field of abstinence (*warā'*), in the following order: [11] self-examination (*muḥāsaba*) → awakening (*yaqẓa*) → asceticism (*zuhd*) → detachment (*taḍrīd*) → abstinence (*warā'*) → God-fearing piety (*taḳwā*) → spiritual transactions (*mu'āmalāt*) → mindfulness (*mubālāt*) → certitude (*yaqīn*) → [20] insight (*baṣīra*). The field of *taḳwā* [16] is described as follows:

"Those who fear God with proper piety (*muttaḳiyān*) are three [kinds of] men: the lesser, intermediate, and the great.

"He who possesses the least degree [of *taḳwā*] does not corrupt his profession of divine Unity with associating others with God (*shirk*), or debase his sincerity (*ikhlas*) with hypocrisy, or contaminate his worship with innovation (*bid'a*).

"He who possesses the medial degree does not vitiate his service (*khidma*) with false shows (*riyā'*), or adulterate his sustenance with food of a doubtful nature, or let his mystical state (*ḥāl*) become perverted by heedlessness.

"He who possesses the greatest degree does not blemish his gratefulness with complaints; or dilute his sins by arguments [of his innocence], or ever cease to be beholden to God for His grace towards him."

As a key technical term or spiritual station, *taḳwā* is rarely present in any late classical Ṣūfī texts—among some of the more important of which may be mentioned Abū 'l-Naḍīb al-Suhrawardī's (d. 563/1168) *Adāb al-murīdīn* (ed. N.M. Harawī, Arabic text with Pers. tr. Tehran 1363 A.S.H./1984), and 'Izz al-Dīn Maḥmūd Kāshānī's (d. 735/1335) *Miṣbāḥ al-hidāya wa-miftāḥ al-kifāya* (ed. Djalāl al-Dīn Humā'ī, 2nd ed. Tehran 1325 A.S.H./1946); it is even absent from Shihāb al-Dīn Abū Ḥafṣ 'Umar al-Suhrawardī's (d. 632/1234) *Awārif al-ma'ārif*, which formed the literary model for Kāshānī's book, and was later to become the foremost manual of Ṣūfism in the Indian subcontinent.

Wherever the term turns up in later works it is usually considered as a necessary corollary of *warā'* or *zuhd*. For instance, in Sa'īd al-Dīn al-Farghānī's (d. 699/1300) *Mashārik al-darārī. Sharḥ-i Tā'īyya Ibn Fārid* (ed. Djalāl al-Dīn Aṣṭiyānī, Tehran 1979, 150-1), *taḳwā* is placed among the stations belonging to the first of three ascending degrees of "annihilation" (*fanā'*). The first degree of *fanā'* involves annihilation by means of "faring through and realisation of the spiritual stations, stages and mystical states such as repentance (*tauba*), self-examination (*muḥāsaba*), contemplative vigilance (*murākaba*), spiritual struggle (*muḍāhada*), sincerity (*ikhlas*), God-fearing piety (*taḳwā*), abstinence (*warā'*), asceticism (*zuhd*) and similar related degrees. . . ." As in al-Kushayrī's schema, al-Farghānī's classification places God-fearing piety among those virtues which the mystic must struggle to realise by

his own will; for aspirants still bound in the bonds of egocentric personality, *taḳwā* is a knife to cut through the cords of Selfhood. In the writings of the Persian mystics of the Kubrawī school, the virtue of *taḳwā* featured quite prominently. In his monumental conspectus of Ṣūfī doctrine, the *Mirṣād al-ibād* (ed. M.A. Riyāḥī, Tehran 1352 A.S.H./1973, 257-60), Naḍīm al-Dīn Rāzī (d. 654/1256) cites some twenty qualities (*ṣifāt*) with which the disciple must be characterised in a chapter devoted to "the conditions, manners and qualities of a disciple", and here *taḳwā* is the fifth of his *sulūk*; and a similar conception of the place of *taḳwā* in Ṣūfī ethics appears in the third book of the *Kashf al-ḥakā'ik* (ed. Ahmad Dāmghānī, Tehran 1359/1980, 131-2)—"an exposition of the conditions for wayfaring (*sulūk*) the mystical path"—by Rāzī's fellow Kubrawī Shaykh 'Azīz Nasafī (d. between 1281-1300).

As in the Rule of St. Benedict, for the Persian mystics of the Kubrawī order, God-fearing piety had come to be viewed as an essential virtue in the practical ethics of the master-disciple relationship, so that religious devotion is indistinguishable from unhesitating obedience to the order's superior.

6. *Taḳwā*'s apophysis in mediaeval Ṣūfism.

In the mediaeval period, the master-disciple relationship and the role of the master in spiritual practice, and, in particular, the need for the novice to be guided by an enlightened master, came to the forefront of Ṣūfī theory and practice, replacing the previous emphasis on the ethics of *taḳwā* as the cornerstone of spirituality and devotional worship in Islam. Djalāl al-Dīn Rūmī stated that "The gnostic is the soul of the Law (*shar'*) and religious piety (*taḳwā*): gnosis is the fruit of past ascetic effort. . . . He [the gnostic] is both the command to righteousness and righteousness itself; he himself is both hierophant and mystery" (*Mathnawī*, ed. and tr. Nicholson, vi, vv. 2090, 2093). This redirection of Islamic piety towards cultivation of, and concentration on, the elect "Perfect Man" [see AL-INSĀN AL-KĀMIL] with the consequent devaluation of the devotee's own private ascetic vigilance, is visible in the thought of most Ṣūfī poets of the Mongol period. One such poet, Maḥmūd Shabistarī (*q.v.*), in his *Gulshan-i rāz* thus describes the Perfect Man as "endowed with praiseworthy qualities, celebrated for knowledge (*ilm*), asceticism (*zuhd*) and piety (*taḳwā*)" (*Maḥmūd-a-yi āthār-i Shaykh Maḥmūd Shabistarī*, ed. Šamad Muwāḥhid, Tehran 1365 A.S.H./1986, v. 351), relegating *taḳwā*, as did the classical masters of the School of Baghdād, to being a rudimentary but not insignificant principle of the Ṣūfī ethical system. However, a discernible difference in accentuation has occurred, so that the Perfect Man is the source of piety rather than piety being the animus of individual spirituality. Ultimately, the Perfect Man may decide to dispense with all pious fear as well, since he is "free of the ties of master and disciple, beyond all asceticism (*zuhd*) and all the fictions of piety (*taḳwā*)" (*ibid.*, v. 862).

In the works of Sa'dī and Ḥāfiz, the two greatest Persian Ṣūfī lyricists, another kind of de-accentuation on individual piety is evident, with *taḳwā* often denigrated as a kind of spiritual attitude characteristic of cold-hearted ascetics (*zāhid*) and formalist preachers. "Wherever the Sultan of Love appears, no power is left in the arm of *taḳwā*," asserts Sa'dī in the *Gulistan* (ed. Kh. Khaṭīb-Rahbar, Tehran 1348/1969, 337), and in his *ghazals* he cries out: "Stand on your feet, so we can cast aside this blue [Ṣūfī] cloak/Throw to the winds of antinomianism this idolatry which bears



the name of piety (*shirk-i takwā-nām rā*)” (*Ghazal-hā-yi Sa’dī*, ed. N. Izadparast, Tehran 1362/1983, 23). Sa’dī probably knew of al-Kushayrī’s notion that “the root of *takwā* is fear of all idolatrous associationism (*al-shirk*)” (*Risāla*, 105), and in this verse no doubt merely wished to criticise the element of self-consciousness which *takwā* often engendered in less sincere adepts, re-evoking the classical concept of *takwā* which had recognised the need to develop an apophatic discourse capable of expressing the interior subtleties of its ideal (Abū Bakr al-Wāsiṭī, d. 320/931, a member of the Baghdad School, stated “piety is that you piously abstain from your own [self-indulgent] piety”, cited in ‘Aṭṭār, *Tadhkirat*, 745).

This paradoxical approach to the classical ideal of piety in Islam, expressed—in order to avoid metaphysical reification—in the wish to transcend the dichotomy of piety/impiety, godliness/ungodliness (understanding the affirmation of faith and piety as a subtle form of delimitation, an idolatry of a mundane doctrine instead of adoration of the Transcendent), is best expressed in the poetry of Ḥāfiẓ, as in the following verse:

In the way of the Ṣūfī it’s total infidelity
to put your trust in knowledge and piety;
Although a pilgrim boast a hundred arts
Just the same, he must have trust.
(*Dīwān*, ed. Khānlārī, 2nd ed. Tehran 1362 A.S.H./1983, 559).

Elsewhere he asks: “What relation does libertinism (*riwāḍ*) have to purity and piety (*takwā*)?/How wide the gap between the priest’s homily and the rebeck’s refrain!” (*Dīwān*, 20). In another place, he boasts, “So many nights I’ve strayed from Piety’s path (*rah-i takwā*) with harp and daff/but now they say, I’ll set my foot on the strait and narrow path—indeed, a likely tale” (*ibid.*, 324, no. 154 l. 2), scorning to sully the honour of his dervish cloak by following the pedestrian rites of canonical piety. Indeed, Ḥāfiẓ’s libertinism seems a far cry from the religious sentiment of Abū ‘l-Dardā’ (d. 32/652-3 [q.v.]), the celebrated Companion of the Prophet greatly venerated by early Ṣūfis, who was reported to have preferred piety (*takwā*) above forty years of ritual worship and observances (*ibāda*) (Massignon, *Essai*, 158).

With Ḥāfiẓ and his followers, the austere ideals of early Islamic piety reached both a moral threshold and a metaphysical apex, as the journey from Qur’ānic religious concept to ascetic doctrinal ideal based on fear and abstinence, to the interiorised Ṣūfī notion of piety as the faith of the heart culminated in the irony of the paradox which dissolves the mystic’s need for the *scala perfectionis* of his own *via negativa*.

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ṬĀLIB AL-ḤAKK, “Seeker of the Truth”, the title given to the Ibādī Khārijite leader ‘ABD ALLĀH b. YAḤYĀ, d. end of 130-beginning of 131/August-September 748.

According to the chronicler al-Shammākhī (d. 928/1522), the full name of this leader from the Banū Shayṭān of Kinda was Abū Yahyā ‘Abd Allāh b. Yahyā b. ‘Umar b. al-Aswad b. ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥārith b. Mu’āwiya b. al-Ḥārith al-Kindī (*Ṣiyar*, 98). He adopted the title of “Seeker of the Truth” at the beginning of the year 129/746 on receiving the oath of allegiance as *Imām* of the Ibādī community of

Ḥaḍramawt and Yemen. The Arabic sources give scanty information on him. A biography written by an anonymous Ibādī author, the *Strat al-Imām ‘Abd Allāh b. Yahyā*, together with a collection of his poems, was still available in the 9th/15th century, but has not survived until now (A. de C. Motylinski, *Bibliographie du Mزاب*, in *Bulletin de Correspondance Africaine*, iii [1885], 20, nos. 29-30).

‘Abd Allāh b. Yahyā was *kādī* to Ibrāhīm b. Djabala b. Makhrama al-Kindī, the Umayyad vice-governor of Ḥaḍramawt. He was a pious man and an energetic leader, and his inflexible attitude towards infringements of Qur’ānic precepts, which were still widespread, won over the hearts of those Yemenis who were dissatisfied with the Umayyad régime. He was in touch with the Ibādīs of Baṣra, who had spread their propaganda across the Arabian peninsula using the Meccan Pilgrimage to disseminate their principles. Abū ‘Ubayda Muslim b. Abī Karīma, the leader of the Ibādīs of Baṣra, encouraged him to revolt against the Umayyad government and sent to him not only weapons and funds but also some prominent personalities, amongst them Abū Hamza al-Mukhtār and Balḍī b. ‘Ukba al-Azdī, who came to the Ḥaḍramawt with the aim of organising an imāmate. The revolt appears to have taken place towards the end of 127 or the beginning of 128/745-6. Having gained control in Ḥaḍramawt, the rebels then in 129/747 crossed into Yemen and occupied the capital Ṣan‘ā’. There ‘Abd Allāh b. Yahyā distributed the wealth of the Umayyad treasury to the poor and, as *Imām*, showed himself to be of a mild disposition. He organised a new system of administration but nevertheless kept the former officials in their old ranks. Many Khārijites from other regions flocked to him, attracted by his honesty and rectitude. At the end of the year 129/747, at the time of pilgrimage, ‘Abd Allāh b. Yahyā decided to occupy the two Holy Cities, Mecca and Medina. The Ibādī army, only 900 or 1,000 strong, under the command of Abū Hamza al-Mukhtār, took Mecca with ease, and then went on to occupy Medina.

From *Hidjāz*, the Ibādīs now became an immediate threat to the Umayyads in Syria, so that, despite his waning might, the caliph Marwān II assembled sufficient strength to overcome the rebels. Around the beginning of *Djumādā I* 130/January 748, a strong army composed of 4,000 Syrian soldiers, led by ‘Abd al-Malik b. ‘Aṭiyya, marched against Medina. Abū Hamza was defeated and killed. At the end of 130 A.H. the Syrian army marched against Yemen. On receiving news of this, ‘Abd Allāh b. Yahyā, at the head of an Ibādī force, left Ṣan‘ā’ to prevent the Syrians from penetrating the land. The encounter between the two armies took place not far from *Djurash*, where the Ibādī army suffered a serious defeat. Ṭālib al-Ḥakk was killed and his head sent to Marwān II, while the rest of the Ibādīs took cover in the fortified town of *Shibām* [q.v.]. A long elegy on the fallen leaders is quoted in *Aghāni*, xxiii, 148 ff. While this serious Ibādī rising was quelled, it is nevertheless true that the anarchy that it provoked contributed to the final undoing of Umayyad power and enabled the ‘Abbāsid insurrection to penetrate more easily to the heart of the empire. Having defeated ‘Abd Allāh b. Yahyā, ‘Abd al-Malik b. ‘Aṭiyya took Ṣan‘ā’ and brought Ḥaḍramawt into submission, but afterwards received from the caliph Marwān b. Muḥammad an order to return to Mecca. He was thus forced to conclude a peace with the Ibādīs and to recognise their independence in Ḥaḍramawt. After the death of Ṭālib al-Ḥakk, ‘Abd Allāh b. Sa’d



al-Ḥaḍramī was recognised as his successor by the Ibādīs of both Ḥaḍramawt and Baṣra.

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(ERSILIA FRANCESCA)

ṬĀLIBĀN, Pers. plural of Arabic *ṭālib* "student", a term coming into use in the last years of the 20th century for a radical Islamist group in Afghānistān.

These "religious students" became the face of radical Islam during the late 1990s, when they controlled most of Afghānistān. They emerged in reaction to widespread lawlessness in south-western Afghānistān in the summer of 1994 and went on to become the dominant force in Afghānistān until their defeat by a US-led coalition of forces in the autumn of 2001. Core leaders of the Ṭālibān were trained in the *madrasas* or religious colleges of Pakistan's North-West Frontier Province (NWFP) and Balūchistān affiliated to or run by the conservative Islamist Pakistani political movement, the *Djāmi'at al-'Ulamā-i Islāmī/Jamiat-ul-Ulama-i-Islami* (JUI) party, whose ideology blended Wahhābī influences from Arabia with the Dēobandī tradition of South Asia.

Led by a former *muḍjāhid* in the Afghan-Soviet War of the 1980s, Mullā Muḥammad 'Umar, the early Ṭālibān were primarily young former *muḍjāhidīn*, mostly southern Puṣhtūns. There is debate about whether the Ṭālibān were essentially an indigenous movement that Pakistan supported to advance its own foreign policy goals, or whether the Ṭālibān were from the beginning a creation of Pakistan, which had seen its Afghan policy frustrated by the civil war between *muḍjāhidīn* factions following the fall of the Communist government in April 1992 and was seeking an alternative faction to support, especially in the fractious Kandahār area. Regardless of the source of their genesis, the Ṭālibān gained prominence and power through deep, early, and multi-faceted support from Pakistan's Interior Ministry, Inter-Services Intelligence Directorate (ISI), army, and society and were Pakistan's proxy army in Afghānistān by 1995. From a strategic standpoint, the Ṭālibān provided Pakistan with a militia that could possibly settle the power struggle within Afghānistān, but at the minimum could control the southwest of the country and make possible a stable route for trade with Central Asia.

After their unexpected emergence near Kandahār

in October 1994, the Ṭālibān steadily advanced to gain control of almost all of Afghānistān, despite some setbacks, such as the massacre of their forces at Mazār-i-Sharīf in May 1997 and Northern Alliance leader Ahmad Shāh Mas'ūd's counter-attack north of Kābul in August 1999. Following their capture of Kandahār in November 1994, the Ṭālibān advanced through Puṣhtūn tribal areas toward Kābul, ultimately forcing Gulbuddīn Hikmatyār's Hizb-i Islāmī to evacuate its positions south of the city. The then Defence Minister, Ahmad Shāh Mas'ūd soundly defeated the Ṭālibān and drove them out of range of Kābul in the spring of 1995, so the Ṭālibān turned their attention to western Afghānistān, capturing Harāt in September 1995. In September 1996 the Ṭālibān flanked Kābul to the east and captured Djalālābād, then drove up the main road through steep gorges toward Kābul, which fell without a fight later that month. Having taken control of the capital and most of Afghānistān after only two years, in 1997 the Ṭālibān sought to conquer the north of Afghānistān and finish off the remnants of the Burhānuddīn Rabbānī government.

Divisions within the Northern Alliance made possible the temporary Ṭālibān capture of Mazār-i-Sharīf in May 1997, but after four days local militias rebelled and destroyed the Ṭālibān forces there, while a Ṭālibān force that had come up from Kābul through the Salang Pass was cut off and surrounded in Kunduz. In the summer of 1998 the Ṭālibān pushed resolutely into the north once again, this time capturing Mazār-i-Sharīf in August and Bāmiyān in September. Following the fall of both cities, the Ṭālibān killed or forcibly relocated thousands of the residents. After the campaigns of 1998, the Ṭālibān controlled all but 10-15% of the country, primarily the rugged north-eastern mountains where Ahmad Shāh Mas'ūd's well-organised Tadjik army held on. Combat ebbed and flowed in and out of this area over the next three years, with Mas'ūd having great success in August 1999, but his assassination on 9 September 2001 by al-Kā'ida (al-Qaeda) operatives coincided with the beginning of a final Ṭālibān push into his salient that might have been successful had the events of 11 September 2001 not brought the United States into Afghānistān with the goal of destroying the Ṭālibān.

Afghānistān's long war destroyed or discredited most of its traditional leadership and led to a deep Islamisation of its society, providing the milieu in which the Ṭālibān could arise. The Ṭālibān were the last and most vehement of Afghānistān's Islamist leaders, but they were simultaneously a Puṣhtūn ethnic movement and a militia for Pakistan. Thus, their rise to power hardened ethnic divisions in Afghānistān and heightened the regional competition between Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Iran and Russia for control within the country. The multiple sources of Ṭālibān identity gave the movement a plasticity that enhanced its resiliency over time. The Ṭālibān leadership was comprised of Kandahār-area Puṣhtūns of different tribal and sub-tribal lineages, but most of the Inner Shūrā (council) knew each other from shared combat experiences during the Afghan-Soviet War and/or shared time in Pakistani *madrasas*. As the movement expanded its territorial control, its ranks grew to include eastern and northern Ghilzai Puṣhtūns, some ethnic minority militias, and former Afghan Communist soldiers from the Khalk/Khalq faction (introduced by the Pakistanis to provide the Ṭālibān with specialised military skills in which they were lacking; following the conquests of 1998 most of the ex-Communists were purged).

The Ṭālibān also were an international force, with



thousands of Pakistani "volunteers" (over 100,000 had served by the time of the Tālibān's defeat) and an "international brigade" of largely Arab fighters under the command of Usāma b. Lādin/Osama bin Laden. When the Tālibān captured Djalalābād in 1996 they began a partnership with Osama bin Laden and his al-Kā'ida organisation that was based in that area. Over the next few years, the Tālibān-al-Kā'ida nexus became more puritanical and intolerant of Afghānistān's northern minorities, and increasingly larger numbers of Pakistani "volunteers" joined the movement. Thus, what was initially seen in the southwest of Afghānistān as a local Pushtūn movement came to be seen by its northern opponents as a front for Pakistani aspirations in Afghānistān.

As the Tālibān grew more numerous, tensions between the different factions within the movement occurred on several levels. The early core of Tālibān leaders kept most of the positions of authority, and many of them remained in Kandahār near to Mullā 'Umar, who ruled from there rather than moving to Kābul when it fell in 1996. Over time, a moderate faction led by Premier Muḥammad Rabbānī and Foreign Minister Wakīl Aḥmad lost ground to the growing influence of a hard-line faction affiliated with Osama bin Laden. This cost the Tālibān international recognition (only Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, and the United Arab Emirates ever recognised the movement) and support. During the late 1990s, al-Kā'ida became increasingly aggressive, targeting the U.S. in several high-profile operations, which led to U.S. cruise missile attacks on Afghānistān in August 1998, increased U.S. pressure on the Tālibān to give up Bin Laden, and sanctions by the U.S. and U.N. on the Tālibān régime starting in 1999. The struggle between moderates and hard-liners within the Tālibān shifted in favour of the latter group with the destruction of the cliff Buddhas of Bāmiyān in March 2001 and the death of Muḥammad Rabbānī in April 2001. Ultimately, the attacks by al-Kā'ida on the U.S. on 11 September 2001 brought about the destruction of the Tālibān and al-Kā'ida rule and the implementation of an interim government in December 2001 headed by Hamīd Kārzaī, a Durrānī Pushtūn tribal leader.

The Tālibān were a tribal militia, a Pakistani proxy army, and a movement for social change in Afghānistān. Their early success on the battlefield was due to the shared ethnicity and war-weariness of the populations in the areas that they conquered during 1994-6. They also presented themselves as simple men motivated by piety and a desire to Islamise Afghan society, holding themselves in contrast to the formerly noble *mujāhidīn* whose lust for power had caused them to stray from the straight path of Islamic governance. Ultimately, though, the Tālibān extended their control over almost all of Afghānistān due to extensive Pakistani support, including money, weapons, training, military advisers, direct military involvement, logistical support, and recruits. The return of tens of thousands of these recruits to Pakistan exacerbated and deepened Islamist trends in that society, producing an effect referred to within that country as the "Talibanisation" of Pakistan.

Although they ruled most of Afghānistān for several years, Tālibān governance was mostly non-existent. Perhaps this was by design, and Afghānistān's state failure under the Tālibān was a conscious effort to destroy a Western model of government there, but more likely it reflected Tālibān incompetence at government. Rule was by decree from Mullā 'Umar, or from organisations such as the Ministry for the

Promotion of Virtue and Prevention of Vice (*Amr bi 'l-Ma'rūf wa-Nahy 'an al-Munkar*), a religious police modelled on the similar organisation that exists in Saudi Arabia. A 30 to 40-man Shūrā advised Mullā 'Umar. There were few funds for routine government, and most of the 27 ministries sat idle, as such funds as the Tālibān did have went into the war effort against the Northern Alliance. Traditional social welfare functions of government such as infrastructure re-building were carried out by international aid organisations in Afghānistān, although the Tālibān frequently constrained their operations.

The centrepiece of Taliban Islamisation policy was the maltreatment of women and girls, denying them access to adequate health care, education, jobs and basic human rights. Women's status and position in Afghan society had come to be symbolic of all that the Tālibān opposed, and their mistreatment of females helped keep their young male fighters unified and supportive, since most of them had learned in the Pakistani *madrasas* that women were supposed to be constrained in the ways practiced by the Tālibān leadership. Other notable Tālibān social policies included applying *Sharī'a* punishments (based on Tālibān interpretation of the *Sharī'a*, which was influenced by Pushtūnwālī, or code of the Pushtūns), such as execution for adultery and amputation of hands for theft; forcing men to attend mosque services and grow beards as signs of piety; bans on all forms of secular entertainment, such as sports, music and television; and ultimately the destruction of images in Afghānistān, including the world-famous Bāmiyān Buddhas.

The Tālibān were a by-product of Afghānistān's long and highly destructive war and capped a decades-long movement to Islamise Afghan society, itself a reaction to an even longer attempt by Afghan urban élites to modernise the country. The collapse of the Afghan state, the Islamisation of the Afghan resistance movement and refugee population, and the regional geopolitical struggle following the Cold War combined to create the unique conditions that gave rise to the Tālibān. U.S.-led military operations beginning in late 2001 have now almost destroyed the Tālibān movement, but the underlying ideology of Islamising the state and society remains and continues to influence Afghānistān.

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TARĀ'ŌRI, an alternative name for the place mentioned in Indo-Muslim history as Nārdīn or Nandana in the Jhelum District of the Western Panjāb, now in Pakistan; see on it **NANDANA**, in Suppl.

TARDJAMA.

4. (b) The 20th century.

In the 20th century, translation into Arabic contributed noticeably to the shaping of modern Arabic literatures and cultures. It arose in historical circumstances which considerably differed from those of the Arabic translation movement (*harakat al-tardjama*) in the previous century (see 4. (a) at Vol. X, 232b). The colonial experience, the rise of nationalist and anti-colonial movements, and the subsequent formation of independent Arab nation states exercised a strong ideological impact on Arab societies. The specific developments of translation as an integral part of Arabic national cultures embodied their changing interests and priorities.

In the early decades of the century, the proliferation of privately-owned periodicals and publishing houses in Egypt, Lebanon, Syria, Palestine and 'Irāk made possible the broader transmission of texts into Arabic. New centres of translation emerged in the communities of Arab immigrants in Northern and Southern America [see **MAHDJAR**]. Journalists, writers and scholars participated, along with trained professionals, in thriving translation practices. As the number of translated works increased on an unprecedented scale, the sources, methods and forms of individual translations diversified.

For the first time in Arabic cultural history, the translation of literature took precedence over other forms of linguistic and cultural import. This new cultural phenomenon was related to a massive translation of Western fiction prompted by the growing demand of readers dissatisfied with traditional forms of literary discourse. Their manifest interest in translated narratives, especially short stories, met a strong response on the part of Arab authors searching for new ways of artistic expression. Transmission of Western literature became an integral part of their creative activity, along with composition of original works in the new fictional genres discovered through the experience of translation. Prominent early contributors to Arabic literary translation were the writers and poets Ḥāfiẓ Ibrāhīm, Muṣṭafā al-Manfalūṭī [q.v.], the first school of modern Egyptian writing, *madrasat al-dīwān* (the Dīwān school); Naḍīb al-Ḥaddād, Salīm al-Nakḥāsh and Niḳūlā Ḥaddād in Lebanon; Ḳhalīl Baydās, Anṭūn Ballān, and Naḍjātī Ṣidqī in Palestine; Muḥammad Kurd 'Alī and Tanyūs 'Abduḥ in Syria; Salīm Baṭṭī and Maḥmūd Aḥmad al-Sayyid in 'Irāk; and the leading figures of *madrasat al-mahdjar* (the literary school of Arab immigrants in the United States) Nasīb 'Arīda, 'Abd al-Masīḥ Ḥaddād and Miḳhā'il Nu'ayma [q.v.].

The involvement of writers and poets broadened the scale of literary translation. While the majority of translated texts represented short stories, novellas and novels, since the beginning of the century more attempts were made at translation of European drama and poetry. In addition to French classical plays by Corneille, Rostand and Molière, Shakespeare's works—especially *Romeo and Juliet*—inspired several early Arabic adaptations. Tāḥā Ḥusayn [q.v.] translated and published an anthology of Greek dramatic poetry (1920), Racine's *Andromaque* (1935) and a selection of Western drama (1959). Poems by Victor Hugo, Lamartine and Shelley were amongst the first rendered into Arabic. Typically, Arab translators dealt with differences of

prosody between the traditions of Western and classical Arabic poetry by rendering Western poetic forms into prose. Further generic changes as in al-Manfalūṭī's radical transformation of a rhymed play—Rostand's *Cyrano de Bergerac* (1921)—into a novel were uncommon. The modern Arabic poetic free-verse style developed since the 1950s offered translators of poetry a new tool.

French literature remained an essential source of translation in the first decades of the century: reportedly, by 1930 more than 150 French authors were represented in Arabic translations, and about 15 English ones. The contributions of *madrasat al-mahdjar* included the introduction of Arab readers to classical works of American and Russian literatures. In 1920, Aḥmad Ḥasan al-Zayyāt's eloquent Arabic rendition of Goethe's *Die Leiden des jungen Werthers* from the German original was still a rare occurrence. In the inter-war period, single works by Italian, Greek and Turkish authors attracted translators' attention as embodiments of national cultures to which they related by way of human and intellectual experience.

Not all Western source texts selected for translation, nor all of their Arabic versions, were of high literary and cultural value. A great deal of translators' production catered to the needs of a growing popular market for romantic stories, mysteries and adventures. Translation techniques involving rewritings (*tardjama mawḍū'a*), adaptations (*tardjama bi 'l-tasarruf*), additions (*idāfāt*), abridgements (*tardjama mulakḥḥaṣa*), and various changes of the genre, set, plot and characters of the original, did not always yield good quality in the target language. Yet the substantial body of Arab fictional texts that those early translations built contributed, by its sheer mass, to familiarising Arabic readers with new genres of fiction. At their best, the pioneers of Arabic literary translation created works, which, like original writings, expressed and affirmed their own cultural identity and traditions through the forms of Western literature. The appreciation of their audiences accounts for the longevity of such creative translations. They continued to flourish well into the 1940s, long after the genres of Western fiction had been adopted in Arabic writing, replacing traditional forms of literary discourse.

A similar symbiosis between translation and creation of literature is observed in many national cultures at the formative stage, when writers commonly use translation as a creative device and for addressing what they perceive as the pressing issues and actual cultural needs of their societies and time. Since the 1920s, modern Arabic literary theory and criticism have contributed to the emergence of new perceptions of translation, which have determined its subsequent evolution as a creative activity with specific social and cultural functions.

Extensive transmission of Western scientific knowledge and intellectual thought continued. Translated contemporary works of history, philosophy and literary theory were an integral part of the critical debates of the day (e.g. the translation of Thomas Carlyle's *On heroes, hero-worship, and the heroic in history* (1911) by the Dīwān school). Translations of Herbert Spencer's *On education* (1908) and Lebon's work on pedagogy (by Tāḥā Ḥusayn, 1921) reflected the edifying priorities of Arab intellectuals. Aḥmad Luṭfī al-Sayyid's [q.v.] renderings of Aristotle from the original (1924-35) introduced the classical tradition of Western intellectual thought. At that time, major influences on modern Arabic literary theory and criticism (Freud's psychoanalysis, the ideas of the Russian formalists,



etc.) were also exercised through the intermediary of Western languages different from the original.

In the second half of the century, translation entered a new phase of development under the aegis of the independent Arab nation states. The cultural policy of *ta'rib* [q.v.] (arabisation) adopted by Arab governments placed special emphasis on translation as a means of interaction with other cultures meant to serve what they deemed the interest of Arab societies and their comprehensive advancement.

Efforts have been made to support the study of translation and develop translators' professional skills. Translation is a commonly taught subject within foreign language acquisition programmes at the high school level. Arab translators receive modern professional training in independent academic institutions (e.g. al-Mustanşiriyya School in 'Irāq; King Fahd School for Translation in Morocco), or through academic programmes in translation offered in a number of universities (e.g. the King Su'ūd University in Saudi Arabia; Yarmūk University in Jordan; Alexandria University in Egypt, etc.). The academic institutions develop translation studies as well (e.g. the Translation Center at the King Su'ūd University worked in the last decade on a major project designed to catalogue 20th-century Arabic translations). Pan-Arab conferences provide forums for discussion of policies and issues of translation (e.g. al-Tunis, 1979, on developing common criteria for selecting texts for translation, reassessing the status and training of Arab translators, etc.; Jordan, 1992, on translation studies; Egypt, 1995, on scientific translation; etc.).

At the national level, the ministries of culture and education oversee translation activities. In many countries, translators are syndicated in professional organisations and unions, and some are individual members of the International Translators' Union (Geneva).

At the regional level, two organisations formulate pan-Arab strategies of translation. The objective of the Arabisation Coordination Bureau (1961, Rabat) is to create and update a unified system of modern Arabic terminology. The Arab Center for Arabisation, Translation, Authorship and Publication (1989, Damascus) supports translation into Arabic of materials for higher and university education in all areas of academic and technical specialisation, and of distinguished works in the fields of the sciences, literature and arts. Both organisations are affiliated with ALECSO. Recent contributions of Arab translators to ALECSO's cultural programmes include publications of *Basic Arabic dictionary* (1988) and *Trilingual thesaurus: Arabic, English, French* (1995); and the ongoing projects *Translations of distinguished books on science and technology*, and *Arabic unified dictionaries*. The Islamic Organisation for Culture and Science also retains translation programmes.

Over the last five decades, translation production has increased everywhere in the Arab world. Egypt and Syria hold leading positions, with more than 100 publishers of translations in each country (here and further below, statistics by UNESCO, *Index translationum*). Lately, Saudi Arabia and Kuwait have emerged as major translation centres.

French and English remain the important sources of Arabic translation, used also as intermediaries for transmission of texts written in other original languages. Since the 1930s, and especially with the influx of American culture in the post-World War II period, English became the main source language of translation into Arabic. In the course of the most recent decades, the source languages diversified, reflecting

new cultural priorities on the part of Arab authors, audiences and institutions related to the acquisition of modern technologies and know-how; to the interest in literatures and cultures traditionally not represented, or under-represented by Arabic translation, etc. The pool of languages from which translations are currently undertaken includes Japanese, Chinese, and other less common foreign languages. The leading languages from which books were translated into Arabic in the last 20 years are: English (3188 translations), Russian (1388), French (929), German (263), Spanish (149), Persian (77), Italian (58) and Turkish (49).

The majority of texts translated in the second half of the century represent fiction of European origin: Shakespeare is the most translated foreign author, with a total of 49 Arabic translations, closely followed by Agatha Christie with 47. Emerging since the inter-war period new concepts of the nature of translation and its cultural functions manifested themselves in a more attentive approach to the selection and transmission of original texts. Translators' creativity was employed to best express the ideas of the original using the tools of the modern Arabic language. The resulting more accurate renditions of classics by Balzac, Turgenev, Dickens, Baudelaire, Guy de Maupassant, Sartre, Gorky, Thomas Mann, Camus, James Joyce, T.S. Eliot, Virginia Woolf and Apollinaire exposed readers to a variety of writing styles, and encouraged since the 1950s new trends in Arabic prose (realism, modernism, stream-of-consciousness), and poetry (the free-verse movement). In drama, Chekhov, Henrik Ibsen and Harold Pinter elicited many translations (the latter's works compiled in a three-volume edition appeared in Cairo in 1987). Since 1983, Kuwait's Ministry of Information has published a series of modern translations from classical Greek of Euripides' tragedies.

Among the significant American writers translated in that period (e.g. Faulkner, Hemingway, Fitzgerald, Henry Miller), Edgar Allan Poe was better known for his mystery stories than as a poet, but Mark Twain remained most popular, his early Arabic renditions revisited by later translators. Lately, Arabic versions of Walt Disney's books head the growing production of children's literature in translation, including classic tales by Leo Tolstoy, Wilhelm and Jacob Grimm, Hans Christian Andersen, and modern Western authors.

In the 1960s to early 1980s, publishers in Moscow, Leipzig and other cultural centres of the then Communist countries produced a large number of Arabic translations introducing classics of their national literatures. The collaboration between Arab and European translators and publishing houses continues to broaden the perspective of Arab readers on European literary traditions (e.g. Arab and Swedish translators at present render from the original poems by Tomas Tranströmer, one of Sweden's most important contemporary poets, whose forthcoming Arabic anthology will be published by al-Mu'assasa al-'Arabiyya li 'l-Dirāsāt wa 'l-Nashr in 2003).

Numerous translations of works by Milan Kundera (Czech Republic), Wole Soyinka (Nigeria), Gabriel Garcia Marquez (Colombia) and Aziz Nesin (Turkey) in the course of the last decade testify to lasting aspirations by leading Arab translators and publishers to bring the best of modern world literature to their audiences.

In literary translation, transmission through intermediary languages remains a problem (e.g. Kundera and Marquez were first translated from French; Italo



Calvino and Ibsen from English; etc.). Duplications (e.g. four recent renderings of George Orwell's 1984) could be avoided through better professional communication (al-'Aysawī, 11-12).

Translations of non-fictional literature range from the modern sciences, business, social theories, philosophy (e.g. Foucault), psychoanalysis (e.g. Freud, Pierre Daco), literary theory (e.g. Barthes), general history, history of religions and religious writings, psychology and social behaviour (e.g. Edward De Bono), to popular science adaptations, textbooks at all educational levels, etc. Randomly selected and outdated source texts are by no means an exception.

Works which represent Western points of view on the history and culture of the region, have always aroused interest among Arab translators and readers (e.g. the latest accomplishment of the Egyptian National Translation Project, the 2002 translation of Marilyn Booth's study on Bayram al-Tūnisi; the recent translations of studies on modern Palestinian and Egyptian history by the German scholar Alexander Schölch; on Libyan history by the Italian scholar Francesco Coro; etc.).

A growing transmission of modern scientific knowledge has emphasised the need for an even closer co-operation between professionals in specific fields and in translation in the search for Arabic equivalents of foreign terms and modes of scientific expression (al-'Aysawī, 15).

During the entire modern period, translations have been made primarily in *al-fuṣḥā*. While the part of *al-'āmmiyya* increases in original fictional writings, and the performing arts of Arabic theatre and cinema, it remains limited in fictional translation. The colloquial versions of Arabic are entirely absent from non-fictional translation. As a target language, *al-fuṣḥā* has shown flexibility, adjusting its structures to fit new forms of discourse brought by translation. In the process of giving shape to new ideas and meanings, translation has constantly perfected its linguistic vehicle. By modernising the vocabulary, amplifying the semantics, and modifying and simplifying the sentence structure of the language, translation contributes to building a modern, informative and to-the-point style of expression in literary Arabic. Modern translation has enriched the cultures of Arab nations and shared their best achievements with the world: in the last two decades of the 20th century alone, 6881 books were translated into Arabic, and 6756 from Arabic into other languages.

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TA'RĪB.

2. Arabisation as a weapon of modern political policy.

Given that the Arabic language is commonly identified as a vital, if not the most important, aspect of Arab nationalist ideologies—whether they are pan-Arab, regional, or state-specific—Arabisation has played a significant role in modern Arab politics. In the early 19th century, before Arab nationalist discourse began to emerge, Muḥammad 'Alī [q.v.] of Egypt laid the foundations for the use of Arabic as an instrument of state-building. As part of his efforts to modernise education in Egypt, particularly military, medical and scientific education, Muḥammad 'Alī authorised the establishment of a School of Languages (*Madrasat al-Aṣun*) in 1835. The school was closed in 1850 during the reign of 'Abbās Ḥilmī I [q.v.] but reopened in 1863 on orders of Ismā'īl. Under the leadership of Rifā'a al-Taḥṭāwī (1801-73 [q.v.]) during both of its phases, the school undertook an ambitious program of not only training translators, but also of translating and publishing European texts in Arabic. Thus, the School of Languages pioneered the ideology and the methodology of *ta'rīb*. The European works chosen for translation reflected the interests of the State as determined mainly by al-Taḥṭāwī, who remained loyal to the house of Muḥammad 'Alī throughout his life. These works included texts in geography, history, medicine, military sciences and politics. In translating modern European works into Arabic, the staff of the School of Languages devised not only the principles for rendering foreign languages into a clear, modern Arabic idiom, but also coined Arabic vocabulary to express novel technical terms. In many ways, therefore, the school provided the intellectual resources for the Arab nationalist movement that gained ground in the latter half of the 19th century and provided Arab nationalists with grounds for asserting the continuing vitality and centrality of Arabic in their nationalist programs.

The work of European and American missionaries, primarily in the Levant, provided a second catalyst for the revitalisation of Arabic during the 19th century. American and British Protestant missions, eager to distinguish themselves from the French Catholics, who insisted upon and actively promoted the use of French, encouraged the translation of the Bible and liturgical readings into Arabic. The schools established by Protestant missionaries also promoted the study of Arabic in their curricula. The political consequences of these policies were perhaps more significant and long-lasting than the religious: The missionaries helped to nurture a sense of Arab national identity among both Muslims and Christians that distinguished them linguistically from the other constituents of the Ottoman Empire.

Arabisation in Arab nationalist discourse

The unifying factor of language in Arab nationalism is a theme developed at length by a number of intellectuals during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Kawākibī (ca. 1849-1902 [q.v.]) viewed Arab political unity and cultural revival as a necessary precursor to pan-Islamic unity and revival. In *Umm al-ḳurā*, as part of his argument for Arab leadership of the Islamic world, he claims that the language of the Arabs is the language common to all Muslims. Yet he also prepares the foundation for later



secular Arab nationalists by acknowledging that Arabic is the native language of both Muslims and non-Muslims. The Lebanese Maronite scholar Ibrāhīm al-Yāzīdī (1847-1906 [see AL-YĀZIDĪ, 2.]) equated nationhood with language. The standard Arabic of the educated classes provides an integrative force that surpasses the disintegrative tendencies of religion and culture. For this reason, al-Yāzīdī championed the revival and dissemination of the standard literary language (*al-lughā al-fuṣḥā*), based on classical Qur'ānic Arabic, in opposition to various suggestions for replacing it with colloquial dialects (*al-lughāt al-ʿamma*). He participated in efforts to modernise and simplify Arabic pedagogy, arguing that the proper use and teaching of a language is necessary to political, economic and cultural modernisation efforts. The standard Arabic also demarcates, for al-Yāzīdī, the boundaries between the Arab nation and other peoples. To maintain their cultural distinctiveness and by implication their eventual political autonomy, the Arabs had to preserve their language from foreign corruption, including the use of loan words and especially the adoption of the Latin script in place of the Arabic, as suggested by some reformers of the time. Instead, he proposed rules for Arabisation of foreign words and names that would either assimilate them into Arabic phonology and morphology or distinguish them clearly as foreign proper nouns.

The most powerful stimulus for the rise of an Arab nationalist discourse came from the Turkification policy pursued by the Young Turks after they seized power in Istanbul in 1908. The Ottoman constitution of 1876 had established Turkish as the official language of the empire but had provided no details for the practical enforcement of this provision. The political program adopted by the Committee of Union and Progress [see İTİHÂD VE TERAKKÎ DİJEM'İYYETİ] in 1908 not only reaffirmed that "the official language of the state will remain as Turkish" but it also stipulated provisions for enacting this policy (see Kayalı 1997, 90-4). All civil servants and government officials, including members of parliament, were instructed to conduct business in Turkish. The teaching of Turkish was made compulsory in elementary schools and Turkish was imposed as the medium of instruction in all secondary and higher education. As a result of this policy, Arabic was taught in the state secondary schools of the Arab provinces as a foreign language, with instruction in Arabic grammar provided in Turkish by Arab teachers who were often not conversant in Turkish or by Turkish teachers who were frequently not expert in the intricacies of Arabic grammar. Arab students caught speaking Arabic outside the classroom were subject to punishment. The imposition of Turkish was coupled with a campaign conducted through the Turkish newspapers to paint Arabic as a stagnant language and its speakers as an obstacle to the progressive reforms launched by the Young Turks.

Arab responses to the Turkification policy came from a number of political, literary and educational societies, some based in Arab cities, others in Europe. The Arab Congress of 1913, a gathering of Arab intellectuals and political activists in Paris, adopted a resolution demanding in part: "La langue arabe doit être reconnue au Parlement ottoman et considérée comme officielle dans les pays syriens et arabes" (Zeine 1966, 161). Another group, the Arab Revolutionary Society (*al-ḥamīyya al-thawriyya al-ʿarabiyya*), called in the same year for a more drastic measure: complete Arab independence from the Ottoman Empire. The

society's "Proclamation (*balāgh*) to the Arabs, the Sons of Kaḥḥān" expounded the superiority of Arabic over Turkish and denounced Turkish attempts to substitute the "sacred" language of Islam with Turkish translations of such things as the call to prayer and the ritual prayer itself. The proclamation also appeals to Christians and Jews to recognise that their common language unites them with Muslims in a single Arab nation: "Let the Muslims, the Christians, and the Jews be as one in working for the interest of the nation (*umma*) and of the country (*bilād*). You all dwell in one land, you speak one language, so be also one nation and one hand." The fanaticism that divides the religious communities is deliberately cultivated by the Turkish authorities, the proclamation avers. Religious hostilities will subside when "our affairs, our learning, and the verdicts of our courts will be conducted in our own language" (*ibid.*, 174-7; Haim 1976, 83-8).

Opposition to the Turkification policy also figures prominently in the works of individual intellectuals. In his newspaper *al-Mufid*, ʿAbd al-Qhanī al-Uraysī (1891-1916) wrote incessantly on the need for Arabs to resist attempts to undermine their language. He demanded that Arabic be recognised in the Ottoman constitution as the primary official language in the Arab provinces of the empire, and that it be enforced as such in the schools and civil administration. He urged Arabs to insist that all foreign schools teach Arabic as the national language of the students they were educating, alongside Turkish, the official language of the empire, and a foreign language, such as English or French. Al-Uraysī also campaigned for the use of a simple, pure Arabic idiom in private communications, one that avoided flowery expressions that he blamed on Turkish influences or words and phrases borrowed from French, the language popular among many educated Arabs, especially his fellow Lebanese. Al-Uraysī's growing influence among Arab nationalists led to his execution by Turkish authorities in Beirut in 1916.

Arab nationalist writing in the period after World War I continued to emphasise the role of the Arabic language, but with the imposition of English and French mandates in much of the former Ottoman Arab provinces, the perceived threat to Arabic came from English and French, not Turkish. ʿAbd Allāh al-ʿAlāyilī's (b. 1914) *Dustūr al-ʿarab al-kaḥmī*, published in 1941, is a not so veiled attack on the dissemination of French in his native Lebanon: "The duty of nationalists who are imbued with a burning and true belief is to persuade society by all possible means to free itself from all languages except the one which it is desirable to impose, attachment to which must be fanatical. . . . In such a fanaticism we must mingle hate and contempt for anyone who does not speak that national language, which we hold sacred and venerate as a high ideal" (Haim 1976, 121-2). In his 1952 article *al-Islām wa ʿl-kaḥmīyya al-ʿarabiyya* ʿAbd al-Rahmān al-Bazzāz (1913-73) declared the Arabic language to be the "soul of our Arab nation and the primary aspect of its national life" (*ibid.*, 181). Zakī al-Arsūzī (1900-68) argued that the true Arab genius lies in the Arabic language, which had flowered well before the advent of Islam. Thus, for al-Arsūzī, the origins of the Arab nation lie in its pre-Islamic antiquity, and the Prophet Muḥammad becomes simply one among many who forged an Arab national consciousness. The challenge of all modern Arabs, Christians and Muslims, according to al-Arsūzī, is to reinvigorate this national identity by reviving the language, for which



he suggested a number of radical reform measures (see Suleiman 2003, 146-57).

The period between the two World Wars saw increasing opposition to French rule in Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia as well. French colonialism in all three countries had meant the imposition of a policy of *francophonie* that made French the sole official language. The independence movements in the Maghrib would consequently stress Arabic along with Islam as the unifying and authentic markers of nationhood. In 1931, Shaykh 'Abd al-Hamīd Ben Bādīs (1889-1940 [see IBN BĀDĪS]) and his colleagues in the Association of Algerian Muslim 'Ulamā' adopted the motto "Islam is our religion, Arabic is our language, Algeria is our country".

More than any other writer, it was Sāṭi' al-Huṣrī (1880-1968 [q.v. in Suppl.]) who most firmly established the common Arabic language as the basis for Arab nationalism. Unlike other writers who included such factors as shared culture, customs, interests and physical environment in their definitions of Arab nationalism, al-Huṣrī limited his idea to a shared language and a shared history. The priority he attaches to the two is clearly articulated in the following passage from *Muhādārāt fī nuṣḥā' al-fikra al-ḥawmiyya*: "Language constitutes the life of a nation. History constitutes its feeling. A nation which forgets its history loses its feeling and consciousness. A nation which forgets its language loses its life and [very] being" (Suleiman 2003, 132).

Al-Huṣrī was keenly aware, however, that linguistic unity was largely a fiction, that the common standard Arabic was shared by only a small fraction of Arabs, namely, the literate classes, whereas the vast majority of Arabic speakers were divided by widely divergent colloquial dialects. In order to realise his vision of a language-based Arab identity, al-Huṣrī devoted much of his career to promoting the modernisation and simplification of classical Arabic grammar, with the intention of reconciling standard Arabic with the dialects, and then disseminating this modern standard Arabic in the new educational system of Arab countries. At the same time, he waged a fierce intellectual battle against advocates of regional vernaculars as the basis for an Egyptian, Syrian or 'Irāqī nationalism. Salāma Mūsā (1887-1958 [q.v.]), for example, campaigned for replacing standard Arabic, which he considered a dead language, with a refined Egyptian colloquial as the medium of writing, communication and education in his vision of Egyptian nationalism. Al-Huṣrī bitterly denounced the suggestion that the teaching of standard Arabic was an anachronism akin to the teaching of Latin. The analogy between Latin and its Romance language successors is inapplicable to classical Arabic and its regional vernaculars because of the continuing use by modern Arabs of the *fushā*. Similarly, in response to Tāhā Husayn's (1889-1973 [q.v.]) contention that Egypt should look to its pharaonic past as the basis for its modern national identity, al-Huṣrī caustically asked whether a modern Egyptian would be able to speak with a revived Egyptian pharaoh or with Ibn Khaldūn.

Arabicisation in Arab politics

Arabicisation has been pursued to some degree by all post-colonial Arab states as an integral part of their state-building enterprise, and Arabicisation has generally meant the promotion of modern standard Arabic as the common language within individual Arab states as well as among them. The goal of Arabicisation programs has been to cultivate a national identity in opposition to the European imperialist

legacy that left behind pockets of anglophone or francophone élites or in opposition to ethnic fragmentation caused by indigenous languages such as Berber, Kurdish or various Nilo-Saharan and other African languages spoken in southern Sudan. Promoting standard Arabic also targets the disintegrative tendencies of the spoken Arabic dialects and thus serves an important ideological function in pan-Arabist schemes and a very practical function in more specific national projects, where sometimes different regional vernaculars exist within a single state. Finally, Arabicisation has been bolstered by the rise of Islamist groups that accentuate the connection between Arabic and the Islamic identity of the vast majority of the populations of Arab states. Arabic is today designated as an official language in the constitutions of nearly all 22 members of the Arab League, and it is the sole official language in some 16 states.

Egypt was among the first Arab states to react to the dissemination of English and French as a deliberate policy of imperialism. In 1888, the British colonial administration in Egypt announced that the language of instruction in all Egyptian schools should be either English or French. This policy was coupled with the promotion of the Egyptian colloquial over the literary Arabic as the "authentic" language of Egypt. Various British officials, most famously William Wilcox in a speech in 1892, argued that Egypt's adherence to literary Arabic was a major reason for its backwardness and that the key to Egypt's progress lay in making the spoken language Egypt's written language as well. The British language policies were not met with immediate resistance, but to the contrary the policies found champions among many influential Egyptian reformers. Calls for a restoration of standard Arabic in the national life of Egypt became pronounced when the independence movement gained ground in the early 20th century. Sa'd Zaghlūl [q.v.], in his capacity of Minister of Education (1906-10), worked to replace English with Arabic in Egypt's schools. The Pedagogy Committee of the University of Cairo (est. 1908), headed by the then Prince Fu'ād, recommended that the official language of instruction at the university be Arabic, but, given the poverty of instructional material in that language, French and English would serve by necessity and temporarily as the medium of instruction in many faculties. Despite these early efforts, as late as the 1940s Arabic was rarely the medium of instruction in Egypt's educational system, except for the religious schools supervised by al-Azhar. The foreign-language schools, where most of Egypt's élite were educated, continued to exclude Arabic altogether, leading Tāhā Husayn in *Mustakbal al-thaqāfa fī Miṣr* (1938) to warn of the cultural and political consequences for the nation. Tāhā Husayn's demand that Arabic be taught in all foreign schools (though the medium of instruction remained English or French) became government policy in the early 1940s.

Syria and then 'Irāk launched Arabicisation policies under the direction of Sāṭi' al-Huṣrī, who served as an advisor and education minister to Fayṣal b. Husayn [see FAYṢAL I]. The short-lived Arab national government in Damascus (October 1918-July 1920) undertook several measures to build Arab national consciousness in the country, including the implementation of an Arabic curriculum at all grade levels, requiring the rapid translation into Arabic of textbooks and the training of qualified instructors. Al-Huṣrī continued the aborted Arabicisation program in Syria when he relocated to 'Irāk with Fayṣal. The teaching of foreign languages was eliminated in state



primary schools, and the foreign-sponsored schools were forced to adopt much of the nationalist-oriented curriculum developed for the state schools.

The ascendancy of pan-Arab politics during the 1950s raised the language issue to new levels of political saliency. Both of the dominant ideologies of pan-Arabism, namely, Nasserism and Ba'thism, emphasised the alleged unity of language as a key constituent of the single Arab nation. The result was the further curtailment, if not outright elimination, of the influence of foreign languages in Egypt, Syria and 'Irāk. In Egypt, standard Arabic was promoted as the language of instruction in all subjects, including technical and scientific subjects generally taught in universities in English. The debates on the place of colloquial Egyptian in Egyptian national life faded, but did not die entirely, as evinced by the controversy engendered by the publication of Luwīs 'Awad's (1915-90) *Mukaddima fi fikh al-lughā al-'arabiyya* in 1980. This work, which attempts to sever the link between Arabic and Egyptian nationhood, was published, perhaps not by coincidence, following Egypt's expulsion from the Arab League because of its peace treaty with Israel.

Lebanon was the Arab state most torn by the advent of pan-Arab ideologies, and language figured prominently in its political disputes. In 1962, Père Selim Abou, a young Lebanese Jesuit teaching at the University of St. Joseph in Beirut, published *Bilinguisme arabe-français au Liban*, in which he argued that Lebanon's bilingual character is unique among Arab countries and not the result of foreign domination. Much of the Christian population and many of the Muslim élites as well used French well before the French Mandate, he pointed out. French has been voluntarily adopted, Père Abou suggests, by a segment of the Lebanese population, especially the Maronites, "to express their deepest spiritual needs" (Sayigh 1965, 121). Such views were strongly challenged by other Lebanese writers, including a number of prominent Maronites. Kamāl Yūsuf al-Hādīdjī (1917-76), for example, argued that Lebanon's bilingualism was largely a myth, since only a small percentage of the élite classes in each confessional group commanded native mastery of both Arabic and French. French was the language of Lebanon's European coloniser, and its continued use instead of Arabic by the Lebanese marked their inferior status and dependence upon Europe.

Similar controversies involving the role of French have occurred in the countries of the Maghrib. Algeria, Morocco and Tunisia have all pursued efforts to promote standard Arabic as a marker of their national identities as well as their solidarity with the broader Arab world. But the three countries have exhibited varying degrees of official hostility to the use of French in national life. Algeria, which experienced the longest and most intensive process of Gallicisation, has pursued the most zealous Arabisation agenda. During the 1960s, under President Houari Boumedienne, the government adopted the goal of total Arabisation in government and education. Subsequently, laws were passed requiring fluency in standard Arabic as a qualification for a government job, and standard Arabic became the medium for broadcasting on state-controlled television and radio. In the private sector, however, businesses continued to give preference to those with command of French. The discrimination faced by young Arabic-speaking university graduates led to a series of student demonstrations and strikes in the mid-1980s during the presidency of Chadli Benjedid. In an effort to quell the unrest, the Benjedid

government issued a directive to employers to end language-based preferences in hiring, but little changed in actual hiring practices. Continued student protests in 1990, coupled with the rise of the Islamic movement in Algerian politics, led to new legislation to limit the use of French in public spheres and to restrict the number of French-language newspapers and magazines imported into the country.

By contrast, Morocco and Tunisia have demonstrated much less hostility to the legacy of French. Moroccan governments have pursued deeply ambivalent policies. The first government initiated a full Arabisation program for the country's schools and bureaucracy in 1956, only to reverse itself two years later. King Hassān II extolled the virtues of Arabisation while doing little to implement it, particularly as he sought greater economic and political ties with France. In Tunisia, the government of Habib Bourguiba encouraged bilingualism in its efforts to maintain close ties with France and the rest of Europe, a policy that has been continued by Bourguiba's successor, Zayn al-'Abidin Ben 'Alī. Islamic opposition groups in Tunisia, mainly the Islamic Nahḍa Party, include the government's lack of commitment to Arabisation in their criticisms.

In addition to European languages and the colloquial Arabic dialects, the politics of Arabisation has targeted indigenous regional languages. The status of Berber dialects has been especially problematic in Morocco and Algeria, the two countries with the largest Berber-speaking populations and the most organised Berber political movements. In response to Berber agitation in southern Morocco during 1994, Hassān II declared in a speech on August 20, 1994, that Berber dialects and Moroccan Arabic should be included in the national educational system, at least in primary schools. This statement signalled a greater visibility of Berber in the state media, but its critics charge that it has effectively undermined the recognition of Berber as a national language alongside Arabic. In Algeria, the political liberalisation from 1988 to 1991 led to a resurgence of Berber political activity. The Mouvement Culturel Berbère (MCB) organised large demonstrations and boycotts of schools and universities, demanding that the government officially recognise the Berber dialect of Tamazight [q.v.]. The government responded by creating the Haut Commissariat à la Amazighité in 1993 for the promotion of Tamazight in education and mass communication. In April 2004 Tamazight was recognised as a second national language in Algeria. The recognition fell short of Berber demands that it be acknowledged as an official language, which the government reaffirmed throughout the 1990s as being standard Arabic.

The Kurdish minorities in Syria and 'Irāk have faced similar obstacles to gaining official status for their language. Kurdish-language publications were banned in Syria after independence. Its 1973 constitution declared Arabic alone to be the official language. 'Irāk's 1925 constitution also established Arabic as the sole official language of the country, but the use of Kurdish in schools and other public spheres was always accepted by the government in the predominantly Kurdish regions of the north. The 'Irākī law of administration for the transition period, promulgated in March 2004 following the American occupation of the country, recognises both Arabic and Kurdish as official languages.

The constitution of Sudan designates Arabic as the official language of the republic, but adds that "the



state shall allow the development of other local and international languages". The reference to other local languages is presumably to the 100 or so African languages spoken in the southern, mainly non-Muslim part of the country. The British colonial administration cultivated these regional dialects along with English in an openly espoused policy of divide and rule. Post-independence Sudanese governments have pursued Arabicisation with the argument that a common language is the most effective means of maintaining the unity of the country. Yet Arabicisation has been strongly resisted in the south as merely one aspect of Khartoum's attempts to Arabise and, since the late 1980s, Islamise the Christian and animist regions of the country.

Organisations promoting Arabicisation

A number of organisations have been founded by Arab governments and by the Arab League to promote the policy of Arabicisation. The Arab Academy was created in 1919 in Damascus as part of the intensive Arabicisation program launched under Saī' al-Huṣrī. Its principal mission was to coin Arabic terms for scientific and technological applications. The Royal Academy of the Arabic Language (*al-Maǧma' al-malakī li 'l-luġa al-'arabiyya*) in Cairo was established in December 1932 by a royal decree of King Fu'ād. Its mandate was to explore all means by which the Arabic language could be revitalised. The King personally took an interest in orthographic reform, advocating the use of different characters to function as capital letters, dubbed the *ḥurūf al-tāǧ*. This experiment was ultimately abandoned, but the academy continued to debate various measures for orthographic and grammatical simplification for years to come. Under Nasser [see 'ABD AL-NĀṢIR, in Suppl.], the academy diverted its attention away from internal reform of the language to formulating new terminology for scientific and technical applications. This shift reflected the régime's argument that Arabicisation should proceed with minimal internal alterations to classical Arabic, the bearer of the common Arab heritage, and should focus instead on only those reforms necessary for economic and scientific progress. Other Arabic language academies have been established in Baghdād (1947) and 'Ammān (1976).

The need to coordinate the work of the various national language academies was acknowledged in 1961 by the Arab League. The Bureau for the Coordination of Arabicisation in the Arab World was established the following year in Rabāt. The bureau has organised a number of international scholarly conferences on Arabic reform and pedagogy and publishes the journal *al-Lisān al-'Arabī*. In 1989, the Arab Center for Arabization, Translation, Authorship and Publication (ACATAP) was established in Damascus by an agreement between the government of Syria and the Arab League Educational, Cultural and Scientific Organization (ALECSO). ACATAP's goals include translating foreign works into Arabic and translating key Arabic texts in science, art and literature into selected foreign languages. The centre also publishes a semi-annual journal titled *al-Ta'rīb*.

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(SOHAİL H. HASHMĪ)

ṬARĪK (A., pls. *ṭuruk*, *ṭurukāt*, etc.), "road, route, way, path", apparently a native Arabic word, and with the idea of a way which has been prepared for traffic to some extent by levelling, by the spreading of stones, etc. (see C. de Landberg, *Glossaire daïnois*, Leiden 1920-42, iii, 2204-5). The word shares a common field of geographical reference with similar terms like *ṣirāt* [q.v.], *darb* (see R. Hartmann, *Et* art. s.v.), *maslaka* and *ṣḥār* [q.v.], though each is to be distinguished in its usage.

In the Qur'ān, Moses is bidden to strike a dry road or path (*ṭarīk*) through the sea in order to escape Pharaoh (XX, 79/77) and thus achieve physical salvation. However, the Qur'ān usually employs *al-ṣirāt* [*al-mustakīm*] for the spiritual highway to Paradise (I, 6; XLII, 52-3; XLIII, 42/43) and never *al-ṭarīk al-mustakīm*; clearly, *ṣirāt* has a more religious and spiritual connotation than *ṭarīk*. This last is more like the Latin *via* in terms of its topographical role, although the physical layout and mode of construction of the two might differ considerably. The Roman Empire had many famous roads like the Vias Appia, Flaminia and Valeria. Many of these were of antique, pre-Roman origin, and the same was true of Near Eastern trade routes which ran from Syria to the towns of the Ḥidjāz and South Arabia, linking the Byzantine empire with the Arabian peninsula and the lands across the Arabian Sea towards India. In ancient Rome, the *viae* played a vital role in buttressing Roman military power and in facilitating trade. In early Islamic times, the *ṭuruk* likewise performed these functions, and furthermore, conveyed pilgrims journeying on the Ḥajj [q.v.] to the Holy Places. Piety was accordingly an additional motive for rulers, governors and others who built and maintained roads, supplied waymarks (*'alam*) and constructed caravanserais [see *KHĀN*], and the Arab geographers record in detail the Pilgrimage routes which crossed the Islamic lands, such as the *Darb Zubayda* [q.v. in Suppl.] across Najd from 'Irāk to Mecca, as do figures like Ibn Ḍjūbayr and Ibn Baṭṭūta [q.v.] in their travel accounts; the Qur'ān itself (XXII, 28/27) implies a diversity of ways with the *Ka'ba* as their goal. *Maslaka* was in many ways a synonym of *ṭarīk*, but figures prominently in Arabic geographical literature in the name of what R. Blachère defined as an important sub-



genre of this last, the "road books" or *al-masālik wa 'l-mamālik* [q.v.], an important element of which was also the fixing of the geographical co-ordinates of places (see Blachère, *Extraits des principaux géographes arabes du Moyen Âge*, Beirut-Algiers 1934, ²Paris 1957, 110-200; *ḤUḤRĀFIYĀ*, at Vol. II, 575); at all events, Ibn Khuradādhbih [q.v.] may be accounted the father of this sub-genre.

Those *ṭuruk* which were major highways of the Islamic world for trade and communication naturally stimulated the growth of staging posts (*manāzil* [see MANZIL]) and important towns along them. Mecca may have been along one of these *ṭuruk*, the route from Syria down the Wādī 'l-Kurā [q.v.] (but cf. the thesis of Patricia Crone in her *Meccan trade and the rise of Islam*, Oxford 1987, that the importance of Mecca as a centre for pre-Islamic trade has been much exaggerated). Yet undoubtedly, Samarqand [q.v.] lay at the intersection of trade routes coming from India and Afghānistān and from Khurāsān and western Persia and then leading northwards and eastwards along the "Silk Route" to eastern Turkistan and China—the "Golden Road to Samarqand" which forms the culmination and envoi of the James Elroy Flecker's (d. 1915) poetic drama *Hassan*. The famous Silk Route, or better, Silk Routes, ran westwards from Xi'an in China through Lanzhou to Dunhuang, where the ways split, proceeding either along the northern or southern rims of the Tarim basin [q.v.] to Tashkent, Samarqand, Bukhārā, and thence to the caliphal lands of Persia and 'Irāk, and through Anatolia or along the Black Sea coast to Byzantium (see M. Mollat du Jourdin, ch. "Des routes continentales à la voie maritime (fin du Moyen Âge)", in UNESCO, *Les routes de la soie. Patrimoine commun, identités plurielles*, Paris 1994, 1-19; K. Baipakov, ch. VIII/2 "The Silk Route across Central Asia", in C.E. Bosworth and Muhammad Asimov (eds.), *UNESCO History of the civilizations of Central Asia*, iv, *The age of achievement: A.D. 750 to the end of the fifteenth century*, pt. 2, Paris 2000, 221-6; Frances Wood, *The Silk Road*, London 2000, 13). At the other side of the Islamic world, caravan routes across the Sahara Desert brought the slaves and gold of ancient Mali and Ghana to the North African cities (see E.W. Bovill, *The golden trade of the Moors*, London 1958), whilst the Darb al-Arba'in [q.v.] "Route which took forty days" linked Egypt and Nubia with the eastern lands of the Bilād al-Sūdān, bringing slaves, ivory, ostrich feathers, etc. [see SŪDĀN, BILĀD AL-].

It should be noted that *ṭarīk* should not be confused with the related term *ṭarīka*, pl. *ṭarā'ik*, Šūfī "path" or order; for these, see TARĪKA.

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TA'RĪKH.

II. 1. In the Arab world.

(c) The period 1500 to 1800.

i. *The Ottoman occupation of the central Arab lands*

The Ottoman Empire, in a few decisive battles, destroyed the Mamlūk Sultanate (1250-1517 [see MAMLŪKS]), which included Egypt, Syria and parts of Anatolia (with the Ḥijāz within its sphere of influence). Egypt, the centre of empires for centuries, and

also Syria became tax-paying Ottoman provinces for the next three, nominally four, centuries. Later in the 16th century, the Yemen, 'Irāk and North Africa (with the exception of Morocco) were also incorporated into the Ottoman Empire with varying degrees of centralisation.

For Egypt in particular, the change of rule was traumatic. It is true that like the Mamlūks, the Ottomans were Turcophone Sunnīs and were ruled by a foreign-born military caste. Yet the language of administration under the Mamlūks had been Arabic; now, under the Ottomans, it was Turkish. Under the new régime, all governors, chief government officials, *kādīs* and soldiers came from the Turkish provinces and spoke Turkish. Thus the foreign presence in the Arab lands was much more massive than before. At the beginning, many of the natives of Syria, Egypt and other Arab lands regarded the Ottomans as bad Muslims, negligent of the religious ordinances and disrespectful of the *Shari'a*. This judgment entailed automatically a view of the rulers as unjust. Later this negative image of the Ottomans changed, however, as the Ottomans, starting with the long and stable reign of Sultan Süleymān Kānūnī (the Magnificent, 1520-66 [q.v.]), became themselves more devout. The dynasty emphasised its role as pious Muslim rulers and defenders of Islam against Christian infidels in the west and *Shi'ī* heretics in the east. Nevertheless, anti-Turkish sentiments persisted, beside a genuine loyalty toward the Ottoman dynasty itself and the distant sultan in Istanbul. Such seemingly contradictory sentiments could coexist in that pre-national age and are reflected in the writings of Arab historians.

The Mamlūk sultanate was extremely rich in historiography (see (b) at Vol. X, 276a-280a), more than any other period in pre-modern Islam. Yet research into the history of the Arab provinces of the Ottoman Empire has also been increasing recently, and there is a better appreciation of the wealth of Arabic historiography under Ottoman rule (see *Bibl.*).

EGYPT

The political, diplomatic and military events leading to the Mamlūk-Ottoman conflict and the occupation of Egypt (Muharram 923/January 1517), and then the first six years of Ottoman rule (until *Ḍhu 'l-Hijja* 928/November 1522) are superbly narrated by the Cairene chronicler Muḥammad b. Iyās [see IBN IYĀS]. The fifth volume of his *Badā'i' al-zuhūr fī waqā'i' al-duḥūr* (ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafā, v, ²Cairo 1961) is a most valuable work that has few equivalents in describing day by day how a new régime steps into the shoes of the old one. Ibn Iyās not only reports the decisions and moves undertaken by the Ottomans in Egypt but his writing reflects the people's attitudes and feelings toward their new masters.

Ibn Iyās's hostility towards the Ottomans is obvious throughout his chronicle. He identified with the fallen Mamlūks, since he was one of *awlād al-nās* [q.v.] "the sons of the (important) men", namely, the Mamlūks. He judged all the Ottomans—Sultan Selīm, who defeated the Mamlūks, his soldiers, and his *kādīs*—as cruel and ignorant.

The problem with this chronicle is that it is almost isolated. Ibn Iyās was one of the best, but also the last, representatives of the great Egyptian Mamlūk historiographical tradition. This tradition stops abruptly after the Ottoman occupation. It cannot be determined whether that happened because Egypt was relegated from an empire to a province, or because the greater part of the 10th/16th century in Egypt passed peacefully and without major political upheavals. Some



information about the history of Egypt in the 10th/16th century is provided by non-Egyptian Arabic sources, such as by the important histories of the Meccan historian Ẓuhb al-Dīn al-Nahrawālī (d. 990/1582 [q.v.]), who wrote a detailed account of the exploits of the Ottomans in the Yemen. He was familiar with developments in Egypt, in the Ḥijāz and, to a certain extent, in Istanbul as well, since he travelled to the Ottoman capital where he met some of the most influential men. Al-Nahrawālī wrote a lengthy history of the Ottoman Empire up to his time, which comprises a great part of his book about the history of Mecca (*al-Barq al-yamānī fī 'l-fath al-uthmānī*, ed. Ḥamad al-Djāsir, al-Riyāḍ 1967; *K. al-Flām bi-a'lām bayt Allāh al-harām*, Beirut 1964). His attitude towards the Ottoman state is positive in the extreme, and his works influenced Egyptian historians for a long time.

Since contemporary chroniclers did not cover the greater part of the 16th century, the information about that period is cursory and episodic. The historiography of the period organises its coverage of events by what has been called by scholars the "sultan-pasha" type of chronicle. The *pasha* is the central figure in the narratives. The chroniclers characterise each viceroy by his personality and religious profile.

One of the two notable historians of this period is Muḥammad 'Abd al-Mu'īn al-Ishāḳī (the chronicle ends in 1033/1623-4). In his *Kitāb Akhbār al-uwal fī mā ṭasara fī Miṣr min arbāb al-duwal* he gives a most laudatory chronicle of the Ottoman dynasty and a history of Egypt up to his time. Of far greater importance are the numerous historical writings of Muḥammad b. Abī 'l-Surūr al-Bakrī al-Siddīqī (d. ca. 1071/1661 [see AL-BAKRĪ]), the leading historian of the 11th/17th century. He was a member of a famous aristocratic Ṣūfī family of *Ashraf*, who also claimed descent from Abū Bakr, the first caliph [see BAKRĪYYA]. The Bakrīs played a role in Egypt's religious and public life until the middle of the 20th century. Ibn Abī 'l-Surūr himself had close relations with the Ottoman authorities in Egypt, and his attitude toward the Ottomans is extremely laudatory, describing the sultans as impeccably orthodox. Almost all his chronicles are about Ottoman Egypt, but he also wrote a history of the Ottoman Empire, naturally with a strong emphasis on Egypt (*al-Minaḥ al-raḥmāniyya fī 'l-dawla al-uthmāniyya*, ed. Laylā al-Ṣabbāgh, Damascus 1995).

It was only towards the end of the 11th/17th century and during the 12th/18th century that Arabic history writing in Egypt became really mature and rich. We have many chronicles, some of them very valuable, which fall into two main categories: (a) literary chronicles, written by educated 'ulamā' or scribes in standard literary Arabic, and (b) the popular chronicles or "soldiers' narratives". The "soldier" language is ungrammatical, and the narratives have the characteristics of stories told before an audience. The chronicles of this category were created in the milieu of the seven *odjaks*, or the regiments of the Ottoman garrison in Cairo, more specifically in the 'Azab *odjak*, the second largest regiment in Cairo (after the Janissaries). These five manuscripts are known as the Damurdāshī group, since their authors are related in one way or another to officers in the 'Azab regiment called by this surname. The most important chronicler of this group is Aḥmad al-Damurdāshī Katkhudā 'Azabān [see AL-DAMURDĀSHĪ] (meaning an officer below the rank of the regimental commander in the 'Azab corps), whose chronicle ends in 1170/1756 (*al-Durra al-muṣāna fī akhbār al-kināna*, ed. 'A. 'Abd al-Raḥīm, Cairo 1989, ed. and tr. D. Crecelius and

'Abd al-Wahhāb Bakr, *Al-Damurdāshī's chronicle of Egypt, 1688-1755*, Leiden 1991). His narrative is lively, detailed and trustworthy, and is full of information about military and political events, as well as anecdotes that throw light on various economic, religious and cultural aspects of Egyptian civilian society. It is important to note that Aḥmad al-Damurdāshī was aware of the *de facto* autonomy of Egypt within the Empire. He calls the régime in Egypt *dawlat al-Mamālīk*, namely, the Mamlūk government, as it appears in the book's sub-title *Fī akhbār mā waka'a bi-Miṣr fī dawlat al-Mamālīk* "that which happened in Egypt under the Mamlūk government".

The historians of the period describe in detail the political struggles that they witnessed in Egypt, again, particularly in Cairo. After the *pashas'* authority declined from the latter part of the 10th/16th century, power passed in the next century to the military grandees, called *amirs*, *beys* or *sanādjīk* (the arabised plural of the Turkish *sanjak* or *sanjak beyi*). In the late 17th and early 18th centuries, power shifted to the *odjaks*, primarily to the Janissaries and the 'Azab, in that order. For most of the 12th/18th century, the supremacy belonged to the constantly-leuding Mamlūk *beys* until 1798, when the French occupation put an end to the Mamlūk régime.

Aḥmad Shalabī (Čelebi) b. 'Abd al-Ghanī's chronicle, *Awḍāḥ al-iṣḥārāt fī-man tawallā Miṣr al-Kāhira min al-wuzarā' wa 'l-bāshāt*, ed. 'A.R. 'Abd al-Raḥīm (Cairo 1978), covers the period from the Ottoman occupation in 923/1517 to the year 1150/1737. He was an 'ālim, and like many 'ulamā' at the time, also had Ṣūfī connections. He is unusually revealing personally, often telling about himself, his impressions of the events and the personalities that he witnessed, together with his personal opinions and his sources of information. Like other contemporary historians, he notes the declining power of the central Ottoman government and its representatives in Egypt. Sometimes he expresses contempt towards an Ottoman *pasha* or a *kādī*, while fully acknowledging the role of the Sultan as the supreme ruler of Islam. In addition to political events, Aḥmad Shalabī, like other historians in Ottoman Egypt, writes about economic, social and cultural, mainly religious, subjects. For example, Aḥmad Shalabī and his near contemporary Yūsuf al-Mallawānī (also called Ibn al-Wakīl) write about the devaluation of the currency, droughts, plague, and the flooding of the Nile and its effect on food shortages and prices. Occasionally, information is provided concerning Arab tribes and their chiefs, since these were often involved in the power struggles in the capital, and more rarely about the common people, the city poor and the fellahen. Events concerning the religious minorities, Christians and Jews are also mentioned.

We come now to the monumental work of 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Ḥasan al-Djabartī (1168-1241/1754 to 1825-6 [q.v.]), the last and the greatest of the historians of Ottoman Egypt. His importance as a chronicler has been long recognised. He became a historian under the influence of the French occupation of Egypt in 1798. This was a traumatic event, and the Egyptians' first taste of the overwhelming military supremacy of modern Europe. Al-Djabartī wrote a detailed description of the occupation and the people's reaction to the French. The Frenchmen's claims that they were Muslims, or at least friends of Islam, were met with ridicule; the ideas of the Revolution were totally and naturally misunderstood. For all his hatred of the occupiers, al-Djabartī was impressed by their love of learning and science and by their sys-



tem of justice (see S. Moreh [ed. and tr.], *Al-Jabartī's chronicle of the first seven months of the French occupation of Egypt*, Leiden 1975). After the departure of the French army and the return of the Ottomans to Egypt, he wrote another account of the occupation that was much more hostile to the French and much more favourable to the Ottomans (*Maḡhar/Muḡhir al-takdīs bi-zawāl dawlat al-Faransīs*, Cairo 1958). Finally, he wrote his *magnum opus*, *ʿAdīb al-āthār fi ʿl-tarāḍīm wa ʿl-akhbār* (4 vols., Būlāk 1297/1880). This work is a chronicle of Egypt from the end of the 12th *Hijrī* century (1099/1688), setting the stage for the rivalry within the *amīrs* ranks between the Faḡārī and the Kāsīmī [see KĀSIMIYYA] factions. The chronicle ends in the year 1821 (end of A.H. 1236), under Muḥammad ʿAlī's [q.v.] rule. As the book's title indicates, it is a combination of narrative (*akhbār*), organised by the *Hijrī* years followed by obituaries (*tarāḍīm*) of the notables who died during the previous year. Al-Djabartī's coverage of events, which took place since his maturity, starting around 1770, is a masterpiece of history writing. The detailed description and evaluation of the French occupation and, later, the early stages of Muḥammad ʿAlī's rule, are written with precision, honesty and insight. The historian's grasp of political events and of his society, with all its shades and nuances, is truly impressive. He presents to the reader a panoramic view of Egyptian, primarily Cairene, society, economy and culture, with several important glimpses of the Bedouin and the fellaheen as well. His obituaries of *amīrs*, Arab *shaykhs*, *ulamāʾ*, Ṣūfīs and other outstanding persons, and his chronicle, actually a diary, of the events that he witnessed and experienced, are among the best in Islamic historiography. Al-Djabartī was a man of strong religious faith, an ardent orthodox Muslim, who hated infidels and the vulgar sides of popular Islam. He admired the reformed orthodox Ṣūfī order of the *Khalwatiyya* [q.v.], to which even the chief *ulamāʾ* of al-Azhar (*shuyūkh al-Azhar*) belonged. On the other hand, he condemned and detested the excesses of the vulgar dervish orders. He often criticised the *ulamāʾ* for their selfishness and the Mamlūk *amīrs* for their behaviour, but he leaves no doubt that in his mind they were better Muslims than the Ottomans, the Turkish soldiers who massacred them at the order of Muḥammad ʿAlī. He hated the latter's tyranny, but acknowledged his talents. Al-Djabartī's education and approach were thoroughly traditional, but he was the first modern historian, and he experienced "the impact of the West".

SYRIA

Arabic historiography during the Ottoman period in *Bilād al-Shām*, Greater Syria, is at least as rich in quality and quantity as its Egyptian counterpart. A central and obvious reason was that Egypt had only one political and intellectual centre, Cairo, while Syria had at least three centres where historical works were written—Damascus, Lebanon and Ḥalab (Aleppo)—and, far behind, smaller towns such as Ḥims, Ḥamāt, Ṣafad and Jerusalem.

The majority of the Arabic historians in Syria were men of religion, *ulamāʾ*, members of families of religious scholars and functionaries, almost all of them with some Ṣūfī affiliations, in accord with the spirit of the times. Several of the leading Lebanese chroniclers were Christian clerics or bureaucrats in the service of powerful rulers. The topics covered by the chronicles were local politics, power struggles between men and factions, careers of *ulamāʾ*, Ṣūfī *shaykhs*, prominent *Ashraf*, and other *ayān* (notables). Special

attention was paid to religious matters, both among Muslims and Christians. Since Damascus was a major station on the Pilgrimage route, much information is provided about the Pilgrimage. The chronicles are good sources for social, economic and urban history, giving details about food prices, construction projects, and the like.

By far the most important and prolific historian of the late Mamlūk and the early Ottoman period is an *ʿalim*, a native of the al-Ṣālihiyya [q.v.] suburb of Damascus, called Muḥammad b. ʿAlī Shams al-Dīn b. Tūlūn al-Ṣālihi al-Dimashki al-Hanafī (880-953/1475-1546 [see IBN TULUN]). Like Ibn Iyās, his Egyptian contemporary, Ibn Tūlūn witnessed the Ottoman occupation of his town, which he described in detail. He was a professional and devoted *ʿalim*, however, and his judgment of the Ottomans, from the Sultan downwards, was more balanced than that of Ibn Iyās. His Arabic style is literary, unlike that of Ibn Iyās, whose Arabic is lively but ungrammatical. Ibn Tūlūn wrote no less than 753 treatises, many about Islamic learning, but he owes his fame to his many historical writings. He also wrote an autobiography. His best and most detailed historical work is *Mufīkahat al-khullān fi hawādith al-zamān*, a chronicle covering the last decades of Mamlūk Syria, Damascus in particular (from 884/1489), and the first years of Ottoman rule in Damascus until the year 926/1520 (ed. Muḥammad Muṣṭafā, 2 vols. Cairo 1381/1962; ed. Khalīl al-Manṣūr, Beirut 1418/1998). He reveals a humanistic sense of justice.

Ibn Tūlūn wrote also a book about al-Ṣālihiyya, his native suburb, which is an important source of lives of notables, primarily religious functionaries and *ulamāʾ*, and of information on religious institutions (*al-Kalāʾid al-dhawariyya fi taʾrikh al-Ṣālihiyya*, ed. M.A. Dahmān, Damascus 1401/1980). He also wrote two important books about the personalities and careers of office-holders in Damascus, who served in that city under the Mamlūks and the Ottomans, one about governors of the Province of Damascus (*ʿIām al-uwarā bi-man wulliya nāʾib min al-Atrāk bi-Dimashk al-Shām al-Kubrā*, ed. Dahmān, Damascus 1984) and the second about the chief *kādīs* in that city (*Kudāi Dimashk al-Thaghīr al-bassām fi dhikr man wulliya kadāʾ al-Shām*, ed. Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn al-Munajjid, Damascus 1376/1956).

Two biographical works on the governors of Damascus were written by Ibn Djumʿa al-Maḡarrī and Ibn al-Kārī. The former (d. after 1156/1743) was a Hanafī *kādī* and a Qādirī Ṣūfī. Sayyid Raslān Ibn al-Kārī wrote his book in the first half of the 19th century.

Another outstanding historian of the period, whom Ibn Tūlūn regarded as his teacher, was ʿAbd al-Qādir al-Nuʾaymī, the author of the important historical encyclopaedia of the schools and houses of worship of Damascus, entitled *al-Dāris fi taʾrikh al-madāris* (several eds., inc. Djaʿfar al-Ḥasanī, Damascus 1988). Al-Nuʾaymī was an expert on *awḳāf* [see WAḲF]. The work is organised by *madhāhib* and types of institutions—Kurʿān schools, *madrasas*, *zāwiyas* (Ṣūfī centres) and the like, and includes biographies of teachers and also details about relevant *awḳāf*.

An important historical source for Syria in the 10th/16th century is Naḍīm al-Dīn's al-Ghazzī's *al-Kawākib al-sāʾira fi ayān al-miʾa al-ashīra*, the first of the three centennial dictionaries of Ottoman Syria (3 vols. Beirut, Jounieh and Harissa 1945-59). Al-Ghazzī (977-1061/1570-1651) was a member of a family of *ulamāʾ* and an orthodox Ṣūfī of the Qādirī order, who lived in Damascus where he held several religious offices. The biographies in the *Kawākib* are



arranged by generations (*ṭabaqāt*) of 33 years each. The order is alphabetical. Among his biographies there are Ottoman officials, *kādīs*, and governors. He had to rely extensively on information he found in works of earlier historians.

Al-Ghazzī continued the *Kawākib* with a dictionary of lives of notables in the first *ṭabaqa* of the 11th/17th century entitled *Lutf al-samar wa-katf al-thamar min tarāḡim a'yān al-ṭabaqa al-ūlā min al-kam al-hādī 'aṣḥar* (2 vols., ed. Muḥammad al-Shaykh, Damascus 1981). It has 254 biographies, including those of Ottoman judges, military personnel, poets, dervishes, physicians and guild chiefs. From approximately the same time we have the biographical dictionary of Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Būrīnī (d. 1024/1615), *Tarāḡim al-a'yān min abnā' al-zamān* (ed. al-Munadǧǧid, 2 vols. Damascus 1959-66).

A popular collection of biographies from early Islam to the year A.H. 1000, the *Shadharāt al-dhahab fī akhbār man dhahab* (8 vols., Cairo 1350/1931) was written by Ibn al-Imād, another Ḥanbalī 'ālim born in the al-Šālīhiyya suburb of Damascus (d. 1089/1622).

This survey of the biographical dictionaries of the 10th/16th century should include the work of Taḥkoprūzāde Aḥmad b. Muṣṭafā (d. 968/1560 [see TAḤKOPRŪZĀDE.2]), a Turkish historian whose *al-Šakā'ik al-nu'māniyya* is a collection in Arabic of lives of Ottoman 'ulamā' and Šūfis since the establishment of the Empire. The biographies are arranged by the sultans' reigns.

The centennial dictionary for 11th/17th-century Syria is the *Khulāṣat al-aṣḥar fī a'yān al-kam al-hādī 'aṣḥar* by Muḥammad al-Amīn al-Muḥibbī (d. 1111/1699 [q.v.]) (4 vols. Cairo 1284/1868 and subsequent prints). Al-Muḥibbī also was a member of a wealthy family of Damascene 'ulamā'. The work consists of 1,289 biographies of distinguished persons. It provides important information about politics, religion and culture in the Ottoman Middle East and the Ḥiǧǧāz. There are also biographies about personages from India and Kurdistan.

The history of Damascus in the 12th/18th century is recorded in a detailed and uninterrupted manner by several reliable contemporary chronicles. The earliest is Ibn Kannān's history covering the period between 1111/1699 and 1153/1740 (Muḥammad b. 'Isā b. Kannān al-Šālīhī, *Yawmiyyāt ṣḥāmīyya*, ed. A.H. al-'Ulābī, Damascus 1994).

The immediate continuer of Ibn Kannān's narrative was a chronicler who, unlike the great majority of the historians of Ottoman Syria, was not a scholar but a barber, called Aḥmad al-Budayrī al-Ḥallāk ('the Barber'). His work, *Ḥawāḍith Dimashk al-yawmiyya* (ed. Aḥmad 'Izzat 'Abd al-Karīm, Damascus 1959), covers the period between 1154/1740 or 1741 and 1176/1762; hence, with Ibn Kannān, we have a continuous chronological narrative of Damascus for 63 years. Al-Budayrī was a Šūfī, but his order was the Sa'diyya [q.v.], which was notoriously unorthodox.

Another Damascene chronicler, a Greek Orthodox priest of Damascus named Mikhā'il Breik, brings the historical coverage of the city to 1782 with his *Ta'rikh al-Šām* (ed. Kuṣṭantīn al-Bāshā, Harissa 1930). He explains that he began his history at the year 1720 because this was the time when the rule of the governors (*waḥāṭis*) of the 'Azm family started. He makes a point that they were the first native Arabs (*awlād 'Arab*, as distinct from the Turks) who rose to this office. Breik reports of conflicts in Damascus between Catholics and Greek Orthodox. He stands out among his contemporaries as the only historian who wrote

also about events that were taking place outside the Ottoman Empire, mainly in Europe.

The last centennial dictionary for the period under survey is *Silk al-durar fī a'yān al-kam al-thānī 'aṣḥar* (4 vols. Beirut 1997) by the Damascene 'ālim Muḥammad Khālīl al-Murādī (d. 1206/1791-2 at the age of 31 [q.v.]). He came from a family of Ḥanafī 'ulamā' originating from Samarkand. Like his father before him, he served as the Ḥanafī muftī of Damascus and the *naḳīb al-Aṣhrāf* there. The book, which comprises 1,000 biographies, is a most valuable source for the political, social and cultural history of Syria in the 12th/18th century. In addition to using contemporary chronicles, al-Murādī corresponded with other 'ulamā' in Syria and Egypt, asking them to collect materials for his biographical dictionary.

LEBANON

Mount Lebanon was a separate political and administrative unit, and had its own history owing to its unique topography [see LUBNĀN]. It often enjoyed a degree of independence, and had a predominantly non-Muslim population of Christians and Druze. During the Ottoman period, Lebanon had many well-educated historians, several of whom were clergymen, others were bureaucrats. The former were preoccupied with the history of their communities, defending their creed and describing the quarrels among different Christian churches. The Lebanese historians wrote about the politics of the region (some recorded the history of other parts of Syria as well), struggles between factions, the great feudal families of the Mountain, and the leaders. They also wrote about the history of the two semi-autonomous dynasties that ruled Lebanon during the Ottoman period, the Ma'nids [see MA'N, BANŪ] and the Shihābs [see SHIHĀB, BANŪ].

The Patriarch Isṭifān al-Duwayhī (1630-1704 [q.v.]), the greatest of the Maronite church historians, was the author of the only history of Syria with an emphasis on Lebanon in the 16th and 17th centuries by a contemporary writer. He wrote about the Maronite community and church with the purpose of defending their Catholic orthodoxy and attacking other Christian churches, such as the Jacobites, whom he considered as hostile to his church as the Mamlūk sultans. His general history, *Ta'rikh al-azmina* (ed. F. Taoutel (Tawtal), in *al-Mashrik*, xlv [Beirut 1950]; another ed. by P. Fahed, Jounieh 1976, covering the period from the rise of Islam until 1098/1686) is a chronicle of Syria from the Crusades until the end of the 17th century, but the fullest and the most informative account is about the two last centuries. Al-Duwayhī's emphasis is on northern Lebanon where the population was Maronite, and which was ruled by Druze *amīrs* or by Muslims, who were appointed by the Mamlūks, and later by the Ottomans.

Hananiyā al-Munayyir (d. 1823), a Greek monk of the Shuwayrite religious order, wrote a history of the Shūf region of Lebanon and the Shihābs. He concentrated on his own religious order and on other Christian religious topics (*al-Durr al-marṣūf fī ta'rikh al-Šūf*, ed. I. Sarkīs, in *al-Mashrik*, xlviii-l [1954-7]). The most important historian of that period is Aḥmad Ḥaydar al-Shihābī (1761-1835), a cousin of the Amīr Bashīr II. He had access to official documents, such as Bashīr's correspondence with Ottoman governors. He wrote a history of Lebanon from the rise of Islam until 1827, called *Ghuwar al-hisān fī akhbār al-zamān*. Aḥmad Ḥaydar was a Maronite convert from Islam. In his history he expresses unmitigated support for the Shihābs, in particular for Bashīr II, against their



Lebanese and Ottoman enemies (his books have been published in several editions, e.g. *Lubnān fī 'ahd al-umārā' al-Shihābiyyīn*, Beirut 1969, and *Ta'rikh al-Amīr Haydar Ahmad al-Shihābī*, Beirut 2000).

IRĀK

For the 10th/16th century, no historical parallel to Ibn Iyās or Ibn Tūlūn describing 'Irāk's conditions under the Ottomans—who conquered the country in 941/1534—has come down to us, and the few works that were written are in Turkish. The historians tended to write about the main cities—Baghdād, Baṣra, Mawṣil—and several smaller towns. As expected, power struggles among the rulers are constant features in the chronicles. As for foreign affairs, wars between Persia and Ottoman 'Irāk are the main theme. Baghdad itself was occupied by the Safawids from 1622 until 1632. The attacks of the Persians under Nādir Shāh during the first half of the 12th/18th century (1733 until 1746, including sieges of Baghdad, Mawṣil and Kirkūk) were the most traumatic events in the political history of 'Irāk, and are reported in detail by the chroniclers.

The first historian of Ottoman 'Irāk worthy of the name was 'Alī al-Huwayzī (d. 1075/1664). He lived in the court of the *amīrs* of the Afrasiyāb house, founded at the end of the 10th/16th century by a local magnate who administered the Province of Baṣra as his private domain. Al-Huwayzī's history of Baṣra in the first half of the century is entitled *al-Sira al-murdiyya fī sharh al-fardiyya*.

Ahmad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Ghurābī from Baghdad (d. 1690/1102) wrote the first chronicle that is arranged by years. For his information, he relied on Turkish official documents and eyewitnesses' reports. His book, *'Uyūn akhbār al-ayān min mā madā min sālif al-ūṣūr wa 'l-azmān*, is a chronicle of the political events in Baghdad in the 11th/17th century.

Similar to the situation in Syria, 12th/18th-century 'Irāk saw the emergence of governors (*wālīs*) of local families. Maḥmūd al-Raḥabī, a *muftī*, wrote the biography of *paṣhas* who confronted the Persians in 1145/1736. 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Suwaydī (d. 1175/1761), an important chronicler, wrote the history of Baghdad in the first half of the century. His book, *Ta'rikh Baghdad or Ḥadīqat al-zawā' fī sirat al-wuzarā'* (Baghdād 1962), tells the history of the city through the biography of the governors Ḥasan Paṣha and his son Ahmad Paṣha.

One may conclude by mentioning two brothers from Mawṣil who wrote about the history of 'Irāk until their own time. Yāsīn b. Khayr Allāh al-Khaṭīb al-'Umārī (d. after 1816), the more important of the two, wrote a general historical work from the Hījra until 1811, with an emphasis on 'Irāk, and also on Mawṣil and Baghdad (*Zubdat al-āthār al-djāliyya fī 'l-hawādith al-arḍiyya*, ed. 'Abd al-Salām Ra'ūf, Najaf 1974; *Ghāyat al-marām fī ta'rikh mahāsīn Baghdad dār al-salām*, Baghdad 1986; *Munyat al-udabā' fī ta'rikh al-Mawṣil al-hadba'*, Mawṣil 1955). Muḥammad Amīn al-'Umārī, Yāsīn's brother, wrote *Manhal al-awliyyā'*, another book about Mawṣil.

ii. Concluding remarks

Despite the differences between the various Arab provinces of the Ottoman Empire, certain common features emerge in their historiography. With the notable exception of 'Irāk, local chronicles reasonably cover the first decades or at least the first years after the Ottoman occupation in the early 10th/16th century. The rest of that century has much less historiographical coverage (it should be noted, however, that there was a rich historiography in Yemen for the

10th/16th and early 11th/17th centuries; see the book of Frédérique Soudan, below, in *Bibl.*, and AL-MAWZA'Ī). The 11th/17th century witnessed more intensive historical writings in Arabic, which came to full maturity and richness in the 12th/18th century (this being true with regard to 'Irāk as well).

The differences between the societies of the various Arab lands and cities notwithstanding, there are strong similarities owing to the common religion (at least for the Muslim majority) and the common language and culture. The roles and status of the *'ulamā'*, *Ashraf*, *Sūfīs*, guilds, leaders of city quarters and the like were as a general rule similar in Cairo, Aleppo, Baghdad and Jerusalem.

Latent or even explicit patriotism is discernible in the writings of the local historians. The writers (and no doubt their readers) accepted Ottoman rule and hegemony as legitimate and natural, despite occasional expressions of criticism of the régime or even antipathy toward the Turks. However, as Ottoman rule became more decentralised after the 10th/16th century, and as local forces, such as the Mamlūks in Egypt or the leaders of strong Arab families elsewhere, were entering the ruling élites in Egypt, Syria, Lebanon and 'Irāk, the Sultan and the Ottoman capital seemed more distant and even irrelevant.

Bibliography (in addition to references given in the article): Only a few items of the extensive research literature on Arabic historiography during the Ottoman period can be mentioned here. On Egypt. D. Crecelius (ed.), *Eighteenth century Egypt: the Arabic manuscript sources*, Claremont, CA, 1990, which consists of several important essays and has a very rich and useful bibliography in the text and footnotes. Some of the papers also discuss the earlier centuries. References are made to earlier historiographical studies by D. Ayalon, P.M. Holt, Muḥammad Anīs, Laylā 'Abd al-Laṭīf and others. On Syria. Ṣalāh al-Dīn al-Munadjjid, *al-Mu'arrikhūn al-dimashkiyyūn fī 'l-'ahd al-'uthmānī wa-āthārūhum al-makhtūṭa*, Damascus 1964; Abdul-Karīm Rafeq, *The Province of Damascus, 1723-1783*, Beirut 1966, 320-33; Laylā al-Ṣabbāgh, *Min al-'ālam al-fikr al-'Arabī fī 'l-'aṣr al-'uthmānī al-awwal: Muḥammad al-Amīn al-Muhibbī wa-kitābuhu Khulāṣat al-aṭhar fī 'ayān al-kam al-hādī 'aṣhar 1061-1111/1651-1699*, Damascus 1406/1986. On Lebanon. A.H. Hourani, *Historians of Lebanon*, in B. Lewis and P.M. Holt (eds.), *Historians of the Middle East*, London 1962, 226-45. On 'Irāk. 'Abd al-Salām Ra'ūf, *al-Ta'rikh wa 'l-mu'arrikhūn al-'Irākiyyūn fī 'l-'aṣr al-'uthmānī*, Baghdad 1983. On Yemen. F. Soudan, *Le Yemen ottoman d'après la chronique d'al-Mawza'ī*, Cairo 1999.

(M. WINTER)

(c) North Africa.

A. The period up to 1450

As far as written documentation goes, the historiography of the mediaeval Maghrib proceeds, *grosso modo*, out of the Arab-Islamic historical tradition of the East. As well as the implicit teleological element, it follows the divisions and techniques of elaboration of those of the East, but nevertheless develops quite early lines of demarcation, which will be examined below, together with points of divergence.

1. Emergence and starting-points.

The newly-emerging Maghribī historiography should be understood as both a result and a support of the mainstream tradition. A certain number of points need to be recognised:

(i) Because of the late character of the conquest of the Maghrib, and its being a peripheral sector of



Islam, an Arabic historiography was fairly late in emerging. Taking into account the loss of the account called *Futūḥ Ifrīkiya* still attributed on weak grounds to Abu 'l-Muḥāḍḍir [q.v.], the effective appearance of this historiography seems to have been in the second half of the 3rd/9th century, at a moment when the historical tradition in 'Irāk and Syria was firmly enough established to provide an accomplished model. The first text written by a Maghribī in Arabic language is generally considered to be the Ibādī work composed by Ibn Sallām ca. 273/876-7 on the self-Islamisation of the Maghrib along the Khāridjite route from Tāhart to Barka, which manuscript was discovered in 1964 (ed. W. Schwartz and Shaykh Sālim Ibn Ya'kūb, Wiesbaden 1986).

(ii) As with the above work, after the fashion of the Mashrik, the next works were also closely linked to politico-ideological questions. In this same Eastern tradition, they included, in addition to chronicles (*akhbār*, *ta'rikh*), the various fields of biography (*tarāḍīm*), the classification of élite groups (*tabaqāt*), stories of the conquests (*maghāzī*) and collective genealogies (*ansāb*).

(iii) As well as Maghribī writings, there was early on a contribution from outside authors; it was probably difficult to ignore Ifrīkiya and the Far Maghrib (= Morocco) when dealing with Spain or Egypt. In this regard, towards the first half of the 3rd/9th century, the Egyptian Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam [q.v.], in his *Futūḥ Miṣr*—dealing with the conquest of Egypt and the Maghrib—is a notable example. A similar instance, older but more debatable as to the early age of the whole text, would be that of al-Wākidī [q.v.] and his *Futūḥ Ifrīkiya*. As for the overlapping of the two traditions of al-Andalus and the Maghrib, the first tentative steps are seen in the surviving extracts of the *K. al-Rāyāt* of the Persian Muḥammad al-Rāzī of Cordova (d. 273/886 or 277/890), which was still used in the Far Maghrib at the opening of the 8th/14th century (El-Mennouni, 17-18; Lévi-Provençal, *Hist. Esp. mus.*, iii, Paris 1953, 501-3).

(iv) Although uneven, this relative interest by non-Maghribī authors seems to have been motivated by the social and political repercussions of the conquest. As well as these texts by al-Wākidī and Ibn 'Abd al-Ḥakam, the theme is tackled in the first corpora of *fiḥḥ* and *ḥadīth* in the course of the 4th/9th century, e.g. in the *Futūḥ* of al-Balāḍhūrī, the *Ta'rikh* of al-Ṭabarī and, later, in the *Kāmil* of Ibn al-Athīr. In connection with the latter two works, it should be noted that they not only convey the historical tradition of the conquests but at times depend also on what seems to have been oral tradition, cf. al-Ṭabarī, i, 2813-18, tr. R.S. Humphreys, *The History of al-Ṭabarī*, xv, *The crisis of the early caliphate*, Albany 1990, 18-24, year 27, and Ibn al-Athīr, ed. Beirut, iii, 92-3.

(v) This apart, it is notable that, once it developed, the Maghribī historiographical tradition tended in general to restrict itself within its own geographical sphere, apart from the association with the Iberian peninsula. Also, from the time of the first Muslim conquest, it always looks forwards, and almost never backwards; what is pre-Islamic is qualified as *azālī*, outside time, hence History for the Maghrib begins, it seems, with Islam.

2. The process of development, and its salient features.

At first sight, one notes that the relative stability of Ifrīkiya permitted, in a first stage of development up to the end of the 5th/11th century, an activity in composing works which had only its equal in Muslim

Spain. For the rest of the Maghribī region, such an activity seems to come only with the installation, during the second stage of development, of powerful, centralising dynasties, under which the same outburst of historiographical writing now appears in the Far Maghrib.

The disparate nature of the historical works and the primacy of Ifrīkiya, mid-3rd/8th to late 5th/11th centuries

After a void following on from the conquests, from the mid-3rd/9th century, various initiatives appear, independently of each other, in Fās and Tāhart and, above all, in Ifrīkiya. However, most of the works from this period have been lost. We possess Ibn Sallām's Ibādī text and the chronicle of Ibn al-Saghīr [q.v.] on the Rustamid Imāms of Tāhart from the end of this same century (ed. and Fr. tr. C. de Motylinski, in *Actes du XIV^e Congrès International des Orientalistes*, Paris 1908, 2-132, new ed. Tunis 1976), and the contemporary collection of biographies by Abu 'l-'Arab [q.v.], the *Tabaqāt 'ulamā' Ifrīkiya* (ed. M. Ben Cheneb, Algiers 1915), but the first chronicles dealing with the Idrīsids of Fās, the Khāridjites of Sidjilmāsa, the Aghlabids and the Fātimids of Ifrīkiya, and the works on the heretical Barghawāta and the Ghumāra [q.v.] of the Atlantic seaboard, have not survived. There have likewise disappeared the only two contemporary or near-contemporary accounts of the Idrīsids, viz. a chronicle on the Imāms of Fās by Ibn al-Waddūn (4th/10th century), allegedly called the *T. al-Adārisa*, and one from the previous century, apparently better known since it was still cited by al-Bakrī [q.v.] in the mid-5th/11th century and by Ibn 'Idhārī two centuries later, the *al-Maḍmū' al-muṭṭarīk* of al-Nawfālī (El-Mennouni, 18, 27). Three works written under the Aghlabids, apparently detailed and of extended length, have also failed to survive: the *T. Banī 'l-Aghlab* by the prince Muḥammad b. Ziyādat Allāh (d. 283/896); a second chronicle with the same name; and an important *Tabaqāt al-'ulamā'* by Muḥammad b. Saḥnūn (d. 256/870), son of the famous Mālikī jurist of al-Qayrawān.

Apart from Fātimid Ifrīkiya, our knowledge of the Maghrib during the 4th-5th/10th-11th centuries stems essentially from eastern sources or late Andalusī ones, and only after that from later Maghribī sources. Hence the immense *al-Muḥtabas* of the Cordovan Ibn Ḥayyān [q.v.], from the mid-5th/11th century, forms one of the basic chronicles for the Far Maghrib, at that time pulled between the two influences of the Umayyads and the Fātimids or Fātimids-Zīrids. In this context, the contemporary Ifrīkiyan sources would have been a counterpoise to these, in particular the lost, slightly earlier chronicle of Ibn al-Rakīk [q.v.] called *T. Ifrīkiya wa 'l-Maghrib*. Of this most important source, a supposedly authentic fragment has been recovered and twice published (Tunis 1967, Beirut 1990). We also have, in its entirety, a text equally important for Ifrīkiyan history but one which is not a chronicle and which only concerns in a subordinate way the rest of the Maghrib, sc. the *Riyād al-muṭṭarīk* of al-Mālikī (d. 460/1068 [q.v.]), a work essentially concerned with the biographies of Mālikī scholars and ascetics in Ifrīkiya up to the mid-4th/9th century.

For the rest, other contemporary Ifrīkiyan texts are known only from paraphrases or from quotations by later authors. Here one would include the work called *Fī masālik Ifrīkiya wa-mamālikihā*, plus a range of opuscula concerning strategically-placed towns such as Tāhart, Ténès, Oran, Sidjilmāsa, Nakkūr and al-Baṣra in the northwestern Far Maghrib. Gathered together for al-Ḥakam II [q.v.] of Cordova, these writings stem



from Abū 'Abd Allāh Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-Warrāk (292-363/904-74 [q.v.]), of Kayrawānī birth and education, who was accordingly to be of great value for al-Bakrī, Ibn Ḥayyān and Ibn 'Idhārī. To these works by al-Warrāk, one may add those of Ibn al-Djazzār [q.v.], whose oeuvre included also geography (the *Adjā'ib al-buldān*) as well as history (*K. al-Ta'rif bi-ṣaḥīḥ al-ta'rikh*) as well as *maghāzī* and *ṭabaqāt*, likewise utilised by al-Bakrī and Ibn Ḥayyān.

The losses of major sources are paralleled by similar losses of writings for tribal or family history and for the first attempts at Berber genealogy, the compilation of Ibn Shaddād [q.v.], a Zīrid prince exiled in Syria, as well as two continuations of Ibn al-Rakīk's work, that of Ibn Sharaf (d. 460/1068 [q.v.]) and that of Abū 'l-Ṣalt (d. 529/1134 [q.v.]), who continued, according to Ibn 'Idhārī, the previous work. Nevertheless, since it happens that a good number of these writings were sufficiently utilised up to the time of Ibn Khaldūn, their legacy remains, despite everything, appreciable.

Furthermore, there exist various sources, more or less contemporary and spread across time, which can be used to fill gaps. Thus, in connection with intellectual and religious life in the Maghrib up to the beginning of the 6th/12th century, the *Madārik* of al-Kāḍī 'Iyād (d. 544/1149 [see 'IYĀD B. MŪSĀ]) of Ceuta, provide information often of first-rate importance. As for court life under the first Fātimid Imāms in North Africa, we can comprehend the impact of the Fātimid system on wider society and the obvious dysfunctions of the system, from the contemporary documents used in the *Sirat al-Ustādī Djawdhār* (Cairo 1954) of al-Manṣūr al-Djawdhārī [q.v.] and thanks to the contemporary witness of the *kāḍī* al-Nu'mān. As well as this witness displayed in his *K. al-Maghālis wa 'l-musā-yarāt*, this *kāḍī* has in his *K. Isti'āḥ al-dā'wa* left us a precious account of the Fātimids' rise to power. One may deplore the obviously partisan tone of these texts, but this in fact may well have been one of the reasons for their survival. Certainly, for many mediaeval Ismā'īlī authors, these last two works were, even in the Maghrib, basic reference works.

On the margins of this local production tested over the centuries, there existed, too, other non-Maghribī sources. The most relevant relate to the geography of the region. Composed for the most part in 'Irāq and for various motives, these works dealt with the lands of the Maghrib in detail, describing road networks, financial assessments, main economic activities, morals, customs and beliefs. For their works, geographers and literary men had recourse to direct observation or to information which had been transmitted and followed after careful examination. This last procedure may have been the main one, since neither al-Ya'qūbī nor Ibn Khurraḍādhbih nor even al-Bakrī, living as he did in nearby al-Andalus, knew the Maghrib first-hand (*bi 'l-ʿayn*); only al-Muḥaddasī and Ibn Hawkal were exceptions to this rule, and it is undoubtedly this first-hand knowledge that informs the great originality of these two eastern authors, especially of the latter.

Variations, and the Almoravid-Almohad domination (late 5th/11th to mid-7th/13th centuries)

With the installation of the Almoravids in the Far Maghrib and their annexation of the western part of the Central Maghrib and of al-Andalus of the *taifas*, there existed at the end of the 5th/11th century the Almoravid empire and the Zīrid-Hammādid groupings. Both belonged to the great Berber group of the Ṣanhādja [q.v.]. These two powers co-existed, through

thick and thin, till the rise, at their expense, of the Almohads in the mid-6th/12th century.

Transposed to the level of history writing, this evolution was going to cause a draining away of effort towards the West. Hence till the mid-7th/13th century, the fundamental works were written either in al-Andalus or in Morocco, and consequently reflect the new environment dominated by the Almoravids and Almohads. Despite this trend, there were many irreparable losses of works, a need to rely on later compilations and even the intervention of eastern authors. Nevertheless, there appear fresh nuances when compared with the earlier period.

Almoravid historical writing

One of the characteristic traits of this is that it was reduced, over the centuries, to a summation of later, general accounts. Apart from the important information of al-Bakrī, one can hardly distinguish, right up to the mid-20th century, many witnesses who were near to the events described. The only contemporary narrative, that of Ibn al-Ṣayrafī (d. 557/1162 [q.v.]), *al-Anwār al-djāliyya fī akhbār al-dawla al-murābiṭiyya*, has not survived, although it is known that this chronicle, covering the Almoravid period up to 530/1135-6, was in current use right to the end of the mediaeval period. Authors distant in time and space, such as Ibn Khallikān (d. 681/1282), Ibn al-Abbār (d. 658/1260), Ibn Abī Zar' (d. between 710-20/1310-20) and Ibn al-Khaṭīb (d. 776/1375) [q.v.] either drew material directly from it or refer to it. Moreover, the anonymous author of the chronicle *al-Hulal al-mawṣhiyya* (written 783/1381) probably drew upon it more than he explicitly reveals. Although poor in surviving chronicles, it is possible to construct a fairly precise chronology of Almoravid history. The publication of leaves discovered of the Almoravid *Bayān* (in *Hesperis-Tamuda*, ii [1961], 43-111) makes a large contribution to this process, as do a certain number of Almohad writings, especially for the transition phase between the two dynasties.

The canvas thus delineated can fairly often be enriched, at the level of content, by varied sources ranging from simple accounts to collections of *tarājim*, travel accounts (*riḥla*), official correspondence, personal writings and juridical literature. This is how the chronicle of Abū Zakariyyā on the Ibādī state of Tāhart (partial Fr. tr. E. Masqueray, Paris-Algiers 1878), was put together at the turn of the 6th/12th century. Also from this period date the summa of the *Madārik* of al-Kāḍī 'Iyād as well as the *Ghunya* which he wrote, setting out his own masters. In parallel to this, one should mention the *Dhakhira* of Ibn Bassām (552/1147 [q.v.]), meant primarily for Andalusī scholars without, however, systematically excluding Maghribīs, whilst Ibn Khakān (d. 529/1134) included in his *Kalā'id al-ʿikyān* distinguished poets, men of letters, government officials and men of state of both shores. Regarding such men, one should note the *Tibyān*, the memoirs of the Zīrid prince of Granada 'Abd Allāh (d. 469/1077) (ed. Lévi-Provençal, Cairo 1955; Sp. tr. idem and E. García Gómez, Madrid 1980; Eng. tr. Amin Tibī, Leiden 1992; ed. A.T. Tibī, Rabat 1995), which give an excellent impression of the struggles of the *reyes de taifas* with Yūsuf b. Tāshufīn [q.v.]. Of the same type of narration, there is the account left by Abū Bakr Ibn al-'Arabī (d. 543/1148 [q.v.]) concerning the official mission of his father, whom he accompanied to the East to seek the 'Abbāsīd caliph's investiture of the same Yūsuf b. Tāshufīn (see *Tres textos árabes sobre Berberes*, ed. M. Ya'la, Madrid 1996, 275-315).



As well as this documentation concerned with the élites, Almoravid history writing also includes works depicting social-economic realities and governmental practices. The two treatises on *hisba* of al-Sakaṭī [q.v.] of Malaga (ed. Lévi-Provençal, Paris 1931) and Ibn 'Abdūn [q.v.] of Seville (ed. idem, Cairo 1954; Fr. tr. Paris 1947) are significant here. Although primarily concerned with the situation in al-Andalus, both of them, and especially the latter, have material relevant for the dominant power on both shores, the Almoravids. Their content is quite often confirmed by legal material contained in the collections of *nawāzil* of the *kādī* Ibn Rushd (d. 520/1126 [q.v.]), forebear of the philosopher, and later, in the *Mi'yār* of al-Wansharīsī (d. 914/1508-9 [q.v.]). Many of the problems raised in these *nawāzil* (e.g. the status of the Christians of al-Andalus, the behaviour of the Banū Hilāl in Ifrīqiya, the appearance of Almohad rebels, etc.) are reflected in the *Nuḥḍat al-muḥṭāk*, the *riḥla* of al-Idrīsī [q.v.], completed in 548/1154, and also in the substantial body of official correspondence emanating from the Almoravid court (see *Revista de Estudios Islámicos en Madrid*, ii [1954], 55-84, vii-viii [1959-60], 109-98).

Almohad historical writing

Inasmuch as the Almohad system rested on the Imām's infallibility, all innovation, from any source outside himself, was in principle inadmissible. Whence the complete absence at the documentary level of all traces of *fatāwā* [q.v.] and decisions on specific cases (*nāzila* [q.v.]). However, this same system witnessed the spread of a mystical movement more or less tolerated which produced its own literature at the popular level, using, amongst other things, the *manāḳib* [q.v.]. In effect, this genre, immortalising the lives and deeds of "men of God", can be placed with that of the *tarāḍīm*, with the formal qualification that al-Andalus was the favoured field for *tarāḍīm* whilst *manāḳib* literature was to flourish above all in North Africa.

Thus on one side there are the collections of *tarāḍīm* published since the end of the 19th century, such as the *Faḥras* of the Sevillian Ibn Khayr (d. 575/1179 [q.v.]); the *K. al-Ṣila* of the Cordovan Ibn Bashkuwāl (d. 578/1182 [q.v.]); and the *K. al-Takmila*, a continuation of the preceding, by the Valencian Ibn al-Abbār. On the other side, there are the *Mustafād* (still in ms.) on the ascetics of Fās and its region by al-Tamīmī (d. 603/1206); the *Taḥawwuf* on the lives of saints of southern Morocco by al-Tādīlī (d. 628 or 629/1230-1 [see IBN AL-ZAYYĀT]) (ed. A. Toufiq, Rabat 1984; Fr. tr. M. de Fenoyl, Casablanca 1995); al-Bādīsī's [q.v.] *Maḳṣad*, written ca. 711/1311-12, on the saints of the Rif in the Almohad period; the *Dī'mat al-yakīn* of al-'Azafī (d. 633/1236 [q.v. in Suppl.]) (ed. A. Toufiq, Rabat 1989); and, to a certain extent, *al-Dhurr al-munazzam*, also by al-'Azafī, in which he invites people to the celebration, at that time (mid-7th/13th century) still a timid one, of the Prophet's birthday (ed. and Sp. tr. F. de la Granja, in *al-And.*, xxxiv [1969], 19-53).

Taking a wide conspectus of relevant literature, one should include the great Ibn al-'Arabī of Murcia (d. 638/1240 [q.v.]), who left behind works on education in the mystical way such as *al-Futūḥ al-makkiyya* and the *Muḥāḍarāt al-akhyār* in which *karāmāt* [see KARĀMA] and *manāḳib* play a great part. Conversely, the Andalusī biographical dictionaries were to have a North African counterpart in such works as the anonymous *Siyar al-mashāyikh* and the *K. al-Siyar* of al-Wisyanī, both written in the second half of the 6th/12th century on notable figures amongst the Khāridjites of Tāhart and Ifrīqiya, as also the *Unwān al-dirāya* of al-Ghubrīnī

of Bidjāya (d. 714/1314-15 [q.v.]) (Algiers 1910; new ed. Beirut 1969) and *al-Dhayl wa 'l-takmila* of Ibn 'Abd al-Malik al-Marrākushī (d. 703/1303 [q.v.]), dealing, amongst other things, with well-known Maghribī figures unduly absorbed into the host society or simply ignored by Andalusī authors (Beirut n.d. and 1965; Rabat 1984). Furthermore, in his *Ta'rif*, Muḥammad b. 'Iyād included interesting information on his father, the famous judge, on his masters and on his fellow-disciples (ed. Ben Chriḥa, Rabat n.d.).

The impact of theological dogma was to generate a genre of popularised doctrine. As well as an *'aḳīda* (creed) and a *murshida* (breviary) spread during his lifetime in the Berber language, Ibn Tūmart [q.v.] is said to have dictated to his disciple and successor 'Abd al-Mu'min educational texts and epistles which the latter collected into *al-Ta'ālīk* ("The commentaries"), and made known as *Le livre d'Ibn Tūmart* (ed. L. Luciani, Algiers 1903) or under the title *A'azz mā yuṭlab* (Marrākush 1997). Like the letters addressed to the Almoravid ruler 'Alī b. Yūsuf (*Documents inédits d'histoire almohade*, ed. Lévi-Provençal, Paris 1927, 11-13, tr. 19-21), this collection is an attempt at spreading the Almohad doctrines whilst stigmatising the distortions of their religious opponents.

The preoccupation of the Almohad state with informing its followers probably explains the profusion of circulars and notes scattered throughout the sources or isolated as documents in archives or collections of official matter. One example of these collections would be the one collated by Ibn 'Amīra [q.v.] towards the mid-7th/13th century. The diversity of the archive material can be appreciated through the *Trente-sept lettres officielles almohades* (ed. Lévi-Provençal, Rabat 1941, Fr. tr. in *Hespéris* [1941], 1-70) and *Nouvelles lettres almohades* (ed. A. Azzaoui, Casablanca 1995). The information in these texts is often first-hand, and they illuminate, in general, the underlying aspect of facts generally lacking in cohesion at the level of the narrative sources.

Regarding these latter sources it is, of course, true that they hardly ever deal with real situations, but there is nevertheless an exception in the work of al-Bayḍhaḳ [q.v.], in which he describes from memory, towards the middle of the 6th/12th century, the peregrinations and stages of ascension of Ibn Tūmart. From a greater distance and probably because of the distance, 'Abd al-Wāḥid al-Marrākushī (d. 633/1235 [q.v.]) undertook, from Egypt, to give a lively account in his *al-Mu'dḍib* of the contemporary Maghrib, using his own observations and the memories of an aged member of the Almohad court (Cairo 1949, Fr. tr. E. Fagnan, Algiers 1893). Another text now lost seems to have corresponded to the same schema, *al-Mughrib fī mahāsīn ahl al-Maghrib*, whose author, Ilyas' b. 'Isā al-Ghāfīkī (d. 575/1179) likewise chose to settle in Egypt where he wrote his work at the request of Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn. For the rest, the Almohad accounts, above all utilising this last chronicle, had recourse to compilation, gradually adopting the method of the classical annalists. Out of these accounts, one of the most notable is the *Naẓm al-djūmān* written by Ibn al-Kaṭṭān [q.v.] for al-Murtaḍā, the penultimate Almohad ruler, in the mid-7th/13th century, and of which only the part describing the beginnings of Ibn Tūmart's movement has survived (ed. M.A. Makki, Tetouan n.d.). It was much used by authors of the immediate succeeding period and later, and depends, in addition to al-Bayḍhaḳ's work, on *al-Mann bi 'l-imāma* of Ibn Ṣāḥib al-Salāt (d. 594/1198) (ed. A. Tazi, Beirut 1979, new ed. 1987). The author dwells particularly



on the events of the Almohad lands between 554-68/1159-73. From this same period stem Abū Marwān al-Warrāk's *al-Mikbās fi akhbār al-Maghrib wa 'l-Andalus wa-Fās*, and Ibn Ḥamādu(h) of Ceuta's *al-Muktabis fi akhbār al-Maghrib wa-Fās wa 'l-Andalus*, both now lost but widely used up to Ibn Khaldūn's time. As for the so-called Almohad *Bayān* of Ibn 'Idhārī, it is recognised as the chronicle par excellence for the whole period (ed. A. Huici Miranda, Tetuan 1960, new ed. Beirut-Casablanca 1985). Completed in 712/1312, it appears to reflect an undoubted serenity. Using rare or lost sources, the author obviously aimed at exhaustiveness and scholarly rigour. On the level of the finer points, he does not hesitate to sort out the information, when required, in order the better to achieve a synthesis or even to discern long-term effects.

It remains to mention geographical works. Outside the very unoriginal work of Ibn Sa'īd of Granada (d. 685/1286 [q.v.]), the *K. Baṣṭ al-ard fi 'l-tūl wa 'l-'ard* (Beirut 1970) and that, at second hand, of al-Zuhri (d. after 546/1151-2), *al-Sufra* (ed. M. Hadji-Sadok, Paris 1968), one should emphasise the originality of Ibn Ḍjubayr's (d. 614/1217 [q.v.]) *Rihla* (Fr. tr. M. Gaudfroy-Demombynes, Paris 1949-65, Eng. tr. R.J.C. Broadhurst, London 1952) and also the anonymous *al-Istibṣār* (Alexandria 1958). Coming from the last quarter of the 6th/12th century, these two descriptions can be taken, it seems, as pure travel narratives, but with the difference that Ibn Ḍjubayr starts from the Maghrib through the Mediterranean without omitting the Mashrik nor the opposite shores of the Sea, whilst the author of *al-Istibṣār* limits himself to describing from the interior the ensemble of the region, whilst highlighting the Far Maghrib. Also, the first author is interested in morals and the resulting abuses of government, whilst the second is, rather, although an acute observer, simply a writer with a thesis.

Post-Almohad developments

With the disintegration of the Almohad empire, there came a certain renewal of historiography dealing with the Maghrib, with biography and chronicles—with their nuances blurred—seeming to be under a similar impulsion, as also the *rihla* and local genealogical works.

Regarding chronicles, this was to benefit from the rival inheritors of the Almohad empire, and these lent themselves to manipulation by the victors. This may explain the disappearance and eventual loss of certain texts. Also, there was a decline in the use of circulars and a complete uninterest, it seems, in preserving for posterity archival documents. However, some documents have survived by chance, such as the collection of al-'Azaḥī (Rabat 1979) and the later anthologies like al-Kalkashandī's (d. 821/1418 [q.v.]) *Subh al-aṣḥā* (Cairo 1913-19) or al-Makkārī's (d. 1041/1631 [q.v.]) *Azhār al-riyād* (Rabat 1979-80), but above all, this has been thanks to the rich collections of Barcelona, Italy, Spain and Portugal.

Leaving aside archive material, we have the following:

Chronicles. Between the mid-7th/13th century and the end of the 9th/15th one, the chronicle in the Maghrib is above all the product of Ifrīqiya and the Far Maghrib, reflecting the politico-military situation. Accordingly, apart from Abū 'l-'Abbās al-Dardjīnī's [q.v.] *K. Ṭabaḳāt al-mashāyikh*, dealing with the Ibādī community in the mid-7th/13th century (ed. I. Tallay, 2 vols. Constantine 1974) and the late *K. al-Siyar* of al-Shammākhī (d. 928/1522 [q.v.]), dealing with personalities and events at Mzāb (Cairo 1301/1883-4), the Central Maghrib was to have no

reference work except for the great historian Ibn Khaldūn's brother Yahyā's *Bughyat al-nuwwād* (ed. and Fr. tr. A. Bel, Algiers 1903-10, new ed. A. Hadjiat, Algiers 1980), whilst the land of the Ḥafṣids, in addition to the masterwork *K. al-'Ibar*, pan-Islamic in its sweep, has left behind works of more limited range, such as Ibn Kunfudh's (d. 810/1407-8 [q.v.]) *al-Fārisiyya* (ed. M. Nifer and A. Turki, Tunis 1968), Ibn Shammā's *al-Adilla al-bayyina*, written in 861/1457 (ed. Kaak, Tunis 1936), and the *T. al-Dawlatayn* attributed to al-Zarkashī (d. after 894/1489) (new ed. Tunis 1966, Fr. tr. Fagnan, Constantine 1895). From the Marīnid kingdom, we have the *raḍiāz* work of al-Malzūzī (d. 697/1297-8), *Naẓm al-sulūk*, in which he lauds his masters' rise to power (Rabat 1963). This same version of events was soon produced in prose and included in the anonymous *al-Dhakhira al-saniyya* (Rabat 1972) before being included in the *Rawdat al-kirās* (ed. C.J. Tornberg, Upsala 1843-6, Rabat 1936, 1972, Fr. tr. Beaumier, Paris 1860, Sp. tr. A. Huici Miranda, Valencia 1948). In this, the supposed author Ibn Abī Zar' [q.v.] seems to be an innovator in introducing the idea of historical continuity, leading, with Fās as the centre, from the "founding" state of the Idrīsids to the Marīnids, to stop in the year 726/1326 towards the end of Abū Sa'īd I's reign. In the next reign, there was a further innovation in al-Kaffī al-Zarhūnī's use of the Arabic colloquial of Morocco to describe, in an *urḍūza* called *Maṭaba* comprising 497 verses, Sultan Abū 'l-Ḥasan's [q.v.] campaign in Ifrīqiya. Much later, and further from the lively eye-witness account of the Marīnids of Ibn Khaldūn, another *urḍūza* by al-Kurrāṣī (d. 964/1556-7), his *'Arūs al-masā'il* dedicated to the Waṭṭāsid dynasty, closes, in literary Arabic, the list of chronicles dealing with the region.

Of works written in the Mashrik and concerning the Maghrib at this time, were Abū 'l-Fidā's (d. 732/1331) *Ta'riḥ*, al-Dhahabī's (d. 748/1347) *K. al-'Ibar* (Kuwait 1960-6), Ibn Kathīr's (d. 774/1373) *K. al-Bidāya wa 'l-nihāya* (Cairo 1351-8/1932-9), al-Sakhāwī's (d. 902/1497) *al-Daw' al-lāmi'* and al-Djannābī's (d. 999/1590) *al-Bahr al-zakhkhār* (Fr. tr. Fagnan, Algiers 1924).

Biographical literature. In post-Almohad times, the focus seems to have been placed apart from on collections of usage, on the elaboration of *fihris* and *bamānaḍis* indicating particular themes.

The biographical collections all have different provenances. Ibn al-Zubayr (d. 708/1309 [q.v.]) tried to follow in the path of his Andalusī compatriots in composing his *Sīlat al-sīla* (ed. Lévi-Provençal, Rabat 1938), whilst Ibn Nādjī of al-Qayrawān (d. 837/1433-4 [q.v.]) followed the work of Ibn al-Dabbāgh (d. 696/1297) on the religious figures of his city, and completed his *Ma'ālim al-imān* (Tunis 1325/1907-9). Further to the west, Ibn Kunfudh in Constantine composed his *Wafayāt* (Rabat 1976), whilst throughout his *Nathīr al-djūmān* (Beirut 1976), his contemporary Ismā'īl Ibn al-Aḥmar (d. 808/1405) dealt with the poets of al-Andalus and Morocco. Outside the region, the jurist Ibn Farḥūn (d. 799/1397 [q.v.]), of Andalusī origins, wrote in his native town of Medina a dictionary of celebrated Mālikīs, the *Dībādī* (Cairo 1315/1897-8), including the Maghribī ones. The Sudanese Aḥmad Bābā (d. 1036/1627 [q.v.]) continued and completed the same work in his *Nayl al-ibtihādī* (Cairo 1315/1897-8); and the Egyptian Ibn Ḥadjar (d. 852/1449 [q.v.]) devoted considerable space in his *al-Durar al-kāmina*, to noted figures from the 8th/14th century Maghrib (Ḥaydarābād 1348-50/1929-32).



As well as these general works, there were others devoted to the itineraries of their authors, built round famous masters of the time, each itinerary being the object of a *Fihrist* or *Barnāmaḍī*. We have extant the *Barnāmaḍī* of al-Iṣḥbīlī (d. 688/1289), that of al-Kāsim al-Tuḍjībī of Ceuta (d. 730/1329-30) (both publ., the latter in Tunis 1981); and the *Fihrist*s, still in ms., of Ibn Rushayd of Ceuta (d. 721/1321 [q.v.]) and al-Sarraḡī of Fās (d. 805/1402), plus the encyclopaedic *Barnāmaḍī* of al-Mantūrī of Granada (d. 834/1431).

Also important are two biographical portraits, in part convergent: one drawn by Ibn Marzūḡ (d. 781/1379 [q.v.]) in his *Musnad* (ed. M.-J. Viguera, Algiers 1981, Sp. tr. Madrid 1977), devoted to the Marīnid Abu 'l-Ḥasan; and the other from the pen of Ibn Ḳhaldūn, *al-Ta'rif*, in which the life, education and career of the author are traced (ed. M.T. al-Tandjī, Cairo 1951, Fr. tr. A. Cheddadi, Paris 1980).

Genealogical works. Far from being an isolated phenomenon, these texts stem from the natural prolongation, it seems, of the old polemics between Maghribīs and Andalusīs, especially from Almoravid times onwards; these polemics became, after the downfall of the Almohads, a sub-genre everywhere cultivated. One can cite three texts as testimony here: the anonymous *Maḡākhīr al-barbar* [q.v.] (ed. Lévi-Provençal, Rabat 1941, new ed. M. Ya'ālā, in *Tres textos árabes*, 123-272), which celebrates, at the opening of the 8th/14th century, the scholars, ascetics and heroes, legendary or historic, from the Berber past. The equally anonymous *Ṭurnat al-zarīf fi ahl al-Djazīra wa-Ta'rif* (ed. Ben Chriā, in *Maḡallat Kulīyyat al-Adāb*, Rabat, i [1977], 7-50) from a few decades earlier aimed at revealing the failings of the Andalusīs and, finally, the opposing situation in Ibn al-Khaṭīb's *Muḡāhadāt* (Alexandria 1958, 55-66) between Malaga and Salé, in which, through the two opposing cities, the lively tension between the two cultures is delineated.

Whilst being set on the cultural plane, these writings seem to be the vehicles for consideration of the basic problem of origins, leading to the question of connections with the ruling power. Whilst Ibn Tūmart, in the *K. al-Ansāb* attributed to him (in *Documents inédits*, 18-49, Fr. tr. 25-74), could be given a Sharīfian genealogy, the legitimising process which speedily followed, as Ibn Ḳhaldūn notes (*Muḡaddima*, Fr. tr. de Slane, Paris 1863, i, 53-6), was challenged at this same period precisely when there was a strong current displaying Berber origins, with an insistence on salient figures since the beginning of Islam. Another *K. al-Ansāb*, anonymous but written in 712/1312, was also composed to celebrate openly these origins (ed. Ya'ālā, in *op. cit.*, 13-121).

There developed in parallel to this, under the impulsion of Marīnid power, the cult of Sharīfian lineage, linked with the city of Fās, it meant a predilection for the Idrīsīd branch, whence numerous references to this fact in the works of Ibn al-Khaṭīb and Ibn Ḳhaldūn as well as in late compilations like those of al-Maḡkarī, the *Nafḡ al-ṭīb* (ed. I. 'Abbās, Beirut 1968) and the *Azhār al-riyād*. Also connected with it were separate monographs like the anonymous collection on the *Buyūtāt Fās al-kubrā* (Rabat 1972) and the *Nuṣḡ mulūk al-Islām* (lith. Fās n.d.) of Ibn al-Sakkāk (d. 818/1415), followed, especially from the 10th/16th century onwards, by a host of opuscula on the genealogies of each branch of the Sharīf.

Socio-religious works. These include *manāḡīb* texts, those meant for edification and concerned with *bid'as* [q.v.] and legal texts (*nawāzil*).

Regarding *manāḡīb*, it would be tedious to rehearse

here all the collections devoted to a particular saint or to a group of them. On the general level, for Ifrīkiya there is the *Ma'ālim al-imān* of Ibn al-Dabbāḡh, and Ibn Ḳunfudḡh's *Uns al-fakīr* (Rabat 1965), in which the author concentrates on the Far West of the Maghrib. For the Central Maghrib, there is the late-period *al-Bustān* of Ibn Maryam (d. 1014/1605 [q.v.]), devoted to the saints and scholars of Tlemcen, Oran and Nedroma (Algiers 1928). For the Far Maghrib, there are *al-Minhadī al-wādīh* of al-Māḡjarī (d. at the opening of the 8th/14th century) (Cairo 1933), and the *Salsal al-'adhb* of al-Ḥaḡramī, a contemporary of the preceding author (ed. M. Fassi, in *RIMA*, x/1 [1964], 37-98), heralding the *Dawḡat al-nāshūr* of Ibn 'Askar (d. 986/1578 [q.v.]) (ed. M. Ḥajjī, Rabat 1976, Fr. tr. A. Graulle, Paris 1913). As for the edificatory works denouncing innovations (*bid'a*), the most significant come from the mid-8th/14th century and from the end of the following century. As well as *al-Durr al-thāmin* of Ibn Hilāl (d. 903/1497), in which the author details the imprecations against Abu 'l-Ḥasan al-Sughayyir (d. 719/1319) (lith. Fās 1319/1901-2), there is *al-Madḡhal* of Ibn al-Ḥāḡḡī al-'Abdārī al-Fāsī (d. 737/1336 [q.v.]), in which the author draws up a review of *bid'a* current in the Far West of the Maghrib and in his natal city, Cairo. Two famous mystics contributed through their writings to the reformation of morals: Ibn 'Abbād (d. 792/1390 [q.v.]) in his *Rasā'il al-kubrā* (lith. Fās 1320/1902), his *Rasā'il al-sughrā* (ed. P. Nwiya, Beirut 1974) and his epistles, still in ms., addressed directly to governors; and Aḡmad Zarṛūḡ (d. 899/1493-4), through numerous works, including the *'Uddat al-murīd al-sādīk* and the *Fānat al-mutawadḡ-ḡīh al-miskīn* (ed. A.F. Ḳhaṣīm, Tunis-Libya 1979). Finally, the same situations giving rise to similar interventions are developed in a good number of *nawāzil* compiled in the *Djāmi' al-masā'il* of al-Burzulī (d. 841/1438), still in ms. although well established, and the *Mi'yār* of al-Wanṡharīsī (ed. M. Ḥajjī, Beirut-Rabat 1981).

Descriptive works and travel accounts. This literature is witness to the strength of contacts, and is to be distinguished from the *Masālik* type of literature, although there are two exceptions: the *Masālik al-abyār fi mamalik al-amṡār* of the Syrian Ibn Faḡl Allāh al-'Umarī (d. 749/1348 [q.v.]) (section on the Muslim West, new ed. M. Aboudayf, Casablanca 1988, partial Fr. tr. de Gaudefroy-Demombynes, Paris 1927), and *al-Rawḡ al-mi'tār* of the Ifrīkiyan al-Himyarī (d. 726/1326), who often confines himself to reproducing the oldest texts (new ed. 'Abbās, Beirut 1975). Around these two extended works, it seems that there are only monographs on local topics or accounts emanating from various motivations.

The monographs relate almost exclusively to towns and cities. Ibn al-Khaṭīb drew up a comparative table in his *Mi'yār al-ikhṡiyār* between two groups of localities in Spain and North Africa (ed. M. Abbadī, Alexandria 1958), but he also wrote his imposing *al-Iḡāla* on the city of Granada (ed. M. 'Inān, Cairo 1973-7; complement, A. Chakkour, Tetuan 1988). At the same period, al-Djazznā'ī (d. 766/1365) dedicated his precious *Djanā zahrat al-ās* to Fās (ed. and Fr. tr. A. Bel, Algiers 1920-2, new ed. Rabat 1967). Much later, in 825/1441, Muḡammad b. al-Kāsim al-Anṡārī bore witness to Muslim Ceuta, now become Portuguese, with a minute description in his *Iḡṡiyār al-akhḡbār* (new ed. Rabat 1969). Mīknāsa/Meknēs was the subject of a monograph known under the abridged title of *al-Rawḡ al-hatūn*, written by Ibn Ghāzī (d. 919/1513), a learned magistrate in Fās, for his natal town.



There remain the *riḥlas*, which comprehend spatial journeys and/or varied themes. Whilst the *riḥla* of al-Abdārī is a description of the intellectual centres and of the state of knowledge obtaining towards the end of the 7th/13th century, comprising the Maghrib and the lands stretching to the Ḥidjāz (Rabat 1968), that by al-Tidjānī at the turn of the 8th/14th century has a setting of military considerations and describes the position of the tribes along the eastern littoral of Ifrīkiya, at the same time noting the socio-cultural peculiarities and traditions of the inhabitants there (new ed. H.H. Abdul-Wahab, Tunis 1958, Fr. tr. in *Jā*, 4th series, xx, 57-208, 5th series, i, 101-68). The *riḥla* called *Ma' al-ayba* of Ibn Ruṣṣayd (Tunis n.d.) and the *Mustafād* of al-Tudjībī of Ceuta (Tunis-Libya n.d.) bring out the impacts of cultural relations between the Maghrib and the Mashriḳ at their various periods. Further, the *Notes of the journey of an Andalusī in Morocco* of Ibn al-Ḥādīdj al-Numayrī (d. after 768/1367) (ed. and Fr. tr. A.L. de Prémare, Lyons 1981) are a sketch of the same relations between al-Andalus and the southern shores of the western Mediterranean in the mid-8th/14th century, whilst his *Fayd al-ubāb* is rather a field report tracing the situation in the Central Maghrib at the time of the Marīnid Sultan Abū 'Inān's [q.v.] expedition towards Ifrīkiya 757-8/1356-7. Soon afterwards, a fairly different account was to be the subject of a holiday *riḥla* written up by Ibn al-Khaṭīb, the *Nuṣṣāṭ al-djirāb*, in which the society and countryside of the Moroccan southwest are described in a magistral fashion, in spite of artificialities (ed. M. Abbadi, Cairo n.d.; complement ed. F. Faghya, Rabat 1989). Somewhat later, in the second half of the next century, there are two accounts to note: one written in Latin by the Fleming Anselm Adornus on Ḥafṣid Ifrīkiya in 1470, and the other in Arabic by the Egyptian 'Abd al-Basīṭ b. Khalīl (d. 920/1515), illuminating, for the same period, the socio-political situation in Fās and Tlemcen (R. Brunschvig, *Deux récits de voyage inédits en Afrique du Nord au XV^e siècle*, Paris 1936).

Finally, there are two essential pictures of the situation in North Africa of their time, though distant from each other, sc. the *riḥla*, called *Tuḥfat al-nuẓẓār*, of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa (d. after 770/1368 [q.v.]) and the *Description of Africa* by al-Ḥasan al-Wazzān, called Leo Africanus [q.v.], completed in Italy in the local language.

Bibliography (in addition to references in the text): R. Brunschvig, *La Berbérie orientale sous les Hafṣides des origines à la fin du XV^e siècle*, i, Paris 1940, pp. xv-xii and *passim*; idem, *Ibn 'Abd al-Hakam et la conquête de l'Afrique du Nord par les Arabes, étude critique*, in *AIEO* (1942), 108-55; idem, *Un aspect de la littérature historique-géographique de l'Islam*, in *Mélanges Gauthier-Demombynes*, Cairo 1935-45, 147-58; A. Huici Miranda, *Historia política del Imperio almohade*, 2. vols. Tetuan 1956-7; T. Lewicki, *Les historiens, biographes et traditionnistes ibādites-wahhābites de l'Afrique du Nord du VIII^e au XVI^e siècle*, in *Folia Orientalia*, iii (1961), 1-134; H.R. Idris, *La Berbérie orientale sous les Ṣifrides (X^e-XII^e siècles)*, i, Paris 1962, pp. xiii-xxv; M. Talbi, *L'emirat aghlabide (184-296/800-909)*, Paris 1966, 9-15; Maya Shatzmiller, *L'historiographie mérinide*, Leiden 1982; Mohammed El-Mennouni, *al-Maṣādir al-'arabiyya li-ta'rikh al-Maghrib*, i, Rabat 1983; W. Schwartz, *Die Anfänge der Ibāditen in Nordafrika*, Wiesbaden 1983; Cl. Cahen, *L'historiographie arabe, des origines au VIII^e s. H.*, in *Arabica*, xxxiii (1986), 133-98, esp. 166-71, 191-2; M. Kably, *Société, pouvoir et religion au Maroc à la fin du Moyen-Age (XIV^e-XV^e siècles)*, Paris 1986, pp. xxii-xxxi and *passim*;

H.L. Beck, *L'image d'Idrīs II, ses descendants de Fēs et la politique sharīfienne des sultans marīnides (656-869/1258-1465)*, Leiden 1989, ch. 1; V. Lagardère, *Les Almoravides*, Paris 1989, 9-16 and *passim*.

(M. KABLY)

B. The post-1450 period

In Maghribī historiography, which to a great extent follows the patterns of mediaeval Arab historiography, *ta'rikh* represents a wide range of knowledge; it thus has a broader semantic charge than its equivalents—e.g. history, histoire, historia—in European languages. It is a source of information for those in government, a gallery for the display of former political régimes, a repertory of significant religious events (e.g. the life of the Prophet), biographies of devout men who left to posterity commentaries and compilations of *ḥadīth*, etc. Considered from a simply formal point of view, *ta'rikh* is the science of the narration of events, especially religious and political, and the art of arranging them logically or chronologically. In the introduction to his *Muḥaddima*, Ibn Khaldūn writes that "History (*ta'rikh*) is a noble science... It conveys to us the biography of prophets, the chronicles of kings, their dynasties and their policies (*siyāsa*)" (Beirut 1967; Fr. tr. V. Monteil, i, 13, Eng. tr. F. Rosenthal, New York 1958, i, 15).

Maghribī historical science affirms its autonomy in relation to the historiography of the Muslim lands of the Orient, from the end of the Middle Ages onwards, as a function of the changes in political organisation, the object of its study, which unfolded in the lands of the Muslim West: the end of the Marīnid empire, and the beginning of a long period of instability affecting the lands of the western Mediterranean at the end of the 15th century and the beginning of the 16th. The territorial individualities which henceforward took the specific names of *al-Maghrib al-aḳṣā*, *al-Maghrib al-awsat*, *Ifrīkiya*, etc., gave the intellectuals of each country the idea of belonging to a particular nation, unique and different from all others. Religion was no longer the cement of cohesion. Also, the presence of Ottoman Turks on the coasts of the Maghrib, and that of Christians, Spanish and Portuguese in certain ports where concessions and consulates were established, constituted the driving force contributing to the emergence and affirmation of history specific to each state. Thus, as a result of politics, the idea of the nation was gradually crystallised in the lands of the Maghrib. And history, *ta'rikh*, fixed these successive events in time and space and was to give rise to another, hitherto little-known phenomenon, sc. that of nationalism.

Akhbār "facts, information, news" (on this subject, see Cl. Cahen, *Introduction à l'histoire du monde musulman médiéval, VII^e-XV^e siècle. Methodologie et éléments de bibliographie*, Paris 1982, 69-70) constitute the basis of all historical narration. They are the essential source of chronicles, the object of which is to narrate, from day to day, events concerning princes and dynasts, thus compiling royal annals (see below for examples relating to al-Maghrib al-Aḳṣā). The constitution of a corpus of *akhbār* might have as its object the description (not analysis nor explanation, since either of these may engender indifference towards the prince) of dynastic politics, or of a wide-ranging social change; compilations of *akhbār* may show features reminiscent of *ḥadīth*.

From the 15th century onwards, Maghribī historical science abandoned the style of the major epic to concentrate on the history of more circumscribed territories, focusing on towns and local politics, and on



peoples whose ways and customs were known. Ibn Khaldūn remains the master in this field. In the first book of the *Muqaddima*, the *Kitāb al-'Ibar* ("book of examples") he set out his theory, indeed his philosophy, of history. He opened the way not only for historiographers of the Maghrib, but for those of other nations as well. But this science is not within the reach of the novice, according to him; it demands qualities and extensive knowledge. "He who practises this science (*ta'rikh*) needs to know the rules of the political art, the nature of existing things and the difference between nations, regions and tribes in terms of way of life, qualities of character, customs, sects, schools of thought, etc. He must distinguish the similarities and the differences between the present and the past, and know the diverse origins of dynasties and of communities."

In the 16th century, the centres of study and diffusion of the culture of the Muslim West would henceforward be Fās, Marrakesh, Tlemcen, Tunis and Kayrawān. The authors whose historical works are known to us passed through at least one of these centres, articulating and formulating local themes. The best representative of this period is without doubt al-Hasan Muḥammad al-Wazzān al-Fāsī, better known by the name of Leo Africanus [q.v.]. His work, *Historical description of Africa*, 1556, translated from Italian, is made up of a series of monographs on cities, regions, populations and kingdoms (of Fās, Marrakesh, Tlemcen, Bougie, Tunis and Tripoli). This study reflects the brilliant personality of the author, as well as the ideas that were current at the time. It was to be imitated and plagiarised by numerous Arab and Christian writers, but it would never be equalled. As for Luis del Marmol y Carvajal, *Descripción general de Africa* (Granada 1573-99, 3 vols.), his texts are sometimes overloaded with detail but are not lacking in interest. His debt is considerable, not only to Leo Africanus but also to other "Arab" authors—Maghribīs in this instance. The author lays emphasis on the natural riches of the Maghrib, and his work is extremely useful for the study of historical geography and the history of agricultural practices.

In the central Maghrib, where political unity had long been hindered by the absence of a central authority and the existence at certain times of numerous kingdoms, authors exercised their talents in the domain of urban monography, with such titles as *Constantine*, and some Arab authors of *Constantine* (see Ch. Saint-Calbre, in *RA*, vii [1913], 70-93). Each author evoked, in his own fashion, the history of his town and of the Maghribī town in general. Not all of these studies were published; most remained in manuscript state and were ignored even by a cultured public.

In the conceptions of history held by Maghribī scholars, there is a perennial need to return to the sources, to the origins of life and mankind as far back as Adam, Eve or Noah when they are dealing with anthropology; or to the Prophet Muḥammad when religious questions are being addressed. Genealogy, an area of knowledge dear to scholars, is considered a branch of history in its own right. A text belonging to this genre of writing can be the work of one or several persons, and may be the private chronicle of a family. The object of writers of this genre is to show their illustrious origins, either by associating themselves with the family of the Prophet or with some saintly person whose religious aura is recognised in the West as well as in the East; Berber dynasties, such as the Marinids and Waṭṭāsids, had recourse to this stratagem to bolster their legitimacy. The *Kitāb*

al-Nasab, by 'Abd al-Salām b. Abī 'Abd Allāh (who wrote at Fās in 1098/1687; see A. Giacobetti, in *RA*, xlv-xlviii [1902-4]), is a good example of this. The first part of this work begins with the eulogy of the Prophet, followed by the biography of Sīdī 'Abd al-Kādir al-Djilānī. The second part (by 'Abd al-Salām b. al-Tayyib, written 1089/1678), deals with the descendants of this saint, among whose number the authors of the work claim to be.

The Tunisian historian Ibn Abī Dīnār al-Kayrawānī [q.v.], considered a successor to Ibn Khaldūn although several centuries separate them, displays in his historical study of Ifrīkiya a certain reserve, even scorn, towards those Arabs who settled in Tunisia in former times, following invasions and migrations. The period which he describes (the 17th century) is far removed, however, from the major invasions of the Arab tribes which left nothing but desolation in their wake. It is evident that these considerations move him closer to the author of *al-Muqaddima*.

Al-Kayrawānī reclaimed the autonomy and the maturity of Tunisian scholarship. His writings may be used in the service of the history of political ideas or of Tunisian nationalism.

In Morocco, al-Maghrib al-Akṣā, historical research and historiography have been fertile in the modern period and even in the 19th century. The number of titles is impressive, but the quality sometimes mediocre. Even religious history, which once enjoyed particular esteem, remained largely incomprehensible. Its new style, sententious and emphatic, had the effect of erecting a barrier between the scholars and those whom they addressed. Although Ibn Khaldūn was known and even admired, no one took him for a model. His unequivocal statements of truth, his criticisms of governments as unscrupulous, indolent, violent, power-hungry, self-seeking, etc., as applied to Morocco, could have endangered those expressing such views. The majority of Moroccan scholars turned at that time towards chronology, literature (on condition that it was not subversive), biography, hagiography and geographical descriptions. The essentials, meaning general history and political history, were utterly neglected.

In sum, the majority of Moroccan historians of the modern and contemporary eras have been chroniclers: most if not all have been historiographers in the service of Sa'dian or 'Alawī sultans. The following may be cited: Abū Fāris, known by the name of 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Fishtālī and his history, *Manāhil al-safā fi akhbār al-mulūk al-shurafā'*; al-Ifrānī [q.v.] and his *Nuzhat al-hādī bi-akhbār mulūk al-kam al-hādī*; and Abū 'l-Kāsim al-Zayyānī, *al-Turjumān al-mughrib* (for these works, see E. Lévi-Provençal, *Chorfas*).

In the 17th-18th centuries, Maghribī history was enriched by increasingly numerous European accounts, such as *Histoire des conquêtes de Moulay Archy et de Muley Ismaël* by Germain Mouette (1683) on the first 'Alawī sultans of Morocco; the *Topografia e historia general de Argel* by D. Haedo (1612); and the *Mémoires* of the Chevalier d'Arvieux (1735), who was French consul in Algiers at the end of the 18th century.

In the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries, accounts of journeys proliferated—not least stories of Christian captives and of their ransoming by religious figures who travelled frequently to the Maghrib and to the Orient. Particular mention should be made of the work of Père Dan, *Histoire de la Barbarie et de ses corsaires* (Paris 1637, 1649), the Redemptorist priest who for almost half a century made it his business to ransom Christian captives and who supplied copious information on the three regions of North Africa.



Finally, since the middle of the 19th century, research in European archives (national archives, archives of foreign and marine affairs, chambers of commerce in France and in other maritime states in western Europe) has led to the study of a large number of documents relating to the three above-mentioned lands or to those further east, comprising various treaties, commercial accords, and official correspondence, and some of these have been published, e.g. *Documents inédits sur l'occupation espagnole en Afrique*, published in 1875-77 by de la Primaudais; the monumental collection of *Sources inédites de l'Histoire du Maroc*, undertaken in 1905 in Paris by Colonel H. de Castries, in which are published documents drawn from the archives of France, Spain, the Netherlands, Portugal and Britain, from the 16th century onwards; and the *Correspondence des deys d'Alger avec la Cour de France (1579-1833)*, Paris 1898, published by E. Plantet.

It is to be noted that the work of the chroniclers continued into the 19th century, exemplified in the very important book written by al-Nāṣir al-Salāwī [q.v.], *K. al-Istikṣā li-akhbār duwal al-maghrib* (Cairo 1844).

In the 1970s, Abdallah Laroui, in his *Histoire du Maghreb*, has become the reference source for the understanding, recording and analysing of the history of the Muslim West. His novel method of approaching documentation facilitates the comparison of texts of diverse origins, and the establishment of more pertinent syntheses.

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(AHMED FAROUK and CHANTAL DE LA VÉRONNE)

(g) Christian Arabic historiography.

The information on the course of Muslim history, especially on the early conquests or the struggles and relations with foreign powers, as well as the sometimes one-sided perception of events found in Muslim historiographical sources, is usefully complemented by information provided by Christian historiographers, whose writings are partly based on sources in Syriac, Greek or Coptic—not accessible to Muslim authors—and which were written from a different perspective, that of the conquered peoples who were later to become the Christian minorities. It should be emphasised, however, that the perspective of these Christian writings, even when composed in Arabic, is often not determined by their general Christian background so much as by their more specific communitarian affiliation (Jacobites [see YA'KŪBIYYŪN], Nestorians [see NASTŪRIYYŪN], Melkites, Copts [see AL-KIBṬ] and Maronites [see MARŪNIYYA, in Suppl.]). Especially in the Universal Chronicles, Christian historiographers did not hesitate to use different genres of Muslim material, sometimes copying it in a most literal way, without comments or corrections on their side.

The aim of the present article is to give an overview of the historiographical material written by Christians till the end of the 'Abbāsīd period and the first years of the Mamlūks in Egypt insofar as it deals with general history and is relevant for aspects of the relations between Muslims and Christians. Chronicles describing mainly the internal life of the Christian communities, such as the recently discovered East Syrian Ecclesiastical Chronicle *Mukhtaṣar al-akhbār al-bi'yūya* (ed. B. Haddād, Baghdad 2000) are not taken into consideration. This article is, for this period somewhat artificially, limited to the production in Arabic. As a matter of fact, Christian historiography written in the Christian national languages, especially in Syriac, in many aspects shows the same characteristics as the works composed by Christians in Arabic.

Melkites

The first important historiographer is Euthychius, Patriarch of Alexandria from 323/935 till 328/940, known in Arabic as Sa'īd b. al-Bitrīk [q.v.]. He is the author of a universal history: *Kitāb al-Ta'rikh al-maḍmū' 'alā 'l-tahkik wa 'l-taḍdīk*, also known as *Nazm al-ḥawhar*. This work exists in two different recensions. The first, shorter recension (by the editor designated as "Alexandrian") is preserved only in ms. Sinaiticus Arab. 582 (10th century), possibly an autograph. Mutilated in the beginning and at the end, it gives the history from Moses till the Muslim conquest of Egypt and some subsequent events in Jerusalem (*Das Annalenwerk des Euthychios von Alexandrien. Ausgewählte Geschichten und Legenden kompiliert von Sa'īd ibn Batriq um 935 A.D.*, ed. and tr. M. Breydy, CSCO 471-2, Leuven 1985). The longer recension ("Antiochian") enjoyed greater popularity, but contains an important number of later additions and interpolations (ed. L. Cheikho, *Euthychii Patriarchae Alexandrini annales*, i, Beirut, 1905, ii, 1909, 1-88 (repr. in CSCO 50-1, Leuven 1954, tr. E. Pococke, *Contextio gemmarum seu Euthychiae patriarchae Alexandrini annales*, Oxford 1658, repr. in PG, cxi, cols. 889-1156, and B. Pirone, *Euthychi, Patriarca di Alessandria (877-940). Gli annali*, Cairo 1987). It covers the period from the creation of Adam till the year 326/938, two years before the death of the author. The work exploits several Muslim sources, among which is historical, juridical and traditionist material. The Alexandrian recension presents the conquest of Egypt according to a version by the local traditionist 'Uṭmān b. Ṣāliḥ.

In the manuscripts containing the Antiochian recension, Euthychius's *Ta'rikh* is continued by a chronicle composed by Yahyā b. Sa'īd al-Anṭākī [q.v.] covering the period between 326/937-8 to 425/1033-4 (best ed., *Histoire de Yahyā-Ibn-Sa'īd d'Antioche*, ed. and tr. I. Kratchkovsky and A. Vassiliev, in PO, xviii/5, xxiii/3, Paris 1924, 1932, crit. ed. I. Kratchkovsky, Fr. ann. F. Micheau and G. Troupeau, in PO, xlvii/4, Paris 1997, with extensive bibliography). The objective of this work is clearly indicated by the author in the introduction: to write the continuation (*dhayl*) of the work composed by Sa'īd b. al-Bitrīk according to the method adopted by the latter. After the discovery of new sources, the author felt, however, obliged to rework the first recension, a first time in Egypt, a second time (in 405/1014-15) in Antioch. The *dhayl* is an important source for our knowledge of the history of Egypt and Syria, especially the regions of Antioch and Aleppo, and the Arab-Byzantine relations during this period. It is based on various Greek (unidentified) and Arabic sources, among which are on the Muslim side, Ṭhābit b. Sinān, an anonymous 'Irākī source, Ibn Zulfāk, 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Shimshātī and al-Musabbihī. A Christian-Arabic source is the *vita* of the Melkite patriarch of Antioch Christopher (959-67) by Ibrāhīm b. Yūḥannā (J.A. Forsyth, *The Byzantine-Arab chronicle (938-1034) of Yahyā b. Sa'īd al-Anṭākī*, Ph.D. diss. Ann Arbor, University of Michigan 1977). The *dhayl* was known to later Muslim authors, such as Ibn al-'Adīm, who used it for the composition of his *Zubdat al-halab fi ta'rikh Halab* (ed. S. Dahan, Damascus 1951).

Agapius (Maḥbūb Kuṣṭantīn), bishop of Manbiḍj (10th century) wrote a universal history, known as the *Kitāb al-Uwān*, beginning with the Creation and continuing till the reign of the Byzantine Emperor Leo IV (775-80) and the Caliph al-Mahdī. Most information on the Muslim period was drawn from the so-called *Syriac common source*, a work well known to later Syriac historiographers, presumably composed by



the Melkite Theophilus of Edessa, an astrologer in the service of al-Mahdī, who may also have used an unidentified Muslim chronology. Agapius's work was edited by L. Cheikho (*Agapius episcopus Mabbugensis. Historia universalis/Kitāb al-'Unwān*, CSCO 65, Paris 1912, and by A. Vassiliev, *Kitāb al-'Unwān, histoire universelle écrite par Agapius (Mahboub) de Menbidj*, PO, v/4, vii/4, viii/3. The *K. al-'Unwān*, together with the work by Sa'īd b. al-Biṭrīk, was much appreciated by al-Mas'ūdī (*Tanbih*, 154).

According to al-Nadīm's *Fihrist* (ed. Flügel, i, 1871, 295), Kuṣṭā b. Lūḳā (9th century [q.v.]) is said to be the author of a (lost) universal (?) chronicle, *al-Firdaws fi 'l-ta'rikh*.

West Syrians

The most important historiographical work in Arabic composed by a Syrian Orthodox author is the *Mukhtaṣar ta'rikh al-duwal* of Gregorius Barhebraeus (Syriac: Bar 'Ebrōyō) or Ibn al-'Ibrī (1226-86 [q.v.]). According to information found in his *Ecclesiastical chronicle* (EC), he allegedly composed this chronicle at the request of some Muslim friends in Marāgha [q.v.], who apparently had heard about Barhebraeus's fame as a historiographer and as author of a voluminous universal history, written in Syriac. This *Chronography* was divided into two parts, an ecclesiastical chronicle and a so-called civil chronicle, which were sometimes considered as two separate works. The structure of the *Mukhtaṣar* (ed. A. Šālḥānī as *Ta'rikh Mukhtaṣar al-duwal*, Beirut 1898, 1958, new ed. Kh. Maṣṣūr, Beirut 1997) is comparable to that of the *Civil chronicle* (CC), the *Mukhtaṣar* being divided into ten dynasties and its Syriac counterpart into eleven dynasties; but both works are universal histories covering the period from Adam till the time of the Mongols. The Arabic title suggests that the *Mukhtaṣar* is merely a summary of the CC. As a matter of fact, the *Mukhtaṣar* contains much information not found in the CC, e.g. many short biographical notices on Islamic scholars. Sometimes the information given in the *Mukhtaṣar* differs considerably from the CC or is written from a different perspective. A good example is the attitude towards Muḥammad, depicted positively in the *Mukhtaṣar* as an instrument in the hands of God, whereas the CC emphasises forced conversions and the spread of Islam "by the sword". A possible reason for these differences, as suggested by the EC, might be the public the author had in mind when he composed his chronicle. A study by L.I. Conrad, *On the Arabic Chronicle of Barhebraeus: his aims and audience*, in *Parole de l'Orient*, xix [1994], 319-78, shows that it is too simplistic to consider Muslims as the intended readership of the *Mukhtaṣar*, since a number of passages are of interest only to Christians. The best way to explain the differences between both works is to consider them as independent histories, which are to an important extent based on different sources (H. Teule, *The Crusaders in Barhebraeus' Syriac and Arabic secular chronicles*, in K. Ciggaar et alii (eds.), *East and West in the Crusader states*, Louvain 1996, 39-49). In the case of the *Mukhtaṣar*, the author used more Islamic historiographical material, such as the *Ta'rikh al-Hukamā'* of al-Kifī or the *Tabakāt al-umam* by Sa'īd al-Andalusī. Written at the end of his life, he did not bother to harmonise the sometimes divergent views expressed in the *Mukhtaṣar* and the CC.

East Syrians

Ḥunayn b. Ishāq [q.v.], the most renowned 'Irāqī Christian in Muslim literature, is the author of a lost chronicle in Arabic describing the period from Creation till the time of al-Mutawakkil (cf. Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a,

'Uyūn al-anbā', 273). Ya'kūb b. Zakariyyā al-Kaṣḥkarī composed a seemingly important chronicle, now lost, comparable to the work of Agapius and Eutychius. It was highly praised by al-Mas'ūdī (*Tanbih*, 155). Elias, bishop of Nisibis (975-after 1049) is the author of a bilingual (Syriac-Arabic) chronicle, divided into two parts, preserved in only one manuscript, documenting the period from Creation till 409/1018 (*Eliae Metropolitae Nisibene opus chronologicum*, i, ed. and tr. E.W. Brooks, ii, ed. and tr. J.B. Chabot, CSCO 62-3, Rome, Paris and Leipzig 1910). The second part consists mainly of conversion tables and descriptions of the different Christian, Muslim and Jewish calendars. The Muslim sources quoted by name in the first part are: Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Kh̲w̲ārazmī, Abū Dja'far al-Tabarī, 'Ubayd Allāh b. Aḥmad, Abū Bakr Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā al-Šūlī and Thābit b. Sinān. This work was also highly praised by Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'a (*op. cit.*, 72). The voluminous *K. al-Ta'rikh* or *K. al-Tawārīkh* ("Book of Dates") composed by Yuhannā al-Mawṣilī in 1332 is, in fact, more a theological encyclopaedia than a work of history. The historical section only deals with inner-Christian developments (cf. B. Landron, *Chrétiens et musulmans en Irak*, Paris 1994, 140).

Maronites

According to al-Mas'ūdī (*Tanbih*, 154), a certain Kaṣ al-Mārūnī is said to have written a beautiful historical work beginning with Creation and ending with the caliphate of al-Muktafi. The language of this lost work was supposedly Arabic. Al-Mas'ūdī states that generally speaking the Maronites, unlike the Melkites, the Jacobites and the Nestorians, were not active in the field of historiography.

Copts

Traditionally ascribed to Sawirus b. al-Muḥaffa' (flor. 10th century [see IBN AL-MUKAFFA', Severus] the *History of the Patriarchs of Alexandria* (Ar. *Siyar al-Bī'a al-muḥaddasa* "biographies" of the Holy Church) is a collective work, the main redaction of which was completed by Mawḥūb b. Maṣṣūr b. Mufarridj al-Iskandarānī (ca. 1025-1100). Mawḥūb, who frequently acted as an intermediary between the Fāṭimid authorities and the Coptic community, is himself the author of the lives of the Patriarchs Christodoulos and Cyril II. His work was continued till the early 13th century by three subsequent authors. Later lives do not belong to the original work. This history (ed. B. Evetts, *History of the Coptic Church of Alexandria*, PO 1.2, 1.4, 5.1, 10.5, Paris 1904-15, continued by Y. 'Abd al-Masīḥ et alii as *History of the Patriarchs of the Egyptian Church*, Cairo 1943-74) describes the history of the Coptic Church, arranged according to the reigns of the Patriarchs. Many *siyar*, including those by Mawḥūb, deal, however, not only with ecclesiastical life but also record events pertaining to the field of general political history. The work was known to Ibn Khaldūn and al-Maḥrīzī.

Nuṣṣū' Abū Shākir Ibn al-Sanā' al-Rāhib (13th century), or Ibn al-Rāhib [q.v. in Suppl.], is the author of a *K. al-Tawārīkh* consisting of three parts: a treatise on astronomy and chronology; an elaborate universal history, dealing with world events, Islamic history and ecclesiastical matters; and a short history of the Ecumenical Councils. The so-called *Chronicon orientale*, ascribed by the editor to Ibn al-Rāhib (ed. Cheikho, CSCO scriptor. ar. 1-2, Beirut, Paris and Leipzig 1903), is only a later abridgment of Ibn al-Rāhib's universal history composed by an anonymous author.

The 13th century al-Makīn b. al-'Amīd [q.v.] wrote a universal history, called *al-Maḥimū' al-mubārak*, extend-



ing from Creation to the time of Sultan Baybars (658/1260). It exists of two parts, the second Islamic part being based on al-Tabarī or the *Ta'rikh Ṣāliḥī* of Ibn Wāsil or one of its sources. The section on the Ayyūbids (ed. Cl. Cahen, in *BEO*, xv [1955], 109-84), describing contemporary events is, however, more original and based on personal observations.

Bibliography (in addition to references given in the article): L. Cheikho, *al-Tawārīkh al-naṣrāniyya fi 'l-arabiyya*, in *al-Mashrik*, xii (1909), 481-506 (also surveys works no longer extant); G. Graf, *GCAL*, Rome 1944-53, 5 vols.; A. Sidarus, *Ibn al-Rāḥib's Leben und Werk. Ein koptisch-arabischer Enzyklopädist des 7./13. Jahrhunderts*, Freiburg 1975; P. Kawerau, *Christlich-arabische Chrestomathie aus historischen Schriftstellern des Mittelalters*, 1.1. Texte, 1.2. Glossar, 2. Übersetzung, CSCO 370, 374, Louvain 1976, 385, Louvain 1977; Samir Khalil Samir, *Trois manuscrits de la chronique arabe de Barhebraeus à Istanbul*, in *Orientalia Christiana Periodica*, xli (1980), 142-4; M. Breydy, *Études sur Sa'id ibn Batrīq et ses sources*, CSCO 450, subsidia 69, Leuven 1983; J.M. Fiey, *Importance et limites des écrits "dimmī" pour l'histoire de l'Orient*, in *Dirāsāt*, xxiii (1988), 5-13; Y.M. Ishāk, *Maṣādir Abi 'l-Faraḍj al-Malaṭī al-ta'rikhīyya wa-aṭharuhā fi manāhidjīhi*, in *Aram*, i (1989), 149-72; J. den Heijer, *Mawḥūb ibn Manṣūr ibn Muḥarrir et l'historiographie copto-arabe. Étude sur la composition de l'Histoire des Patriarches d'Alexandrie*, CSCO 513, subsidia 83, Leuven 1989; Samir, *Christian Arabic literature in the 'Abbasid period*, in M.J.L. Young et alii (eds.), *CHAL. Religion, learning and science in the 'Abbasid period*, Cambridge 1990, 446-60 esp. 455-9; den Heijer, art. *History of the Patriarchs of Alexandria*, in *Coptic Encyclopaedia*, iv (1991), 1238-42; R. Hoyland, *Arabic, Syriac and Greek historiography in the first Abbasid century: an enquiry into inter-cultural traffic*, in *Aram*, iii (1991), 211-33; idem, *Seeing Islam as others saw it. A survey and evaluation of Christian, Jewish and Zoroastrian writings on early Islam*, Princeton 1997; J. Nasrallah, *Histoire du mouvement littéraire dans l'Église melchite du V^e au XX^e siècle. Contribution à l'étude de la littérature arabe chrétienne*, II.2, III, Leuven-Paris 1990. (H.G.B. TEULE)

II. 8. In the Nilotic Sudan.

The extant Arabic historical writings of the Nilotic Sudan (including the outlying western provinces of Kordofān and Dār Fūr [q.v.]) before 1899 are exhaustively listed in R.S. O'Fahey, *Arabic literature of Africa*, i, *The writings of eastern Sudanic Africa to c. 1900*, Leiden 1994. Most of these works are extant only in mss. Of the few published works, the most important are:

(1) "The Funj Chronicle", the conventional name of a chronicle extant in several mss. and recensions. It covers the period from the emergence of the Funj kingdom of Sinnār, traditionally in 910/1504-5, to (at latest) 1288/1871. The original author of the Chronicle was Ahmad b. al-Ḥādīdj Abū [sic] 'Alī, known as Kātib al-Shūna from his post in the government grain-store. He was born near al-Masallamiyya (Blue Nile) in 1199/1784-5, and died after Rabī' I 1254/May-June 1838, where his Chronicle ends. Beginning as a king-list with added blocks of information (some of anthropological interest), a continuous detailed narrative starts with the reign of Bādī IV, on whose overthrow in 1175/1762 power passed to a clan of regents, the Hamadj *Shaykhs*, ruling over an ever-dwindling region of the Blue Nile until the invasion of the Sudan by the forces of Muḥammad 'Alī Pasha of Egypt [q.v.] in 1235/1820, and the establishment of the Turco-Egyptian régime (*al-Turkiyya*). The later editors and continuators were, like Kātib al-Shūna, formed by a

traditional Sudanese Islamic education, and had appointments under the Turco-Egyptian administration. They were thus members of a group which had little to regret at the passing of the Funj kingdom and the ending of the anarchic Hamadj regency. They show no hostility to the Turco-Egyptian régime as such, which brought greater security and the consolidation under the aegis of the Islamic Ottoman Empire, although they criticise individual officers and administrators. While the later part of the Chronicle is in no sense an official history, it was written by men who accommodated themselves reasonably comfortably to the régime of Muḥammad 'Alī and his successors.

The Chronicle has been published twice: (a) its last recension by Makkī Shubayka, *Ta'rikh mulūk al-Sūdān*, Khartoum 1947; (b) Kātib al-Shūna's text (some collation with other mss.) by al-Shāṭir Buṣaylī 'Abd al-Djalīl, *Makḥḥūṭat Kātib al-Shūna*, Cairo 1963. An annotated English summary translation of the final recension was published by H.A. MacMichael, *A history of the Arabs in the Sudan*, Cambridge 1922, ii, 354-430. A fuller translation from a collation of the principal mss. is provided by P.M. Holt, *The Sudan of the three Niles. The Funj Chronicle 910-1288/1504-1871*, Leiden 1999.

(2) *Kitāb al-Tabakāt fi khusūs al-awliyā' wa 'l-shāliḥīn wa 'l-ulamā' wa 'l-shu'arā' fi 'l-Sūdān* (some minor variants of title in the published editions). As the title indicates, this is a biographical dictionary of the Muslim holy men of the Nilotic Sudan, perhaps the only representative of the genre from the region. It was written and compiled (since there is internal evidence of sources of various kinds) by Muḥammad al-Nūr b. Dayf Allāh, and hence is usually referred to as the *Tabakāt* of Wad (i.e. Walad) Dayf Allāh. From internal evidence it was compiled about 1219/1804-5. Wad Dayf Allāh resembled the authors of the Funj Chronicle in being a member of the traditionally educated Muslim élite. He was born in 1139/1727 at Halfāyat al-Mulūk, north of present-day Khartoum North. Like his father, he taught in the mosque, acted as a *muftī*, and became celebrated for his religious writings. He died before the Turco-Egyptian conquest in 1224/1809-10.

The *Tabakāt* was published twice in 1930 in Cairo, by Ibrāhīm Ṣadīq (? Suddayk) and Sulaymān Dāwūd Mandīl, respectively. A critical edition, prepared by Yūsuf Faḍl Hasan, was published in Khartoum in 1971 (?1974). It contains 270 biographical notices, predominantly of Ṣūfī *shaykhs* (mainly from the Kādiriyya *ṭarīqa*) and jurists, chiefly of the Mālikī *madhhab*. There are a few notices of persons holding formal appointments, and a small number of legendary saints are included. No full English translation has been made, but an annotated summary translation with excerpts from the Arabic text is given by MacMichael, *op. cit.*, ii, 217-323. The text and translation of three notices appear in S. Hillelson, *Sudan Arabic texts*, Cambridge 1935, 172-203. One family of holy men is studied in Holt, *The Sons of Jābir and their kin*, in *BSOAS*, xxx/1 (1967), 142-58.

The roles of charismatic holy man and Islamic reformer were momentarily fused in Muḥammad (Aḥmad) b. 'Abd Allāh, the Sudanese Mahdī [see AL-MAHDIYYA], a hagiography of whom was written by Ismā'il b. 'Abd al-Kādir al-Kurdufānī (perhaps his court chronicler), and entitled *Kitāb Sa'adat al-mustahdī bi-sirat al-Imām al-Mahdī*. The unique extant copy of this and its sequel, *al-Tirāz al-mankūsh bi-bushrā katl Yuhannā malik al-Hubūsh*, describing the war between the Mahdists and the Ethiopians in 1889, is now in the



Sudan Archive (Box 99/6) of Durham University. The former was edited by Muḥammad Ibrāhīm Abū Salīm and published under its own title at Beirut in 1972; an English summary translation with a useful introduction was published by Haim Shaked, *The life of the Sudanese Mahdi*, New Brunswick, N.J. 1978. An edition of *al-Tirāz* was published by Abū Salīm and Muḥammad Sa'īd al-Kaddāl as *al-Harb al-Habashiyya al-Sūdāniyya 1885-1888* [sic], Khartoum 1972.

The establishment of the Anglo-Egyptian Condominium in 1899 was followed by the development of westernised education. This, continuing under independence, has produced a growing number of professional historians, among their pioneers the late Professor Makkī Shubayka (see above), and an increasing body of scholarly historical writing in Arabic and English. A link between the old and new types of historians was Muḥammad 'Abd al-Raḥīm (b. 1878, d. after 1935), the self-styled *mu'arrikh al-Sūdān*, whose writings of historical, literary and political import, include *Nafaḥāt al-yarā' fī 'l-adab wa 'l-ta'rīkh wa 'l-idjtimā'*, Khartoum n.d.

Bibliography: Given in the article.

(P.M. HOLT)

ṬAYYIBIYYA, a Ṣūfī brotherhood of the Maghrib (also **TUHĀMIYYA** in western Morocco, or, further, **WAZZĀNIYYA** [q.v.]). Add to the *Bibl.* of **WAZZĀNIYYA**, O. Depont and X. Coppolani, *Les confréries religieuses musulmanes*, Algiers 1897, 484-90, and P.J. André, *Contribution à l'étude des confréries musulmanes*, Algiers 1956, 241-5, for an evaluation of the numerical importance of the orders's adherents in the 19th and 20th centuries. See also Hamdūn al-Ṭāhirī, *Tuḥfat al-ikhwān bi-ba'd manāḳib shurafā' Wazzān*, Fās 1324/1906; Muḥammad al-Miknāsī, *al-Kawkab al-as'ad fī manāḳib mawlānā sayyidnā 'Alī b. Ahmad*, lith. on the margins of the preceding work; 'Abd al-Salām al-Kādīrī, *al-Tuḥfa al-kādīriyya*, ms. Gen. Library of Rabat no. 2331, I and II (these three sources stem from affiliates of the order); Muḥammad b. al-Ṭayyib al-Kādīrī, *Nashr al-mathānī li-ahl al-kam al-hādī 'aṣḥar wa 'l-ṭhānī*, ed. M. Ḥādjījī and A. Tawfīk, Rabat 1407/1986; for a detailed bibl. of studies on the order, H. Elboudrari, *La maison du cautionnement. Les shorfa d'Ouezzane de la sainteté à la puissance*, diss., EHESS, Paris 1984. (AHMED TOUFIQ)

ṬHAṬṬĀ.

2. Monuments.

Over the centuries Ṭhaṭṭā has endured invasions, destruction as well as the fluctuations of the Indus river bed. This is reflected in the chequered history of its monuments. Two early mausoleums of saints remain in the most western part of the city by what was once an enlarged part of the river bed. Presumably after the sack of the town by the Portuguese in 1555, boats were built in that area under Akbar. Two *mahallas* formed the western part of the town and in the northern part stood the *masjid* Walī-ī-Ni'mat, which appears to have been used as the *Ḍhāmī masjid* before a new structure was ordered by Shāhḍjahān. The Shāhī bazaar was the link to the later eastern half of the town. This is a slightly depressed area which could have been the site of a Mughal irrigation channel. In the north-eastern *mahalla*, Dabgīrān, the wooden box makers' area, now outside the town, there remains part of the Dabgīr mosque ordered by Khusrāu Khān Čarkas in 966/1588. Its measurements are about 25 m by 11 m and the brick building, similar to other important constructions, stands on a stone base. The prayer hall, akin to that of a Lōdī mosque, is still extant with the remains of an octagonal drum

and squinches from the collapsed central dome. Two lower lateral domes cover the rest of the area. Panels of glazed square tiles with vegetal designs in blues, white and yellow still remain on some areas of the building. Part of the visible *ṣahn* is paved with flat stones.

The Khirzī mosque standing in the Shāhī bazaar dates from 1022/1613 and was built by 'Abd al-Razzāk Muẓaffar Khān prior to his governorship of Ṭhaṭṭā. A small domed entrance leads to the *ṣahn*; each side of the prayer chamber measures 16 m. Some of the tilework remains in place. The square Amīr Muḥammad Khān mosque (1039/1629) with slightly tapered walls, each side measuring 17 m, consists of an entrance portal, a dome on squinches and a square hall. The flower tile decoration on the dado is akin to Mughal flower designs. Other tiles follow Sindhi geometric patterns.

Persian inscriptions give several dates for the building and repairs of the *Ḍhāmī masjid*: start 1053/1644, completion 1056/1648, stone paving 1068/1657, first repairs in 1104/1692. During the substantial restoration of the 1970s, the area around the mosque was cleared to make way for a *ṣahār-bāgh*. The mosque was ordered by Shāhḍjahān, and is built along an east-west axis. It follows the Saldjūk four-*iwān* plan used in India since the 9th/15th century; cf. the Atālā mosque in Ḍjawnpūr (810/1408). The overall size is 93 m by 52 m. The main dome rising from a drum of sixteen panels covers the square prayer hall. Two lesser domed chambers at the main entrance lead into the *ṣahn*, with smaller ones over each lateral entrance in the middle of the side *riwāqs*, while its arcades are covered with a series of small domes. There is no minaret. Although the restored glazed tiles on an earthen body look rather crude, the general impact is still effective, with dense geometric patterns including stars and floral designs. The colours include light and dark blue, white and yellow. Here the continuation of the tradition tilework of Multān, Učch and the tombs of the Maklī Hills, is beset with the same technical problems of loose glazing encountered in earlier times.

Bibliography: H. Cousens, *Sindh tiles*, 1906, repr. Karachi 1993; M.I. Siddiqi, *Thatta*, Karachi 1979; A.H. Dani, *Thatta. Islamic architecture*, Islamabad 1982.

(YOLANDE CROWE)

ṬIBBIYYE-ī 'ADLIYYE-ī SHĀHĀNE, the Ottoman Imperial Medical School of Maḥmūd II (r. 1223-55/1808-39 [q.v.]), opened in 1254/1838, in the renovated Ghālata-Sarāyī [q.v.]. It was a reorganisation of the *Tibbkhāne-ī 'Amire*, a medical school founded at Istanbul in 1827. The official opening day of the original *Tibbkhāne* was 14 March 1827, adopted by the medical community of the Turkish Republic as Medicine Day (Tıp Bayramı), to celebrate modern medicine. In the *Ṭibbiyye-ī 'Adliyye-ī Shāhāne*—as in the original *Tibbkhāne-ī 'Amire*—European and Ottoman doctors taught modern Western medicine, not the traditional Muslim medicine based still on the humouralistic system from Antiquity.

During the 19th century, medicine in the Middle East underwent profound changes. European medicine was introduced on a much larger scale, and many European texts were translated into Muslim languages. Translations by 'Atā' Allāh Muḥammad Shānīzāde (d. 1826 [q.v.]) were especially important in this regard. The aim of these reforms was to improve the health of the armed forces as the measures in the medical realm were part of military modernisation. Thus medical schools, shaped according to the Western model, and at which French, Italian,



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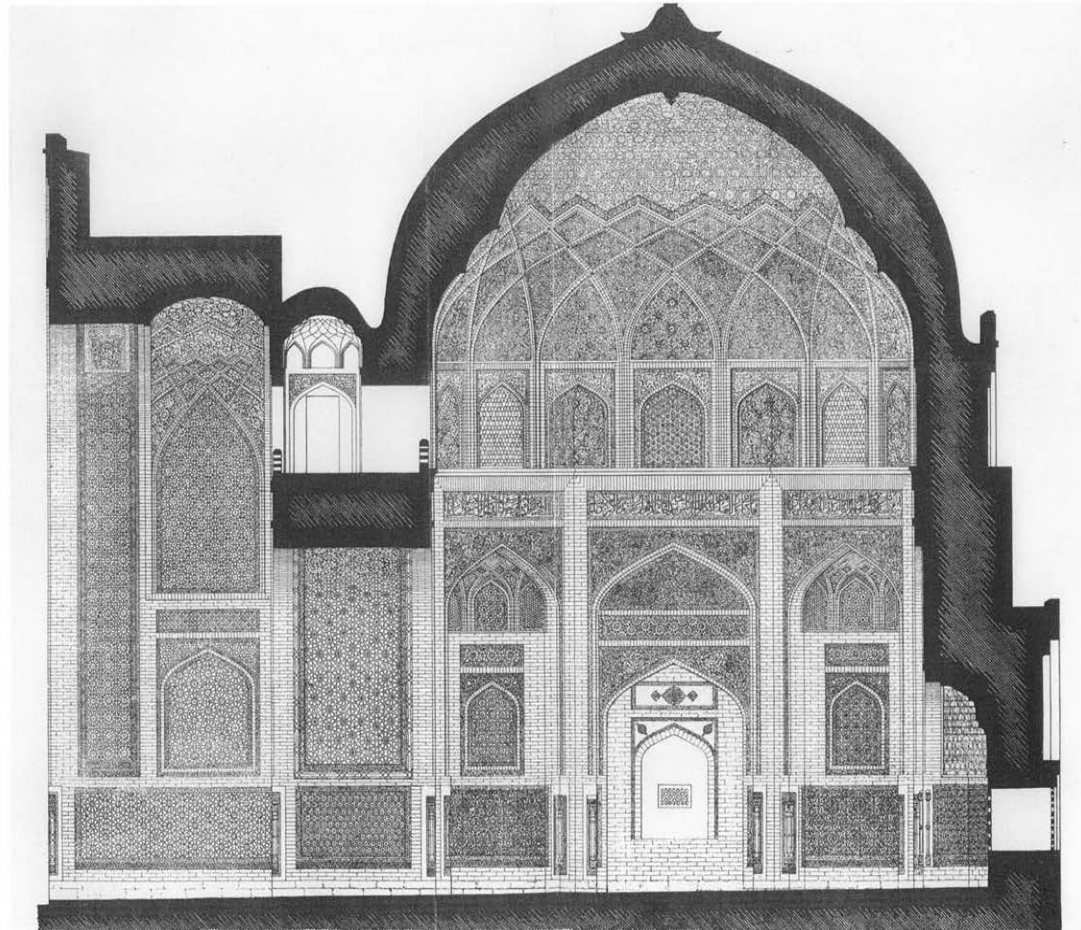


Fig. 1. *Qutub masjid*, cross section of the *mihrab* domed hall, from Plate 1 in H. Cousens, *Sindh sals*, 1906.

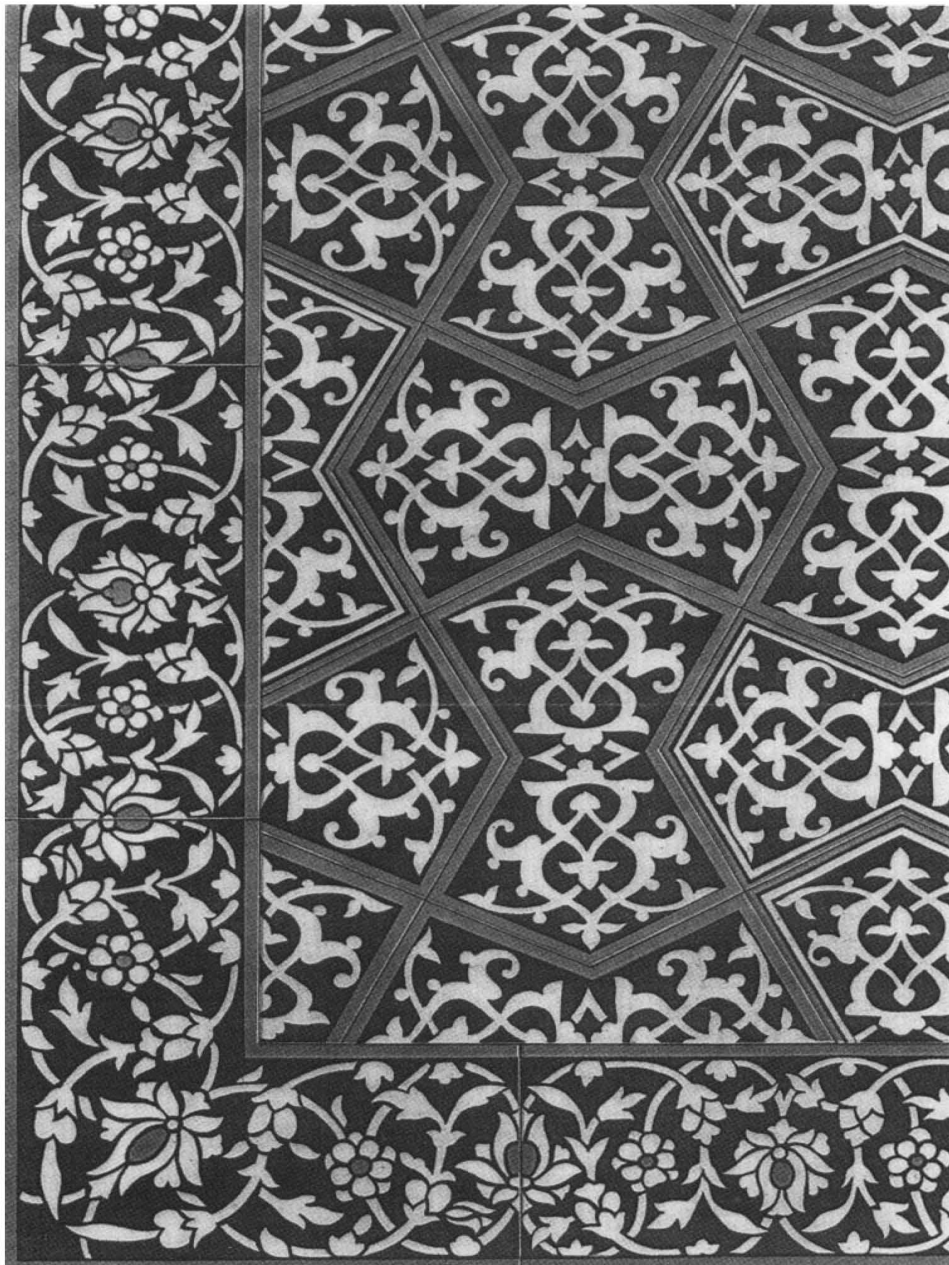


Fig. 2. *Djāmi masjid*, part of a tile panel, from Plate 2 in H. Cousens, *Sindh tiles*, 1906.



Austrian and German professors taught European medicine in French, were founded in all major capitals of the Middle East during the first half of the 19th century. Muhammad 'Alî Pâshâ [q.v.] established the first one in 1827 near Cairo, followed only a month later by Mahmûd II's military medical school in Istanbul. The third, another military medical school, was included in the *Dâr al-Funûn*, a polytechnic school founded in Tehran in 1850-1.

The changes in medicine in the Ottoman Empire during Mahmûd II's reign were part of a wide range of reforming measures. Under his rule, government functions proliferated well beyond the traditional realms of administering justice, collecting taxes and maintaining the armed forces. Matters that had traditionally been left to private hands gradually came under government administration. The final aim was to create a new generation of able administrators. Two methods were employed to achieve this. First, Ottoman students were sent to universities in Europe to acquire a profession in selected valued fields; second, new schools were established and given precedence over the traditional Muslim *madrasas*. One of them was the *Tibbiyye-i 'Adliyye-i Şahâne*. The many documents and letters produced by the Ottoman bureaucracy dealing with salaries and hiring, teaching aids brought over from Europe, the school's physical setting, etc., reflect the close attention of the central government to this school. Even everyday matters and decisions were not left to the discretion of the school administration.

The curriculum at the *Tibbiyye-i 'Adliyye-i Şahâne*, where the language of instruction was French, was decidedly Western. Teaching aids pertaining to medical instruction were imported from Europe. In this it parted ways from the traditional medical schools in the Ottoman Empire. The few of these that existed, for example at the Süleymâniyye complex, reproduced Arab-Muslim medicine based still to a large extent on interpretations of, and additions to, mediaeval Muslim texts. In contrast, the four-year course at the *Tibbiyye-i 'Adliyye-i Şahâne* followed a syllabus combining general and medical subjects. The general syllabus included languages (Arabic and Turkish, but also French and Latin). French was mandatory in order to help the students communicate with the teachers, many of whom were Europeans. There was another reason for the French classes. As the sultan explained in his opening address, the first graduates of the medical school were to master French in order to be able to translate the much-needed European medical texts into Ottoman Turkish. Other non-medical subjects included arithmetic and geometry, drawing, geography, history and zoology. The general curriculum was taught by Ottoman Muslim teachers. Medical studies, taught mainly by non-Muslim and non-Ottoman teachers, comprised anatomy, dissection, pathology, chemistry, botany and pharmacology, diagnostics, ophthalmology and medical devices.

Despite the pronounced French influence, the school was the product of the close relationship at the time between the Ottoman and Habsburg empires. Dr. Karl Ambros Bernard, a medical doctor and surgeon and a graduate of the Vienna medical faculty, was brought in 1838 from the Austrian capital at the instigation of Abdülhak Efendi, the *hekîmbaşî* (Ottoman head physician [q.v.]), to found the school. Dr. Bernard served as its first manager till his death at the early age of 38 in 1844. His widow and family were granted a stipend by the empire as a sign of respect to the man and his services to Ottoman medical education. Dr. Bernard was not the only example. Other Austrians

teaching at the school were Dr. Neuner and Dr. Riegler, and in the 1840s an Austrian midwife was given a contract to teach gynaecology and obstetrics at the school.

The student body comprised mainly Muslims but also included Christians. Their numbers fluctuated from around 200 at the beginning to over 400 by the end of the 1840s. Similarly, the teaching cadre rose from fewer than ten in the 1830s to several dozen a decade later. The *Tibbiyye-i 'Adliyye-i Şahâne* functioned in Ğhalaṭa for ten years; a fire in August 1848 then obliged the medical school to move to the Golden Horn.

Bibliography: Many archival documents can be found in the Başbakanlık Osmanlı Arşivi (The Archives of the Ottoman Prime Minister) in the İrade, Cevdet and Hatt-i Hümayun classifications. For publications that include primary sources, see Arslan Terzioğlu, *Türk Anıstraya tıbbî ilişkileri*, Istanbul 1987; idem, *Türk tıbbının batılılaşması*, Istanbul 1993; Ayten Altıntaş, *Karl Ambros Bernard'in Mekteb-i Tibbiye-Şahane'nin kurucusu olduğu meselesi ve görevi hakkında*, in *II. Türk Tıp Tarihi Kongresi* (20-21 Eylül 1990), Ankara 1999, 91-9; Rengin Dramur, *Mekteb-i Tibbiye-i Şahane'de öğretim üzerine bazı belgeler*, in *ibid.*, 137-47. (MİRİ SHEFER)

TONGUÇ, İSMAİL HAKKI (1893-1960), Turkish educator.

He was born, the son of a peasant family, in Tataratmaca village, Silistre. He attended Kastamonu Teachers' College and later the Istanbul Teachers' College, graduating in 1918. He continued his educational career at the Karlsruhe State Academy for the Graphic Arts and Ettlingen Teachers' College in Germany during 1918-19 and 1921-2. After returning to Turkey, İsmail Hakkı worked in several schools both in administrative posts and as a teacher of painting, handicrafts and physical education. In 1935, he was appointed Director General of Primary Education in the Ministry of Education where he had been working as the Director of School Museums since 1926. The fame of İsmail Hakkı rests basically on his views concerning the educational problems of village children in the early Republican period, which found concrete expression in the project of Village Institutes [see KÖY ENSTİTÜLERİ], his major achievement. Being the brain behind the Institute, he played a leading role during their establishment and development. Forced into resigning office in 1946, because of an extensive campaign attacking the Institutes, he was first appointed a member of the *Talim ve Terbiye Kurulu* (Instruction and Training Board) and later in 1949 a teacher at the Atatürk Lycée, where he worked until the Ministry's decision to remove him in 1950. İsmail Hakkı retired, following the annulment of the decision by the Council of State in 1954, and died in Ankara on 23 June 1960.

Throughout his career as an educator, İsmail Hakkı wrote several books and articles. In most of his works, he elaborated the educational problems from theoretical and practical perspectives and stressed the significance of vocational training in the developmental process.

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(AYLİN ÖZMAN)

TUGHDJ b. DJUFF b. Baltakīn (or Yaltakīn) (b. Furān) b. Fūrī b. Khakān, military commander of Farḡhān origin, d. at Baghdād in 310/922-3. His father had left Farḡhān to serve as an officer in the caliph al-Mu'taṣim's army, also serving his successors al-Wāthiq and al-Mutawakkil. Djuff, said to have received *kaṭā'i* at Sāmarrā, died in 247/861 on the same night that al-Mutawakkil was assassinated.

Tughdj left 'Irāk at the *ghulam* Lu'lu's invitation to enter the service of Aḥmad b. Tūlūn [q.v.], the governor of Fuṣṭāṭ-Miṣr, in 254/868. He is said to have acted as governor of Egypt, Diyār Miṣr, for the latter or, according to a variant reading, of Diyār Muḍar. According to Ibn Khallikān, he allegedly recognised the governor of the Djazīra, Ishāk b. Kundādī, set there by al-Muwaffaq to uphold the 'Abbāsīd cause against Ibn Tūlūn, but Ishāk later rallied to the latter. At all events, Tughdj, after placing himself at Ibn Tūlūn's service, must have returned once more to 'Irāk since his son Muḥammad, the future Ikḥshīd [see MUḤAMMAD B. TUGHDJ] was born at Baghdād, in the Bāb Kūfa street, in mid-Radjab 268/January 882.

According to Ibn 'Asākir, Abu 'l-Djaysḥ Khumārawayh [q.v.] nominated Tughdj governor of Damascus after the death of his father Ibn Tūlūn in 269/882, a post in which Khumārawayh's two sons and successors, Djaysḥ (d. 283/896) and then Hārūn (d. 292/904-5), confirmed him. He was apparently governor during the whole of al-Mu'taḍīd's caliphate (279-89/892-902) and at the beginning of the next reign, that of al-Muktafi. According to Ibn Sa'īd al-Andalusī, he was also governor of Tiberias, in which his son Muḥammad acted as deputy. An 'Alid, one Abu 'l-Ṭayyib Lahḥā Muḥammad b. Ḥamza, who enjoyed great authority in Tiberias, was executed on Hārūn b. Khumārawayh's orders for collusion with the Carmathians (see M. Gil, *A history of Palestine 634-1099*, Cambridge 1992, §§ 467, 473, 487). According to Ibn 'Adīm, Tughdj had previously for long acted as governor of Aleppo for Khumārawayh.

In 279/892-3, state al-Ṭabarī and Ibn al-Aṭhīr, Tughdj led at Aleppo, acting for Khumārawayh, an expedition involving 'Abbāsīd and Tūlūnīd generals in the Djazīra and northern Syria, and in 281/894, a summer plunder raid deep into Byzantine Anatolia.

In 283/896, a group of Tūlūnīd *ghulāms*, having failed in a revolt against the incompetent buffoon Djaysḥ b. Khumārawayh, sought *amān* in Baghdād. One of the fugitives was Badr b. Djuff, but his brother Tughdj remained in his post as governor of Damascus, nevertheless showing more and more autonomy from Fuṣṭāṭ-Miṣr. Certain sources allege that, at the beginning of Hārūn's reign, Badr b. 'Abd Allāh al-Ḥammāmī was sent from Miṣr with an army and compelled Tughdj temporarily to evacuate Damascus. At all events, he was still governor in 289/902 when he had to face the Carmathian revolt in Syria; an army under Baṣṭīr which he sent against Ibn Zakrawayh was wiped out and he himself besieged in Damascus, losing a large number of troops [see KALB B. WABARA]. The Tūlūnīds' incapacity, faced with the Carmathians, led to the 'Abbāsīds deciding to resume direct control in Syria and Egypt.

On the fall of the Tūlūnīds in 292/905, Tughdj

left Damascus, with other commanders, to submit to the new 'Abbāsīd authorities in Miṣr, who sent them back as a garrison in the *djund* of Kinnasrīn. He later returned to Baghdād where, according to Ibn Khallikān, he died in prison.

He left six sons, as well as Muḥammad, the future Ikḥshīd, and at least one daughter who, in 326/938 married the son of the grand Amīr Ibn Rā'ik [q.v.], at the same time as the vizier Abu 'l-Faḍl's [q.v.] son married Ibn Rā'ik's daughter (al-Ḥamdānī, *Dhayl Ta'rikh al-Ṭabarī*, ed. M. Abu 'l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, Cairo 1977, 314).

Tughdj was known for his passion for perfumes; when travelling, he had in his train fifty camels loaded with perfumes [sic]. He is said to have built at Damascus a cupola with latticework, forming a giant censer, from which he had wafted the aroma of perfumes for all the population of the city. Even if these accounts are clearly exaggerated, they do show how the standard of living in the Syrian-Egyptian lands, at the end of the 3rd/9th and beginning of the 4th/10th centuries, had risen, allowing the élites to enjoy a significant amount of luxury goods (see also Ibn Sa'īd, *al-Mughrib*, 154-5).

Bibliography: Many sources have information on Tughdj, often contradictory. For the present article, the following only have been used: Ṭabarī, iii, index; Ibn 'Asākir, *Tahdhib*, vii, 57; 'Azīmī, *T. Halab*, ed. Zaghrūr, 283; Ibn al-'Adīm, *Zubda*, ed. Dahhān, i, index; idem, *Bughya*, ed. Zakkār, ii, ix, index; Ibn Khallikān, ed. 'Abbās, v, 56-7; Ibn al-Aṭhīr, vii, index; R. Guest, *The governors and judges of Egypt*, Leiden 1912, index. The richest, but not always the most reliable, source is Ibn Sa'īd al-Andalusī, *al-Mughrib fi hulā al-Maghrib*, ed. Zakī Muḥammad Ḥasan *et alii*, Cairo 1954, index. See also J. Bacharach, *The career of Muḥammad b. Tughdj al-Ikḥshīd...*, in *Speculum*, 1 (1975), 586-612.

(TH. BIANQUIS)

TURKS.

II. LANGUAGES.

(vi) Turkic languages in non-Arabic and non-Latin scripts.

During their history of over fifteen centuries Turkic peoples interacted with peoples and cultures of three continents. As a result of this process they became acquainted with many writing systems, used in various regions between Central Asia and Europe. The historical scene of the emergence of the first written and literary languages of Turkic peoples is Inner Asia, the territory of modern Mongolia, the Tarim Basin (in Sinkiang) and Kansu. The first epigraphic monuments written in a Turkic idiom belong to the Orkhon Turks (A.D. 552-744) and Uyghurs (744-840), who created empires in the steppe region. These monuments are written in the so-called runic or runiform script. After the collapse of their empire, the Uyghurs left the steppes and moved to the Tarim Basin and Kansu, founding the Kingdom of Kočo (866-1124) and Kan-tsu (880-1028), both becoming centres of the Uyghur culture and offering in abundance written documents mainly of religious (Manichaean, Buddhist and Nestorian) content. These monuments are written in Sogdian, Manichaean, Uyghur, and Nestorian scripts (all of Semitic origin), in Brāhmī script (of Indian origin) and in Tibetan script (in the case of the latter, also in its variant, the Phags-pa script).

1. *The Khazar and Karaim languages*

Judaism and Jewish culture played an important role in the Khazar empire [see KHAZARS] in the region of the Black and Caspian Seas (7th-11th centuries).



Therefore it is very probable that the Hebrew script was in use by this Turkic people, although, unfortunately, no written documents have survived.

The Hebrew script was adopted later by the Karaim, of Jewish religion, living originally in the Crimea [see KARAITES]. A large part of this people migrated, probably before the 14th century, to the western Ukraine and Lithuania. They lived there until the end of the Second World War, when they moved to Poland. The rich written culture of the Karaim is represented by many manuscripts and printed works. Today, the Karaim language is an especially endangered language; some dialects of it can be considered as extinct.

The generally suggested, supposed historical continuity between the Khazars and the Karaim remains unproven.

2. The Armenian-Kipčak language

After the collapse of the Armenian Asa empire in the middle of the 11th century, Armenians moved to the Crimea, and later to the western Ukraine. As a result of intensive contact with the Kipčak Turks, they adopted their language for purposes of administration and religious practice, keeping their original Armenian language for secular life. These documents, which have come down to us from between the 16th and 17th centuries, are written in Armenian script.

3. The Armenian-Ottoman language

After the Turkicisation of Asia Minor, Armenians living in different provinces of Anatolia seem very soon to have become bilingual. Turcophone Armenians created their own Turkish literature in the so-called Armeno-Turkish language, written in Armenian script. As a result of this activity, a large body of literature (original works, translations, inscriptions, later also journals) was created. This written documentation, which is especially rich from the 17th century onwards, can be traced back until the 14th century.

4. The Greek alphabet used in the Ottoman Empire for Turkish

The Orthodox Christian Karamans (Turkish *Karamānlılar*), living in northeastern Anatolia until the Greek-Turkish population exchanges of 1924, created a special literature, the products of which were written in Greek script. The history of this well-documented group of monuments can be traced back to the 16th century. It is obvious that these products (at the outset, works of a religious and historical content, later also journals and newspapers, etc.) written in the so-called Karaman (*Karamānlı*) language (in fact, in a special dialect of Ottoman Turkish), were also used by the bilingual Greeks living in other regions, especially in the Ottoman capital. Many written texts in the Turkish language but Greek alphabet have also come down to us from this large ethnic and religious group of the empire.

5. Other alphabets used in the Ottoman Empire for Turkish

The Syriac script was used for Turkish by a small Christian community. These texts, mainly preserved in the University Library of Bonn, were destroyed during the Second World War.

At the same time, the Hebrew alphabet was also used by the Jewish community for Turkish, the best-known surviving example being a copy of an Ottoman chronicle in this script.

The Institute of Manuscripts of the Georgian Academy of Sciences in Tbilisi has a large collection of Ottoman Turkish texts written in the Georgian alphabet. Unfortunately, we do not possess any survey of or study on this precious material, so that neither its quantity nor its character and chronology are

so far known. Scholars agree, however, that a systematic analysis of these materials could throw interesting light on the history of the Ottoman Turkish language in this region of the empire.

The Cyrillic alphabet was used in the Balkans for Turkish by intellectuals interested in the official language of the empire. We possess a few manuscripts and printed books, mainly from the 19th century.

6. Other Turkic languages written in Cyrillic script

Turkic peoples living in Eastern Europe and Siberia (Chuvash, a part of the Volga Tatars, Yakuts, Turkic peoples in the Altai Region, etc.), due to the Russian colonial expansion from the 18th century onwards, experienced Russian missionary activities, and thereby an acquaintance with the Cyrillic alphabet. All other Turkic peoples living in the former Soviet Union adopted the Cyrillic script in the second phase of the Soviet writing reform (1939-40), after a very short period of using the Latin script, introduced to these peoples between 1922 and 1930 as a replacement for the Arabic alphabet.

The collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991 created a new situation for rethinking the language and script policies of the former imperial power. In the sometimes heated discussions, all possible solutions found their supporters (keeping the Cyrillic script; reintroduction of the Latin, or even of the Arabic alphabets). In the course of the 1990s, Azerbaijan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan have reintroduced the Latin alphabet with some special signs. In these countries, a transition period, in which both Latin and Cyrillic scripts may be used, has been allowed. Efforts to create a Latin alphabet on a common theoretical and practical basis for all Turkic peoples have until now had no results.

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(G. HAZAI)

III. LITERATURE.

6. (m) Turkish literature in Muslim India. The constant stream of Turkish migrants started pouring on to Indian soil from the 5th/11th century onwards, but hardly anything is known of the role Turkish language played in the Ghaznawid, Ghurid and Sultanate periods. Turkish seems to have been used mainly as a medium of communication in the army, but also in court circles (see Amīr Khusrāw Dihlawī, *Nuh sipīhr*, ed. Muhammad Wahid Mirza, Oxford 1950, 173). The hitherto unearthed sole remnants of Turkish from this period are the Turkish words contained in a Persian dictionary, the *Farhang-i zafān-gūyā wa dīhān pūyā* (see R. Dankoff, *The Turkish vocabulary of the Farhang-i zafān-gūyā*, Bloomington 1987).

The Tīmūrid conquest and then the establishment of the Mughal dynasty altogether changed this situation. The Tīmūrids and their Turkish military élite arrived in India with a cultural legacy that included support for and cultivation of a Turko-Persian literary tradition which was in a sense founded and elaborated by the activities of 'Alī Shīr Nawā'ī [q.v.]. Tīmūrids in India remained true to their Central Asian Turkish legacy till the 19th century, and it was a custom for Mughal princes to be trained in Turkish as well as in the other great Islamic languages. The last member of the family whose skills in Turkish grammar, lexicography and poetry were well known in Hindūstān was Mirzā 'Alī-bakht Gurgānī 'Aẓfarī' [q.v.].

Tīmūrid and thus also Mughal rulers and princes were not only passive patrons of culture but also played an active role in literary life (see Muḥammad Khālīdī, *Gulstān-i Tīmūrī*, Lakhnaw 1973). Quite a few of them displayed outstanding literary skills but only some of them are known to have contributed to Turkish literary output in India. Except for the first generation of Indian Tīmūrids, the sources do not yield much information on possible Turkish works by members of the royal family. The Turkish oeuvre of Bābur [q.v.] is, of course, well known, and some Turkish lines by Humāyūn [q.v.] and a full *diwān* by Kāmran [q.v.] have been preserved. Due to the ruler's political aims and policies, Turkish seems to have been pushed into the background in court circles during the reign of Akbar [q.v.]. Nevertheless, later rulers seem to have been able at least to appreciate Turkish poetry, as was the case with Shāh 'Alam II (1760-88, 1788-1806; see Azfarī, *Wākāt-i Aẓfarī*, ed. T. Chandrashekharan, Madras 1957, 17). Turkish manuscripts copied in India indicate that Nawā'ī was the most often read author, but contemporary sources remain silent on these rulers' literary activities in Turkish.

The benefits which the Mughal empire could offer in its heyday attracted many immigrants from the neighbouring lands. Soldiers, poets and scholars flocked to Hindūstān to try their luck by entering imperial service or by being employed at one of the numerous noble courts. Many of these came from regions inhabited by Turkish peoples. Though contemporary sources do not devote much space to achievements in Turkish, their references being random, it is still possible to draw a fairly detailed picture of those persons who cultivated Turkish.

The brother of the historian Bāyazīd Bayāt, Shāh-

berdī, writing under the pseudonym Sakkā Čaghatay (d. ca. 1558) composed poetry in Turkish. Mīr Muḥammad, the brother-in-law of Akbar's wet-nurse, Dīdji-anagā, was a renowned art lover who not only supported poets but also composed verses both in Persian and Turkish under the *takhalluṣ* "Ghaznawī". He is supposed to have written a great number of poems, but nothing has so far been found from his oeuvre. Well known is the poetic achievement of the Turkmen statesman Bayrām Khān [q.v.], whose Persian and Turkish *diwān* has been published. His son, 'Abd al-Rahīm Khān, Khān-i Khānān [q.v.], following his father's footsteps, acted as both a generous patron of outstanding literary talents and a dedicated poet who was able to compose poetry in several languages including various dialects of Turkish. The *mushā'iras* [q.v.], meetings of poets organised at his court, were attended by poets who excelled in Turkish poetry as well. Reference should be made here to Kalb-i 'Alī, a Turkmen from the Bahārī tribe, Siyānī Hamadānī, or the Aleppo-born Turkish poet Darwīsh Mithlī. Though their complete poetical works do not seem to have survived, a few of their couplets in Turkish are preserved in our sources.

One of the most honoured poets of the 17th century, Mīrzā Sā'ib Tabrīzī [q.v.] who received the title of *malik al-shu'arā'* or laureate from Shāh 'Abbās II, was also attracted to the Mughal court. He is famous for his Persian poetry that set a trend which was followed even in Ottoman Turkey, but one should not forget that he was an equally gifted poet in Turkish. This side of his poetic talent almost faded into oblivion because only a handful of the manuscripts of his Persian *diwān* contain Turkish pieces. At some point during the reign of Awrangzīb, there migrated to Hindūstān Ḥusayn Farīdūn Isfahānī, whose Persian *diwān* has preserved a couple of Turkish lines as well. Dīwālī Singh (d. 1896) a well-known poet and a great stylist in Persian, became famous under his *takhalluṣ* "Katīl". Following the practice of members of the Mughal élite in the 17th-18th centuries, he also learnt Turkish and wrote two short stories in this tongue. His famous work on Persian style titled *Čār sharbat* contains a sketchy Turkish grammar explained in Persian.

In a multi-ethnic society like India, it is not considered an extraordinary feat if someone learns several languages, but even in such an environment the achievements of Inshā-allāh Khān "Inshā" [q.v.] earned him fame. Born to a family of Turkish immigrants from Nadjaf, he not only spoke Arabic, Persian, Urdu, Kashmīrī, Purbi, Pashto and Turkish but was also able to compose poetry in these tongues. His Turkish output consists of a couple of *kasīdas*, *mukhammas*, a few *bayts* in his *Shikār-nāma* and a prose diary entitled *Turkī rūznāmā*. One of his most intimate friends and fellow poet was Sa'adat-yār Khān "Rangīn" [q.v.], whose father Ṭahmāsp Beg Khān I'tikād-Djāng arrived in India with the army of Nādir Shāh and later wrote his memoirs, the *Ahmad-nāma*. Rangīn spent most of his life in Lucknow in the service of Mīrzā Sulaymān-Shukūh. His works in Turkish includes a Turkish-Urdu vocabulary titled *Nisāb-i turkī* and a few Turkish lines in his *Maḥmūd'a-yi Rangīn*.

It should be noted, however, that contemporary chronicles and *tadhkiras* are full of references to poets of Turkish origin whose literary achievements in their mother-tongue have not yet come to light. There is further the fact that libraries, mainly throughout the former British Indian Empire, preserve manuscripts written in or on Turkish whose authors are either



not mentioned in historical sources or literary anthologies, or even when contemporary records provide some information on them, their knowledge of Turkish is not mentioned. One should mention here Kaplan Beg, Yolkūlī Beg “Anīsī” Shāmlū, Mullā Shaydā’ī Tekkelū, Ustād Mirzā ‘Alī Kīpčākī and also Pīr Muḥammad “Aghar Khān” an Uzbek from the Aghar tribe who distinguished himself in the wars of Awrangzīb’s reign. He composed verses filling a full *diwān* that is preserved in an Indian institution, but contemporary sources remain silent on his contribution to Indo-Turkish literature.

Beside being a medium for artistic expression Turkish was also used for more mundane purposes in Mughal India up to the 19th century, as a language quite common in court circles, in the army and in diplomatic correspondence, mainly with Russia and the Ottoman Empire.

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AL-ṬŪSĪ, ‘ALĀ’ AL-DĪN ‘ALĪ b. Muḥammad, important religious scholar of the 9th/15th century. He grew up in Iran (in Samarkand, according to al-Suyūṭī [q.v.]), where he also finished his studies. During the reign of the Ottoman Sultan Murād II [q.v.] (probably in the second phase of his rule, i.e. between 850/1446 and 855/1451), he came to Anatolia and was appointed as a teacher at the *madrasa al-sultāniyya* in Bursa [q.v.]. After the conquest of Constantinople in 1453, Meḥmed II [q.v.] assigned him to a professorship, first in Istanbul, afterwards in Edirne [q.v.]. It was around this time that the contest between al-Ṭūsī and Khodja-zāde [q.v.] took place. Both had been summoned by the sultan to compose a work of advice on the famous discussion between al-Ghazālī [q.v.] and the philosophers. A jury classified al-Ṭūsī’s treatise as the one of lesser interest. As a consequence, he renounced his academic post in Edirne and returned, via Tabriz [q.v.], to Samarkand. He is said to have returned there to live as a Šūfī, allegedly under the guidance of ‘Ubayd Allāh Ahrār [see AHRĀR, KHĀDĪJA ‘UBAYD ALLĀH, in Suppl.]. He is reported to have died in Samarkand in 877/1472 (according to al-Suyūṭī) or in 887/1482 (according to

Tāshköprüzāde and Hādjīdī Khalīfa [q.v.]).

Notwithstanding the above-mentioned failure, recorded in several sources, al-Ṭūsī was able to compose a considerable number of scientific works. As was the case with many scholars of the 9th/15th century, al-Ṭūsī’s writings deal with the various disciplines that were taught at the *madrasa* [q.v.]. His works can be divided into the following categories:

Kur’ān exegesis: superglosses on the glosses of al-Djurdjānī [q.v.] on the *al-Kaṣhshāf* of al-Zamakhsharī [q.v.];

Fikḥ: glosses on the commentary of al-Taftāzānī [q.v.] on al-Maḥbūbī’s *Tawḍīḥ*, and also glosses on the commentary of al-Idjī [q.v.] on the *Mukhtaṣar muntahā al-si’āl* of Ibn al-Hādhib [q.v.];

Kalām: glosses on al-Djurdjānī’s commentary on al-Idjī’s *al-Mawākif* as well as on al-Djurdjānī’s commentary on al-Idjī’s *al-Akā’id*;

Logic and philosophy: superglosses on al-Djurdjānī’s glosses on Kutb al-Dīn al-Tahtānī’s commentary on Sirāj al-Dīn al-Urmawī’s *Maṭālīf al-anwār fi ‘l-mantiq*, as well as the above-mentioned treatise on the discussion between al-Ghazālī and the philosophers, which has become known under the title *al-Dhakhīra* (fi ‘l-muḥākama bayna al-Ghazālī wa ‘l-hukamā’).

Several of these texts have survived in manuscript (see Brockelmann, II², 261-2, S II 279, 292a). So far, however, only the *Dhakhīra* has appeared in print (Haydarābād 1899; recently also under the title *Tahāfut al-falāsifa*, ed. R. Sa’āda, Beirut 1990; cf. the Turkish translation by R. Duran, Ankara 1990). The work shows that al-Ṭūsī, following al-Ghazālī, tried to combine classical doctrines of Sunnī theology with philosophical concepts. Among other things, he underlines that the rules of logic and the results of mathematics and astronomy are incontestable; should the statements of revelation be in contradiction with them, they must be interpreted allegorically. In the doctrine on the soul, too, al-Ṭūsī is a representative of philosophical notions (the soul lives on after death; spiritual enjoyments have precedence over physical pleasures, in both this world and the hereafter). In the question of causality, on the contrary, he insists that the occasionalistic theory of the early Ash‘arī theologians is correct.

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(U. RUDOLPH)



U

‘UBAYD ALLĀH SULTĀN KHĀN, ruler in Transoxania of the Uzbeks or Özbegs [*q.v.*] 940-6/1533-9.

He was the son of Maḥmūd Sultān, son of Shāh-Būdāgh, son of the founder of the Uzbek confederacy, Abu ‘l-Khayr Khān, a descendant of Čingiz Khān’s grandson Shībān (hence the epithet “Shībānī,” or “Shaybānī” [see *SHĪBĀNĪDS*]). During his youth, ‘Ubayd Allāh accompanied his uncle Muḥammad Shībānī Khān (r. 905-16/1500-10) on his sweeping victories over the Tīmūrids throughout Central Asia and Khurāsān in order to re-establish Čingizid rule in the area. On 7 Muḥarram 913/19 May 1507 the Uzbek forces under ‘Ubayd Allāh and Temūr Sultān defeated the Tīmūrids outside Harāt. As a victory prize, ‘Ubayd Allāh was given in marriage Mihrangiz Begim, a daughter of Muẓaffar-Ḥusayn Mirzā, who shared the throne of Harāt with his brother Badī’ al-Zamān Mirzā after the death of their father, Sultān-Ḥusayn Mirzā, in 912/1506. With the consolidation of his rule over Khurāsān and Central Asia, Muḥammad Shībānī Khān appointed ‘Ubayd Allāh as governor of Bukhārā.

In Radjab 917/October 1511, Bābur [*q.v.*] re-occupied Samarkand, his ancestral capital, with the help of the Šafawid Shāh Ismā‘īl I [*q.v.*]. The Uzbeks were not slow to retaliate, and in Safar 918/April 1512 Bābur launched an ill-prepared attack on the Uzbeks under ‘Ubayd Allāh at Kōl-i Malik near Bukhārā, and although Bābur had been winning, suddenly “through the machinations of heaven, the evil eye struck” and Bābur lost. After the battle he left Transoxania forever. On 3 Ramaḍān 918/12 November 1512, ‘Ubayd Allāh defeated the Šafawid general Naḍīm-i Thānī (Amīr Yār-Aḥmad Iṣfahānī) at the Battle of Gizhduvan (*Ghūjdūwān*). The next winter, Shāh Ismā‘īl returned to western Persia to deal with incursions by the Ottoman Sultan Selīm I, and Kāsim Khān of the Kīrghīz-Kazakhs returned to Siberia to tend to his realm, leaving the Uzbeks a free hand in Central Asia. That winter ‘Ubayd Allāh took Hissar, to the north of the upper Oxus, from the Moghuls. In 920/1514 the Uzbeks headed for Andizhān, where the Moghul Sultān-Sa‘īd Khān was. Since by then Bābur had withdrawn to Kābul, the khān went to Kāshghar, leaving Hissar to fall to the Uzbeks.

‘Ubayd Allāh became the khān of the Shībānids in 940/1533, although, as Mirzā Haydar reports, “from the year 911 [1505] until the end of the reign of the latter khāns, it was really he who had conducted the affairs of the Shībānids, and had he accepted to be khān, no-one would really have opposed him; nonetheless, he maintained the ancient custom and let the office of khān be given to whoever was the eldest—until after Abū Sa‘īd Khān, when there was no one older than him” (*Tārīkh-i-Rashīdī*, 181-2). During his ascendancy, six advances were made against Khurāsān. In 930/1523 there was an abortive siege of Harāt. In 932/1525 Mashhad was taken, and ‘Ubayd Allāh proceeded to Astarābād and drove the governor out. Astarābād was given to ‘Ubayd Allāh’s son ‘Abd al-‘Azīz, but he could not hold out against

Šafawid reinforcements and had finally to abandon the territory. When the Uzbeks advanced on Khurāsān the third time, they clashed with the Šafawid army at Saru Kamīsh near Djām on 10 Muḥarram 935/24 September 1528, and although the battle was going badly against the Šafawids, they managed to turn it into a resounding defeat of the Uzbeks. An eyewitness account of this battle is included in Bābur’s memoirs (*Bābur-nāma*, fol. 354), where it is incorrectly recorded that ‘Ubayd Allāh was killed. The fifth invasion of Khurāsān was launched in 937/1530-1, but the Uzbeks again pulled out when Shāh Tahmāsp I advanced on them and entered Harāt on 22 Djumādā II 939/19 January 1533. The sixth and last invasion was made in 942/1535, when the Uzbeks again took Mashhad. Harāt was evacuated by the Uzbeks in Shābān 943/January 1537 and re-occupied by the Šafawids under the command of Khudābanda and Muḥammad Khān Sharaf al-Dīn-oghlu Takālū.

In 945/1538-9, ‘Ubayd Allāh’s forces occupied Khārazm, but subsequently they were dealt a crushing defeat by Dīn-Muḥammad Khān, another Čingizid descendant with whom Shāh Tahmāsp had formed an alliance and to whom he had given the territory of Nasā and Abīward. Returning to Bukhārā in 946/153, “in answer to the cries of the oppressed, ‘Ubayd Allāh took to his bed, overtaken by a severe illness, and while pining for Harāt and yearning to stroll along the banks of the Mālān Bridge, he hastened to the next world, and the residents of Khurāsān were released from the oppression and cruelty of that heathen butcher” (Iskandar Beg, *T-i ‘Ālam-ārā*, 66). He left two sons, ‘Abd al-‘Azīz and Muḥammad-Rahīm Sultān, but the khānate went to ‘Abd Allāh Khān; the son of ‘Ubayd Allāh’s predecessor, Kūčūm Khān, although ‘Abd al-‘Azīz continued to rule autonomously in Bukhārā. A valuable eyewitness accounts of events in Bukhārā, Samarkand and Tashkent during ‘Ubayd Allāh’s reign is Zayn al-Dīn Maḥmūd Wāsiṭi’s *Badāyi’ al-wakāyi’*.

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(W.M. THACKSTON)

‘UKALĀ’ AL-MADJĀNĪN (أ.), “wise fools”, a general denomination for individuals whose actions contradict social norms, while their utterances are regarded as wisdom. It is not altogether clear whether or not wise fools were particularly numerous in the early ‘Abbāsīd period. At any rate, several authors of classical Arabic literature have treated the phenomenon in specific works that belong to the literary genre dealing with unusual classes of people, such as the blind or misers. While the first collection devoted specifically to wise fools was apparently a work written by al-Madā‘īnī (d. 228/843 [*q.v.*]), the only surviving work is the *Kutāb ‘Ukalā’ al-madjānīn*

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by Abu ‘l-Kāsim al-Ḥasan b. Muḥammad al-Naysābūrī (d. 406/1015 [q.v.]) (ed. ‘Umar al-As‘ad, Beirut 1407/1987).

Al-Naysābūrī, while drawing upon earlier authors such as al-Djāhīz (d. 255/868 [q.v.]) or Ibn Abī ‘l-Dunyā (d. 281/894 [q.v.]), introduces his subject from a theological point of view. For him, God has created the world in splendour and incapacity at the same time: good is blended with evil, and health with illness. In this way, madness, even though apparently a contradiction to God’s benevolence, is a perfectly normal constituent of the human condition. In the following, the author discusses the terms used to denote madness, besides classifying different connotations of madness, such as *ahmak*, *ma’tūh*, *mamsūs*, *mamrūr*, etc. The main part of his work is devoted to anecdotes about specific characters known as wise fools. He begins with Uways al-Karanī [q.v.], Madjñūn [q.v.], Sa’dūn and Buhlūl [q.v.], all of whom share a relatively ascertained historical existence. After these, al-Naysābūrī lists a large number of tales about other, less popular wise fools, details about whose lives become progressively more limited. The names he mentions include ‘Ulayyān, Abu ‘l-Dīk, ‘Abd al-Rahmān b. al-Ash‘ath, Abū Sa‘īd al-Dab‘ī, Dju‘ayfirān and many others; the final chapters of his work deal with Bedouin (including Imru’ al-Kays [q.v.] and Habannaka), women, and anonymous persons.

Though each of the characters known as wise fools behaved in an individual manner, several traits were germane to all or most of them (Dols 1992, 349-65): wise fools were indifferent to appearance, often walking around naked or half-clad; they were oblivious to social conventions such as greeting or paying respect; they were ascetics, living on charity and not caring for worldly possessions; they lived in the streets of the cities without any specific abode, while their favourite place of residence was the cemetery. Those of the wise fools whose actions were considered harmful to society were held in hospitals. Wise fools would constantly remind their fellow citizens, particularly the powerful, of their worldliness and vanity, quoting pious verses and admonishing them with stories or allegories alluding to the hereafter; some of them even acted as unofficial preachers. In particular, their quality as free-wheeling admonishers makes the Islamic wise fools appear as precursors of the mediaeval European phenomenon of the court fool (Mezger 1991). Hence it is not surprising to see Buhlūl, who in later tradition all over the Islamic world was to become the stereotypical figure for the character of the wise fool (Marzolph 1983), being listed in European literature as the court fool of Hārūn al-Rashīd (K.F. Flögel, *Geschichte der Hofnarren*, Leipzig 1789, 172 ff.).

Other works of Islamic literature, while more or less drawing upon the same data, interpreted the phenomenon in various directions. Ibn al-Djawzī (d. 597/1200 [q.v.]) in his *K. Šifat al-safwa*, regards the wise fools as important figures in the early history of Sūfism (Dols 1992, 376), and Ibn al-‘Arabī (d. 638/1240 [q.v.]) in his *al-Futūḥāt al-makkiyya* elevates the holy fools to the position of spiritual leaders (*ibid.*, 408-9). In Persian literature, wise fools figure prominently in the mystical *mathnawīs* of Farīd al-Dīn ‘Attār (d. 617/1220 [q.v.]), for whom the character is licensed to speak his mind in a way beyond that permissible to ordinary human beings (Ritter 1978, 159-80).

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nachtsbrauch, Konstanz 1991; M. Dols, *Majnūn. The madman in medieval Islamic society*, Oxford 1992.

(U. MARZOLPH)

‘UKBARĀ, a town of mediaeval ‘Irāk, lying, in the time of the classical Arabic geographers (3rd-4th/9th-10th centuries) on the left, i.e. eastern, bank of the Tigris, ten *farsakhs* to the north of Baghdād, roughly halfway between the capital and Sāmarrā’.

As Yāqūt noted (*Buldān*, ed. Beirut, iv, 142), the name is originally Aramaic (*šūriyānī*), sc. ‘Okbarā, and the history of the place can be traced back at least to early Sāsānid times. In the reign of the emperor Šhāpūr I (mid-3rd century A.D.), Roman captives were settled there, and by the reign of Khusraw Anūsharwān (mid-6th century A.D.), it was the chief-lieu of the subdistrict (*tassūḍī*) called Buzurdjāsābūr in the *kūra* or province of Khusrāwma (see M.G. Morony, *Iraq after the Muslim conquest*, Princeton 1984, 138-9).

When the Arabs started raiding into Sāsānid ‘Irāk, Khālīd b. al-Walīd in 12/633-4 sent the commander al-Nuṣayr b. Daysam al-‘Idjīlī to the region north of al-Madā’in, and the people of ‘Ukbarā and the nearby Baradān made agreements for *amān* or a peace settlement with the incomers. Thereafter, the town flourished as part of the rich, irrigated agricultural region stretching along the Tigris banks; al-Mukaddasī, 122, praises its fruits, and in particular its grapes, and Ibn Hawkal, ed. Kramers, i, 219, tr. Kramers and Wiet, i, 213, mentions the watermills (*‘urūb*) there, a feature characteristic of the whole river valley between al-Mawṣil and Baghdād (see A. Mez, *Die Renaissance des Islāms*, Heidelberg 1922, 438-9, Eng. tr. Patna 1937, 466-7). The town was large and populous in the 4th/10th century, and a Jewish community there is mentioned in the early 3rd/9th century. But from Saljūq times onwards, mentions of it in the historical and geographical sources dwindle. It appears that the bed of the Tigris above Baghdād began to shift its course, for al-Mas‘ūdī, *Murūḡ*, i, 223, ed. and tr. Pellat, §235, already mentions disputes and lawsuits (*muṭālabāt*) between proprietors along the eastern and western banks. Le Strange noted that the author of the *Marāsid al-iṭtilā’* (ca. A.D. 1300) clearly mentions ‘Ukbarā as by that time standing a considerable distance to the west of the Tigris, the river’s bed having shifted eastwards into the channel then known as al-Shuṭayṭa “the little *shatt*” [q.v.], and the ruins of ‘Ukbarā lie at the present day on the left bank of the old channel of the Tigris (see G. Le Strange, *Description of Mesopotamia and Baghdad written about the year 900 A.D. by Ibn Serapion*, in *JRAS* [1895], 37-9; A. Musil, *The Middle Euphrates, a topographical itinerary*, New York 1927, 137-8).

Al-Sam‘ānī, *K. al-Ansāb*, ed. Haydarābād, ix, 345-8, mentions a considerable number of scholars stemming from ‘Ukbarā, and at a slightly later date, the parents of the Ḥanbalī *fakīh* and philologist ‘Abd Allāh b. al-Husayn al-‘Ukbarī [q.v.] came from the town.

Bibliography: Given in the article; see also Le Strange, *The lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, 50-1.

(C.E. BOSWORTH)

‘UMĀN.

iii. Social structure.

‘Umān is overwhelmingly an Arab, Muslim society, and tribal organisation remains an important element in national identity. The country’s rapid development since 1970 has introduced a measure of physical and social mobility, as well as creating an influx of emigrants.

The migration of Arab tribes into ‘Umān predates Islam, with Kaḥṭānī or South Arabian tribes moving

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along the southern Arabian Peninsula from Yemen into ‘Umān around the 2nd century A.D. They were followed several centuries later by ‘Adnānī or North Arabian tribes who penetrated from the west along the Gulf coast. The Islamisation of ‘Umān resulted in the eviction of the Persianised ruling class stemming from Sāsānid influences and completed the organisation of the tribal framework that continues today.

On the local level, the competition for scarce resources in water and arable land created a mosaic of tribal settlement. Many settlements stretch alongside the courses of *wādīs* and attendant *falādīs* (water channels); frequently the *‘alāya* or upper quarter is inhabited by a tribe in traditional rivalry with another tribe occupying the *siḡāla* or lower quarter. Regionally, a rough balance was obtained through two competing alliances and this balance was replicated on the national level by association with either the Hināwīyya confederation or the opposing Ghāfirīyya confederation. Above these confederations stood the Ibādī imāmate [see IBĀDĪYYA] which served as a supertribal or quasi-national institution. Because the tribal confederations acted principally as balancers of power, membership in one or the other tended to be fluid over time. This has tended to blur earlier tendencies for al-Hināwīyya to consist of Ibādī and ‘Adnānī tribes and al-Ghāfirīyya to consist of Sunnī and Kaḥṭānī tribes.

The power of the Ibādī imāmate derived directly from the personal standing of the *imām*, who was both dependent on the support of the principal *shaykhs* of the major tribes of both confederations for his position and the mediating figure between them and between tribes on the regional and local levels. This system gave enormous power to the leading *shaykhs* who dominated the confederations, and especially powerful *shaykhs* were able to use their power to determine the election of *imāms*. During the second half of the 19th century, the powerful *shaykhly* family of the Hināwī al-Hirṭh tribe of al-Sharkīyya region orchestrated a series of attempts to oust the Al Bū Sa‘īd [q.v.] rulers in Maṣkaṭ in order to restore the imāmate. But by the early 20th century, the head of the Ghāfirī Banū Riyām had become the predominant political figure in the interior, and the imām elected in 1920 came from a Ghāfirī tribe.

The reassertion of sultanate control over interior ‘Umān in the mid-1950s, with the attendant demise of the imāmate, reduced the autonomy of the tribes and restricted the role of the *shaykhs*. For the first time, order and authority was maintained by a permanent army presence and, with a single exception, the *shaykhs* found their responsibilities restricted to leadership of their own tribes. When a new development-minded government appeared as a result of a palace *coup d’état* in 1970, the role of the *shaykhs* was further reduced. The government assumed responsibility for public works and welfare. Social service ministries carried out improvements throughout the country, and a new system of courts and national police usurped many of the traditional functions of the *shaykhs*.

But even though the political power of the tribes has waned considerably since 1970, their social functions remain undiminished. Marriages take place by and large within the tribe, if not within the extended family. The government issues identity cards classifying the holder by tribal membership. Tribesmen seek the assistance of fellow tribesmen in obtaining employment, business help, and resolving problems with the police.

The great majority of the ‘Umānī population is

Arab and either Ibādī or Sunnī Muslim. The more prominent of these two divisions is the Ibādī sect, which, until the second half of the 20th century, provided the national leadership of ‘Umān through an elected *imām*. Perhaps slightly less than half of ‘Umān’s total population is Ibādī, all in the northern half of the country. Sunnīs are thought to form slightly more than half of the ‘Umānī population. While the north contains both Ibādī and Sunnī tribes, the southern province Zafār [q.v.] (Dhofar) is entirely Sunnī. While Sunnī tribes in northern ‘Umān may be Shāfi‘ī or Mālikī, Zafārīs are all Shāfi‘īs. Much of the Sunnī population of Ṣūr and its hinterland is Hanbalī.

There are also several small Shī‘ī communities, mostly located in the capital area of Maṣkaṭ, all of which are Dja‘farī or Twelver. Al-Lawāṭīyya form the largest Shī‘ī community, numbering perhaps 10,000 and traditionally residing in a closed quarter of Maṭrah, Maṣkaṭ’s sister settlement. The community seems to be Indian in origin, and at one time was in close connection with Agha Khānī Ismā‘īlīs, all of whom have since converted or left ‘Umān. The Lawāṭīyya have been settled in Maṭrah for at least three centuries. The Arab Shī‘ī community of al-Baḥārīna, formerly concentrated in Maṣkaṭ itself, is considerably smaller in size and consists of a few families that immigrated to ‘Umān independently of each other. ‘Adjam, people of Persian origin whose arrival in ‘Umān may be supposed to have occurred gradually over the course of centuries, comprises the third Shī‘ī group. Their numbers are similarly small and they appear to be assimilating into broader ‘Umānī society.

The largest non-Arab component of the ‘Umānī population is Balūč, mostly residing along al-Bāṭīna coast of the Gulf of Oman and in the capital area. Often included with the Balūč, but nevertheless distinct, is a smaller group known as al-Zaḍjāl. Maṣkaṭ is also home to a few Hindu families, some of whom can trace back their arrival in ‘Umān approximately a century and a half. Most of these families hold Indian citizenship and form marriages with relations in India.

Arabic is the predominant language of ‘Umān, but nearly a dozen languages are spoken by ‘Umānīs. Balūč undoubtedly produces the second-largest proportion of native speakers. The Zaḍjāl and Lawāṭīyya speak their own languages, both akin to Gujarātī. The long ‘Umānī association with East Africa has resulted in a significant number of ‘Umānīs either born in or formerly resident in Zanzibar and neighbouring African countries. Some of these speak Swahili as their primary language, with English second and Arabic third.

Zafār is distinct from ‘Umān in several respects. Separated by the north by extensive gravel-plain desert, the region traditionally was linked with the Mahra and Ḥaḍramawt regions of Yemen. The widespread Kaḥṭīr tribe is perhaps the most extensive group in the region, with subgroups including nomadic sections on the Naḍjd (the stony inland plain) and three clans that traditionally have been prominent in Ṣalāla, Zafār’s largest settlement and now a small city. Another transhumant section, the Bayt Kaḥṭīr, inhabits a narrow band of mountainous territory.

The other mountain tribes, commonly known as *qibbālīs* and traditionally transhumant as well, occupy similar strip territories, all running perpendicular to the coast and including parts of the coastal plain. These tribes speak a South Arabian language, Ḳarawī, apparently adopted from the indigenous inhabitants whom they conquered some six or more centuries



ago. The latter, al-Shahra, maintain a separate but socially inferior identity.

Mahra tribes are also found in Zafār, mainly camel-herding nomads in either the northeastern Najd or along the Yemen border in the west. Some have established themselves recently on the mountains. In addition to al-Shahra, other *daʿif* or socially inferior peoples are also present in Zafār, amongst them al-Mashāyikh and al-Barāʿima. Šalāla and the smaller coastal towns are also inhabited by mixed-race *bahhārs* and descendants of African slaves. Several small groups speaking South Arabian languages have been pushed out into the deserts northwest of Zafār; among these are al-Baṭāhira, al-Hikmān, and the larger and more important al-Harasīs.

Following the end of the civil war in Zafār in the late 1970s, the region has undergone rapid socio-economic development. Most *qibbālīs* have built permanent homes in the mountains, often clustered in new settlements, and some maintain second homes in Šalāla.

Traditionally, ‘Umān was a rural country, with most of its population scattered in small agricultural settlements or coastal fishing villages. The process of development since 1970, however, has produced considerable urbanisation. The capital region, consisting in 1970 of the twin towns of Maṣkaṭ and Maṭrah with a combined population then of perhaps 25,000, grew to nearly half a million at the beginning of the 21st century. Šalāla’s population grew over the same period to nearly 200,000 and Suhār (on the north-western al-Baṭīna coast), Nizwā (in the interior), and Šūr (near the eastern coastal tip) have become relatively large regional centres.

‘Umānī society is relatively free from social stratification, although members of the ruling Āl Bū Saʿīd family, tribal leaders, religious figures, and wealthy merchants occupy the upper rungs of society. A small middle class has emerged since 1970, but many ‘Umānīs in the Maṣkaṭ region are employed as government employees, soldiers, drivers, and skilled and unskilled labour. The majority of the population outside the capital remains engaged in subsistence agriculture, fishing, or animal husbandry.

The government has used its modest oil revenues to extend roads, electricity, communications, schools, and health-care facilities throughout the country. The country remains dependent on oil income, however, and diversification into natural gas exports and tourism has had limited success. The first university opened in 1986.

Up to 25% of the total population is expatriate, with the greatest numbers coming from south and southeast Asia. While the heaviest concentration is in the capital area, expatriates are dispersed throughout the country and the government periodically has extended bans on expatriate labour to a growing number of occupations in an effort to “Omanise” the labour force and provide employment for a burgeoning indigenous population.

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(J.E. PETERSON)

URA-TEPE (Ūrā-Tīpa, Ūrā-Tīpa), Russian Ura-Tyube, a town and a district on the northern slope of the Turkestan chain, now the town and district of Ūroteppa in Tadjikistān. The town is located in lat. 39° 55' N. and long. 69° 00' E. at 1040 m/3,425 feet above sea level. Lying in the foothills between the steppe plains and the mountains, and on a major route linking Samarkand with Tashkent and the Farghāna valley, the historical Ura-Tepe both connected and separated adjacent ecological and political regions.

The place name, signifying a “high hill” (*ōrā tiibe/tōpā/tepā*) in Kipčak and Čaghatay vernaculars, emerges in the Timūrid period. It is first mentioned in the course of events in early Muḥarram 812/late May 1409 when the royal camp of Shāh Rukh [q.v.] was pitched in the “summer pasture (*yaylāk*) of Ūrā-Tīpa” (‘Abd al-Razzāk Samarkandī, *Maṭlaʾ al-saʿādāy*, ed. M. Shafīʿ, Lahore 1941-9, ii, 141). Several 10th/16th century authorities confirm that the new toponym had come to gradually replace the earlier “Ustrūshana” (Bābur, ed. Mano, 13), “Ūstrūshana” (Muḥammad Ḥaydar, *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, ed. W.M. Thackston, 91), or “Ustrūshana” (Hāfiz-i Tanīsh, *Sharaf-nāma-i shāhī*, ed. Salakhmetdinova, i, fols. 88b; and see USRŪSHANA).

At the turn of the 10th/16th century, the district’s centre was a fortified town (*kūrgān*) surrounded by high walls and a moat, amidst cultivated lands and pastures for horses and sheep (Muḥammad Šālih, *Shībānī-nāma*, ed. and tr. H. Vambéry, 174-9). In 908/1503 the former Timūrid stronghold fell to the Ōzbegs led by Muḥammad Shībānī Khān. During the Shībānī and early Aṣṭarkhānīd periods, the Ura-Tepe district (*wilāyat, kalamrau*) at times was allotted as an individual appanage to ruling princes, and at times it was attached to larger entities, such as Tashkent or Samarkand.

From the middle of the 11th/17th century, the Ōzbeg tribe of the Yūz, established in Ura-Tepe, as well as in Khodjand and Hīṣār (to the north and the south of Ura-Tepe, respectively), came to play an increasingly important political role, which was not strictly confined to the realm of Ura-Tepe.

One line of Yūz chiefs can be traced back to Bākī Biy Yūz, who around 1641-4 served as chief military and administrative adviser (*atālik*) to an Aṣṭarkhānīd prince (i.e. Bahrām Sulṭān b. Nadr Muḥammad Khān) ruling at Tashkent. Bākī Biy’s grandson, Muḥammad Rahīm Biy Yūz (b. Ghāzī Biy), who held Ura-Tepe in 1091/1680 and 1105/1693-4, proved to be loyal to the Bukhāran court, at a time when another leading figure of the Yūz joined a rebellion (Mukhtarov, *Materiali*, 24, 29). Subsequently, Muḥammad Rahīm was named governor (*hākīm*) of Samarkand. In 1114/1702, when he was further raised to the rank of an *atālik* and “Pillar of the Amirs” (*umdat al-umarāʾ*), one of Muḥammad Rahīm’s major assets was said to be his prestige among the warlike tribes of “Andigān, Khodjand, Āk-Kūtal and Tashkent, up to the regions of Sayrām, Turkistān and Ulugh-Tāgh”, which enabled him to provide auxiliaries for the Bukhāran rulers (Muḥammad Amīn Bukhārī, *‘Ubayd Allāh-nāma*, ms. Tashkent, no. 1532, fols. 20b, 28b, tr. Semenov, 34-5, 43-4). While Muḥammad Rahīm reached the zenith of his career, his son, Muḥammad Akbūta Biy, followed his father’s footsteps in Ura-Tepe and Khodjand, where he ruled from 1113/1701 up to 1144/1731

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(Mukhtarov, *op. cit.*, 33-9). Sometime between 1731 and 1734, he was killed by a Ming chief of the expanding *Khokand* state [*q.v.*].

A second line of *Yüz* chiefs emerges with Muḥammad Fāḍil Biy (b. Šādik Biy). Fāḍil Beg Yüz was one of the commanders of the Bukhāran army that surrendered to Nādir Shāh in 1153/1740. Subsequently, he guided a Nādirid military campaign against "the rebellious *Yüz* and Ming tribes seated in the mountain and on the banks of the *Sir-Daryā*" (Muḥammad Kāzim, *Ālam-ārā-yi nādirī*, ed. Riyāhī, ii, 790, 802, 819). While ruling in Ura-Tepe, Fāḍil Biy supported the *Khokand* chief 'Abd al-Karīm Biy against the Kalmāks (Muḥammad Ḥakīm Khān, *Muntakhab al-tawārīkh*, ii, 378), i.e. the *Djunghars*, who repeatedly invaded *Khokand* between 1153/1740 and 1158/1745 (Moiseev 1991, 162-3, 167, 173; Nabiev, 14). His own decrees, issued upon the order of an unnamed khān, confirm Fāḍil Biy's rule over Ura-Tepe in 1164/1750-1 and 1187/1774-5 (Mukhtarov, *op. cit.*, 40, 42). Under Fāḍil Biy, one of the most stubborn opponents of the rising Manghit dynasty of Bukhārā, Ura-Tepe turned into a strong and nearly independent statelet dominating neighbouring territories such as *Khodjand*, *Djizzāk*, and even Samarkand. Around 1780, however, when the town with four gates was under Fāḍil Biy's son Muḥammad Khudāyār, the ruler's authority was confined to the environment of the town (Yefremov, 114). In 1800, Khudāyār's son Beg-Murād Biy, having ruled less than a year, was deposed by the ruler of Bukhārā Shāh Murād.

In the 19th century, Ura-Tepe lost its independence and became a disputed border area between Bukhārā and *Khokand*. From 1800 to 1866, the two rival states launched dozens of military campaigns into Ura-Tepe, where more than twenty governors succeeded each other. Both sides often chose *Yüz* representatives as local governors, such as Muḥammad

Rahīm Parwānācī b. Muḥammad Khudāyār, who ruled in 1234/1818 (Mukhtarov, *op. cit.*, 56).

When Filipp Nazarov visited Ura-Tepe in 1814, it had recently been taken by *Khokand*. He observed that the town "is very large and surrounded by two high walls, separated from each other by a deep moat; openings made in these walls allow the use of fire-arms, if need be. This town is densely populated, the streets are narrow, and the houses built of clay. There are manufacturing factories producing goat wool shawls. The inhabitants trade with the Turcomans, the Persians and the Arab nomads who are subjects of Bukhārā" (Nazarov, 65-6).

On 2 October 1866, the Imperial Russian army conquered the town. Having been ceded by the Bukhāran *amīr* to Russia in 1868, Ura-Tepe became part of the *Khodjand uyezd*. The population of Ura-Tepe at that time was variously estimated to be between 10 and 15,000 people. There were 854 shops of artisans and traders in the town. When the Soviet Republic of Tadjikistān was founded in 1929, Ura-Tepe was its second largest city after *Khodjand*. In the decade 1976-85 there were ca. 38,000 inhabitants in the town and 143,000 inhabitants in the district (*Entsiklopediiai sovetii tojik*, viii, Dushanbe 1988, 339). By a presidential decree of 10 November 2000, the town has been officially renamed Istravshan.

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(W. HOLZWARTH)

W

WADD, a god of pre-Islamic Arabia, mentioned in the Qur'an in a speech of Noah: "They have said: Forsake not your gods. Forsake not Wadd, nor Suwā', nor Yaghūth, Ya'ūk and Nasr!" (LXXI, 22/23).

Traditionists and commentators have exercised their ingenuity in the pursuit of the identity of Wadd, but their quest has not been very productive. In his "Book of the Idols" (*Kitāb al-Aṣnām*, §§ 7c, 9d, 45c, 49c-51b), Ibn al-Kalbī (d. 204/819 or 206/821) considers that Wadd was a divinity of the tribe of Kalb at Dumat al-Djandal, the great oasis of north-western Arabia (on the composition of *Kitāb al-Aṣnām*, see Hawting, *The idea of idolatry*, 88-9).

At first sight, the information supplied by Ibn al-Kalbī regarding this god is exceptionally precise. He invokes the direct testimony of Mālik b. Ḥāritha al-Adjdārī (collected apparently by his father Muḥammad al-Kalbī, d. 146/763: see § 51b), according to which the statue of the god represented a man of great height, dressed, armed with a sword, a bow and a lance. In his youth, Mālik is said to have been instructed by his father to offer milk to Wadd (§ 49f).

The statue was allegedly destroyed by Khālīd b. al-Walīd after the expedition of Tabūk (§§ 49f, 50a-d, 51a). The *nisba* al-Adjdārī associates Mālik with the Banu 'Amir al-Adjdār, one of the two clans (with the Banū 'Abd Wadd) that opposed the destruction of the statue (§ 50b).

Ibn al-Kalbī also seeks to explain how it was that mankind, monotheistic at the time of creation, came to worship such a multiplicity of divinities. For his purposes, he supposes that originally Wadd was a devout man; after his death, he was commemorated by a statue, then promoted to the rank of intercessor in the presence of God. It was the Flood which would have brought his idol into Arabia, near *Djudda*; there it was said to have been found by 'Amr b. Luḥayy who is supposed to have entrusted it to the tribe of Kalb (§§ 45c-47b).

Ancient Arabian nomenclature recognised two theophoric forms involving Wadd: 'Abd Wadd (Caskel 1966, ii, 133, nine entries, divided between various tribes of South and North, including one for Kalb), and Wahab Wadd (Abdallah 1975, 76, one instance in the genealogies of Ḥimyar).

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The data supplied by Tradition hardly accord with those of pre-Islamic inscriptions. According to the latter, Wadd (*Wd* or *Wd'*), who is an important divinity in southern Arabia, is almost unknown in the rest of Arabia. It is in the kingdom of Ma'in (capital Karnaw, *Kmw*, today Ma'in, in the Djawf of the Yemen) that Wadd occupies the most eminent position: he is one of the divinities of the official pantheon, always included in invocations. He had a temple at Yathill (*Yl*, today Barākiṣh) (*M* 244 = *RES* 3019/1) and another in the Minaean colony of Dedan (today al-'Ulā) in the north of the Hijāz (*M* 356 = *RES* 3695/2). A clan of Yathill (the Banū *Dmr*) considers itself the "clients of Wadd^{um} Shahrān ('*dm Wd* "hr") (*M* 222 = *RES* 2999/2). Finally, the permanent river that irrigates the Djawf bears his name: (*hr*) *ḡyl Wd* "(Hirran), torrent of Wadd" (Ma'in 1 = *M* 29 = *RES* 2774/6; Ma'in 13 = *M* 43 = *RES* 2789/5; Shaqab 1/11).

The god Wadd was also venerated at Saba' where, not far from Ma'rib, a small temple was dedicated to him, and in the Sabaeen tribes of the environs of Ṣan'a' (Schmidt 1982, 1987; Müller 1982, 1987). In the kingdom of Awsān, based around the Wādī Markha, one of the sovereigns, Yaṣḍuḳ'il Farī^{um} Sharah'at, son of Ma'add'il Salhīn (*Yṣḍk'l Fr'm 'rh't bn M'd'l S'lhn*) alleged that the god Wadd was his father; he is the only South Arabian sovereign to have claimed such divine parentage; and the only one to be honoured by statues, like a god, in the Ni'mān (*N'm*) temple which was dedicated to Wadd. This sovereign probably dates from the 1st century A.D., judging by the foreign influences shown by his statue (preserved in the Museum of Aden) and by the script of his inscriptions (*CIAS* F58/s4/49.10 no. 3; 49.10/o1 no. 2; Louvre 90).

To protect persons and property, the South Arabians made use of the formula "Wadd is father" (*Wdm 'b'*, with variants), which is found on amulets (Louvre 186) and on numerous buildings. It is an interesting fact that this apotropaic formula is more widely diffused than the cult of Wadd; it is found in all the regions of southern Arabia and on the Arabian shore of the Arabo-Persian Gulf (Robin 1994, 85).

South Arabian nomenclature includes a number of theophoric anthroponyms composed with Wadd: these are most notably *'grwd*, *Bnwd*, *Hufwd*, *M'rwed*, *N'mwed*, *'rhwd*, *Whbwed*, *Wd'b*, *Wd'l* or *Zydwed*.

The god Wadd is not attested in Nabataean inscriptions, not even in nomenclature. In Safaitic, anthroponyms such as *Wd'l* do not necessarily imply the existence of a god name Wadd, since the radical *w* can have the sense of "love, affection". At Dedan, finally, the god Wadd seems to be known, according to JS lih. 49/1-9: "Abdwadd priest of Wadd and his sons Salām and Zēdwadd have dedicated... to dhu-Ghabāt..." (*'bdwd 'fkl Wd w-bn-h Slm w-Zdwed hwdqw... l-d-Ḡbt...*)—with two theophoric forms with Wadd and the title "priest of Wadd". It may be noted, however, that except for this text, Wadd is almost unknown (see the theophoric *bnwd* in AH 11 and possibly 1); one may therefore wonder if the author of JS 49 did not come from the Yemen.

Inscriptions do not confirm the opinion of Hishām Ibn al-Kalbī, who sites the cult of Wadd at Dūmat al-Djandal: mentioned there are *Lh*, *Dtn*, *Rdw*, *'trsm* and *Nhy* [see THAMUDIC], but not this god. This is not enough to lead to the conclusion that Ibn al-Kalbī made a mistake, or relayed a tendentious tradition, but a degree of doubt is permissible. Furthermore it is not impossible that the idol of

Dūmat al-Djandal may have borne a name resembling Wadd and that the traditionists were confused. Conversely, the god Wadd enjoyed great popularity in Yemen, a fact totally ignored by Tradition. This would seem to prove that Ibn al-Kalbī was ill-informed and that his principal source was indeed the Qur'anic text.

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WĀDĪ LAKKU, a river of the Iberian peninsula, on the banks of which the decisive encounter took place between Ṭāriḳ b. Ziyād [*q.v.*], the first Muslim conqueror of the Iberian peninsula, and Roderic, the last Visigothic king, on 28 Ramaḍān 92/19 July 711.

Identification of the toponym is difficult on account of the lack of clarity of the Arabic language sources. On the one hand, all do not give the same variant of the name: Wādī Lakku, or perhaps Wādī Lagu (the hard *g* sound being conventionally represented in mediaeval script by a *kāf*, surmounted by a *shadda*, which can be pronounced *kku* or *gu*), Wādī Lakka or Wādī Bakka—while on the other hand they sometimes



give a different name to this battle: the battle of Faḥṣ *Sharīḥ* ("plain of Jerez"), al-Sawākī ("the canals"), Kardādjanna (Cartagena), Wādī Umm Ḥakīm, al-Buḥayra ("the lake": Laguna de la Janda?), Wādī 'l-Ṭīn, al-Djazīra, etc. (cf. J. Vallvé, *La Cora de Tudmir*, in *And.*, xxxvii [1972], 146 n. 3), although it is the form of Wādī Lakku, the phonetic origin of the Spanish Guadalete, which appears most often. In the Romance transcriptions of the Arabic name one also encounters Guadalac, Guadalec, Guadalete or Guadalete. The intermingling of geographical and historical sources does not permit precise localisation of the site of the encounter, on account of the lack of clarity and above all the numerous contradictions which characterise these texts.

For example, the geographer al-Zuhrī (6th/12th century) states that the Wādī Lakka is a river forty parasangs in length which descends from the mountains of Tākūrūnna to discharge into the Atlantic Ocean (*Djaghāfiya*, 167). Furthermore he asserts "on the basis of what is said by the Christians in their chronicles", that the inhabitants of Cadix drink the water of a great river called Wādī Lakka, spanned by a bridge of thirty arches (*ibid.*, 218). This river is said to have flowed into the ocean at a place known as Shant Bāṭaru. For al-Rāzī, quoted by al-Makkārī, the battle allegedly took place on the banks of the Wādī Lakka, the river into which the last Visigothic king, Roderic, was supposedly thrown, in armour, to disappear there without trace (Makkārī, *Analectes*, i, 162). Ibn 'Idhārī also quotes al-Rāzī (*Bayān*, ii, 10). In the 6th/12th century, al-Idrīsī refers in his geography to the locality of Bakka, a possible variant of Lakka, in the district, or *iklim*, of al-Buḥayra, a stretch of water identified by R. Dozy as being the Laguna de la Janda (al-Idrīsī, *Description*, 174, tr. 208). According to the notice which al-Himyarī devotes to this locality, at the start of the 8th/14th century (*Rawd al-miṭar*, no. 159), Lakku, the ruins of which were said to have survived until his time, was an ancient city boasting "one of the best thermal springs in al-Andalus". It was on the banks of the river flowing through the city that the encounter took place between the Christians (*aḥqām*) of Roderic and the Muslim contingents of Ṭāriq b. Ziyād. This locality of Lakku would correspond to Bolonia, the ancient Baelo, and the Wādī Lakku to Guadalete or to Rio Barbate. The author states (no. 186) that the encounter between Ṭāriq b. Ziyād, the freedman of Ibn Nuṣayr, with Roderic, sovereign of al-Andalus and last king of the Goths, allegedly took place on the Wādī Lakku, in the territory of Algeciras, on the southern coast of al-Andalus.

This is why the exact placing of the encounter between Ṭāriq and Roderic remains uncertain, and why historians, starting with Gayangos, Dozy, Lafuente Alcántara, Simoney and Saavedra in the 19th century, have discussed at length its precise location. For some, like Dozy and Lévi-Provençal, Wādī Lakku denoted the Laguna de la Janda, source of the Rio Barbate; for others, the place in question was the banks of the Guadalete, between Medina Sidonia, Arcos and Jerez de la Frontera, in the territory of Cadix. Others tend towards the Rio Salado, a small coastal river which has its estuary close to the village of Conil.

Whatever the precise location, the majority of mediaeval Muslim sources concur in situating this battle on the banks of a watercourse (*wādī*, *nahr*) of the *kūra* of Shadhūna (Medina Sidonia). In Rajab 92/May 711, on the orders of his master, the Umayyad governor of Ifrīkiya, Mūsā b. Nuṣayr, Ṭāriq is said to

have embarked with 7,000 Berbers (Matghāra, Madyūna, Miknāsa and Nawāra) and a few Arabs (ranging between a dozen and several hundreds, according to the sources). Arriving at the foot of Mount Calpe (the future Djabal Ṭāriq, Gibraltar), Ṭāriq repulsed Theodemir, the Visigothic governor of the region, who appealed to his king, Roderic (710-11), occupied in the north of the Iberian peninsula in suppressing an uprising. The latter made haste towards Cordova. Learning of the arrival of the Visigothic troops, Ṭāriq called for reinforcements from Mūsā, who sent him an extra 5,000 Berber soldiers. The total strength of his army thus rose to 12,000 fighters, most of them foot-soldiers, not counting certain partisans of Akhila, the dispossessed son of Witiza, the preceding Visigothic king (700-10). Ṭāriq decided to halt in the region of Algeciras and there to await the Visigothic army on the banks of the Rio Barbate, Guadalete, Salado or the Laguna de la Janda.

Although superior in numbers (the sources speak of between 40,000 and 100,000 Christians), Roderic's troops, confident of victory, were defeated. According to some authors, both wings of the Visigothic army were commanded by partisans, or actual brothers of Akhila, and at the start of the engagement, they changed sides. Roderic, in the centre, resisted, but was ultimately forced to retreat, and his troops were cut to pieces by the Muslims. According to al-Rāzī, quoted by Ibn 'Idhārī (*Bayān*, ii, 10, tr. 13) and by al-Makkārī (*Analectes*, i, 163) the battle lasted a whole week, from 28 Ramaḍān to 5 Shawwāl 92/19 to 26 July 711. Captives of all social conditions were taken: nobles, plebeians and slaves, recognisable respectively by their gold, silver and leather rings (al-Himyarī, *Rawd al-miṭar*, 204). According to certain sources, Roderic lost his life in the battle and Ṭāriq sent his head to Mūsā b. Nuṣayr; according to others, he succeeded in escaping. The victory for Muslim arms opened the gates of the Iberian peninsula.

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WAHM.

2. In mysticism.

In the doctrinal texts of Muslim mysticism, the term *wahm* can appear with either the general sense of "illusory, uncertain personal conjecture" or the more precise sense of "estimative faculty" acquired through the intermediary of Hellenistic philosophy and medicine. However, in the context of the description of spiritual progress, it takes on specific connotations: it denotes a natural faculty of comprehension capable of giving sense only to sensible phenomena, inclined towards anthropomorphism (*tashbīh*) in religious matters and unsuited to the perception of the divine: "Imagination (*wahm*) is a cloud of dust between intelligence (*ʿaql*) and profound comprehension (*fahm*). It relates neither to intelligence, of which it is not an attribute, nor to comprehension, nothing in which corresponds to any of its attributes (...). It resembles the drowsiness between deep sleep and waking, which is



being neither asleep nor awake. Waking, it is the transition between intelligence and comprehension, and comprehension and intelligence, without there being any fog of obscurity between the two" (Ibrāhīm al-Khawwās, quoted by al-Sarrādj, *K. al-Lum'a*, ed. A.H. Maḥmūd and T.'A.B. Surūr, Cairo 1960, 298; and R. Gramlich, *Schlaglichter über das Sufitum*, Stuttgart 1990, 345). It is in this sense that al-Hallādj declares in a celebrated poem: "No estimation (*wahm*) could relate to the subject of You, in such a way that in imagination it could be decided where You are!" (*K. al-Tawāsīn*, ed. P. Nwyia, v, 11-12). And subsequently, evoking the spiritual *mi'rāq*, he writes: "Overturn your discourse, abandon conjectures (*al-awhām*), pick up your feet behind and before!" (*ibid.*, v, 21).

While imagination is a natural faculty, sometimes useful for meditation (see al-Muḥāsibī, *K. al-Tawāḥḥum*), it needs to be mastered and left behind. More profoundly still, illusion, the fundamental *wahm*, consists from the Ṣūfī point of view in believing that existence and, *a fortiori*, human activities, exist independently of God, outside Him. Men assume an illusory existence (*wuḍūd wahmī*), when this is entirely dependent on pure divine existence (*wuḍūd ḥaqīqī*). Spiritual exercises, as well as the use of discursive reasoning, amount here to means of waking up and of being freed from this illusion. The most expansive treatment of the functions of imagination is to be found in the works of Ibn al-'Arabī [q.v.]. Although he sometimes employs the terms *wahm* and *khayāl* as synonyms, he propounds a doctrine of precise human imagination where *wahm* regains the connotations mentioned above (for example, *al-Futūḥāt al-makkiyya*, Cairo 1911, iii, 364-5). Basically, he disassociates imagination deriving from simple individual mental representation from that which links the spirit of the person to the superior worlds. Only this second imaginative faculty constitutes a genuine way of knowledge and can become the setting for an authentic theophanic experience (see H. Corbin, *L'imagination créatrice dans le soufisme d'Ibn 'Arabī*, Paris 1958, Eng. tr. R. Mannheim, *Creative imagination in the Sufism of Ibn 'Arabī*, Princeton 1969; W.C. Chittick, *The Sufi path of knowledge: Ibn al-'Arabī's metaphysics of imagination*, Albany 1989).

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(P. LORY)

WAKF.

II. IN THE ARAB LANDS

2. In Syria.

A survey of the history of endowments in Syria, in the geographical sense of Bilād al-Shām [see AL-SHĀM], has to take into account a broad range of changing and often localised rules and practices. This article will focus primarily on Syria's main urban centres, Damascus [see DIMASHQ], Jerusalem [see AL-KUḌS] and Aleppo [see ḤALAB], and occasionally refer to smaller cities.

In general, endowments in Syria have not solicited as much scholarly attention as those in Egypt, particularly before the Ottoman period. To a certain extent, this is due to the fact that access to sources and documentation is less centralised than in Cairo and not always facilitated by adequate research instruments. Large collections of *wakf*-related documents are housed in the National Archives and other institutions in Syria, Lebanon, Jordan, Israel and the Palestinian territories. The putatively rich archives of the Wakf Ministries are not easily accessible for researchers. Important holdings concerning Syrian endowments can be found in Istanbul, Ankara, Cairo and various

archives, libraries and collections in Europe and the United States as well.

If archival holdings are particularly rich for the Ottoman period owing to series of local court registers [see *SİĞILL* 3 and 4], they tend to become comparatively thin for earlier periods. A notable exception are the documents from the Mamlūk period found in the Haram of Jerusalem [see AL-HARAM AL-SHARIF] (D.P. Little, *A catalogue of the Islamic documents from al-Haram al-Sharif in Jerusalem*, Beirut 1984). Otherwise, researchers have to rely on legal literature (especially *wakf* treatises and *fatāwā*), *ḥadīth* collections and the different genres of historical writing (chronicles, biographical dictionaries, travelogues, topographies, *fada'ih*). Much can be learned from archaeological findings, inscriptions in particular (*Matériaux pour un Corpus Inscriptionum Arabicarum* [CIA], Cairo 1903-56; RCEA, ed. E. Combe, J. Sauvaget, G. Wiet, Cairo 1931-2; H. Gaube, *Arabische Inschriften aus Syrien*, Beirut 1978).

i. Umayyads and 'Abbāsids

Only in the 3rd/9th century did various forms of charitable giving (*sadaqa* [q.v.]) and of immobilisation of property (*ḥabs* in a strict sense) crystallise into the legal institution that is known thereafter, synonymously, as *wakf* or *ḥabs* [see WAKF. I. In Classical Islamic Law, at Vol. XI, 59b]. It is often difficult to put the earliest traces of charitable practices under Islamic rule in their proper context. It is therefore impossible to determine the exact nature of the acts that are known as the earliest endowments in Syria. A freedman of the Prophet named Abū 'Abd Allāh Ṭhawbān b. Yuhḍad (d. 54/673-4) is said to have given away his house in Hims [q.v.] as *sadaqa* (Ibn Kutayba, *K. al-Ma'ārif*, 72; al-Tabarī, i, 1178; Gil, *Early endowments*, 129). An incomplete inscription found in the perimeter of the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem, dated around 290/902-3, mentions a house inalienable for eternity designated for an unknown purpose (*al-dār . . . muḥabbasa abad^m 'alā*) (CIA *Jerusalem. II*, no. 218). Two *wakf* inscriptions from Ramla, dated around 300/912-13, however, show that by this time the legal terminology had been fully developed and that endowing followed established procedures, including the deposition of the *kitāb al-wakf* in front of a *kādī* (Sharon). Yet even legendary early acts of piety could be transformed into real endowments that endured for centuries. A pertinent example is the endowment for Tamīm al-Dārī [q.v.] in Hebron [see *EL*, art. *al-Khalīl*] which allegedly had been given to him by the Prophet himself. Later, it was sanctioned several times by different authorities, among them the British mandatory administration of Palestine in the 1920s (Massignon).

Hebron was of special significance to early Muslims because of its close connection with the prophet Ibrāhīm [q.v.]. Palestine and the rest of Syria possessed a considerable number of such holy places which attracted pious and charitable donations from early on (see e.g. the *wakf* inscription dated 400/1009-10 for the *mashhad* of the prophet Lūt in Banī Nā'im near Hebron, *Répertoire*, no. 2148). For Muslims, the most eminent of these places was Jerusalem, ceding in sanctity only to Mecca (Makka [q.v.]) and Medina [see AL-MADĪNA], but it was seen as a spiritual centre by other religious communities as well. In early Islamic legal thinking, the devotional practices of Christians and Jews were obviously points of discussion, but they were eventually declared permissible (al-Khaṣṣāf, *Aḥkām al-awqāf*, Cairo 1904, 341), and donations reached Jerusalem even from Christian Europe (Gil, *Donations*).



Little is known about endowments in Syria of the Umayyad period. Some of the most prestigious religious buildings of early Islam were built there, financed by funds from the Muslim treasury [see *BAYT AL-MĀL*]. In Jerusalem, the Dome of the Rock was completed in 72/691-2 and the al-Aḳṣā Mosque in the reign of al-Walīd b. 'Abd al-Malik (86-96/705-15 [q.v.]) [see *AL-KUḌS*. B. Monuments]. This caliph also ordered the construction of the Umayyad Mosque in Damascus in 86/705, approximately at the same time as the Great Mosque of Aleppo was built.

Founding a mosque (*masjid* [q.v.]) was one of the few uncontested early forms of *wakf*. Opening a building for the prayers of the Muslim community made it the property of God (al-*Khassāf*, *op. cit.*, 113). Yet evidently not all mosques were endowed with assets that secured their upkeep and provided for the needs of the community, as this was carefully noted in the listings of mosques in early topographical writing (e.g. Ibn 'Asakir; Ibn Shaddād; Ibn al-Shihna; Muḍjir al-Dīn).

When the 'Abbāsids removed their capital to 'Irāk, the Syrian regions lost much of their importance. The following centuries were characterised by warfare, insecurity and changing ruling dynasties [see *TŪLŪNIDS*; *KHSHIDIDS*; *HAMDĀNIDS*; *MARWĀNIDS*; *ARTUKIDS*]. The north was temporarily reoccupied by Byzantine troops, and Jerusalem and Damascus came under the domination of the Ismā'īlī Fāṭimids [q.v.] of Cairo. According to the legal treatises which have to be situated in the 'Irākī context, various types of *wakf* must have existed in this period. And even though a special agency, the *diwān al-birr* [see *DĪWĀN*], was established in Baghdād in the early 4th/10th century to supervise pious endowments and charity (*wakūf* and *ṣadakāt*) (Miskawayh, i, 151-2, 257), nothing is known about a similar institution in Syria.

ii. Fāṭimids and Salḡūkīds

Only in the first half of the 5th/11th century when, under a precarious balance of power between Fāṭimids [q.v.], Buwayhids [q.v.] and the Byzantine empire, commerce resumed, are there some examples of commercial gains being invested in endowments, not surprisingly destined for defence purposes: The historian al-Fārīkī mentions the case of a cloth merchant in Mayyāfārīkīn [q.v.], north of Aleppo, who bought a village and endowed it to secure the upkeep of three forts (Bianquis, 606).

Helping the war effort against enemies of Islam (*fi sabīl Allāh*) was by this time a time-honoured *wakf* type. Such endowments belonged to the category designated for the Muslim community as a whole or groups of an undetermined number of people being in need of charity that are supposed to exist continually till the end of time (*wakf 'amm*). Thus the ultimate recipients of all charity are the poor and destitute (*al-fuḳarā' wa 'l-masākīn*) as prescribed in Qur'ān IX, 60 and LI, 19. The other category included endowments for descendants, other family members, clients, liberated slaves or other named persons, i.e. endowments for a limited number of people (*wakf khāṣṣ*) who would eventually die out and thus allow the *wakf* to reach its ultimate stage as everlasting charity (al-*Khassāf*, *op. cit.*, 135-7; al-Māwardī, *K. Ahkām al-sultāniyya*, Bonn 1853, 118, 139-40; al-Ṭarābulī, *K. al-Is'āf fi ahkām al-awḳāf*, Cairo 1902, 28-9). The second type—a sub-category of which was later known as the family *wakf* (*wakf ahlī* or *dhurī*)—was rather popular if we count the cases discussed in the extant legal literature. One of the earliest documented examples in Syria belonged to a group of *ashraf* [q.v.] in

Fāṭimid Damascus. In 435/1043 several descendants of the endower fought over their allotted shares, which resulted in a document that also presented a list of the *wakf*'s assets (Sourdel-Thomine and Sourdel) [see *WAKF*. II. 3. ii, at Vol. XI, 70a, for a discussion of family endowments in North Africa]. Compared with al-Makrīzī's statement that in early Egyptian endowments urban properties prevailed over agricultural lands, it is of interest to note that in this case the assets consisted of six agricultural domains (*day'a*). They were situated in the grain-growing regions around Damascus, the Hawrān [q.v.], in the plains at the foot of Hermon, and the Bīkā' [q.v.] valley near Ba'labakk [q.v.]. The distribution of assets within a rather limited geographical region proved rather typical for Syrian endowments in the centuries to come. There were, however, always notable exceptions to this rule: endowments spanning great distances between faraway regions, in particular for the benefit of the Ḥaramayn [q.v.] and in Mamlūk and Ottoman times.

The *wakf* was not only a means to gain rewards in the afterlife for the sake of one's soul [*thawāb*] or to secure the material well-being of one's descendants. In the hands of various élite groups it became an eminent instrument for the propagation of status, wealth and power. Charitable giving, aiming at other-worldly rewards, was no longer done preferably in secret, but led to open displays of worldly riches and splendour (Korn). At the same time, new forms of burying and remembering the dead appeared. Funerary art and architecture [see *ḲABR*] became more elaborate, and saintly persons or the rich and powerful were frequently buried in mausolea [see *KUBBA*; *TURBA*] and other buildings of public character. We still do not fully comprehend these complex phenomena, but endowments clearly played a significant role in them, resulting in the "constructions of power and piety" (Tabbaa) that give Syrian cityscapes their distinct character till today.

Thus the building type of the mosque, which had been used simultaneously as place of worship, for learning and for sheltering the needy, was complemented by a number of new institutions with more specific purposes. The separation between places of prayer and places of learning had far-reaching implications not only for urban and architectural history. The new urban complexes which were generally financed by endowments had a profound impact on the social, economic, intellectual and educational life of the cities (Makdisi; Pouzet; Chamberlain). *Wakf* stipulations now provided for the regular payment of fixed sums to a growing number of people who worked in and for the foundations. Salaried posts were established for professors and assistant professors, but also for the administration and the physical upkeep of the institutions. Endowments financed the professional reading of the Qur'ān which became more widespread and organised at this time (Pouzet, 169).

This feature decisively altered the notion of poverty that was at the core of the concept of *wakf* (Sabra). The early legal texts had maintained that a recipient of *wakf* income had preferably to be poor in a material sense, excluding groups like the blind or those who were in charge of calling for prayer (*mu'adhḡhin* [see *ADHĀN*]) in a mosque as lawful beneficiaries, because they presumably included poor and rich people (al-*Khassāf*, *op. cit.*, 276). Yet this criterion evidently no longer applied, and to receive such payments became a sign of group affiliation or social distinction. Thus the *wakf* could be used as a prop for the formation and reproduction of social groups, as e.g.



the *ashrāf*, Šūfī brotherhoods [see *ṬARĪQA*; *ZĀWIYA*], professional guilds [see *ṣINĀʿ*] or diaspora communities.

The first of the new institutions, the *khānkāh* [q.v.], was introduced from the Persian world to look after the needs of travelling Šūfis. Some of the earliest examples in Syria were founded in Damascus. The best known goes back to the famous Šūfī, historian and astronomer, Abū 'l-Kāsim 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Sulamī al-Sumaysāfī (d. 453/1061) (al-Nu'aymī, ii, 118-26; Bianquis, 634; Elisséeff, *Nūr al-Dīn*, iii, 767). Passing through Damascus in 580/1184, Ibn Džubayr [q.v.] saw the *khānkāh* still working as stipulated and remarked that it was a beautiful way to remember the departed and his good works (*Rihla*, ed. M.J. de Goeje, Leiden 1907, 290).

During the second half of the 5th/11th century the advance of the Saldjūkids [q.v.] led to hostilities with the Fātimids. Contemporaries saw the *umma* [q.v.] even more threatened when, at the end of the century, the armies of the Crusaders [see *CRUSADES*] occupied considerable tracts of Syria, among them Jerusalem in 492/1099. In this period, the *madrasa* was introduced into the Syrian cities, an institution specialising in the teaching of Sunnī jurisprudence and law. Endowing a *madrasa* was often part of a larger building programme. The Saldjūk ruler Duḳāk and his mother, for instance, founded after 491/1097-8 the first *bīmāristān* [q.v.] of Damascus, a *madrasa* for the Hanafīyya and a *khānkāh* which also became their own tomb. Women of the ruling dynasties start to figure prominently among the endowers in this period (Tabbaa, 46).

iii. Zangids and Ayyūbids

The political and spiritual significance of endowments becomes more pronounced when, after 541/1146, Nūr al-Dīn Maḥmūd b. Zankī [q.v.] came to control the parts of Syria that were not under the domination of the Crusaders. Particularly after 558/1162-3, the Zangid ruler adopted a public image of strict religiosity following the model of the Prophet. As part of this policy, he ordered religious and other buildings serving the Muslim community all over Syria to be restored, and he assured their functioning by supplementing their endowments. Among his most important new foundations are the famous *bīmāristān* in Damascus, as well as his tomb *madrasa* and the first *dār al-ḥadīth* [q.v.] in Islamic history, and in Aleppo, another *bīmāristān* and several colleges of law (for a list, see Elisséeff, *op. cit.*, iii, 913-35).

Only for this period do the historical sources mention a state official in charge of the *wakf* system for Syria. The supervision of endowments (*nazar al-awqāf*) was among the functions attributed to the *kādī 'l-quḍāt* [q.v.] of Damascus, the Hanafī Kamāl al-Dīn Abū 'l-Faḍl Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Shahrazūrī (d. 572/1176-7) (Pouzet, 29). The way in which he exercised his prerogatives was the reason for a legal debate which allows interesting insights into contemporary legal thinking on *wakf*. To finance defence measures, the *kādī* had been authorised to use the surplus income (*faḍl*) of endowments which occurred after the stipulated purposes had been paid for (Abū Shāma, i, 11). The debate is related by Abū Shāma [q.v.] as having taken place in the Citadel of Damascus in 554/1159: Nūr al-Dīn convened several experts of the Shāfi'ī, Hanbalī and Mālikī schools of law. He wanted to know which of the Umayyad mosque's assets were part of its *wakf* and which were merely additions (*mudāf*) belonging to the treasury (*op. cit.*, i, 17). The distinction was significant, because it allowed the diversion of income of the mosque for other pur-

poses. The second question aimed specifically at the surplus income of endowments. Asked whether it was permissible to spend such funds for the defence of the *umma*, the Shāfi'ī *kādī* Ibn Abī 'Asrūn forcefully denied it and maintained that the ruler should borrow the needed sums in the name of the treasury. *Wakf* income could only be spent for the designated beneficiaries (*op. cit.*, i, 18). It is, however, manifest in Abū Shāma's account that not all jurists held the same opinion, and later on even the Shāfi'īyya adopted the opposite position. These discussions highlight the tensions resulting from the overlapping political and social fields of *wakf*, *bayt al-māl*, personal income of the ruler [see *KHĀṢṢ*], and claims in the name of the general good [see *MAṢLAḤA*].

The impact of the Crusades is even more apparent under the Ayyūbids [q.v.]. After the reconquest of Jerusalem, Salāh al-Dīn pursued his policy of propagating a strict Sunnī Islam, already adopted in Fātimid Cairo, in order to turn it into a truly Muslim city. Endowing was an important part of this programme to repossess the properties of Frankish institutions. In 585/1189, Salāh al-Dīn established in the former residence of the Latin patriarch a hospice for Šūfis, which was named after him *al-Ṣalāhiyya*. The deed of this foundation is the earliest extant example of a complete *wakfiyya* for Syria ('Asālī, i, 83-100). In the case of his *madrasa*, the foundation deed of 588/1192 explicitly stated that the sultan had officially purchased the properties which formerly had belonged to two Latin churches from the *bayt al-māl* (Frenkel, *Political and social aspects*; Pahlitzsch).

The return to Muslim rule affected also the status of agricultural land that had been occupied by non-Muslims. In analogy with early Islamic history, several and often contradicting solutions could be drawn from the explanations of the different schools of law. In practice, some of these lands were left with those in possession of them. Others were given out as grants [see *IKṬĀ'*] (Frenkel, *Impact*, 239-47). Many of these were later incorporated into a growing number of endowments founded by members of the ruling dynasty, its military and administrative functionaries and increasingly also by 'ulamā' (Humphreys; Tabbaa). A considerable portion of these foundations can be attributed to women. The proliferation of public buildings which resulted from these endowment activities can be traced into the smaller cities and settlements of the region.

iv. Mamlūks

Many features of these *wakf* policies continued under the Mamlūks [q.v.], who after their victory over the Mongols [q.v.] in 'Ayn Džalūt [q.v.] in 658/1260 and numerous campaigns against the Franks, came to dominate the whole of Syria. The military triumph of the Muslim forces was followed by an extensive building programme which aimed at propagating the Islamic character of the new rulers. Hence special reverence was shown for the "Sanctuaries" [see *AL-HARAMAYN AL-SHARĪFAYN*], which was used to refer not only to Mecca and Medina but also to Jerusalem and Hebron. Sultan al-Zāhir Baybars I [q.v.] is attributed with a considerable number of endowments in these cities and other places of religious interest, and many of his successors followed his example (Meinecke).

The centre of Mamlūk endowment activities was undisputedly Cairo, but in the Syrian cities, mostly in ruins after the destructions caused by the Crusades and the Mongol invasion, building and restoring also resumed on a large scale. Tripoli [see *TARĀBULUS AL-SHĀM*] was rebuilt in a new location (Luz). Aleppo



was slow in regaining its former glory, but new urban quarters developed in the north and north-east (Sauvaget; Gaube-Wirth). Damascus witnessed a period of considerable growth, illustrated by the endowment of several new Friday mosques outside the old city walls (Meinecke). These building activities came to an abrupt halt in 803/1400-1 when the army of Tīmūr Lang [*q.v.*] invaded Syria. For Damascus, the extent of the destruction can be gleaned from a document which enumerates the assets of the Umayyad Mosque and describes their actual state (to be published by S. Atāsī and B. Ulabī, IFPO, Damascus).

Although the written documentation becomes denser for this period, what we know about endowing is still very much an élite phenomenon. This is evident in the appearance of a novel *wakf* type: At first sight it appears as a typical charitable endowment (*wakf khayrī*), yet founders began to stipulate that any surplus (*fadl*) from the *wakf*'s income was not to be reinvested, but was destined for themselves and their descendants (Amin, *Awkāf*, 73-8). It was still customary to endow new mosques and other institutions with rather small incomes (Mudjir al-Dīn; al-Nu'aymī; al-Ghazzī), but some foundations started to produce much higher revenues than warranted by their specified purposes. Such arrangements allowed founders and, after them, their descendants, as administrators and beneficiaries, to pursue their own interests, protected from interference and confiscation by the state by the sanctity of the *wakf* (Petty).

Administrators of such endowments were often accused of embezzling funds belonging to all the Muslims. Such accusations were all the more difficult to refute, as endowments increasingly were made of land that previously had belonged to the treasury and had been given out as military or administrative grants [see *iktā'*]. This practice, known as *irṣād* or in Ottoman times as *wakf ghayr saḥīḥ* (see al-Tarābulṣī, *op. cit.*, 20; Cuno), was not acknowledged as a sound *wakf* by the jurists. In legal theory, it was only allowed for the purposes specified for the *bayt al-māl*. Stipulations could be altered by later rulers.

The Mamlūk administration tried to control this complex *wakf* system [see WAḲF. II. 1. In Egypt, at Vol. XI, 63b] by putting it under the supervision of local governmental agencies: In Damascus, the second capital of the realm, the *naẓar al-awkāf* belonged within the duties of the Shāfi'ī *kādī al-kudāt*. This official was also charged with the supervision of the *awkāf* of the Umayyad Mosque, whereas the al-Nūrī *bimāristān* was put under the responsibility of the governor. Similar arrangements can be found in other Syrian towns (al-Kalkāshandī, *Ṣubḥ*, Cairo 1914-28, iv, 191-2, 220-1).

By the end of the Mamlūk period, the *wakf* as an institution built on the initiative of individuals had taken over many functions that the treasury had fulfilled in earlier times. This is evident for instance in the *diwān al-asrā*, responsible for the liberation of Muslim war prisoners: it was now financed by endowments, but stayed under the supervision of an appointed agent of the state (*op. cit.*, iv, 191). Ibn Baṭṭūṭa who travelled from Cairo to Damascus in 726/1326, was struck by the "varieties of the endowments of Damascus and their expenditure . . . , so numerous are they. There are endowments in aid of persons who cannot undertake the Pilgrimage. . . . There are endowments for supplying wedding outfits to girls, to those namely whose families are unable to provide them. There are endowments for the freeing of prisoners, and endowments for travellers, out of which they are given food, clothing, and the

expenses of conveyance to their countries. There are endowments for the improvement and paving of the streets. . . . Besides these there are endowments for other charitable purposes." And he went on to relate a story how an endowment "for utensils" (*ālāt*) helped a slave to replace a broken porcelain dish (Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, tr. Gibb, i, 148-9).

v. Ottomans

The Ottoman conquest of Bilād al-Shām in 922/1516-17 did not radically change the *wakf* regime [see WAḲF. IV. In the Ottoman Empire, at Vol. XI, 87b]. To establish a secure hold on the tax income of the new provinces which stemmed mainly from agricultural revenues, the Ottoman administration began early on to survey all rights concerning land or access to its produce. These tax registers (*tahrir* [*q.v.*], later called the *daftar al-khākānī* [*q.v.*] or *al-sultānī*) are a valuable source for Mamlūk and Ottoman *wakf* history, because they allow insights into number, types, composition and lifespan of endowments.

According to the Ottoman provincial regulations (*kānūn* [*q.v.*]), *wakf* properties were subject to an imposition, in many cases, one-tenth of their share (*ushr māl al-wakf*) (Venzke). Only the *wakf al-Haramayn al-sharifayn*, those for Jerusalem and Hebron, and the great imperial endowments, were tax-exempt. Studies of the tax régime tend to focus on the early period of Ottoman rule in Syria. Yet endowments continued as part of rural life and were involved in the conflicts over resources between the different social groups trying to control them. Many court cases and *fatāwā* refer to the necessity of defending the interests of endowments against *iktā'*-holders and tax-farmers [see *ILTIZAM*; *MÜLTEZIM*] (Johansen).

The importance of land is highlighted by the issue of the appropriation of state lands [see *MİRİ*]. Especially during the first century of Ottoman rule in Syria, highly-placed Ottoman officials included in their endowments large tracts of land, in different regions or even provinces (e.g. the endowments of Lālā Muṣṭafā Pasha and his wife Fāṭima Khātūn). In fact, most of these foundations are formally genuine *awkāf* because a deed of possession (*tamlīk*) from the sultan authorised such transfers. Later on, endowing agricultural land became less frequent, with the exception of privately-owned gardens and orchards. Even in the case of prominent officials and notables, only the rights of cultivation (*mashadd maska*) and the plantations standing on the land were endowed. Agricultural revenues were appropriated by more indirect means like long-term rents and sublease contracts (*Rāfik*).

Ottoman endowment practice is more visible in the urban context. Like other rulers before them, the Ottoman sultans showed a marked interest in the *Haramayn* of Jerusalem and Hebron. At the same time, they and members of their households founded large urban complexes in other towns, which added a distinctly Ottoman element to their cityscapes. The most outstanding examples in Damascus are the endowment of sultan Selīm I [*q.v.*] around the tomb of Ibn al-ʿArabī [*q.v.*] in al-Ṣālihiyya [*q.v.*], or the *takiyya* [*q.v.*] of sultan Süleymān [*q.v.*]. In Jerusalem, it was the latter's wife, Khurrem Sultān [*q.v.*], who founded the famous Khāṣṣekī Sultān complex, including a soup-kitchen [see 'IMĀRET] (Singer). Numerous foundations of Ottoman officials and local notables helped to develop urban quarters and contributed in some cases to the establishing of new city centres. Yet the *wakf* was also used by a growing number of persons of rather modest means, among them a high proportion of women. The majority of these endowments are



rather small, consisting of one house or even a part of a house.

It may be stating the obvious to stress that endowing as a social practice was influenced by gender, economic means, social distinction, ethnic and religious affiliations, membership of guilds or Šūfi groups, etc. Ongoing research, however, reveals how much there is still to be learned to come to a better understanding of such distinctions. The use of *wakf* by Christian and Jewish communities is an important field of research in this context (Oded). Other approaches stress the significance of localised practices. The cash *wakf*, for instance, was quite widespread in Jerusalem, but in the other parts of Syria its introduction was slow and confined to certain social groups from the administrative and military milieu (Arnā'ūt). Local practice also influenced notions of family and the modes by which property was transferred from one generation to the next, as shown in a comparative study of late Ottoman Nābulus [q.v.] and Tripoli (Doumani).

Decisive changes in the *wakf* régime of the Syrian provinces occurred under the *Tanzīmāt* [q.v.] reforms. A Wakf Ministry had been gradually established in Istanbul between 1826 and 1838. Under the impact of the reforms, the state forcefully claimed to be the sole legitimate representative of public interests. In this context, the administration introduced new *wakf* classifications along the lines of private and public property. The single steps of the reforms are not altogether clear, but a state agency was introduced into the provincial administrations in the late 1830s which cut back the ancient prerogatives of the *kādī*. The new functionaries (*nāzīr* [*mu'adḍjalāt*] *al-awḳāf* and *mudīr al-awḳāf*) were directly paid from Istanbul to prevent the notorious embezzling of funds. Other laws concerning changes in *wakf* administration followed in 1863 and 1870 (Barnes, 103-54; Gerber, 178-98; Meier).

During the 19th century, the *wakf* institution as a whole came under severe criticism, being denounced as an obstacle on the way to progress and modernity. The family *wakf*, in particular, was accused of being a mere circumvention of the inheritance laws of the *Qur'ān*. These controversies ceased only in the middle of the 20th century, when many of the independent states decided on severe legal restrictions for family endowments or, in the case of Syria, even abolished them completely (see *WAKF*. II. 5, at Vol. XI, 78b).

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WARD.

In Arabic literature.

The rose is easily the most sung flower in Arabic poetry. Its natural place is in flower, garden and spring poetry (*zahrīyyāt*, *rawdīyyāt* and *rabī'īyyāt*), but the rose also figures prominently in the setting of wine poetry (*ḫamrīyyāt*), which is actually the place of origin for flower poems. Abū Nuwās (d. ca. 198/813 [q.v.]) still keeps the bacchic framework of his flower descriptions, and it may have been 'Alī b. al-Ḍjāhm (d. 249/863 [q.v.]) who first wrote pure floral pieces, all of them devoted to the rose (see Schoeler 71-2, 128). Poetic descriptions of it may be individual or part of the description of a garden with a variety of flowers. The vast majority of rose poems deal with the red variety, but the white, yellow, black and blue varieties (the last created artificially with the use of indigo) have also attracted some attention (see al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāya*, xi, 193-6).

Gem imagery

The description (*wasf* [q.v.]) of the rose is rarely a simple recreation of the visual impression it presents. The first step to transcend the natural is the use of similes, which introduce a second layer of imagery; the next step is to omit the particle of comparison, thus creating a metaphorical identification. Two "genres" of the phantastic are the outcome of this procedure. One consists in turning the rose into an aggregate of precious materials, mainly gems. The first stage (similes) may be exemplified by the following example, by Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. Ṭāhir (d. 237/851 [q.v.]):

"Don't you see the rose bushes presenting to us wonderments that have been mounted on branches, "Their petals are red, their insides are yellow embers, and around them are green boughs.

"It is as if they were rubies framed with emeralds, in the midst of which are chippings of gold."

(al-Sarī al-Raffā', *Muḥibb*, iii, 89 [no. 147]).

The analogues of the simile in the third line form a parallel to the topics in the second line, so this is a very cautious introduction of the precious materials as a new sphere of imagery.

The next step (metaphorical equation) may be seen in the following example (of multiple attribution):

"Don't you see the roses inviting [us] to go down to be 'watered' with aged wine whose color is amber.

"[They are] ointment pots made of rubies laid on top of emeralds, inside of which is gold..."

(al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāya*, xi, 189).

The same kind of imagery is also used with other flowers. The unusual "freezing" into gems of the various parts of the blossom may historically be explained as a result of the emergence of flower poems from wine poetry: the latter, especially in Abū Nuwās, is rife with gem similes and metaphors to evoke the wine and the cup (cf. Schoeler, 72-5). Since the materials used as analogues are noble and incorruptible, an additional effect is that time itself freezes (cf. Hamori, 78-87). Finally, one should not forget that the recreation of natural objects, especially animals and plants, with the use of gems was not uncommon in courtly circles.

Personification

The other way of introducing a phantastic dimension is the personification of the rose, which in turn allows the poet to attribute a reason or motivation to its outward appearance or its "actions"—the phenomenon called *takhyīl* [q.v.] by 'Abd al-Kāhīr al-Ḍjurdjānī (d. 471/1078 or later [q.v. in Suppl.]).

Al-Buḥturī (d. 284/897 [q.v.]) composed the following famous lines:

"Gay spring has come to you, strutting [and] laughing with beauty, almost talking even.

"In the darkness before daybreak, Nawrūz has awakened the first roses that yesterday had still been sleeping,

"the coolness of the dew slitting them open, and it was as if it [sc. spring or Nawrūz] were spreading news that yesterday had been concealed (*fa-ka'annahū yabuthithu ḥadīthūn kāna amsī mukattamā*).

(*Diwān*, ed. al-Ṣayrafī, p. 2090; the "improved" version in al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāya*, xi, 189, has *fa-ka'annahū yabuthithu ḥadīthūn baynahunna mukattamā*

"and it was as if it were spreading news that had been concealed among them [sc. the roses]").

The idea that the opening of the buds is a broad-casting of something previously secret is cautiously formulated as an "as if". The second step (full personification) appears in the following line by 'Alī b. al-Ḍjāhm:

"The roses started laughing only when the beauty of the flower beds and the sound of the chirping birds excited it.

"They appeared, and the world showed them its beauties, and, in the evening the wine came in its new clothes..."

(al-Sarī al-Raffā', *Muḥibb*, iii, 92, with slight divergences from the *Diwān* version).

"Laughing" is "coming into bloom". The roses wait until the stage is set for them. The possibilities of *takhyīl*, the poetic re-interpretation of reality, are made use of in two specific contexts: the rose-cheek equation, and the rose vs. narcissus debate.

Rose = cheek

The term "rose" became part of the poetic jargon of the Moderns, where it simply meant "cheek"—alongside "narcissus" for "eye" and "chamomile (petals)" for "teeth", to name but these. Underlying this usage is, of course, the comparison of the red cheek with the red rose. But by reversing the comparison (*kalb*) the rose is often perceived as a cheek. Abū Hilāl al-Askarī says (*Diwān al-ma'ānī*, ii, 23):



"Comparing it to the cheek is an appropriate simile (*tashbīh muṣīb*), but I refrained from indulging in it (*al-ikthār minhu*) because of its fame and frequency". Here are a few more sophisticated examples of the rose-cheek identification, showing in particular the phenomenon called "harmony of imagery" (*murā'āt al-naẓr*).

al-Walid b. al-Djannān al-Shāṭibī:

"On the cheek of the rose are tears, dripping from the eyes of the clouds."

(al-Nawādjī, *Halbat al-kumayt*, 239).

Abū Bakr al-Khālidi:

"They protected the roses of their cheeks, so that we could not pluck them due to the scorpions of their forelocks."

(al-Khālidiyyān, *Diwān*, 70).

Ibn al-Rūmī:

"Those tears resemble drops of dew that fall from a narcissus (eye) onto a rose (cheek)."

(Ibn Abī 'Awn, *Tashbihāt*, 83, 7ff.; 89, 16).

One of the dandies (*aḥad al-zurafā'*):

"A fawn whose cheek and whose eyes are my rose and my narcissus."

(Ibn Abī 'Awn, *Tashbihāt*, 90, 2).

Kushādīm:

"If you like, [the wine] is, from his hands, wine and, from his cheeks, roses."

(*Diwān*, 140 [no. 129]).

Rose vs. narcissus

The debate about the precedence of the rose over the narcissus or vice versa was mostly decided in favour of the rose. The rose was considered the king of the flowers. The caliph al-Mutawakkil [*q.v.*] is supposed to have said: "I am the king of the rulers and the rose is the king of the fragrant plants, and each one of us is the most suitable for his counterpart" (al-Nawādjī, *Halbat al-kumayt*, 235). Similarly, Abū Hilāl al-Askarī says:

"The one who is sitting in an assembly is not like the one who is standing in it."

(Abū Hilāl al-Askarī, *Diwān al-ma'ānī*, ii, 23, quoting himself; but it also occurs in Ibn al-Rūmī, *Diwān*, 1242 [no. 1022], which, however, is strange in view of his well-known predilection for the narcissus).

I.e. the rose blossom is sitting on the bush like the ruler, while the narcissus is standing on its stem like his attendant.

It was Ibn al-Rūmī (d. 283/895 [*q.v.*]) who objected and declared his preference for the narcissus (*Diwān*, 643-4 [often quoted], also 665 [no. 36], 1234 [a little prose text]; 1458 [no. 1112]). This he emphasised in a notorious invective against the rose, in which he compared it to a mule's anus with remnants of faeces in its midst (*Diwān*, 1452 [no. 1107]). S. Boustany has offered a political-symbolic interpretation of Ibn al-Rūmī's favouring the narcissus (*Ibn al-Rūmī. Sa vie et son œuvre. I. Ibn al-Rūmī dans son milieu*, Beirut 1967, 339-40), but this has been effectively refuted by Schoeler (213-5). If it is not a simple personal predilection, it seems appropriate to consider Ibn al-Rūmī's position a somewhat sensationalist game in the tradition of al-maḥāsīn wa 'l-masāwī [*q.v.*], especially if he did indeed on another occasion toot the usual horn (see above). His poem elicited a number of counterpoems, the best known being a six-liner by the famous garden poet al-Ṣanawbarī (*Diwān*, 498 [no. 123]). On the "proofs" offered by Ibn al-Rūmī and al-Ṣanawbarī, most of them in the *takhyīl* category, see Heinrichs, *Rose versus narcissus*, 184-6. Notable is the fact that al-Ṣanawbarī offers a real *munāẓara*, i.e. the two flowers debate each other, if only in a rudimentary way, while Ibn

al-Rūmī does use personification, but not in a sustained way and without letting the "protagonists" speak.

Some poets, such as Abū Bakr al-Khālidi, refrain from taking sides in the debate; he says:

"I disclosed to the narcissus of al-Raḥka my love, and I have no strength to avoid the roses."

"Both brothers are beloved, and I consider judging between them foolishness."

"In the army of flowers one is the vanguard that marches, the other the rear guard."

(al-Khālidiyyān, *Diwān*, 143 [no. 125]).

The most interesting developments in the rose vs. narcissus debate are in prose (prosimetrum, to be exact). From 11th-century al-Andalus we have two *risālas*, one by Abū Ḥafṣ Aḥmad b. Burd al-Aṣghar (d. 1053-4), addressed to Abū 'l-Walid b. Djahwar, ruler of Cordova (r. 1043-69), the other by Abū 'l-Walid al-Ḥimyarī (d. ca. 440/1048) and addressed to Abū 'l-Kāsim Muḥammad b. Ismā'il b. 'Abbād, ruler of Seville (r. 1023-42) (both in al-Ḥimyarī, *Badī'*, 53-8, 58-67). The first tells a story of certain leaders among the flowers agreeing on recognising the rose as their king and drawing up a contract (*a contrat social*) that would be binding also on those flowers as are spatially or temporally absent. After quoting the *risāla* of Aḥmad b. Burd, Abū 'l-Walid al-Ḥimyarī responds to it by entering the fictional realm created by Ibn Burd and continuing the story by pointing out that the recognition of the rose as ruler was an error and that the narcissus should have been in that position (one of the arguments being that the "eye" [narcissus] is much nobler than the "cheek" [rose], which latter is not even a sense organ!).

A political interpretation of the two flower epistles imposes itself. After the recent breakdown of the Umayyad caliphate in al-Andalus, both addressees, Ibn Djahwar and Ibn 'Abbād, ruled their respective city states, Cordova and Seville, with the consent of their people (people of substance, no doubt) and without any regnal title. This democratic, or aristocratic, model was unusual. Both Ibn Burd and al-Ḥimyarī were or had been high-ranking administrators; it is hardly strange that they attempted to make a constitutional statement in "flowery" language, most likely in the sense that they suggested to their addressees to adopt the caliphal title (for further details, see Heinrichs, *Rose versus narcissus*, 186-93).

In a purely literary vein, there are two more prose *munāẓaras* between rose and narcissus, one by Tādj al-Dīn Ibn 'Abd al-Madīd (d. 744/1343), with the title *Anwār al-sa'd wa-nuwwār al-madīd fī 'l-mufākkhara bayn al-naẓīs wa 'l-ward* (in al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāya*, ii, 207-13), and one by Abū 'l-Ḥasan al-Māridīnī (2nd half of 15th century), entitled *al-Djāwar al-fard fī munāẓarat al-naẓīs wa 'l-ward* (in al-Shirwānī, *Nafhat al-Yaman*, Hooghly 1841, 107-17). Of interest here is the way in which they establish the fictionality of their debates: Ibn 'Abd al-Madīd states that he wanted "to personify the two" (*ushakkhishahumā*), while al-Māridīnī uses the phrase: "I represented them (*maththaltuhumā*) as two adversaries in a debate and I made the tongue of their state speak in the way of conversation (*wa 'stanaktu lisāna ḥālihimā 'alā sabīli 'l-muhādara*)" (for further details see Heinrichs, *op. cit.*, 193-8).

Rose as emblem

Given the general interest in the rose-narcissus debate, it is surprising that in two books, each of which contains a chapter on the rose, no such "enmity" is mentioned at all. Al-Washshā' (d. 325/937 [*q.v.*]) compiled a handbook of correct etiquette for the "refined" people (*zurafā'*, *ahl al-zarf*). The rose chapter



contains mainly two ideas: (1) The rose represents everything beautiful and auspicious. (2) However, according to some, it is inauspicious, because it is shortlived. As such it is called *al-ghaddār*, the "traitor", as opposed to the myrtle that stays fresh for a long time (al-Washshā', *Muwashshā'*, tr. D. Bellmann, ii, 92-6). The idea of the ephemeral and thus disloyal rose and its counterpart, the longlived loyal myrtle, finds expression in some poetry as well. Thus Abū Dulaf al-Idlī, writing to 'Abd Allāh b. Ṭāhir, said:

"I see your love like the rose inconstant, there is nothing good in someone whose timespan does not last;

"And my love is like the myrtle in beauty and freshness, which has a white blossom that lasts, when the roses fade away."

The latter answered:

"You have compared my love with the rose, and it is similar to it: Is there any flower whose overlord is not the rose?"

"And your love is like the myrtle, bitter of taste; with regard to scent it has neither before nor after."

(al-Nuwayrī, *Nihāya*, xi, 192-3).

Finally, it needs to be said that in Arabic mystical literature the rose does not even come close to the symbolic value it has in Persian and Persianate literature, where it represents the divine Beloved. Ibn Ghānim al-Makdisī (d. 678/1279 [q.v.]), in his book on the symbolic or emblematic meaning of flowers and birds, devotes one chapter to the rose and another to the narcissus, but there is no cross-reference whatsoever (*Kashf al-asrār*, 12-13 and 16-17, tr. 10-12 and 13-14). The book resembles the *munāẓaras* in that the flowers speak in the first person. The self-characterisation of the rose revolves mainly around suffering, both from its own thorns that prick it and stain its petals with blood, and from the torment of distillation, when the rosewater is extracted from it.

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(W.P. HEINRICHs)

AL-WASHM.

1. In older Arab society.

Tattooing was a custom among women in pre-Islamic times. The parts of the body mentioned as recipients are the hand ([*zāhir al-ḥad*]), the wrist (*mīṣam*), the arm (*dhīrā'*), the posterior (*ist*) and the gums (*liṭha*). The motifs used are not mentioned; going by modern-day tattooing in Islamic countries they were probably abstract designs. The tattoo was created by pricking (*gharaza*) the skin with a needle (*ibra*, *misalla*) or—more specifically—with a tattooing needle (*mīsham*, pl. *mawāshim*, see Lewin, *Vocabulary*, 471), so that a trace (*aṭhar*) remained. This was then filled with soot (*nā'ūr*, explained as *dukhān al-shahm* "smoke of grease"), antimony (*kuhl*), or indigo (*nīl*). As a result the tattoo would become either darkish-green (*yakhḍarnu*) or blue (*yazrakku*). An existing tattoo could be touched up or retraced (*ruḍḍi'a*) when it had become weak (*mankūs*) (see *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, ed. Shākir and Hārūn, 105, 7 [no. 19, v. 2]).

In the *naṣīb* section of the *qaṣīda*, the traces of former encampments (*aṭlāl*) are sometimes compared to a tattoo, or tattoos, in the same way that they are sometimes likened to foreign writing. The most famous example is the beginning of the *mu'allaka* of Tarafā, where the traces "appear like the remainder of a tattoo on the back of a hand" (see *Diwān*, ed. M. Seligsohn, Paris 1901, 5). See also *Mufaḍḍaliyyāt*, ed. Shākir and Hārūn, 114, 3 (no. 21, v. 7) and 181, 2 (no. 38, v. 2).

In the *Ḥadīth* there are several traditions in which the Prophet is portrayed as cursing women who tattoo others (*wāshimāt*) as well as those who ask to be tattooed (*mustawshimāt*). The curse is often extended to other embellishing procedures that involve changing the body. The common denominator is that one should not alter God's creation (the women are called *al-mughayyirātu khalka'llāh*) (see e.g. al-Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, part 7, Būlāḥ 1312h., 164, ult.-167, 7, and for further references see A.J. Wensinck, *A handbook of early Muhammadan tradition*, Leiden 1927, s.v. "tattooing"; and idem, *Concordance*, v, Leiden 1969, s.v. *washama*). It seems that there was some hesitation in the early community in this respect: After one of the Prophet's condemnations of *washm* whose chain goes back via Nāfi' to Ibn 'Umar, Nāfi' remarks: *al-washmu fī 'l-liṭha* "tattooing of the gums [is intended]" (al-Bukhārī, *op. cit.*, 165, penult.). Ibn Manẓūr remarks with regard to this that "what is known nowadays is that tattooing is on the skin and the lips" (*LA*, xii, 639b, 10-11).



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WIṢĀL, MĪRZĀ MUḤAMMAD SHĀFI' b. Muḥammad Ismā'il, Persian poet of the early Kādjār period, also known as Mīrā Kūčik ('the little Mīrā'). He was born in 1197/1782 at Shīrāz in a family of officials who had served the rulers of Persia since the time of the Ṣafawids. His studies not only included Arabic and the literary sciences, but also the arts. It is said that Wiṣāl was a graceful person with a beautiful voice and an excellent performer of *ghazals*. He also became a famous calligrapher, proficient in all the current styles of writing (see the autograph in Browne, *LHP*, iv, facing 300). In addition, he was educated as a mystic by Mīrā Abu 'l-Kāsim Sukūt, a *shaykh* of the Dhahabiyya order. He died in 1262/1845 and was buried near the shrine of Shāh Cīrāgh in Shīrāz.

As a poet, Wiṣāl was a typical representative of the neo-classicism that had set in with the Return Movement (*bāzgasht-i adabī*) of the mid-12th/18th centuries. He wrote panegyrics after the fashion of the mediaeval poets, in particular Manūčihri, Anwarī and Khākānī [*q.v.*], and *ghazals* in the style of Sa'dī [*q.v.*]. Among his patrons were, besides the governor and other notables of the province of Fārs, the Kādjār kings Fatḥ-'Alī Shāh and Muḥammad Shāh, as well as people residing in the Deccan, which made him also popular on the Subcontinent. His *mathnavīs* include *Bazm-i Wiṣāl*, a lyrical account of an excursion into the mountains of Fārs, and the continuation of *Farhad va Shīrīn*, more a treatise on love than a story, which had been left unfinished by Wahshī [*q.v.*] and is usually printed together with the latter's text (see e.g. *Kulliyāt-i dīwān-i Wahshī-yi Bāfki*, ed. Bīdār, Tehran 1373 *sh.*/1994, 476-526). In prose, he wrote an imitation of Sa'dī's *Gulistān* and he translated *Aṭwāk al-*

dhahab, an Arabic *adab* work by al-Zamakhsharī [*q.v.* in Suppl.]. Another aspect of his work are his religious poems, such as elegies (*marāṭhi*) mourning the martyrs of Karbalā.

Modern critics have pointed to the lack of originality in his poetry, the main merit of which is the perfect imitation of the old masters. Nevertheless, his reputation as a refined poet and artist lasted throughout the Kādjār period and his works were printed several times both in India and Persia. A substantial selection from his poetry is to be found in the anthologies of Ridā Kulī Khān. The sons of Wiṣāl followed in the footsteps of their father. One of them is Dāwarī (d. 1283/1866-7), who acquired a reputation as a poet and a painter (see further, Browne, *LHP*, iv, 319-25).

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Y

YAGHŪTH, a god of pre-Islamic Arabia, mentioned in the Qur'ān in a speech of Noah: "They have said: Forsake not your gods. Forsake not Wadd, nor Suwā', nor Yaghūth, Ya'ūk and Nasr (LXXXI, 22-3).

Traditionists and commentators (see the references given by Hawting, *The idea of idolatry*, 113 and n. 6) have exercised their ingenuity in the search for the traces of Yaghūth in Arabia. Ibn al-Kalbī (d. 204/819 or 206/821) in his *Book of the Idols* (*Kitāb al-Asnām*, §§ 7c, 9d, 45e, 52a) relates in laconic style: "[the tribe of] Madhhidj and the people of Djurash adopted Yaghūth...; it was located on a hill in the Yemen known as Madhhidj; Madhhidj and allied tribes worshipped it." Djurash is today an important archaeological site in the south-west of Saudi Arabia, at 'Asīr, 42 km east-south-east of Abhā. The tribe of Madhhidj [*q.v.*] is first attested (1st century A.D. or thereabouts) at Karyat al-Faw (280 km north-north-east of Nadjran), then in the regions situated between Nadjran and Ma'rib, and finally in the highlands of southern Yemen (10th century A.D.) where it is still found today.

Shortly before the advent of Islam, the famous battle of al-Razm, which pitted Murād (a subsection of Madhhidj) against Hamdān, is said to have been provoked by a quarrel over the stewardship of the idol (Fahd, *Le panthéon*, 193-4).

On the divinities of Madhhidj and of Djurash, the ancient inscriptions of southern Arabia tell us nothing, either because they do not indicate the tribal affiliation of their authors (where they are numerous, as at Karyat al-Faw and at Nadjran), or because they are quite rare (as in the region of Djurash). Direct verification of Ibn al-Kalbī's statements is thus impossible; however, the fact that the god Yaghūth is completely unknown in South Arabian epigraphy (including onomastics) inspires some doubt as to their reliability. The only epigraphic attestation of the word *Ygt* is to be found in a Sabaean inscription (RES 5002) as an attributive personal name.

Two Nabataean inscriptions from Petra and possibly a third from Sinai mention the anthroponym 'mr'-y'wt (Cantineau, *Le Nabatéen*, ii, 64, 104), composed of 'mr' (Arabic *imru'*) and Y'wt (Aramaean graphic of



Yaghūth, with notation of *ghayn* by means of *ʿayn*. In these anthroponyms, the second element could be the name of a divinity or that of a particularly venerated individual. Safaitic epigraphy knows the anthroponym *Yḡt* (see, for example, Winnett and Harding, *Inscriptions*, 625).

Finally, Arabic nomenclature attests the anthroponym 'Abd Yaghūth (Caskel, *Gamhara*, ii, 133-4, 42 entries). It is known that the element 'Abd governs either the name of a divinity (see especially 'Abd ḏhi 'l-Sharā, 'Abd Manāf, 'Abd Manāt, 'Abd Rudā, 'Abd Suwā, 'Abd Shams, 'Abd al-Shāriḡ, 'Abd al-'Uzzā or 'Abd Wadd) or the name of a person or a group (compare with 'Abd 'Adi, 'Abd Ahlih, 'Abd 'Amir, 'Abd 'Amr, 'Abd 'Awf, 'Abd Bakr, 'Abd Hind, 'Abd al-Hārith, 'Abd Hāritha, 'Abd al-Mundhir, 'Abd al-Nu'mān, etc.). The distribution of 'Abd Yaghūth in the genealogies does not make it possible to identify the tribes which particularly appreciated this name, with the exception of Madhhidj (18 entries out of 42). But regarding this tribe, there is no knowing whether it is the frequency of the name which has led traditionists to associate the god with it, or conversely whether it is the association with the god which has multiplied the instances of 'Abd Yaghūth.

Ibn al-Kalbī also seeks to explain how it was that mankind, monotheistic at the time of creation, came to worship such a multiplicity of divinities. For his purposes, he supposes that, originally, Yaghūth was a devout man; after his death, he was commemorated by a statue, then promoted to the rank of intercessor in the presence of God. It was the Flood which allegedly brought his idol into Arabia near Djudda; there it is said to have been found by 'Amr b. Luḡayy who entrusted it to the tribe of Madhhidj, more specifically to An'am b. 'Amr al-Murādī (§§ 45e-52a; note that for the traditionists, Murād is attached to Madhhidj).

The root *gh-w-th* from which the name of Yaghūth is derived (imperfect of *ghātha* "to help") is current in Arabic nomenclature; see Ar. Ghawth, al-Ghawth, Ghīyāth, Ghuwayth or Ghuwātha (Caskel, *Gamhara*, ii, 274-6). It is also attested in North Arabian epigraphy; in South Arabia, on the other hand, it is more rare and probably indicates a North Arabian influence.

Like other commentators, Yākūt was struck by the similarity of the names Yaghūth and Ya'ūk, and by a possible opposition in the sense of the two words; he speculates that it may be necessary to recognise two aspects of one and the same divinity, who "sometimes sends the rain, sometimes prevents the rainfall" (Fahd, *Le panthéon*, 194). It is clear that all the developments of the tradition depend on the Qur'anic text and are based on anthroponyms formed on the root *gh-w-th*; as for the origin of the mention of Yaghūth in the Qur'an, it remains unexplained.

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YAḤYĀ, **SHĒYKH** AL-ISLĀM, Ottoman legal scholar and poet, d. 1053/1644.

The son of **Shēykh** al-Islām Bayrāmzāde Zekerīyyā Efendi, Yaḥyā was born in Istanbul in 969/1561 (some sources give the birth date 959). As the scion of an important *'ulemā'* family, he underwent a rigorous private education under the tutelage of his father and several other noted scholars, including 'Abd al-Djebbāzāde Dervīsh Mehmed Efendi and Ma'lūlzāde Seyyid Mehmed Efendi. In 988/1580, at 19 years of age, he was granted a *mulāzimet* and went on to teach in the most important *madrasas* of the day. In 1004/1595 Yaḥyā was appointed *kādī* of Aleppo and he subsequently served as *kādī* in various parts of the empire until 1013/1604, when he was elevated to the position of *kādī 'asker* of Anatolia. After several dismissals and reappointments, he was appointed **Shēykh al-Islām** in Radjab 1031/May 1622. A brief but turbulent tenure, during which he presided over the funeral of Sultan 'Othmān II [*q.v.*], ended in **Ḍhu 'l-Ka'da** 1032/September 1622 when a powerful vizier, angered by Yaḥyā's opposition to the practice of selling government positions, forced the young Murād IV [*q.v.*] to dismiss him. Between 1034/1625 and 1041/1632 he again served as **Shēykh al-Islām** and was re-appointed in 1043/1634 for a period that lasted until his death in 1053/1644.

Yaḥyā was noted as a legal scholar. **Kātib Čelebi** (*Fedhleke*) reports that, in delivering legal opinions, he embodied the perfection of Abu 'l-Su'ūd [*q.v.*] and was its seal. He served in an important position during a period of great turmoil and was a powerful supporter of the reforms instituted by Murād IV. He was widely known as an honest and decent person in a time when few like him rose to power.

Nonetheless, Yaḥyā's most enduring fame has derived from his talent as a *ghazal* poet. He was said to possess a poet's inborn nature: witty of speech, a cheerful countenance, a pleasant conversationalist. His poetry, in the manner of **Bākī** [*q.v.*], consists primarily of five-couplet *ghazals*, most on the transitoriness of this world and life's bitter and sweet aspects. His style is simple and flowing, free from the excesses of rhetorical complexity that marked the poetry of many of his contemporaries.

His works include: a *diwān*, the *Sharḥi Djāmi'* al-dürer (commentary on Muḥsin-i Kayseri's *Fe'rā'id*), *Nigāristān čevirisi* (a Turkish translation of Kemāl-Pāshāzāde's Persian parallel to Sa'dr's [*q.v.*] *Gulistān*) and *Fetāwā-yi Yaḥyā Efendi* (a collection of legal opinions).

Bibliography: Yaḥyā is mentioned in the *tedhkires* of Kāfzāde Fā'idī, Ridā, Yümnī, 'Asim, Safayī, Tewfik, **Kātib Čelebi**'s *Fedhleke* (Istanbul 1287), and in the addenda to the *Shakā'ik al-Ni'māniyya* by 'Ushshākizāde and **Shēykhī** Mehmed. There are three editions of his *diwān*: İbnülemin M. Kemāl İnāl, *Diwān-ı Shēykhülislām Yaḥyā*, Istanbul 1334/1915-16 (in Arabic script); Rekin Ertem, *Şeyhülislam Yahya diwani*, Ankara 1995; and Hasan Kavruk, *Şeyhülislam Yahya diwani*, Ankara 2001 (Latin script transcriptions). See also Lütfi Bayraktutan, *Şeyhülislam Yahya divanından seçmeler*, Istanbul 1990; İsmail Hakkı Uzunçarşılı, *Osmanlı tarihi*, III. cild, Ankara 1995; Gibb, *HOP*, iii, 273-84; von Hammer-Purgstall, *Gesch. d. Osm. Dichtkunst*, ii, 378-85; A. Bombaci, *Storia della letteratura turca*, Milan 1956, 371-2.

(W.G. ANDREWS and MEHMET KALPAKLI)

YASH, the Ottoman Turkish form of the name of the Romanian town of Iaşi, conventionally Jassy. It lies on the plain of northeastern Moldavia near the confluence of the Bahlui river with the Prut (lat. 47° 10' N., long. 27° 35' E.).



In Ottoman times, it was the capital of the principality of Boghdān [q.v.] or Moldavia. Dimitri Cantemir, from 1121-2/1710 to 1122-3/1711 resident in this town as prince of Moldavia, stated that the seat of government had been transferred to Yash by Stephen the Great (838 or 9-909 or 10/1435-1504; in reality this was done by Alexander Lapusneanu in 972-3/1565); as a reason for this, Cantemir maintained that, due to its geographical position, Yash was better suited to warfare with the Ottomans and Tatars than its predecessor, the more remote fortress town of Suceava (Demetrius Cantemir, *Beschreibung der Moldau*, facs. repr. Bucarest 1973, 52). Ewliyā Ćelebi, who visited Yash around 1075/1665, called it Yashka Ruhbān, due to the importance of the local monasteries. In his account, Yash appears as a town of 20,000 thatched *korta* (from Romanian *curte* "court"); he noted the absence of (private?) buildings covered with lead or roof-tiles, but commented on the existence of palaces and monasteries built of stone or brick (Ewliyā Ćelebi *Seyahatnāmesi. Topkapı Sarayı Bağdat 307 yazmasının transkripsyonu-dizini*, v, ed. Yücel Dağlı, Seyit Ali Kahraman and İbrahim Sezgin, Istanbul 2001, 180-6).

Among ecclesiastical institutions, the Ottoman traveller refers to the Yashka Deyri, that Ewliyā believed had been a mosque in the reigns of sultans Bāyezīd and Süleymān, in addition to the Menokola, Galata and Lūpūl Beğ monasteries; the latter must be identical to that of the Trei Erachi/Trieh Svetiteilei, built by Vasile Lupu in 1049-50/1640—Ewliyā hoped to see it one day transformed into a mosque. As to the Menokola, it was probably identical to the St. Nicholas Church, where a newly-arrived prince was blessed by a church authority (Miron Costin, *Grausame Zeiten in der Moldau. Die Moldauische Chronik des Miron Costin 1593-1661*, tr. and comments by A. Armbruster, Graz, Vienna and Cologne 1980, 196, for a monastery called Galata, see *ibid.*, 207; on the affairs of local monasteries in general, see C. Zach, *Über Klosterleben und Klosterreformen in der Moldau und in der Walachei im 17. Jahrhundert*, in Kálmán Benda et alii (eds.), *Forschungen über Siebenbürgen und seine Nachbarn. Festschrift für Atilla T. Szabó und Zsigmund Jakó*, Munich 1987, 111-22). Ewliyā also referred to the monastery supposedly founded by Duna Bānū, the wife of Prince Lūpūl Beğ/Vasile Lupu, which contained an "uncorrupted body" of a young woman that Ewliyā claimed was the daughter of the mythical architect Yankō b. Mādyān; this may well be the relic that Lupu had brought to his capital and that was believed to be the body of St. Paraschiva (Costin, *op. cit.*, 160-1).

To the south of Yash there was an artificial lake full of fish, that Ewliyā thought had been constructed by Prince Lūpūl Beğ/Vasile Lupu with the permission of Sultan Murād IV. The traveller also admired the princely palace with its grand reception room and numerous pavilions looking out upon the water (judging from a map of the early 20th century, the core of the palace was located at some distance from the one major lake in the town; however, the body of water seen by Ewliyā may have been drained later on; see *Meyers Reisebücher, Türkei, Rumänien, Serbien, Bulgarien*, Leipzig and Vienna, 1908, 93). Costin confirms that Vasile Lupu greatly augmented the palace, constructing gardens, stables and bath-houses; some of the buildings supposedly were covered in tiles of "Chinese porcelain" (Costin, *loc. cit.*). Ewliyā also claims that there were 2,060 shops covered with timber or reeds, six *kāns* used by merchants and a guest house that also accommodated visiting Ottoman and Tatar dignitaries.

Complementary to Ewliyā's account is that of a near-contemporary embassy chaplain (Conrad Jacob Hildebrandts *Dreifache Schwedische Gesandtschaftsreise nach Siebenbürgen, der Ukraine und Constantinopel (1656-1658)*, ed. with comm. by F. Babinger, Leiden 1937, 82 ff.) Hildebrandt served the Swedish embassy that was received at the court of Prince George Stephen, who after his deposition by Mehmed IV (1067-68/1657) emigrated to the Swedish kingdom. The author stressed the commercial activity of Yash, which was, however, unfortified; numerous Jewish traders were active here, in addition to both local and Greek merchants. At the court, where it was customary to accord a visiting Ottoman *çavuş* absolute precedence, there was a guard of German-speaking soldiers, yet Ewliyā commented on the presence of Ottoman gunners. According to Hildebrandt, the numerous churches of Yash rather resembled mosques without minarets; he also commented on the local folklore, including dances and fairground amusements specific to the Easter season.

Throughout the early modern period, the Polish-Lithuanian commonwealth attempted to influence the decision-making of the Moldavian princes, which meant that Polish-Tatar-Cossack rivalries also were fought out on Moldavian soil. In 918-19/1513 Yash was thus fired on by the Tatars, while Ottoman and Russian attacks in 944-5/1538 and 1097-8/1686 had similar consequences (art. "Jassy" in *Encyclopedia Britannica*, ed. 1963, xii, 972). Ewliyā Ćelebi even claimed that the conditions of Moldavian subjection included the right of the Tatars to pillage the country once every ten years. In 1123/1711 Peter the Great briefly occupied the town, receiving the homage of the learned prince Dimitri Cantemir. On this occasion, numerous Ottoman merchants present in Yash were murdered and their goods pillaged (Akdes Nimet Kurat, *Prut seferi ve barışı 1123 (1711)*, 2 vols., Ankara 1951-3, i, 234 and *passim*); similar atrocities were repeated in 1236-7/1821, when the Greek uprising began in both the Peloponnesus and the Principalities. Russian armies advanced as far as Yash once again in 1148-9/1736, but were not able to hold on to the town due to the defeats suffered at Ottoman hands by their Austrian ally (Barbara Jelavich, *History of the Balkans, i, Eighteenth and nineteenth centuries*, Cambridge 1983, 66-8, 105, 121; H. Uebersberger, *Russlands Orientpolitik in den letzten zwei Jahrhunderten, i, Bis zum Frieden von Jassy*, Stuttgart 1913, *passim*). On the level of international diplomacy, the Moldavian capital was known through the peace of Jassy concluded between the Ottoman and Russian empires (Djumdā II-Radjab 1206/January 1792); this agreement confirmed many of the stipulations of the earlier treaty of Küçük Kaynardja [q.v.], especially the loss of the Crimea. A coastal strip between Bug and Dniestr was also ceded to Russia, where the town of Odessa was founded the following year. From this time onwards, Russia maintained an influential position in Yash, which was to continue throughout the 13th/19th century.

In the late 12th/18th century, when Istanbul Greek families known as the *hospodars* represented Ottoman authority in Yash, the town possessed a small but active educated stratum that purchased books both religious and secular in Greek, Italian, Romanian and other languages, with an emphasis on the Greek authors of Antiquity, as well as grammars and dictionaries covering modern European languages. Such works were procured by merchants for whom dealing in books must have formed a sideline. These educated traders maintained links to the Athos but also



to Leipzig and Vienna, in addition to stocking works printed in Moldavia itself (Mihail Caratașu, *La bibliothèque d'un grand négociant du XVIII^e siècle: Grégoire Antoine Avramios, in Symposium l'époque phanariote, 21-25 octobre 1970, à la mémoire de Cléobule Tsourkas*, Salonica 1974, 135-43). A princely academy founded by Antioch Cantemir was attended not only by the sons of local noblemen but also by young people of more modest backgrounds; from 1173-4/1760 onwards, this school began to teach Enlightenment philosophy as well as the natural sciences (Ariadna Camariano-Cioran, *Écoles grecques dans les principautés danubiennes au temps des Phanariotes*, in *ibid.*, 49-56). However, given the frequency of warfare, the depressed condition of the peasantry and the relative weakness of urban life in Moldavia, the level of general education remained low even in the 13th/19th century (Jelavich, *op. cit.*, i, 270).

In the mid-19th century, Jassy came within the principality of Moldavia, now united with Wallachia to form the kingdom of Romania. Though Bucharest became the political capital of the new state, Jassy continued to be the most important cultural centre of the realm. The first book in Romanian had been printed there (1643), and it was the seat of an Orthodox archbishop. Now, in 1860, the University of Jassy was founded. The large Jewish population of the town, approximately one-half, perished in the course of World War II. After 1947, Jassy was within the People's Republic of Romania. In 1996 it was the third city of Romania, with a population of 346,613, whilst the county of the same name, with the town of Jassy as its *chef-lieu*, had 823,800 inhabitants.

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(SURAIYA FAROQHI)

YA'ŪK, a god of pre-Islamic Arabia, mentioned in the *Qur'ān* in a speech of Noah: "They have said: Forsake not your gods. Forsake not Wadd, nor Suwā', nor Yaghūth, Ya'ūk and Nasr!" (LXXI, 22-3).

Traditionists and commentators have exercised their ingenuity in the effort to track down the god Ya'ūk, with little success. In his "Book of the Idols" (*Kitāb al-Asnām*, §§ 7d, 9d, 45e, and 52b), Ibn al-Kalbī (d. 204/819 or 206/821), relates that: "Khaywān adopted Ya'ūk; he was in one of their villages called Khaywān, in the region of Ṣan'a', two nights from Mecca." But he adds immediately: "I have heard neither Hamdān nor any other Arab [tribe] giving a name [composed] with it", explaining this silence by the Judaisation of Hamdān under the reign of Dhū Nuwās [*q.v.*, where his name needs to be corrected in the Sabaean form, which is Yūsuf As'ar Yath'ar, *Yṣ'f 's'r Yṣ'r*].

The information provided by Ibn al-Kalbī on the location and tribal associations of the township of Khaywān is precise. Khaywān is situated well to the north of Ṣan'a' in the direction of Mecca, at a distance of 105 km, midway between Ṣan'a' and Ṣa'da. In the 4th/10th century, the township marked the boundary between Hāshid and Bakīl, the two tribal groups constituting the Hamdān confederation (al-Ḥasan al-Hamdānī, *Ṣifat Ḍjazīrat al-'Arab*, ed. Müller, 66); it is today the last outpost of Hāshid (the al-'Uṣaymāt clan) before entering Sufyān. On the other hand, no divinity named Ya'ūk is attested in Hamdān. However, the pantheons of the tribes of this confederation, which give the highest rank to Ta'lab Riyām and Almakah, are quite well known through many inscriptions and the vestiges of a large number of temples. A god named Ya'ūk is not attested elsewhere in Yemen or in Arabia.

It is clear that Ibn al-Kalbī or his source felt the need to manipulate the available information to provide a basis for the *Qur'ānic* text. It was all the easier to locate Ya'ūk in Yemen, not only because it was a distant country, but also because polytheism had been officially banned there since the end of the 4th century A.D. and any indications to the contrary had been obliterated.

However, the epigraphy of Yemen is acquainted with the appellation of Ya'ūk. It is the name of a synagogue (*mkrb*) constructed in A.D. January 465 (*ḡ-d'w'* 574 of the Himyarite era), at Ḍula' apparently (some 12 km to the north-west of Ṣan'a'), according to the inscription Ry 520/4 (*Ṭ'k*) and 9 (*Ṭ'wk*). In a relief inscription on the island of Suḳutra [*q.v.*], *Ṭ'k* is apparently an anthroponym (Robin and Gorea, *Les vestiges antiques*).

Among traditionists and Muslim scholars, the cult of Ya'ūk was the object of hypotheses other than that of Ibn al-Kalbī: they localise it in the tribes of Khawlan-Kuḍā'a, Murād or Kināna (Fahd, *Le panthéon*, 195 n. 1) or at Balkha' (a Sabaean town known only through traditions relating to idols: see Hawting, *The idea of idolatry*, 107 and n. 15) but without further evidence.

Ibn al-Kalbī also seeks to explain how it was that mankind, monotheistic at the time of creation, came to worship such a multiplicity of divinities. For his purposes, he assumes that originally, Ya'ūk was a devout man; after his death, he was commemorated by a statue, then promoted to the rank of intercessor in the presence of God. It was the Flood that would have brought his idol into Arabia near Ḍjudda; there it is said to have been found by 'Amr b. Luḥayy who entrusted it to the tribe of Hamdān (§§ 45e-52b).

Attestations and the senses of the root from which the name of Ya'ūk is derived offer nothing further by way of clarification. One may note only that Yākūt underlines the similarity between the names Yaghūth and Ya'ūk and wonders whether it is necessary to recognise two aspects of one and the same divinity, who "sometimes sends the rain, sometimes prevents the rainfall" (Fahd, *Le panthéon*, 194).

It is thus difficult to follow Toufic Fahd when he affirms that "The conclusion cannot be avoided that Ya'ūk and the other four divinities cited by Noah belong to the most primitive pantheon of central Arabia" (*op. cit.*, 196); to this day, nothing has been established with certitude as to the origin of the mention of Ya'ūk in the *Qur'ān*.

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(CH. ROBIN)

YAZĪDJĪ, ṢĀLIḤ B. SÜLEYMĀN, the early Ottoman author of the *Shemsīyye*, one of the ear-



liest works on astrology known to be written in Anatolia. He was the father of Yazıdjıoğlu Mehmed and Ahmed Bıdjan [q.v.], two important religious figures and writers of the 9th/15th century.

The place and date of his birth are uncertain. However, due to the fact that he dedicated his work (the *Şemsîyye*) to Iskender b. Hâdjî Paşa from the Devlet Khân family living in Ankara, it is supposed that he was also from Ankara. On the other hand, in the introduction (*sebeb-i te'lif*) of his *Şemsîyye*, he wrote that he was strongly attached to 'Alî Beg, the son of Kaşşâb-oghlu Mahmûd Paşa, who was the tutor (*lala*) of Sultân Mehmed Fâtih and vizier to Murâd II and Fâtih, and that he served him from the year 775/1373 for 36 years until 'Alî Beg's death. Kaşşâb-oghlu Mahmûd Paşa founded a *masâjid*, a *madrasa* and a hospital in Malkara [q.v.] and appointed his son 'Alî Beg to administer them, so Yazıdjî Sâlih also lived in Malkara and in later years he settled in Gallipoli (Gelibolu) probably after 'Alî Beg's death. The date of his death is unknown. The story that his grave is near the graves of his sons Mehmed and Ahmed Bıdjan (outside Gelibolu, on the road to Istanbul) is unauthenticated.

That his father's name was Süleymân, although Ewliya Çelebi calls him Shüdja' al-Dîn, is certain, because in the manuscript of the *Muhammediyye*, by his son Yazıdjıoğlu Mehmed, and also in his other works, he speaks of himself as Mehmed b. Sâlih b. Süleymân. As a consequence of writing in his work his name as Şalîh al-Dîn, from the exigencies of the metre, in some sources his name has mistakenly appeared as Şalâh al-Dîn.

Although the available information about his education is uncertain, some facts, e.g. that he was a scribe, so that he was given the *lakab* Yazıdjî, that he was a very knowledgeable person about astrology, and that he used Arabic and Persian quotations and titles in his *Şemsîyye*, imply a certain level of education.

The number of his works is unknown. His only extant work is the *Şemsîyye* on astrology. Although Ewliya Çelebi mentions a *Seb' al-Methânî*, a *Ta'bîr-nâme* and works on medicine, no copy of them has so far been found. The work which has appeared in some sources as the *Melhame* is part of the *Şemsîyye*. The question whether the *Şemsîyye* was a compilation or a translation was long discussed. However, considering the manner of book writing of the time and also the fact that Yazıdjî Sâlih mentions the works and people from whom he profited (like Ebu 'l-Faḍl Hübeysh b. İbrâhîm b. Muhammed al-Tiflîsî), it is recognised as a compilation.

Yazıdjî Sâlih writes in the introduction of his work that he completed it in 811/1408-9, naming it the *Şemsîyye*, and submitted it to Iskender b. Hâdjî Paşa. The *Şemsîyye* was written in the form of a *methnewî* and in the metre *fâ'ilâtün fâ'ilâtün fâ'ilün*. Since no autograph ms. exists and no critical edition has been done, the number of original verses is unknown; they differ in each copy (e.g. in ms. Süleymaniye Kütüphanesi-Pertevniyal no. 776, 4724 verses). The fact that over 30 mss. of it survive shows that it was widely read. If not great literature, it is nevertheless important linguistically as a text of 15th-century Turkish. It is composed of three sections. In the first section there is the introduction (*tevhîd*, *na't*, *mir'âdiyye*, *sebeb-i te'lif*), which is to be found in works written in the *methnewî* form; the second section is divided into twelve *bâbs*, each referring to one of the months, and each divided again into 25 *fasls*; and in the third section,

three characteristics of the moon are narrated, with their subdivisions. It was rendered by his younger son Ahmed Bıdjan into prose form, also including some verse sections, as the *Bostânü 'l-hakâ'ik*. Apart from this, there is the *Rûz-nâme-i Melhame*, which is composed of selections, summaries and explanations from the *Şemsîyye* (Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Kütüphanesi-Hazine no. 1740, 129a-141b), printed as the *Melhame* at Kazan in 1891.

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(HATİCE AYNUK)

YEDİ ADALAR, the Turkish name of the Greek Seven (Ionian) Islands (Gk. *Heptanesos/-a*), an insular group off the western coast of north-western Peloponnese (Morea) and mainland Greece, stretching northwards in the following order: Zakynthos, Kephallenia (Cephalonia), Ithake (Ithaca), Leukas, Paxoi (Antipaxos and Paxos) and Kerkyra (Corfu). Sometimes the island of Kythera or Cerigo [see ÇOKA ADASI], off the southeastern tip of the Morea, is also included, albeit erratically, in the Seven Islands group (mainly by scholars of the area's Latin domination period). The relevant Arabic names of the islands appear in al-Idrîsî [q.v.], while the Ottoman Turkish names of Zaklise [q.v.], Kifalonia, Siyaki (Ithake), Levkas/Levkada [q.v.] (only the island's main town and fortress was called Aya Mavra by the Ottomans), Bakşiler (Paxoi islands) and Körfüz/Körfûs [q.v.] (stemming, like Corfu, from the island's Byzantine appellation of *Koryphô*) appear in the early 16th-century *Kütâb-i Bahriyye* by Piri Re'îs [q.v.] (see detailed comm. in the recent Greek tr. by D. Loupes, Athens 1999, 312-16, 322-37), although Ottoman rule in the Ionian area, usually commencing from 1479 with the ousting of the Italian Tocco dynasty from Benevento, was never definitively established during the Ottoman domination period except for the case of Levkas, where it lasted for almost two centuries. The Tocco's last dukes had retreated to the islands in the 1460s from mainland Eriros in view of the Ottoman conquest there, completed between 1449 and 1479.

In the Byzantine period lasting to the early 13th century (from 1204 onwards the area gradually passed under Latin control), the Heptanese sustained severe attacks, mainly from Muslims and Normans. Of particular importance here are the two attacks, first on Kephallenia and Zakynthos between 878 and 881 by the North African Arabs [see İBRİKİYA], repulsed by the celebrated Byzantine admiral Ooryphas (see Elisabeth Malamut, *Les îles de l'Empire byzantin, VIII-XII^e s.*, Paris 1988, 77 n. 236 and table on p. 110; sources and refs. in A. Savvides, in *Mésogéios*, i [1998], 91-2), and secondly on Corfu in 1033 by Saracens from Sicily [see ŞIKILLIYA], who burned the island's main town (refs. in A. Savvides, *The Byzantine Heptanese, 11th-early 13th century* [in Gk.], Athens 1986, 19). Other references to possible Muslim attacks in the area, mainly appearing in *Saints' lives*, cannot be corroborated



by parallel sources. Also of importance is the information provided by al-Idrīsī, who ca. 1153 visited Byzantium and gave in his *Kitāb Rudjīdār, inter alios*, details on Tanu (Othonoi), Kūrfus (Corfu), Lkātā (Leukas), D̲jefaluniya (Kephallenia), Faskyu (Ithake?) and D̲jandjnt or Gagnī (Zakynthos) (French tr. Jaubert, ii, 121, 123; cf. Soustal-Koder, 168, 176, 179, 195, 278; Savvides, *Byz. Heptanesē*, 46-8, and idem, in *Byzantinostanica*, ix/2 [1999], 454). About 12 years later (1164-5) the Spanish Jew from Tudela, Benjamin, also visited Korypho (Corfu) and Lachta or Lekat (Leukas and not Arta in the Epitor mainland, as in the Eng. tr. by Adler, 10, and in Soustal-Koder, 57-8 n. 97, 113; on this see the recent Gk. tr. by Photeine Vlachopoulou, introd. and comm. by K. Megalommatas and A. Savvides, Athens 1994, 34-5 n. 8, 62).

From the second half of the 14th century onwards, Latin control in the Ionian Islands was divided between the Tocco on the southern (until ca. 1479) and Venice on the northern group (until 1797). Since there is no fixed pattern for a unified and lasting Ottoman presence in the area, this article will discuss the islands separately, beginning with Leukas, which sustained the longest Ottoman occupation.

Leukas. In Leukas (Leucata or Santa Maura in western sources) the Ottoman occupation lasted from 1479 until the final Venetian capture of 1684, with an interval between 1502-3 when the Venetians succeeded in seizing it during the Second Venetian-Ottoman war of 1499-1502. By the 1503 treaty, it was returned to Sultan Bāyezīd II [q.v.], who in turn recognised the Venetian occupation of Kephallenia (1500-1). Leukas' conqueror in 1479, the *bey* of Avlonya (Valona) Aḥmad Paṣha Gedik [q.v.], carried out Mehmed II's plans of repopulating Istanbul with deportations, among others, of a significant part of Leukas', Zakynthos' and Kephallenia's populations. In the 16th and 17th centuries, the island's town and fortress of Aya Mavra developed as the largest settlement of the *sandjak* of Karli-Ili [q.v.] and as an important Ottoman naval base in the area, with interesting samples of Ottoman fortifications and building activity (refs. in LEVKAS). The Venetian capture of 1684 was ratified by the treaty of Carlowitz [see KARLOVĚA] in 1699.

Zakynthos. A Tocco possession since 1357, Zakynthos (Zante in western sources) was briefly seized (with Kephallenia and Leukas) by the Ottomans (1479); the Tocco soon recovered it (1480), but they were driven out by the Venetians (1482-3), who in 1485 purchased it by special treaty with Bāyezīd II. The 1503 treaty secured Zakynthos and Kephallenia for the Republic of St. Mark in exchange for an annual tribute of 500 ducats, a situation maintained until the Carlowitz treaty (1699). In the 16th century, the island had suffered from raids conducted by Khayr al-Dīn Paṣha Barbarossa, Torghud Re'īs and Ulūdī 'Alī [q.v.]; Zakynthians participated against the Ottomans at Lepanto [see AYNABAKHTI] (1571), the Russian-instigated Orloff insurrection of 1770 and—after the overthrow of Venetian rule (1797)—in the 1821 Greek War for Liberation (refs. in ZAKLISE, and in Savvides, in *Mēsogēios*, v [1999], 81-2, 84-5 nn. 26-38).

Kephallenia. Also a Tocco possession since 1357, the island (mentioned as Zeffalonia by Westerners) was also seized by the Ottomans in 1479 and held until 1481, when the Tocco reclaimed it until 1482-3, at which time the Venetians took over; in 1485, however, Kephallenia was ceded, in a state of depopulation, to Bāyezīd II, who extended the second Ottoman rule until 1500-1, when Venice assumed de-

finite control there (as well as in Ithake), resettling the island with Zakynthians and Ithakiotes in the course of the Second Venetian-Ottoman war (see G. Moschopoulos, *History of Cephalonia* [in Gk.], i, Athens 1985, 67-83). From then onwards, the Venetian presence was uninterrupted until 1797, despite two destructive Ottoman raids in 1537-8 and 1570-1 (Moschopoulos, *op. cit.*, 83-6). Kephallenians, like other Heptanesians, participated on the side of Venice in the long siege of Crete (1645-69) (Moschopoulos, 86ff.), while Kephallenia and the other islands were to receive hosts of refugees from Crete [see İKRİTİSH] following its fall to the Sultanate (see A. Vakalopoulos, *History of modern Hellenism* [in Gk.], iii, Thessalonica 1968, 532ff.).

Ithake. Known as Val de Compare to the Latins, Ithake, following a period of Frankish rule, was laid waste in 1430 and again in the period 1479-85 by Mehmed II's and Bāyezīd II's fleets, in the attempt of the Sultanate to consolidate its hold on the western Greek littoral. In 1500-1 it was captured (with Kephallenia) by the Venetians, who, on account of its depopulated state, resettled it in 1504 with Kephallionians and Zakynthians. The Venetian hold on the island ended in 1797.

Paxos. The island was sold by Venice to a wealthy Corfiote, whose oppressive government forced its inhabitants to flee to the Ottoman-dominated Epirote mainland. On 22 July 1537 an allied Western fleet under Andrea Doria defeated near Paxos the Ottoman vice-admiral 'Alī Çelebi, seizing 12 Ottoman vessels, but in 1577 the Ottomans, recovering from their defeat at Lepanto (1571) and realising the island's vulnerability, attacked and plundered it before the Venetians took over again (until 1797).

Corfu. Although it never experienced a period of Ottoman domination, the island was severely threatened by three Ottoman attacks [see also KÖRRTZ]. In 1386 it was ceded by the Navarrese Company to Venice, whose control there lasted until 1797, while after the fall of Constantinople in 1453, Corfu was to become a place of Byzantine refugees and exiles. In 1537-8, Khayr al-Dīn Paṣha Barbarossa and the Grand Vizier Lūṭfī Paṣha [q.v.] besieged the island but, failing to seize it, they plundered Kephallenia (see Vakalopoulos, *op. cit.*, iii, 143 ff.). Another threatening attack against Corfu took place in the reign of Sultan Aḥmed III, in 1716, in the course of the Seventh Venetian-Ottoman war of 1714-18; despite a stifling blockade by sea (by the *kapudan-paṣha* Mehmed) and land (by the *ser'asker* Kara Mustafa Paṣha), the Venetians and Corfiotes held out (see G. Athanasias, *The assedio of Corfu, 1716* [Gk. adaptation], Athens 2001, and D. Chatzopoulos, *The last Venetian-Ottoman war of 1714-18* [in Gk.], Athens 2002, 235-97). Finally, following the end of Venetian rule in the Heptanese (1797) and in the reign of Sultan Selim III, the French were besieged in Corfu (Nov. 1798-March 1799) by a united Russo-Ottoman fleet under Admiral Feodor Ushakov, who had also seized Zakynthos, Kephallonia, Ithake (Oct. 1798) and Leukas (Nov. 1798) and whose operations were supported also by the Orthodox ecumenical patriarch Gregory V (detailed description of the operations by the priest Petros-Polykarpos Voulgares, in a recent modern Gk. adaptation by S.-C. Voulgares, *Chronicle of a siege, 1798-9*, Athens 2001; cf. N. Moschonas, in *IEE*, xi, 389ff.). Russo-Ottoman control, in the course of which both the first independent small Greek 'Ionian State' was created (1800-7) under the sovereignty of the Porte and treaties were signed with 'Alī Paṣha Tepedelenli [q.v.] of



Ioannina [see YANVA] (on these treaties, see E. Protopsaltes, in *Δελτίον ιστορικής και εθνολογικής ηεταίρειας ηελλας*, xi [1956], 59-77), lasted until 1807, when the French took over again until 1814, at which time the British prevailed in the area until its eventual cession to Greece (1864).

Bibliography: Given in the article; see also references in the articles KÖRFÜZ, LEVKAS, ZAKLISE; on the temporary Ottoman occupation of some of the Ionian islands, see D. Pitcher, *An historical geography of the Ottoman Empire*, Leiden 1972, 87ff., index and maps (esp. XV-XVI). Detailed references on the Arab and Ottoman raids in P. Soustal and J. Koder, *Nikopolis und Kephallenia (Tabula Imperii byzantini 3)*, Vienna 1981, and A. Savvides, *Notes on the Ionian Islands and Islam in the Byzantine and post-Byzantine periods (Arab and Ottoman raids)*, in *Journal of Oriental and African Studies*, xii (Athens 2003-4); cf. idem, *Notes on Edessa/Vodena/Wodina, Volos/Gološ/Wolos/Kuluz and Zakynthos/Zante/Zaklise in the Byzantine and Turkish domination periods*, in *Mésogeios*, v (1999). See also K. Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant, 1204-1571*, 4 vols. Philadelphia 1976-84, *passim*; Alexandra Krantonelle, *History of piracy*, 3 vols. (periods 1390-1538, 1538-1699, and 18th century until the Greek War for Liberation), Athens 1985, 1991, 1998 (in Gk.). Good bibliographies on the Byzantine and post-Byzantine (Latin) Heptanese in the collective *Historia tou hellenikou ethnous (IEE) (= History of the Hellenic nation)*, ix (1979), 463-5, x (1974), 465-6, and xi (1975), 496, and in the collection of studies by G. Leontsines, *Problems in Heptanesian social history* (in Gk.), Athens 1991, 615-99. (A. SAVVIDES)

YEMENLI HASAN PASHA (d. 1016/1607), Ottoman Turkish governor in the Yemen.

In the absence of tribal consensus and an agreed successor to the Zaydī imāmate following the death of al-Muṭahhar [q.v.] in 980/1572, the Ottomans were offered an unprecedented opportunity to extend their zone of influence beyond the Tihāma [q.v.] into the Yemeni interior. Earlier Ottoman advances and the securing of Ṣanʿāʾ [q.v.] in 954/1547 had still left large areas of the north—including strongholds such as Kawkabān and Thulā [q.v.] situated perilously close to the governor's seat itself—incompletely pacified, and it was only during Ḥasan Pasha's exceptionally long term of office as provincial governor between Djumādā I 988/June 1580 and Muḥarram 1013/June 1604 (Rāshid, i, 154, 186) that the Ottoman administration began to make serious inroads against local resistance forces. Throughout the period of Ḥasan Pasha's governorship in the Yemen, the Ottomans were preoccupied by wars on both the eastern and north-western frontiers of their empire (against the Ṣafawids 986-98/1578-90 and the Habsburgs 1001-15/1593-1606, so that Ḥasan was given a free hand to secure the consolidation of Ottoman rule within his jurisdiction by his own means. One method he employed to good effect in the early years of his governorship was deportation (*naḥḥ*) of prominent members of the Zaydī leadership. In 994/1586 he sent five of al-Muṭahhar's sons and potential successors to Istanbul for incarceration at Yedi Kule (Rāshid, i, 161), where they remained until the end of his governorship (see *ibid.*, i, 185, noting the death in captivity of Luṭf Allāh b. al-Muṭahhar in 1010/1601-2).

To reinforce his authority locally, Ḥasan Pasha made extensive use of an inner core of long-term associates of proven military ability and unswerving personal loyalty such as his deputy (*ketkhūda*) Sinān Pasha and another right-hand man called Amir ʿAlī

al-Djazzāʾirī. In 997/1589 he appointed the latter with the rank of *pasha* as lieutenant-governor in Ṣaʿda [q.v.] with key responsibilities for securing the northern districts. When at a later stage in his governorship Ḥasan Pasha faced a resumption of the Zaydī challenge with al-Manṣūr al-Kāsimī's declaration of independence in 1006/1597 [see AL-MANṢŪR Bī ʿLLĀH], he turned for assistance to his former associate ʿAlī Pasha who was called in from his then current post as governor of Eritrea (for ʿAlī Pasha's term as *beylerbeyi* of the *eyālet-i Habesh* between Rādjab 1002/April 1594 and Ramaḍān 1010/March 1602, see C. Orhonlu, *Habesh eyaleti*, Istanbul 1974, 183) to lend his help in the crisis. Through a combination of swift communications, rapid reaction and effective teamwork, the Ottomans succeeded in capturing al-Manṣūr's base of operations at Shāhāra in 1011/1602 and in forcing his re-submission, albeit temporary, to Ottoman rule. In sum, although Ottoman control over the province remained precarious at the close of Ḥasan Pasha's twenty-four year term as governor in 1013/1604, there is no question but that he had contributed significantly to Yemen's fuller incorporation into the Ottoman imperial system.

After Ḥasan Pasha's recall at his own request to Istanbul, he served a brief term as governor of Egypt between the early part of 1014/summer 1605 and 3 Dhu ʿl-Hiǧǧja 1015/2 March 1607 (*Tārīkh-i Naʿīmā*, i, 462). Shortly after his return to the capital, he died on 9 Rādjab 1016/3 October 1607 (*ibid.*, ii, 23).

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2. Studies. Fuad I. Khuri, *Imams and Emirs. State, religion and sects in Islam*, London 1990, 118-23 and map on 61; C.G. Brouwer, *Al-Mukha. Profile of a Yemeni sea port as sketched by servants of the Dutch East India Company (VOC) 1614-1640*, Amsterdam 1997, 106-11. (R. MURPHEY)

YOGYAKARTA, the name of a city in central Java, Indonesia, capital of the former sultanate and present-day Special District of Yogyakarta. Inhabitants (in 2002): ca. 448,760 (city) or ca. 3,068,000 (whole district).

Together with the city and area of Surakarta [q.v.] it was formerly part of the kingdom of Mataram [q.v.] located in the southern parts of central Java. The first *kraton* (palace) of Mataram was built in 1582 in Kuṭa Gédé, a present suburb of Yogyakarta, by Kyai Gédé Pamanahan. After his death in 1584 his son took over the *kraton* and military installations and was recognised by Sultan Adivijaya of Pajang as Sēnopati-ing-Alaga, a military leader ("general"). After the ruler's death in 1587 Sēnopati established and enlarged his new kingdom. He died in 1601. The greatest ruler among his descendants was Sultan Agung (r. 1613-45), who conquered most of central and eastern Java including Surabaya, and even some regions on other islands. Besides his deep roots in Javanese monistic traditions as *susuhunan* (originally a spiritual title), he also supported the spread of Islam to the interior of the island and obtained the title of *sultān* by a special mission from Mecca in 1641. Under his successors, however, the Islamic elements were extensively eliminated once more.

After three wars of succession and the move of the capital city to Kartasura (1677) and Surakarta (Solo, 1745), the kingdom of Mataram was divided in 1755; the Pangéran Mangkubumi III choose again



Yogyakarta as place for his *kraton*, thus reviving the traditions of Sênopati and Sultan Agung. As Sultan Hamengku Buwono I (d. 1792) he became the founder of the dynasty of Nga Yogyakarta Hadiningrat. The situation of his *kraton* was just beside a sacred line reaching from Mt. Merapi in the north to the mouths of the rivers Opek and Progo, the meeting place with the goddess of the South Sea Nyai Lara Kidul, thus underlining his central role in sacred geography, above all, in the cosmos. More than the *susuhunan* in Surakarta, the *sulṭān* of Yogyakarta gave dominance to Islamic symbols and precepts, combining them to the special brand of Javanese Islam: the normative expressions of Islam, in confession and *Shari'a*, as the vessel for mystical practice; divine decree (*taḳdīr*, *wahy*, *uwangsit*, *pulung*) combined with the magical power (*kesaktèn*, *sèkti*, from Sanskr. *śakti*) of the ruler, and thus the subordination of the religious scholar to the king (Woodward, 152). The tradition of Yogyakarta relates these teachings to Sunan Kali Jaga, one of the nine revered teachers of Islam (*wali songo*) in Java who was a particular adviser to Sênopati.

The Java War (1825-30) broke out when Pangéran Diponegoro (1785-1855), son of Sultan Hamengku Buwono III and a person well trained in mystical practices, was taken to fight against the alliance of the court and the Dutch because of new administrative regulations. He was supported by the people, by members of the nobility and the Islamic '*ulama'*' led by Kiyai Maja. After being treacherously taken prisoner, he was exiled to Makassar [q.v.], while Kiyai Maja was exiled to Menado.

In 1912 Yogyakarta witnessed the founding of the *Muhammadiyah* by K.H. Ahmad Dahlan as a modernist social and educational organisation which is at present the second largest Islamic organisation in Indonesia. The great popularity of Sultan Hamengku Buwono IX (1912-88, r. since 1939), a modernising reform of the village administration in 1946 in his district, and his close co-operation with the republican leaders after 1945, particularly 1946-9 when Yogyakarta was the interim capital of Indonesia because of the Dutch occupation of Jakarta, saved the special status of the district. Its role as a centre of academic learning (1946: founding of Gajah Mada University; 1959: Institute for Higher Islamic Learning, *IAIN*; and others, including Protestant and Catholic seminaries) has been further developed by Sultan Hamengku Buwono X (b. 2 April 1946, succeeded his father in 1988).

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YOMUT, a Türkmen tribe, or rather a tribal confederacy, in Central Asia.

Today, most of them live in the Republic of Turkmenistan (1926: ca. 100,000; contemporary state policy takes no cognisance of individual tribes). About 130,000 (in the 1960s, cf. Irons 1974) inhabit Iran (east of the Caspian sea, from the Gurgān plain north to the border of Turkmenistan), and between 125,000 and 400,000 (Adamec) live in northwestern Afghānistān (north of the Paripamis range). The etymology of the name is unclear. The Yomut do not appear among the pre-Mongol Türkmen tribes listed by al-Kāshgharī in his *Diwān lughāt al-Turk* (tr. R. Dankoff and J. Kelly 1982-5), nor in Rashīd al-Dīn's *Djāmī' al-tawārīkh* (*Die*

Geschichte der Oğuzen, tr. Karl Jahn, 1969, 46-7). Abu 'l-Ghāzī Bahādur Khān [q.v.] mentions Yomut, a remote descendant of Salur, the son of the legendary Oghuz Khān's son Tagh Khān (*Shadjara-yi Tarākima*, fol. 100b, ed. and Turkish tr. Z.K. Olmez, 1996). Dshikijew (1994) collected among the Yomut in the Turkmen SSR some divergent genealogical tales all of which show that the Yomut believe that they have the same ancestor Salur (Kazan Alp), one of the most famous heroes of Türkmen lore [see *DEDE KORKUT*], as the Teke, Ersari, Sarik and Salor tribes [q.v.v.]. According to Bregel (1981), in the 16th century the Yomut, along with other tribal groups such as the Ersari, Salor, Sarik and Teke, practised pastoral nomadism in the region between the Mangishlak peninsula and the Balkhān mountains. Due to ecological factors and the pressure of the Kalmuks and Kazakhs from the north, probably in the second half of the 17th century, some Yomut moved to the Gurgān plain while others migrated towards the oases of Kh'ārazm in the first half of the 18th century. Eventually they received permission from the khān to remain on the northwestern periphery of the Khīwa oasis.

In the *Firdaws al-ikbāl*, a 19th century chronicle of Khīwa, written by Münis and Āghāhī [q.v.v.], from the early 18th century onward the Yomut are frequently mentioned among the tribal enemies whom several khāns had to subdue at regular intervals. The Yomut also played a certain role in Khīwan history since, as auxiliaries, they often joined the Khān's army, mostly in his fights with the Shī'ī Persians in Khurāsān, but also in campaigns against Bukhārā. They were also prone to ally themselves with a khān's rebellious relatives or governors. Between 1178/1764-5 and 1184/1770-1, the Yomut even succeeded in capturing twice the city of Khīwa and also most other strongholds of the khānate. After the Russians had reduced Khīwa to a protectorate (1873) and annexed the Türkmen territory from Mangishlak down to the Persian border (1881-4), the Yomut incursions continued across the Russian-Persian border but on a much reduced scale.

From the early 19th to the second half of the 20th century, all the Gurgān (Astarābād) Yomut tribes had either predominantly pastoral (*čarva*) or predominantly agricultural (*čomur*) members producing for monetary economy. Their most famous product were carpets. Up to the 1950s, they were also able to preserve slave and livestock raiding as an additional source of income, since the Iranian government exerted firmer political and fiscal control only in the 1930s and, again, from the middle of the century onwards (Irons 1994).

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(BARBARA KELLNER-HEINKELE)

YURTÇI (ت.) (from *yurt* 'tribal territory, camp site, tent site', a general term in the Turkic languages,



cf. Türkmen *yurt* ~ *yüwrt*, Karakalpak, Kazak and Kirghiz *žurt*; see KHAYMA. iv, to whose *Bibl.* should be added G. Doerfer, *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*, Wiesbaden 1965-70, iv, 212-16 no. 1914), Pers. *yūrtqī*, the salaried officer responsible for choosing camp sites for the army or court, organising them, and supervising their use.

Djuwaynī's use of *yurt* for the appanages granted by Činggis Kan to his brother, sons and grandsons demonstrates that *yurt* then included both summer and winter quarters, the whole territory of an *ulus* (i, 31). Rashīd al-Dīn uses it in the same way, saying, for example, that "the dwelling and territories, *makām wa yurt-hā*" of Činggis Kan were next to those of the Ong Kan (Berezin, *Činggis*, text, i, 118). The *yurtī*'s duties are set out by Nakḥčiwānī [q.v.] in 1360, in two specimen charters (ii, 64-6): his appointment is to be recognised by all, from the viziers downwards through commanders of ten thousands and thousands to the tribes themselves. He alone is to designate camp sites, *yurt-hā*, in a pleasant district, giving priority to the ruler, and then to his counsellors and lords wherever the camps, *urdū-hā*, are to be pitched in summer and winter quarters, *mauwādī-i yāylāk wa kīshlākī*. His choices in all districts are to take account of the local population's separate needs: they should be far from the arable land of village peasants, or troops of horse-herders, or those settled in *obas*, or nomads; the site should not be irksome, to the detriment of people's land, and for this reason nothing should be demanded of anyone. No-one should exceed the camp site which he had designated for them. It is emphasised that the *yurtī* was selected on the basis of his long experience, and knowledge of where camp sites with plenty of water and grazing were to be found in all the districts for summer and winter quarters, and of all the communication routes used by the camp. In whatever direction a royal expedition was undertaken, he was to go in the vanguard and establish the site for royal use, and those for the principal members of the court, so that the troops on arrival at the stage [see MANZIL] should know exactly where to encamp. It is mentioned specifically that these must be far from the courses of rivers which might flood. The office was thus a highly responsible one, in which the experience and competence to be found in those living a largely nomadic life were integrated with a system of state finance and administration. Besides the *yurtī*, three other officials were particularly responsible for the management of the camp: the *farrāsh*, or tent-pitcher, the *bulaghūčī* or keeper of lost property, and the *sārbān* or cameleer. The superintendent of the tent department, *mihtar-i furāsh-khāna*, was accountable for the supply and maintenance of the royal tents. Such camps had to operate under a wide variety of conditions, which must have strained the vigilance of these officials. Though at times the movement from recognised summer quarters to winter quarters was regular enough, the use of at least seven different summer sites by Ghāzān in the course of his nine-year reign shows the extent to which movement was possible in the north of Persia alone. Some sites were preferred for ceremonial purposes, most probably because of their proximity to Tabriz: a grand assembly was held at Kārābāgh in 1295, and a great public festival of 1302 in the meadows at Uđjān. Some of these sites at least were registered as royal domains, *indjū*: Lār, for example, belonged to Arghūn.

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(P.A. ANDREWS)

YÜSUF B. AL-HASAN (I), MAWLĀY, sultan of Morocco, r. 1330-46/1912-27.

He was born in 1298/1880-1 of a Circassian mother, Amina. His early life in the royal palace remains obscure. He received education from private tutors in a traditional curriculum and did not emerge into public life until 1330-1/1912 when his brother, sultan 'Abd al-Hāfīz (r. 1325-30/1908-12) appointed him as his *khalīfa* (viceroy) at Fez. Later that year, he was named sultan (19 Sha'bān 1330/12 August 1912) after his brother was forced to abdicate by Marshal Lyautey, Resident-General and principal architect of the French Protectorate then being established in Morocco.

Dignified, pious, intelligent, affable, possessed of no political experience or ambitions, and apparently friendly toward France, Mawlāy Yūsuf seemed an ideal choice for an office meant by the French Protectorate authorities to serve as a legitimating symbol and façade for their governance in the country. Under Lyautey's tutelage (1912-25) he would serve this role well: lending his prestige as an 'Alawī *sharīf* to French military campaigns against Moroccan resistance to the imposition of French and Spanish rule, and generally remaining publicly co-operative and uncritical of France and its Protectorate policies. He was routinely associated with the inauguration of a wide range of Protectorate initiatives in the areas of government, finance, administration, the judiciary, the education system, infrastructure and economic development.

At the same time, he gradually emerged as a more active and interested participant in the creation of a revitalised sultanate and government (*makhzan* [q.v.]) that linked traditional forms—embodied especially in the person and reign of his father Mawlāy al-Ḥasan (r. 1290-1311/1873-94)—and modern innovation represented and advocated by France. He took an active interest in the reform and encouragement of Islamic education, and gave generous royal patronage to the repair and construction of mosques, *madrasas* and other public buildings. He effectively opposed French efforts to reduce or replace *Sharī'a* courts in the country's Berber-speaking areas, and was an increasingly vocal opponent of the Protectorate's ongoing expropriation of rural and urban property. Unknown and unpopular at first, his travels throughout the country, extensive publicity and increasing association with the development of a modern Morocco that respected and preserved religious and cultural traditions, gained for him broadening popular acceptance. Recent scholarship (e.g. Rivet) shows him and his relationship to the French Protectorate to be much more complex than earlier interpretations have allowed. Though never enjoying real power, the sultanate during Mawlāy Yūsuf's reign became more than a mere façade lending itself uncritically and unawares to the policies of the Protectorate authorities. Over the course of time, he took on substance sufficient to begin a transition from the status of a perplexed and diffident pupil to that of respected mentor, perhaps, in some ways, even partner, in the governance of the sultanate.

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Yūsuf died on 22 Djumādā I 1346/17 November 1927 from the effects of uraemia. He was succeeded by his third son Muḥammad (V) [q.v.].

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YŪZBASHĪ (ر.), lit. "head of a hundred [men]", a term used in later Ottoman and now modern Turkish armies for the rank of captain, and in the form *yūzbashī* in modern Arab armies for this same rank. It was further used in Muslim Indian minting practice for the engraver of coin dies; see DĀR AL-ḌARB, at Vol. II, 121a.

Z

AL-ZAMAKHSHARĪ, ABU 'L-ḲĀSIM MAḤMŪD B. 'UMAR.

2. Contributions in the fields of theology, exegesis, *ḥadīth* and *adab*.

His father, as imām of the local mosque in Zamakhshar, taught him the Qur'ān, but since he lacked the means to support the further education of his son, he wanted him to become a tailor. Yielding to his son's wishes, however, he brought him to the capital of Kh'arazm, Djurdjāniyya, which henceforth became his permanent home and where he first earned his sustenance by copying for a wealthy patron. His ambition was a high secretarial career in government. For his literary education, he studied first with Abū 'Alī al-Ḥasan b. al-Muza'ffar al-Naysābūrī (the death date of 442/1050 commonly given for him is mistaken, since his son 'Umar died only in 536/1142), the leading man of letters in Kh'arazm at the time, and after the arrival there of Abū Muḍar Maḥmūd b. Djarīr al-Dabbī al-Iṣfahānī (d. 507/1114), with the latter, who became his most influential teacher and generous patron. Al-Zamakhsharī also visited Bukhārā to study and hear *ḥadīth*. On his way there he fell from his mount and broke a leg, which had to be amputated and replaced by a wooden substitute.

In his ambition for a high position in government, he first addressed panegyric poems to the famous Saldjūk vizier Nizām al-Mulk (d. 485/1092 [q.v.]), referring to his teacher Abū Muḍar, but his hopes were disappointed. Later he travelled widely in Khurasān and western Persia, pursuing his scholarly interests and addressing similar poems to Saldjūk dignitaries such as Mu'ayyid al-Mulk b. Nizām al-Mulk (d. 495/1102) and Mudjir al-Dīn Abū 'l-Faṭḥ al-Ardastānī and even to the Sultans Muḥammad b. Malikshāh (d. 511/1118) and Sandjar. Although he received some monetary rewards for these eulogies, he failed to secure any position. This was largely due to his open espousal of Mu'tazilī doctrine, which in the Saldjūk period came increasingly to be viewed as heretical. When he fell seriously ill in 512/1118, he vowed never again to visit a court or praise a ruler, seeking thereby a position, and vowed to lead an ascetic life devoted to religion and teaching. After his recovery, he visited Baghdād where he engaged in studies and debates with scholars. He assembled with the Ḥanafī jurist Aḥmad b. 'Alī al-Damghānī and the grammarian al-Sharīf Hibat Allāh b. al-Shadjarī. As

he made the Pilgrimage in that year, he was welcomed by the *amīr* of Mecca, the Sharīf 'Alī b. 'Īsā b. Ḥamza b. Wahhās, a Mu'tazilī Zaydī man of letters and learning. A close friendship developed between the two, and al-Zamakhsharī stayed with the *amīr* for two years as a greatly honoured guest, during which he also visited parts of Arabia and Yemen. Then he returned to Djurdjāniyya, where he was honoured in this period by the Kh'arazmshāhs Muḥammad b. Anūshtakīn (d. 521/1127) and his son Atsīz. A decade later, he again set out for Mecca and stayed for an extended time in Damascus, where he composed eulogies for the Būrid ruler Tāj al-Mulūk Tuḡtakīn (d. 526/1131) and his son Shams al-Mulk. He reached Mecca for the Pilgrimage in 526/1132 and stayed there for three years, again hospitably received by Ibn Wahhās, who encouraged him to assemble his *diwān* of poetry and to compose his Qur'ān commentary *al-Kashshāf*. Al-Zamakhsharī completed the latter after two years in 528/1133. In 533/1138 he made a further trip to Mecca and passed through Baghdād, where he visited Abū Maṣnūr Mawhūb b. al-Djawālīkī [q.v.], a famous man of letters, and received his *iqāza*. He died in Djurdjāniyya on 9 Dhu 'l-Hijja 538/14 June 1144 and was buried near the town. On account of his prolonged stay in Mecca—he lived there for five years and performed the Pilgrimage seven times according to his own testimony—he claimed the title *Djār Allāh*, under which he remained widely known. In his home country he was commonly referred to as Fakhr Kh'arazm "the Glory of Kh'arazm".

Although of Persian origin, al-Zamakhsharī was most basically motivated in his scholarship to serve and promote the Arabic language. Arabic was in his view the most perfect language which God had preferred to all languages as He preferred the Qur'ān and Islam over all scripture and religions (see I., at Vol. XI, 432b-434a). In the work on which his fame primarily rests, the Qur'ān commentary *al-Kashshāf 'an ḥakā'ik al-tanzīl*, his efforts in explaining the Holy Book's grammatical, lexicographical and rhetorical features, variant readings and the miraculous nature (*i'djāz* [q.v.]) of its beautiful language earned him universal admiration. He did so adducing quotations from a wide variety of early prose texts, including the *tafsīr* of the grammarian al-Zadīdjādī [q.v.] and poetry, rather than relying on traditional exegesis. His rationalist Mu'tazilī interpretations, however, provoked criti-



cism among traditionalist Sunnis. While some of these interpretations were adopted from earlier Mu'tazilī exegetes such as Abū Bakr al-Aṣamm and al-Rummānī, he also frequently presented views of his own. In concord with his Mu'tazilī outlook, he emphasised ethical and ascetic aspects and denounced Ṣūfī antinomian tendencies and belief in miracles of saints, Ṣhu'ūbiyya and the Umayyad caliphs. In legal questions, he occasionally backed al-Shāfi'ī and other positions against his own Ḥanafī school. The popularity of his work was in the eastern Muslim world not seriously impaired by the attempt of al-Bayḍawī [q.v.] to furnish an orthodox counterpart to it in his *Ancwār al-tanzīl*. Opposition to his Mu'tazilī tendency was stronger in the Muslim West, where the Mālikī Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. al-Munayyir (d. 683/1284) wrote a refutation of his Mu'tazilī interpretations entitled *K. al-Inṣāf min al-Kashshāf*, which is sometimes printed on the margins of the *Kashshāf*.

In Mu'tazilī theology, al-Zamakhsharī was familiar with the school doctrine of Kādī 'Abd al-Djabbār through the literary transmission of al-Hākim al-Djushamī [q.v.], which he received from his teacher Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ishāq al-Kh'ārazmī. In addition, he studied the school doctrine of Abū 'l-Husayn al-Baṣrī [q.v.], which was first introduced into Kh'ārazm by his teacher Abū Mudar al-Isfahānī, with his colleague Rukn al-Dīn Ibn al-Malāḥimī. In his Mu'tazilī creed *al-Minhādī fī uṣūl al-dīn* he appears partly influenced by the doctrine of Abū 'l-Husayn al-Baṣrī but generally avoids taking side in the conflict between the two schools.

In the field of *ḥadīth*, he composed a large, alphabetically-arranged dictionary of unusual words, *al-Fā'ik fī ḡharīb al-ḥadīth*. The relevant *ḥadīths* are fully quoted and explained. In his *Mukhtaṣar al-Muwāfaka bayna ahl al-bayt wa 'l-sahāba* he abridged the work of the Mu'tazilī Zaydī traditionist Abū Sa'īd Ismā'īl b. 'Alī al-Sammān al-Rāzī (d. 443/1051), omitting the *isnāds*. The book was intended to demonstrate the concord between the family of Muḥammad and the major Companions (see Hādjdjī Khalīfa, ii, 1890). He assembled biographical data and reports about the virtues of the ten Companions whom the Prophet had promised paradise in his *Khaṣā'is al-ashara al-kirām al-barara*. His *al-Kashf fī 'l-kirā'āt al-ashar* deals with the canonical variant readings of the Qur'ān.

In the field of *adab*, he collected an extensive dictionary of Arabic proverbs *al-Mustakṣā fī amṡāl al-'Arab* which rivalled the *Maḍima' al-amṡāl* of his contemporary al-Maydānī. Completed in 499/1106, it contains 3,461 proverbs alphabetically arranged according to their beginnings with explanation of their origin and use. His voluminous *Rabī' al-abrār wa-nuṣūṣ al-akhbār* contains extracts from literary and historical works arranged according to 92 topics. It was meant to be a companion reader to his Qur'ān commentary. His *K. al-Amkina wa 'l-djibāl* is a small dictionary of Arabic geographical names.

In his own artistic prose works, his predilection was for ethical admonition and preaching. His *Maḳāmāt*, also entitled *al-Naṣā'ih al-kibār*, contain fifty *maḳāmāt* [q.v.] in the older meaning of the term, moral exhortations which he addressed to himself. He composed them after his illness in 512/1118 and later added his own philological commentary. His *Aṭwāk al-dhahab* or *al-Naṣā'ih al-sighar* consists of 100 pious maxims with allusions to the Qur'ān, Sunna and proverbial expressions. It was dedicated to Ibn Wāḥḥās and the people of Mecca. His *Nawābiḡ al-kalim* or *al-Kilām al-nawābiḡ* is a small collection of apophthegms. A com-

mentary on it, *al-Nī'am al-sawābiḡ*, was written by al-Taftāzānī [q.v.].

His poetry, collected into his *ḡwān*, reflects his technical skill and understanding of the classical tradition of Arabic poetry more than an original poetical talent. An influence of the poetry of Djarīr and al-Mutanabbī is occasionally apparent. He wrote a substantial commentary on al-Shānfarā's *Lāmiyyat al-'Arab*, the *K. A'djab al-'adjab fī shārḥ Lāmiyyat al-'Arab*. His *al-Kisṭās al-mustakīm fī 'ilm al-'arūd* is a treatise on prosody.

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(W. MADELUNG)

ZANDAQA [see ZINDĪK].

AL-ZANDJĀNĪ, 'IZZ AL-DĪN 'ABD AL-WAHHĀB b. Ibrāhīm b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Kharadī (often given as: al-Kharadī) al-Shāfi'ī, Abū 'l-Ma'ālī (fl. in the middle of the 7th/13th century), grammarian and *adīb*, who ca. 625/1228 wrote a celebrated treatise on morphology (*sarf* [q.v.]), *Mabād' al-tasrīf* or (*Kūāb*) *al-Tasrīf al-'Izzī*, extant in numerous mss. and the subject of many commentaries, the most popular one being that of al-Taftāzānī (see *Bibl.*).

The *Kitāb al-Tasrīf* was the third grammatical treatise (after Ibn al-Hādīb's *Kāfiya* and the *Adjurrūmiyya*) to be made available in the West, in an edition and two Latin translations, one literal and one idiomatic, by the director of the Medici press, J.B. Raymundus (Giovanni Battista Raimondi), *Kitāb al-Tasrīf ta'līf al-Shaykh al-Imām, Liber Tasrīphī compositio est Senis Alemami, traditur in ea compendiosa notitia conjugationum verbi Arabici*, Rome 1610 (see Chr.F. Schnurrer, *Bibliotheca arabica*, Halle 1811, 25-7, no. 47). The name of the author sometimes appears as al-'Izzī (see e.g. J. Fück, *Die arabischen Studien in Europa*, Leipzig 1955, 56); this seems to have arisen from a careless rendition of the title as *Tasrīf al-'Izzī* rather than *al-Tasrīf al-'Izzī* (the *nisba* refers to the author's *lakab* 'Izz al-Dīn). In addition to other works in the fields of, *inter alia*, grammar and lexicography, al-Zandjānī wrote works also in *adab*. One is an anthology of poetic snippets (not entire poems) with the title *al-Madnūn biḥi 'alā ḡhayr ahlīh*. It deals with the following themes: books, praise, yearning, love, congratulations, dirges, complaints and invective. An extensive commentary on it was written by 'Ubayd Allāh b. 'Abd al-Kāfi b. 'Abd al-Madīd al-'Ubaydī, who finished it in 724/1324. The other book, with the title *K. Mi'yār al-nuẓẓār fī 'ulūm al-ash'ār*, deals with prosody and rhetoric. It is divided into three parts: metrics ('ilm al-'arūd'), rhyme taxonomy ('ilm al-kawāfi'), and rhetoric ('ilm al-badī'). This arrangement of the poetic disciplines imitates al-Khaṭīb al-Tibrīzī's *al-Kāfi fī 'l-'arūd wa 'l-kawāfi*, which likewise contains an unexpected section on *al-badī* (ed. al-Hassānī Ḥasan 'Abd Allāh, Cairo n.d., 170-204). Interestingly, one of his sources is the *Hadā'ik al-sihr fī ḡayr al-shi'r*, written in Persian by Rashīd al-Dīn Waṭwāt [q.v.]. Knowledge of Persian on the part of al-Zandjānī is also shown by a line of Persian poetry in *al-Madnūn*

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(ed. Yahuda, 25). The *Miṣyār* is often quoted in later rhetorical literature.

Bibliography (N.B. 'Abd al-Wahhāb b. Ibrāhīm al-Zandjānī is not infrequently confused with his father Ibrāhīm b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb [both having the *laqab* 'Izz al-Dīn!]: 1. Biographical and bibliographical. Ziriklī, *A'lām*, ²Damascus 1373-8/1954-9, iv, 330; Brockelmann, I, 336-7 ('Abd al-Wahhāb b. Ibrāhīm), S I, 497-8 (Ibrāhīm b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb, referring to the same person!); Kaḥḥāla, i, 57 (Ibrāhīm, with the *al-Taṣrif* 'al-*Izzī* attributed to him); vi, 216-17 ('Abd al-Wahhāb, author of the remaining works mentioned above).

2. Works. Sa'd al-Dīn al-Taftāzānī, *Sharḥ Mukhtaṣar al-Taṣrif* 'al-*Izzī* fī fann al-*ṣarf*, ed. 'Abd al-Āl Sālim Makram, Kuwait 1983; 'Ubaydī, *Sharḥ al-Madnūn biḥī 'alā ghayr ahliḥ*, ed. I.B. Yahuda, Cairo 1913-15, repr. Beirut and Baghdād n.d. [1993 or before] (with a new title-page that omits the name of the editor and with omission of the two, Arabic and French, prefaces of the editor); ed. Faradj Allāh Dhakī al-Kurdī, Cairo 1342; K. *Miṣyār al-nuẓẓār fī 'ulūm al-ash'ār*, ed. Muḥammad 'Alī Rizk al-Khafādjī, 2 vols, Cairo 1991; ed. of Pts. 1-2 by Maḥmūd Faḍjdjāl (forthcoming [?], cf. al-Ashkar, introd. to Pt. 3, 3, n. 1); ed. of Pt. 3 by 'Abd al-Mun'im Sayyid 'Abd al-Salām al-Ashkar, Cairo 1416/1995 (with valuable introd., based in part on Maḥmūd Faḍjdjāl's unpublished study and ed. of al-Zandjānī, *al-Kāfi fī sharḥ al-Hādī li-dhawī 'l-albāb fī 'ilm al-ṭrāb*, doctoral thesis, Kulīyyat al-Lughā al-'Arabiyya, Djamī'at al-Azhar 1398/1978). (Eds.)

AL-ZARKASHĪ, ABŪ 'ABD ALLĀH BADR AL-DĪN MUḤAMMAD b. 'Abd Allāh b. Bahādur (or Muḥammad b. Bahādur b. 'Abd Allāh, according to some), prolific writer who lived in Mamlūk Cairo at a time of flourishing intellectual activity.

Born in Cairo in 745/1344, he studied *ḥadīth* in Damascus with 'Imād al-Dīn Ibn Kathīr (d. 774/1373 [q.v.]), *fikh* and *uṣūl* in Aleppo with Shihāb al-Dīn al-Aḍhrā'ī (d. 783/1381; see Brockelmann, S II, 108), and Qur'ān and *fikh* in Cairo with the head of the Shāfi'ī school in Cairo at the time, Djamāl al-Dīn al-Asnawī (d. 772/1370, see Gilliot, *Textes arabes anciens* *édités en Égypte au cours des années 1996 à 1999*, in *MIDEO*, xxiv [2000], 252, entry no. 135, item 4), as well as with Sirādj al-Dīn al-Bulkīnī (d. 805/1403 [q.v.]) and 'Alā' al-Dīn Muḥuntay (d. 762/1361 [q.v.]). He died in Cairo on 3 Raddjāb 794/27 May 1392 and was buried in the smaller al-Qarāfa cemetery in the area of the tomb of the Amīr Baktamur al-Sāḳī. He was called al-Zarkashī because he learned embroidery while he was young; he also became known as al-Minhādī because he learned the text of Muḥyī al-Dīn al-Nawawī (d. 766/1277 [q.v.]), the *Minḥādī al-tālibīn*, by heart. Al-Zarkashī is spoken of as naturally reserved, having spent most of his time in his house or in the bookstores where he would take copious notes in order to avoid spending money to buy books.

According to the study by Muḥammad Abu 'l-Faḍl Ibrāhīm, the modern editor of one of al-Zarkashī's more famous works, *al-Burhān fī 'ulūm al-Qur'ān* (Cairo 1957, ²1972; see i, 5-13, for the biography of al-Zarkashī), some 33 works are attributed to him, 23 of which are apparently still in existence. 'Abd al-Kādir 'Abd Allāh al-'Anī, the editor of al-Zarkashī's *al-Bahr al-muḥīṭ fī uṣūl al-fikh* (6 vols., Kuwait 1401/1989; see i, 7-19, for the biography of al-Zarkashī), manages to increase this total to 46 works, although many are attested only by single mentions in historical bibliographies. Brockelmann, II, 91-2, S II, 108,

lists 22 works, all in existence.

About 14 of al-Zarkashī's works are available in published form today, displaying the broad spectrum of his interests. A jurist of the school of al-Shāfi'ī, al-Zarkashī's works cover the full range of traditional scholarship: *ḥadīth*, *tafsīr*, *fikh*, *adab* and *kalām*. In *fikh*, al-Zarkashī wrote his summary *al-Bahr al-muḥīṭ fī uṣūl al-fikh* in 777/1376 when he was only 32. Among his many other legal works of note is a book on hashish, *Zahr al-'arīsh fī tahrīm al-hashīsh*, which details the physical hazards of hashish consumption and the moral effects the substance has, which are deemed to be parallel to those associated with wine and intoxication. Al-Zarkashī did, however, admit to some of hashish's positive (and legal) anaesthetising abilities. It was the use of hashish for enjoyment and pleasure that raised the ire of al-Zarkashī, as it did for almost every Muslim jurist.

His achievements have only recently started to be properly recognised. He lived at a time of significant scholarly activity and his works certainly drew the attention of those in the immediate generations thereafter. His *al-Burhān fī 'ulūm al-Qur'ān*, for example, was the first all-encompassing work of its type, only to be eclipsed a century later by al-Suyūṭī's *al-Itqān fī 'ulūm al-Qur'ān*, even though (or perhaps because) al-Suyūṭī benefited from al-Zarkashī's work in terms of providing the structuring and content of his own work. In a total of 47 chapters in *al-Burhān*, al-Zarkashī brings together every major topic related to understanding the Qur'ān, devoting what is essentially a monograph to each one; he mentions previous authors who have treated each subject and compares the opinions of the traditionists, the theologians, the exegetes and the grammarians on many of the topics. Al-Suyūṭī also created his own work *al-Dwar al-muntathara fī 'l-aḥādīth al-muṣṭahara* (Beirut 1995) on the basis of al-Zarkashī's now lost treatise *al-Tadhkira fī 'l-aḥādīth al-muṣṭahira*.

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ZAWDJ

3. Usage in the dialects of the Muslim East.



The original meaning of *zawdj* in Classical Arabic was “one of a pair or couple” (see 1., at Vol. XI, 464b). Its dual in a phrase such as *zawdjān min al-ḥamām* meant “a pair of pigeons” (i.e. one male, one female). *Zawdj* also naturally came to mean “spouse, married person” of either gender. Later, a morphologically marked female form *zawḍja* “wife” was coined, as a consequence of which *zawdj* came to designate specifically “husband”. In Modern Standard Arabic, as well as the meaning “husband”, *zawdj* retains the original Classical meaning “one of a pair”, but is also now used to mean “pair”, as in *zawdj min al-ḥidḥā* “a pair of shoes”.

In the major (urban) Arabic dialects of the eastern Mediterranean (Cairo, Damascus, Jerusalem, Beirut), the first and third radicals of *zawdj* became metathesised (and modified phonetically in well-known ways), so that one typically hears *gōz* (Cairo), *žōz* (Jerusalem, Damascus, Beirut) for both the “pair” and “husband” meanings, but the non-metathesised forms for the feminine form, e.g. *zōga* (Cairo), *zawže* (Damascus) “wife”. In rural areas, there is a considerable amount of variation between metathesised and non-metathesised forms, as there is in the phonetic realisation of the two consonants. Thus in parts of the Nile valley and Delta, *zawz*, *zōz*, *gōz* and even *gaz* “two, (the) pair, both” may be heard, as in *gōz sāʿat* “two hours”, *gaz t-ushhur* “two months”, *ig-gaz zayyi bāʿd* “the pair/the two are alike”, *hum iz-zawz* “both of them”. The use of *gōz*, etc. for “two” is reminiscent of the general Maghribī form *žūz* “two” (see 2., at Vol. XI, 464b).

In Iraq and Arabia, the non-metathesised forms *zōdj* “pair”; “husband” and *zōḍja* “wife” are the normal realisations, though these are koinè terms when used to refer to marital partners (which in “pure” dialect are usually words whose basic meaning is “man” and “woman”, e.g. Bahrain *radjdāl/rayyāl* and *marā*). In some derivatives from this root, metathesised forms are also heard among less educated speakers, e.g. *ḍawwāz* “marriage” (Gulf States), instead of *zawwādī* and *ḍawwāz* “to marry” (Nadjd), instead of *zawwādī*.

It is interesting to speculate on the reasons for the metathesis so widely encountered in this root. One possible reason may be a meaning coalescence in the dialects, because of a similarity of sound, of the originally separate verbs *zawwādī* “marry, (legitimately) couple” (< *z-w-ḍj*) and *ḍawwāz* “to deem or make permissible” (< *ḍj-w-z*)—a process which has been referred to by Voigt as *Wurzelangleichung*. There is already a similarity in meaning between them, in that an imām who “marries” (*yizawwidi*) a man to a woman thereby makes her “permissible” (*yidḍawwizhā*) to him. From this coalescence of sound and meaning may have arisen a secondary fusion of other words from the same root, such as we see in the vacillation between the modern dialectal variants *zawdj* and *ḍawz*, which were separate words in Classical Arabic.

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(C. HOLES)

ZĪRĪ b. 'AṬIYYA b. 'ABD ALLĀH b. KHAZAR, Abū Yūsuf, Berber chief of the Maghrib whose fate was linked, at the end of the 4th/10th century and

the beginning of the 5th/11th, on the one hand to that of the *ḥādīb* al-Manšūr b. Abī 'Amir [*q.v.*] and on the other to that of the Maghrāwa [*q.v.*], who were caught between the forces of the caliphate of Cordova, to the north, and those of the Fātimid caliphate and the Zīrid principality of Ifrīkiya, to the east. In fact, following the proclamation of the caliphate of Kayrawān, the Maghrāwa were compelled by circumstances to pay allegiance to one or other of the neighbouring powers.

Zīrī b. 'Aṭiyya belonged to an illustrious family, the Banū Khazar, whose ancestors were already guiding the Maghrāwī confederation at the time of the conquest of the Maghrib by the Muslims. In 351/962, on the death of his grandfather, Muḥammad b. al-Khayr b. Muḥammad b. Khazar became the leader of the Maghrāwa. Extending his territory at the expense of the Fātimid zone of influence established by Djawhar [*q.v.*], the new chieftain established a short-lived Maghrāwī state in the central Maghrib, within the orbit of the Umayyad caliphate of Cordova. But in 360/971, the Fātimid governor of Ifrīkiya, Buluggīn b. Zīrī [*q.v.*] defeated, close to Tlemcen, the Maghrāwa and the Zanāta. From this date onwards, the history of these tribes, which had formerly established a confederation, is closely linked with the history of what is now Morocco, where the different princes of the family of the Banū Khazar created three states, around the cities of Fās, Sijilmāsa and Aghmāt. Among these Maghrāwī *amirs* who went in search of new territories in the far Maghrib were Zīrī b. 'Aṭiyya and his brother Muḥātil b. 'Aṭiyya. Theoretically dependent on the caliph of Cordova, the two brothers deferred sometimes to the authority of the Umayyad caliph in the region, and sometimes to that of his chamberlain, Ibn Abī 'Amir.

Towards 365/975-6, Muḥammad b. al-Khayr b. Muḥammad seems to have lost control of the northern group of Maghrāwī Moroccans. In fact, at this time Zīrī and Muḥātil b. 'Aṭiyya were in the entourage of the Umayyad governor of the Maghrib, the general Dja'far b. 'Alī b. Ḥamdūn, appointed by the caliph al-Hakam II. The Maghrib served at this time as a source for the provision of fighters in the struggle against the Iberian Christians. The Maghrāwa, the leadership of whom had just been taken over by Zīrī and Muḥātil, and the Banū Ifran [*q.v.*], commanded by Yaddu b. Ya'lā, supported this policy and supplied horsemen to al-Andalus.

The news of the death of the Umayyad caliph al-Hakam II arrived in North Africa just as negotiations were in progress between Dja'far b. Ḥamdūn, Yaddu b. Ya'lā, Zīrī b. 'Aṭiyya and his brother Muḥātil. The minority of Hishām II, leading to the accession of the *ḥādīb* Ibn Abī 'Amir (366-71/976-81), perceptibly modified the traditional policies of Cordova in this region. In fact, al-Manšūr played on the rivalries between the Zanāta chiefs; in 376/986, he sent a new governor-general to the Maghrib, Ḥasan b. Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Wadūd al-Sulamī, who moved his headquarters from Sabta to Fās. On the orders of al-Manšūr, Ibn 'Abd al-Wadūd overtly favoured the Maghrāwa to the detriment of the other Zanāta chiefs and especially the Ifranid Yaddu b. Ya'lā, known for his rebellious tendencies. When Muḥātil died in 378/988, Zīrī took over the leadership of the Maghrāwa and became the sole interlocutor of the Cordovan power.

In 379/989, for example, al-Manšūr invited Zīrī to pay an official visit to Cordova. The latter brought with him numerous recruits for al-Manšūr's armies,

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who were incorporated into the regular army. He was received in princely style and was awarded on this occasion the title of vizier. On his return to the Maghrib, Zīrī seems to have demonstrated some independence towards the ʿĀmirid master of Cordova, founding in the north of Morocco a principality with Fās as its capital. Seeking the support of the Ifranid, al-Manṣūr made overtures of Yaddu b. Yaʿlā which the latter rejected, moving openly into dissidence. The reaction of al-Manṣūr was immediate: Ibn ʿAbd al-Wadūd received the order to call upon Zīrī b. ʿAṭiyya to subdue Yaddu. On 18 Muḥarram 381/6 April 991, on the banks of the Wādī Moulouya, an encounter took place in the course of which Yaddu b. Yaʿlā crushed the Cordovan army and the Maghrawī reinforcements.

For Umayyad policy in the Maghrib, this constituted a serious reverse, temporarily alleviated by the unexpected support of a Ṣanhādjī prince of Ifrikiya. In fact, the paternal uncle of the Zīrid king al-Manṣūr b. Buluggīn, Abu ʿl-Bahār b. Zīrī, rebelled against the Kayrawān government and declared himself for that of Cordova. According to certain authors, this allegiance was short-lived and Zīrī b. ʿAṭiyya attacked Abu ʿl-Bahār who took refuge first at Ceuta, in Shawwāl 382/end of 992, and then, after being reconciled with his relatives, in Ifrikiya; Zīrī took over all his domains and announced his victory, in 381/391, to al-Manṣūr, who invited him to pay a second visit. Arriving at Cordova in 382/992, Zīrī brought numerous presents with him on this occasion, as recorded by the sources (although they are sometimes attributed to a diplomatic mission sent by Zīrī in 384/November 994): 200 racehorses, some 20 of them with a documented pedigree, camels, weapons and shields of antelope hide (*lamt*), a parrot, a gigantic panther and a giraffe, which died en route and was stuffed, all these last for the menagerie of the Caliph's palace. On his return to the Maghrib, Zīrī learned that the Ifranid Yaddu b. Yaʿlā had taken possession of Fās. After a bloody battle, Zīrī regained his throne and sent Yaddu's head to al-Manṣūr.

No doubt finding the location of Fās too remote in relation to the assemblage of regions which recognised his authority, in 383/994 Zīrī founded the town of Oujda (Wādja [q.v.]), on the border between Morocco and what is now Algeria, with the aim of establishing his court and his household garrison there. Subsequently, relations with Cordova deteriorated. The precise reasons for the conflict between Zīrī and al-Manṣūr are not known, but it is possible that Zīrī had emerged as the champion of Hishām II in his claims against al-Manṣūr: in 388/998, his battle cry (*ḥayyā*) was *yā Hishām yā Manṣūr*, while that of the ʿĀmirids was only *yā Manṣūr* (Lévi-Provençal, *Fragments*, 29). In 386/997, al-Manṣūr sent troops to the Maghrib to intimidate Zīrī, who affirmed his independence without going so far as to repudiate overtly his oath of fealty to Hishām II. In Shawwāl 387/October 997, al-Manṣūr deprived him of his title of vizier and sent against him one of his best generals, the former slave Wādīh, who commanded the middle march of al-Andalus (*al-thaḡhr al-awsat*). In Tangier, the latter received the allegiance of numerous local chiefs who came to rally beneath his banner. Then he set out with all these forces to attack Zīrī, who had taken up positions in a mountainous region of northern Morocco, the Djabal Ḥabīb (Ibn Khaldūn, *Histoire des Berbères*, iii, 244).

As a first step, Wādīh took possession of Arcila on

the Atlantic and of Nakūr on the Mediterranean. In Rajab 388/July 998, he succeeded in surprising the bulk of Zīrī's forces in a mountain pass and inflicted a severe defeat on the Maghrawa. Some weeks later, wanting to reap the rewards of victory, al-Manṣūr sent his own son ʿAbd al-Malik with fresh reinforcements. ʿAbd al-Malik joined forces with Wādīh and then both of them marched against Zīrī. The second encounter, which took place on 19 Shawwāl 388/13 October 998, was at first indecisive. But Zīrī's army, on hearing that its leader had been severely wounded, disintegrated; forced into flight, Zīrī abandoned his camp and his wealth to the Cordovans.

Having tried in vain to take refuge in Fās, where his wives and children were, Zīrī took the Sahara road. In fact, the town refused to open its gates to him and it was occupied by ʿAbd al-Malik. Having barely recovered from his injuries, Zīrī refrained from attempting anything in the north of Morocco, which was strongly held by the Umayyad army. But taking advantage of the death of Zīrid king al-Manṣūr b. Buluggīn and the quarrels between the latter's son and successor, Badīs, and his great-uncles Maksan and Zawī, Zīrī b. ʿAṭiyya laid siege to Tāhart, which he took in 388/998. Then he successively conquered the Ṣanhādjī centres of Tlemcen, Chélif, Ténès and al-Masila, where he had the prayer celebrated in the name of the Umayyad caliph Hishām II and his *ḥādīb* al-Manṣūr, whose pardon he sought, asking to have his former prerogatives reinstated. His appeal was accepted.

In 391/1001, Zīrī laid siege to Ashīr [q.v.], the capital of the Ṣanhādja, but his state of health obliged him to raise the siege after a month, and he died shortly afterwards. On the death of Zīrī, his son, al-Muʿizz, took his place at the head of the federation of Maghrawa, and declared himself the loyal vassal of Cordova, continuing the struggle against the Ṣanhādja until the death of al-Manṣūr. A little later, al-Muʿizz asked the new *ḥādīb*, ʿAbd al-Malik, to award him an official investiture. A letter of ʿAbd al-Malik dated Dhu ʿl-Ḥaʿda 396/August 1006, the text of which has been preserved (Ibn Khaldūn, *Berbères*, iii, 248-50, and al-Warrāk, *Fragments historiques sur les Berbères*, 40-1) is addressed to the inhabitants of Fās, inviting them to recognise al-Muʿizz b. ʿAṭiyya as governor of the whole Maghrib, with the exception of the territory of Sijilmāsa, the personal fief of Wānūdm b. Khazrūn b. Falfūl. The rest of the reign of al-Muʿizz was turbulent, but on his death in 417/1026, the general revolt of al-Andalus smashed once and for all the ties which for almost a century had linked the Zanāta North African bloc with the Umayyads of Cordova. The fortunes of the Zanāta [q.v.] declined in the Maghrib, before the increasing power of the Almoravids, who relied for support on the Ṣanhādja tribes.

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